

The Sociocultural Use of the Arabic Word عيب Eib 'shame' among the Yemeni Women "Thanks to language, Man became man." Descartes

Ahmed Abdullah Alhussami¹ & Kamel Hizam Moqbel²

¹ Faculty of Arts, Tamar University.

² Faculty of Education, Rada'a, Albaydha University.

Abstract

The current paper attempts to explore the sociocultural use of the Arabic word عيب Eib 'shame' among the Yemeni women. Language, as the main tool of communication, sometimes has to be used in a very tough and vague manner by its users, especially by those who are uneducated. This paper tends to tackle the issue of using the Arabic word Eib by Yemeni women in some daily linguistic situations. The word Eib is found to be used in a wide-range situation by Yemeni speakers to carry meanings that are not corresponding with the meaning in the selected Arabic dictionaries. The common misuse of the word Eib among Yemeni speakers, especially women can be attributed to two main factors; cultural and religious, as it has been inferred from the data obtained from the informants. Yemeni speakers, use the word Eib to express their anger or loathing against behavior, saying, writing, etc. that goes against either the social norms based on cultural beliefs or religious instructions. The misuse of the word Eib is common not only among ignorant people but also among some educated ones. Some linguistic uses are inherited from one generation to another rather.

Key Words: Eib 'shame', Culture, Religion, Yemen, Gender

1. Introduction

Sociolinguistics is defined to be a developing branch of linguistics and sociology which examines the individual and social variation of language. As a regional variation of a language, sociolinguistics can reflect the cultural and the social norms of a speaker through the use of a language. Sociolinguistics is also considered as a branch of sociology in that it shows the relationship between language use and the social basis for such use. Hudson, p. 35 states that "In its widest concern, sociolinguistics concerns with the study of the human language as a

communication tool within society, a network of communicative relationships in which an individual spontaneously and voluntarily engages with the people around him, in different levels and positions". In this sense, language has become a social communication tool, not only passing a certain speech, but rather it is part of that speech. Sociolinguistics is often defined as the study of language in its social context, though in fact, language does not exist away from this context.¹

¹ For more details see Enam and Uri Horesh, 2019. The Routledge Handbook of Arabic

Surely, if the birth of modern Western linguistics arose from Ferdinand De Saussure's (1857-1913) desire to crystallize an ideal paradigm of language from the process of verbal utterance, then dealing with language as an ideal instrument made him not much interested in the language in its social dimension². In this regards, Abdullahi-Idiagbon has defined language as:

"Language is not only a communication tool but also a means of identification and uncloaking the hidden power-relation".³

Indeed, it is found that language, considered as a system of signs, is the social part of speaking act. Abdullahi-Idiagbon also considers language as a social institution.⁴

However, he considers linguistics to be concerned with one subject: the language itself for itself, i.e. language as an independent entity from the speaker and from the human group that communicates with it. The language is absolutely present, and it is ready for a speaker to use at the time of need. The latter is very well aware of the grammar of that language. Language, in this sense, is a system whose order is defined in the absolute sense of the word. There is a cognitive and systematic separation between language and other influences that exist in reality and society.

It is because of this linguistic domain of sociolinguistics, the researcher has been attracted linguistically by the use of the Arabic word **عيب** 'Eib' among

Yemeni speakers, especially among females, in their daily conversations. Although the concerned word is a standard form of Arabic language, in Yemeni Arabic it has wide range of uses related to the culture of the Yemeni society. People use the word **عيب** 'Eib' to express their disappointment or disapprobation and resentment towards a specific behaviour or expression showing that such behaviour or speech is inconsistent with the values and morals of the society. For example, based on the researcher's own knowledge, it is considered to be **عيب** 'Eib' for a girl or a woman to remove her head scarf or comb her hair in front of her father, adult brother, or any other person, but only in front of her husband if she is married. A man also cannot talk to his wife about sex or even courtships in front of his children. When a child or children try to watch a movie that comprises some love or romantic affairs or flip between lovers, he or she is shouted at by his/her father, mother or brother that it is **عيب** 'Eib'.

