CHAPTER FOUR

EUPHEMISM IN ENGLISH

4.1. Preliminaries
Avoiding being savage or impolite is a way practised in all societies. People, in fact, when interacting with each other, try to be as much nice and courteous as possible. Otherwise, it would be a sign for one of the parties that his/her partner is aggressive and insulting, when involved in a conversation. In other words, s/he is neither courteous nor polite.

Euphemism (1), as a linguistic device, is used to avoid taboo words and acts which are prohibited and banned by norms and traditions. Mild expressions are used to tiptoe around rude ones and protect people. Euphemisms are, as described by Barnett (1972:191), the alchemy by which things are achieved and fulfilled. This fact is reflected through the wide use of euphemisms and the continuous coinage or borrowing of new words and expressions to stand for their unpleasant counterparts. Because of its status in language, regardless of the motives behind this use, many studies are still devoted to explore as many aspects as possible. Even motivations behind these studies vary, it will be discussed later.

This chapter focuses on euphemism in English: concept and definition, history (how it was developed in language) and etymology (source and how it entered into English), semantic and pragmatic angles regarding euphemism are discussed. Finally, euphemisms vary in different cultures and societies to express unspeakable matters nicely and gently.

4.2. Definitions
Its role in social interaction urges researches and those who are interested in digging deep into this topic as much as they can; that is why definitions
are not difficult to find in authentic sources (2). Two of the most prominent linguists, i.e. Allan and Burridge (1991:11) and (1992:1) define euphemism as "alternative to a dispreferred expression, in order to avoid possible loss of face: either one's own face or, through giving offence, that of the audience, or of some third party".

Due to the distinctive relationship that connects euphemism to taboo, taboo issues stimulate the evolution of euphemism. Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2003:479) depict this relation by giving the definition for euphemism as "expressions (words or phrases) used to replace taboo words or avoid unpleasant subjects." It reveals what topics or things are considered taboo so that the society where they are used can move forward to find replacements that are milder and more acceptable alternatives. There is an agreement, in their dictionaries, between the definition of Richards et al (1992) and Funk (1978) where euphemism is defined as "the use of a word which is thought to be less offensive or unpleasant than another word" and it "is a mild and agreeable expression for the disagreeable thing", respectively. Thus, he went to his return and pass away are milder than 'die'.

Similarly, Ayto (1994), in his Dictionary of Difficult Words, explains that euphemism of harsher or vulgar words is replaced by milder and preferable ones. The same can be said about that of Dictionary of Slang by Thompson (1999: vii). He lists the most distinctive features of euphemism as follows:

1- An expression substituted for a negative connotation.
2- To avoid embarrassment or raise the status of a certain concept.
3- A synonym of a lower status word or phrase.
4- In mixed company, it helps to avoid the harsher expressions of all-male groups and the typical speech of certain levels of society, namely the lower one.

5- Finally, euphemisms signify and tell your partner to avoid sexual overture, especially the ones who talk about sexual issues.

Aik and Hui (2009:195) define euphemism as a pleasant expression for something that is not pleasant, whereas Alexander (2003: 90) sees it as a matter of making unpalatable subject more acceptable by using a disarming expression.

4.3 Etymology of 'Euphemism'

The word euphemism is Greek in origin. It means "speak fair", according to Onions (1966:330) and Fowler (1859:648). Funk (1978:14) tells us much about its history and usage since the 'eu' in Greek means 'well', and 'phem' means 'speak'. Similarly, he adds that other words came into English through the prefix 'eu'. A eulogy, for instance, came from eu 'well' and 'lego' that means a spoken or written laudation of a person. Euphonious means well-sounding (phone, 'sound'); evangelist is from euangelos. Eu 'well' and angelos,' messenger', and eugenic is Greek that means 'well born' since genos means 'race' in that language. More clarification is given by Partridge (1983:189) about its morphology; euphemism, euphemistic, and euphemize. The word 'euphemize' is derived from the Greek word 'euphe'mizein', to use expressions of good omens or to speak favourably. He adds that eu, well+a c/f of 'phanai' to speak so that derivative euphe'mismos comes euphemism.

Euphemism means, according to Onions (1966:330), the replacement of a favourable expression for a more accurate but offensive one. The word
'accurate', as it is thought, reflects its fact being religious since the verb 'phemi', to speak, is in the imperative form to warn the worshippers to utter no words but accurate and befitting terms when in the temple, (Bryant, 1948:332). This point indicates the first and the original motivation, being religious, behind the use of euphemistic expressions in language.