Before we list some of the daily uses of the mentioned word, we shall start reviewing how some Arabic dictionaries define the meaning of the word **عيب** 'Eib' and then we mention the linguistic uses of this word in the Yemeni society through the answers that we have obtained from some Yemeni female. The researcher has presented the following two questions:

- 1- Mention some of the daily situations where you have been using the word 'Eib' (in or outside home).
- 2- Mention some of the daily situations where you have been blamed by the use of the word 'Eib' (by a family member or a colleague).

Some selected Arabic dictionaries have defined the Arabic word **عيب** 'Eib' as follows.

- 1- Taj Al-Aroos,

Sociolinguistics, New York, Routledge, 2019, p.9

² For more details, see Bawafrah www.alukah.net.

³ Dr. M.S. Abdullahi-Idiagbon. Language, Identity and Power in the Quranic Story of Moses: A Sociolinguistic Survey.

⁴ Translated from the Arabic book 'Elm Ellogha' (i.e. The Science of Language), by Dr. Abdulkareem Bufrah, Faculty of Arts, Mohammed Alawal University, Morocco.

This dictionary defines the Arabic word عيب 'Eib' as: 'Eib' is a defect or fault.

2- Lisan Al-Arab,
This dictionary defines the mentioned word as 'stigma and fault'.

3- The Dictionary of Contemporary Arabic,
This dictionary has defined the word as 'defects, evil, flawed lies and gambling'.

Though all Arabic dictionaries have suggested similar meanings to the word 'Eib', Yemeni speakers use it in a wide variety of meanings than it carries in the mentioned dictionaries. The daily uses of 'Eib' among Yemeni people exceeds to the gender use to express specific gender domain among Yemeni women.

2- Language, Culture and Communication

The linguistic circulation of some words in our daily life makes it surprising as how a word has a broader meaning than it carries in the dictionary. The meaning found in a dictionary of some words is not applicable to the use of these words in most of the daily situations. Speakers of a specific language tend to extend the linguistic uses of some words more than these words carry in the standard form of that language. They adopt some uses of a word as they get it from their parents, families, societies and thus the use of the word is passed on from generation to another so that it becomes part of their linguistic heritage. Such linguistic phenomenon occurs among Yemeni speakers as they use words that are not in correspond with the meaning exists in a dictionary. Sometimes the use of the language has to do with culture rather than the linguistic rules and restrictions. Sometimes a language has to do in relation to culture rather than linguistic rules and restrictions. In fact, this could account why the

researcher has decided to work on this linguistic phenomenon in particular.

A language of any nation can be looked at and analysed based on its culture for better understanding the impact of each other. Rangriz, p.1 in her paper " The Relationship between Language and Culture", has argued that "It is generally agreed that language and culture are closely related". It is due to the direct relation between language and culture that many researchers came to know that culture plays a significant role in shaping a language. According to Yağiz, p.3 in his paper stated that "Vereshagn and Kastamarov (1990) had been recognized as language founders, in their book title "Language and Culture," and argued that though people speak a common language, they may not properly understand each other due to intercultural differences".

According to Wardhaugh, there are several possible relationships between language and culture. One is that social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behaviour⁵. In some cases, a speaker tends to use a word in a linguistic situation without fully aware of its origin and meaning. He only uses it because it is of a common use in his/her linguistic environment. For example, Yemenis use the word طز 'toz', which is of Turkish origin that means 'salt' in Turkish. However, in everyday linguistic situations, Yemenis use this word to express their

⁵ Rangriz , Samaneh ' The Relationship between Language and Culture. Journal of Applied Linguistics and Language Research Volume 4, Issue 6, 2017, pp. 209-213

anger, rejection, dissatisfaction, apathy and irony.⁶

Consequently, there are many similar words that are used in some linguistic situations in which that word express a meaning that is different from the meaning that the word has in the standard dictionaries. For example, the Arabic word *shatter* (i.e. clever) is commonly used by Yemenis in their daily conversation in situations that reflect the prevailing culture in society. Thus, such a wide use of the word rather than what is stipulated in the linguistic dictionary creates a kind of ambiguity and difficulty for a foreigner to understand them.

Surely, by using language, we learn who we are and how others see us. It is a medium through which identity and the exercise of authority are highlighted. Of all means of communication, language is perhaps the most effective. Communication is seen by Jaworski, p. 23 as a "ritual process that gives callers an opportunity to create and make copies of their individual identity to the public". Therefore, the communication process is incomplete without the audience being sensitive. After all, communication that is appropriate in an environment may turn into fatal error elsewhere. Consequently, we must attribute these to sociolinguistics in how language works, how to distinguish a language that is affected by the individual's perception, culture and level of instruction. How does the language pattern intertwine with different social situations and relate them to linguistic attitudes? We are convinced that the use of a

sociolinguistic approach is concerned with the use of language; how do we address and who do we address?

2.1 Sociolinguistics Background

A sociolinguistic study of language use uncovers the way a social identity of an individual or a particular people is signaled. It probes into various functions of language in accordance with social institutions in the society. As Owens, p. 51 has stated; "any aspect of language which correlates with sociological categories may be included in sociolinguistics". In his study, *Basic Concepts In Sociolinguistics*, Halima, p.1 states that sociolinguistics "differs from sociology of language in that the focus of sociolinguistics is the effect of the society on the language, whereas the latter's interest is on the language's effect on the society."

Social semiotics, as S, P. 3 states that "Hodge and Kress (1994) prefer to call sociolinguistics, studies conventional codes and behaviors of an individual or a body. The term embodies styles and ideologies and what they symbolize in society. According to Hodge and Kress, styles and ideologies are composed of words and other linguistic forms used to depict social class and power struggle. S, p.3 adds that "Fishman (1972) is of the opinion that language is undisputedly a social act, and that society exerts a considerable influence on language attitudes and choice. Like Fishman, Hodge also asserts that sociolinguistics looks into how various social contexts or settings determine a particular form of language. From the foregoing, one can deduce that two major interacting factors have a reciprocal influence on each other, namely; language and society. Thus, the sociolinguistic variables are classified into social and linguistic variables. In his publication, Kamala, p 3 states that the term 'society' is easily defined as "any group

⁶ For more details about the origin of this word, please see this website [https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%B7%D8%B2_\(%D9%83%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A9](https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%B7%D8%B2_(%D9%83%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A9)

of people who are drawn together for a certain purpose or purposes, (wardhaugh 1)".⁷

Social variables encompass age, gender, status, and role of discourse participants as well as the setting. Age consideration includes both physical and mental maturity of the speakers. Gender factor also determines a number of things in society. As Eckert *et al* suggests, "Gender is embedded so thoroughly in our institutions, our actions, our beliefs, and our desires, that it appears to us to be completely natural"⁸. For instance, greater percentage of physical and mental allocation of tasks is given to male than female though the proportion varies from culture to culture. In Nigeria, as an example, many people believe that top secrets and sensitive issues are not supposed to be discussed with females. This traditional belief is captured in a Yoruba proverb which says that "females have no secrets".

Setting or context is another social variable that affects language choice and variation. Setting dictates the formality or informality scale of language use. Either of these styles is facilitated by the role-relation. In other words, it is the scale of social distance which defines the level of intimacy or distance that exists within communicators. Similarly, the status of interact is significant; a group's or an individual's low or high status affects the level and manner of communication. Burke, p. 157 states that "Crystal and Davy (1969) suggested that the role and status of language user impose certain restraints on what and how s/he speaks and consequently determining the particular set of linguistic forms which a speaker is at liberty to use". All these

social variables, in turn, exert considerable effects on linguistic variables.

The linguistic variables have to do with language choice and variation. Social variables like setting, status, profession and age influence language choice thereby serving as means of identification. Linguistic variation, on the other hand, is concerned with formal properties of language such as morphological, syntactic, lexical and phonological systems. Both social and linguistic variables are inextricably tied to how language is used by speakers in different settings for different purposes. The interdependence of the language and society underscore the enormous effects they have on the inhabitants of a particular society.

2. The Importance of the Study:

The current study tries to explore one of the most important issues in the field of both; sociolinguistics as well as sociology. From the perspective of sociolinguistics, it tries to investigate the way that society effects on the language. The Yemeni society formulates the use of some Arabic words like Eib "Shame" in their daily linguistic situations. However, from the perspective of sociology; it tries to find out the language's effect on the society. Yemeni speakers use some Arabic vocabulary in some linguistic situations to carry a meaning that is not existed in the Arabic dictionaries that have been consulted by the researcher.

3. Methodology:

3.1. Population

Based on the nature of the current study, the study is basically descriptive and analytical study. The researcher has collected the data from

⁷ ckert, Penelope, et al, Language and Gender. Second Edition. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

some Yemeni Females M.A and B.A. students, English Department, Faculty of Arts, Tamar University. The population of the group was 21 students of the M.A. students and 45 B.A students. Thus, the whole population was 56 students. The researcher purposefully decided to take these students to be his sampling because all these students were his students so that he makes sure that the response will be reliable and trustful. He also was also able to contact them at any time to get back the response and make sure that his paper would be submitted on time in the line frame time of the conference. In addition, as a Yemeni native speaker, the personal experience of the researchers has played a crucial role in shaping the course of the study.

3.2. Sampling

The researcher has randomly taken 15 female students from both programs, M.A and B.A, Faculty of Arts, Dhamar University. The research made sure that the number is sizable and of four Yemeni governorates; Dhamar, Sana'a, Taiz and Ibb. The following two questions were presented before all the random selected informants;

1- Mention some of the daily situations where you have been using the word 'Eib' (in or outside home).

2- Mention some of the daily situations where you have been blamed by the use of the word 'Eib' (by a family member or a colleague)

In fact, descriptive and analytical methods have been adopted to tackle the main theme of the current study. It is hoped that the outcomes of the study will open up a new scope in the field of Arabic linguistics, especially sociolinguistics, for coming researchers to study similar lexical items and study the corresponding causes behind such different semantic changes.

4. The Data that being Collected

After the researcher has distributed his two aforementioned questions among the selected informants, the researcher has received the following response:

The first informant is 36 year-old M. A. student. She said "Actually there are many situations in which I use the word عيب Eib daily. For example, when my sister speaks or laughs loudly, especially if there are guests at home, I blame her using the word Eib". She added, I use it when my son eats impolitely, and when he asks other children on private matters, like ' does your mother sleep with your father in the same room? I say Eib for a girl to go to gym or public swimming pools. I say Eib for a girl to apply make-up on her face or nails, especially if visible to her father, elder brothers or outsiders.

She added, "I use this word when my son takes off his clothes in front of others, etc." Regarding the second question, she said "for me this is the most frequent word I used to hear from my mother when I was young and for many different situations like, going back home late, speaking loudly, getting up late in the morning, sitting with old people listening to their chatting, playing with boys, and even with my elder brothers". She added, my mother used to tell me you are a girl, so it is عيب Eib to play or sit with boys.

The second informant is 35-year-old M.A. student, English Dept. Faculty of Arts, Dhamar University. She said 'the word عيب Eib has two main uses; negative and positive. As a negative use, it is used to blame a child, children or teenagers when behaving badly or uttering bad words to each other. I say Eib for a girl who chats, either on Facebook or on WhatsApp,

with a person who is not one of her Mahram (i.e. a lawful company). Regarding the use of mobile, the researcher can add a piece of information from his own experience. One day, I told my wife to call her female friend and ask about our son whether he is in their house or not. My wife replied that the lady is not at home, she travelled to Sana'a. I told my wife that she could call the elder daughter of that lady and ask about the son, my wife replied " she does not have mobile, in their tribe it is Eib for unmarried girls to use mobile". This small response from my wife could attract my attention to the use of the word Eib.

The word is also used among the adults to blame a person for behaving against our morality, culture or religion. For example, we say it is Eib that *so and so* to act like this, you are an adult! I also say Eib for a girl to carry a weapon or join the army. According to Zubida, 'the word can be also used in a positive way as in a smart blame among friends and relatives. For example, in a case you do a favour for a friend and he/she says *thanx*, you tell him/her Eib we are friends/brothers (i.e. do not mention it)'. She added 'I used to hear the word Eib when I was a school student. Our teacher used this word repeatedly to say it is Eib that you behave like this, or it is Eib of not working hard.'

The third informant is 26-year-old, B.A. student in the English Dept. Faculty of Arts, Dhamar University. She said ' I use the word عيب Eib in many daily situations like;

1- When a girl raises her voice in the existence of some guests at our home. 2- When a girl appears as a bareheaded and her hair becomes visible to her father, elder brother or a guest. 3- When a child talks about sexual affairs. 4- If a woman walks without veil in public places. 5- We

use this word to reprove a child for untruly behaviour or speech. 6- It is Eib that a boy or a man gets dressed like a woman. 7- It is Eib for a man to sit or stand in balcony because that will harm and annoy the neighbours. 8- It is 'Eib' for a man to help his wife in cooking affairs at the presence of guests at home. 9- We use this word to blame girls when they play with boys. 10- It is Eib that girls contact and chat with boys on any platform of social media. 11- It is Eib that a girl displays her photos on the social media platforms. 12- It is Eib that a woman travels without Mahram (i.e. a lawful company). 13- It is Eib that a girl or a woman goes out at night alone without company. 14- It is Eib that a fiancee contacts her fiancé. 15- It is Eib for a child to ask his/her mother or father a question like, how I was born?. Or how I come to life? Or where is Allah? And how does Allah look like?, etc.

She added "I say Eib for a girl to raise her voice on her parents or elder brothers and for a young girl to sleep with her parents in the bedroom, and for a girl to listen to or talk about sex affairs, and for a girl to dress up like men, because that is haram in our religion". She added " I hear the word Eib, either from my father, mother or elder brother in similar situations that I have mentioned above. I have also recently heard the word Eib from my mother when I reject accepting marriage to my cousin.

The fourth informant is a 32-year-old, M.A student in the English Dept. Faculty of Arts, Thamar University. She said' I use this word in different situations like when a person tells a lie, says something impolite, if he/she does not respect elderly people, for one with bad behaviour, for one who acts illegally, and when a person over hears or over looks at people's house. In addition, I say Eib for a child to clean his/her nose in front of others,

especially during a meal. I also say Eib for a girl to make her hair visible to her father, elder brothers or other outsiders. I say Eib for a girl to remove her dress at neighbour house.

I also say Eib for a girl to stay with a male in isolation who is not her Mahram (i.e. lawful person like father, brother, etc.) even on a bus".

She added 'I hear this word from my parents if I reject their suggestions, especially some suggestions related to social affairs. I also used to hear this word from my elder brothers and parents when I was watching a movie on a TV and there is show of love affairs or kissing. My father or mother quickly change the TV channel and says Eib. In addition, my mother used to use this word to blame me if I comb my hair in front of my father or elder brother, uncle, cousin, etc.'

In her answer, the fifth informant of 25-year-old B.A student, English Dept. Faculty of Arts, Tamar University, has stated ' I use this word widely in different situations as follows:

- I say Eib for a girl who is married and not obeying her husband and his parents.
- I use it to blame my little sister if she tries to remove her clothes in front of others.
- If my little sister or brother raises his/her voice against my mother.
- It is Eib to ask a woman about her age.
- It is Eib for a person to make a joke during obsequies or sadness.
- It is Eib to ask a woman if she is married or not.
- In case I see my little sister goes to eat in our neighbour's house.
- I always use this word to blame my sister if she asks the neighbour's child about what did they have on their lunch or breakfast, etc.
- I use it to blame my friend if I realised that she was sick and did not

call me for help. Or if she was in need for money or for some other services and she didn't let me know about that.'

In answering the second question, she said, I used to hear this word from my mother a lot in situations like speaking loudly in the existence of some guests at our house, entering the room in which men are sitting with my father, trying to repeatedly ask my father for money, comb my hair in the existence of my elder brother or my father, if I go shopping alone and come back home late, etc.'

The sixth informant is 34 year- old. She said, ' the word Eib is of a common use in our society and I hear it among both sexes; males and females.' She added, 'I hear this word from my parents at the time of bad behaviour either by me or by my little sisters. For example, one day we were watching the TV together with my parents then we saw a girl riding a bicycle, my father started laughing at that girl and said, 'curse upon you, it is very shame.' It is Eib for a woman to drive a car, bicycle, bike, etc.' He added ' such girls who play football, go swimming, drive or ride a bicycle are cursed women because they behave like men'. Sameera has added that ' for me, I use the word Eib in many situations, to blame others for specific deeds or behaviour. For example, I tell my little sister it is Eib to not obey our parents or elder brothers. It is Eib for a girl to watch a movie full of love scenes, kissing, flirtatious situations, etc. Such movies destroy our moralities, etc. It is Eib for a girl to play football even among a female team". She has added that it is very Eib for a Yemeni female to join the army because that is only confined to males. It is Eib for a female to walk in the street with uncovered face. She added, "It is Eib for a Yemeni female who sits with a male who is not part of her relatives." Say Eib to a girl who

removes her trousers or shorts in front of her father, elder brothers or other people except her mother or husband if she is married. She finished, "I say Eib to a girl who spreads her underwear clothes in a place visible either to her father, elder brothers or outsiders."

The seventh informant is a B.A. student, Faculty of Arts, Dhamar University. She said "I say Eib for a girl who sings or dances in front of others.

I say Eib to a woman who leaves her husband's house at the Great Eid.

I say Eib to a child who defecates in front of others in public places." She added, "I say Eib to my university friend if he starts talking to me about love affairs.

I say Eib to my little sister if she sits on the ground and her legs astride. I say Eib to a girl who rides a bike or a bicycle.

I say Eib to a girl who watches amorous movies".

5. Data Analysis:

Going through some of the data obtained from informants out of whom some has been presented above, the researcher could find that the word Eib 'shame' has a wide variety of usage than it can lexicographically bear. Based on their responses, almost all the informants have agreed that the word Eib is used among Yemeni female to mean shame. Their use of the word Eib can be discussed under two main categories; cultural and religious. For example, the first informant has said that her mother used to blame her using the word Eib when she plays or sits with boys.

Culturally, in Yemen, it is not accepted that a female plays or sits with a male who is not a member of her Maharem. If a girl was found to play or sit with a boy, her relatives aggressively attack her with bad words

like impolite and rude. They make a bad image and rumour against her so that she cannot get married due to her bad and uncultured norms. In the age of five to 10, girl should not play or sit with boys at all. She has added that even when a child is eating, he/she should respect the cultural norms like, laughing at the time of eating is impolite, looking at the face of a person beside you on the meal is impolite behaviour, cleaning ones nose during the meal is also impolite, etc. Similarly, the first informant has stated that the common use of the word Eib is connected to religious factors. For example, she uses the word Eib to blame her little brother or sister when he/she changes her/his clothes in front of others. Islam has regulated this issue that when a person wants to change his clothes, he/she should do that in isolation. Islam has restricted the respect of people's privacy just to save their genitals.

Based on the second informant, she said that she uses the word Eib to, according to social norms, blame a friend of doing something of saying something in favour of respectful that exceeds the social and cultural attitudes. On the contrary, she said that the word Eib has a wide use like of behaving or speaking in a dogmatic manner. For example, in the Holy Quran, a person should walk humbly without vanity or snobbery. A Muslim must be kind with others, especially elderly people. A person who is abiding by religious rules is not foulmouthed at all. Similarly, the third informant has agreed with the previous informant to suggest that the word Eib is used to blame a person of behaving in a way that does not correspond with the cultural attitudes. She adds that we use the word Eib to blame a child to ask questions related to Allah Oneness like, "how I was born? Or how I come to life? Or where is Allah? And how

does Allah look like?" as she mentioned.

To conclude, the above-mentioned discussions of using the word Eib, one can find that the two scope of such uses can vary between both scopes; culture and religion.

- Cultural Reasons behind using the word Eib

As a Yemeni researcher, I am fully aware of the cultural barriers that community people; either educated or uneducated, should abide by. Even a person who has travelled abroad and got in a direct touch with people of other nations, he finds himself well-strained with his cultural background. He/she finds it very difficult to get rid of either full or a part of his cultural attitudes after coming back to his homeland. For example, a Yemeni person who travelled abroad with his wife can go shopping, go to cinema, have a picnic; his wife can either drive or ride a bike, etc. His wife can accompany him in all the aforementioned situations and do some other activities with uncovered face (i.e. without veil).

The female informants of the current study have presented some of these common cultural habits spread among people of the Yemeni societies. To show the direct connection between the uses of the word Eib among Yemeni females and their culture, we can shed light on some of the cultural barriers that presented by the informants using the word Eib which are as follows;

- A girl or a woman should not, after washing her under wear clothes, spread them in a place where people can see them.
- It is impolite behaviour for a child to clean his/her nose while taking a meal.
- It is culturally bad for a girl to sleep with her parents in the bedroom.

- It is culturally Eib for a girl to go to cinema or to the swimming pool.

Thus, the above-mentioned situations disclose the various uses of the word Eib by Yemeni females.

However, in some other linguistic environment, Yemeni females use the word Eib to replace the expression 'impermissible from the point of view Islam'. For example, it is not permissible for a female to sit with a male who is not her Mahram, as the fourth informant has mentioned in her reply ". I say Eib for a girl to stay with a male in isolation who is not from her Mahram (i.e. a lawful company like father, brother, uncle, etc.) even on a bus".

In such situation, the fifth informant has said that she uses the word Eib "If my little sister or brother raises his/her voice against my mother." In this case, the informant uses the word to express what is impermissible by religion just in regulating the behaviour among the family members, especially among parents and their sons and daughters. Islam prohibits a male or a female to raise his/her voice while talking to their parents.

On the same way, the first informant has also used the word Eib to express impermissible act that goes against Islam instructions. She said, "I say Eib for a girl to apply make-up on her body, especially on that parts like lips, eyelash, eyebrow, nails, etc. that are visible to her father, elder brothers or outsiders. In Islam, a female is only allowed to apply make-up just in a festival where only other women will attend like a wedding ceremony, etc. She can also apply make up at home in favour of her husband but not in public places. Similarly, the third informant has stated that she uses the word Eib to blame a girl that appears in front of outsiders as bareheaded or even if her hair partially visible to people. She

said, "I use the word Eib when a girl appears as baredheaded and her hair becomes visible to her father, elder brothers, or outsiders."

Again, Islam has regulated the woman behaviour and considers that showing of a woman's hair either partially or totally as a kind of attraction and temptation that tempts youth and can lead to committing Moharamat (i.e. something forbidden from Islamic perspective). Thus, based on the data analysis, the researcher has reached the following findings;

- Yemeni speakers use the word Eib 'shame', like much other vocabulary in their daily linguistic situations in which these words do not bear the exact meanings in the Arabic dictionaries or in standard Arabic.

- The word Eib has been in current use by Yemeni speakers' rejections or disguise of specific phenomenon from either cultural or religious perspective.

The current study can open a wide range of future studies on the uses of similar words either in Yemeni Arabic or of any other Arabic speaking countries. Such linguistic studies can enrich the Arabic sociolinguistics and open a new spectrum in the field of academy. It is through the type of studies that common and simple users of a language can become aware of using the right word for a right situation. This will break the barriers in front of outsiders or foreign users of a language to become familiar with the correct linguistic uses of a language words.

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