4.4 History of Euphemism
This section is devoted to parade how euphemism was dealt with by people throughout history and what polices were adopted to develop its position in these societies.

Greeks
Euphemism can be traced back to the earliest civilizations, and is as old as the existence of human societies. This manifests, of course, the vital role this phenomenon plays in shaping the manners and behaviour of individuals of a society. The source of the word, euphemism, is fair enough to give an idea about the old history where it has been living. In the time of the Greeks, people named the furies the Eumeindes 'the friendly ones'. This tradition, giving good and beautiful names to bad ones, was followed by societies that came after them. Evidently, they were the first who distinguished between human and animal excrement, the Greek word 'skat' (means shit) gives the currently word 'scatology', and referred euphemistically to language that is filthy, dirty or unwholesomely related to faeces, (Hughes, 2006:15 and 410).

In their *An Introduction to Language*, Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2003:479) confirm this history by the reference to the Greek historian Plutarch of the first century who recorded what the ancient people of
Athena used to do; auspicious and nice terms were given instead of ugly ones. For euphemistic reasons, harlots, taxes, and prisons were called, at that time, companions, contributions, and chambers respectively.

**Romans**

Like the Greeks, the Romans shared the reason behind the wide and early use of euphemism which was basically religious, (Wajnryb, 2004:89). When Latin is used in the Roman service, it masks the venue and occasion as different and worthy of particular reverence. Even the language of protestant service, which insists on a common understating by the congregation, may be of an archaic register and this is marked as different….the special language associated with a particular place, such as a house of God, will develop its own mystique, the more so if it is intermeshed with power and privilege.

Not only did the Romans employ that in their traditions and norms but it was even included in their law. The restrictions on curses or swearing, for example, were legislated in their earlier body of law. The reason was, as stated, due to their faith that swearing was not free-for-all and it should be taken seriously. Who, where, when, and why could curses be used were the limits on such policy, as Wajnryb (2005:125) explains.

**Anglo – Saxon**

The source of four-letter words (swearing), as Hughes (1998:34-5) notes, was Anglo-Saxon. These words were innuendos and direct reference to sex, although people were urged to be very cautions before giving vent to feelings or a boast. Being cautious, here, does not mean there was prohibition or restrictions against uttering dirty words and deeds upheld in that society. Although the reticence is an honour, linguistic mode at this
stage of the culture and the verbal responses of the Anglo-Saxon take on an altogether fiercer tone when honour is at stake, as Hughes (1998:44) explains.

**Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century**

Both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were eventful regarding euphemism; it flourished to the extent that acts were codified to impose official and local censorship on the use of bad language. This period, not surprisingly, witnessed the first organized form of linguistic censorship. Fines and monetary penalties, as Allan and Burridge (2009:380) state, were imposed to put an end to or decrease the use of foul language in society. Even the Elizabethan theatre was under censorship by what was called at that time the Master of the Revels (3), though the theatre was a new and thriving public activity, (Hughes, 2006:415).

The rise of religious groups which were considered a threat to the state, like the Renters (4), was a justification to codify legislations against foul language. All of them, the laws and the rules, were to suppress and silence the opinions of these groups. The role of the Puritans was obvious and salient because they were the major group affected by profanity. They were involved in the civil war; and foul language was one of their enemies they declared war upon as well. In the first half of the seventeenth century (1640-1649), the linguistic and political censorship declined, in spite of the attempts to reactivate censorship, the theatre was closed in 1642. The blasphemy Act of 1650 was to assert the Puritan morality over the English nation. Its aim was not to suppress the sign of profane swearing; rather it was to suppress these groups and their serious and fanatic opinions. For more details, see McEnery (2006:64) and Hughes (2006:415).
Victorian Age

This period of time, the Victorian age, was a landmark and a real turning point in the history of euphemism. Both sides (east and west) of the Atlantic witnessed a positive change towards the support and reinforcement of euphemism in their life. Thus, prudery and decency reached its peak and climax, especially after Queen Victoria was enthroned in 1838. Wajnryb (2005:244) believes that the Victorian age was "the age of prudery (that) poured fuel on the fire of taboo, generating a host of euphemisms so that people could sidestep the land mines and still make their meanings."

To eliminate and put an end to the dirty language, represented by swearwords, was by reacti vating censorship, though it had been used before this age. But at this period of time, the process was very serious. Because of his low comedy sexual innuendo works, William Shakespeare was in his time, for instance, successful in veiling eroticism through euphemistic metaphors. Burridge (2005:38-9) elaborates that the Victorian writers were highly skillful in writing sexual humour without even using a single sex word. Once again, as a method of censorship, sanitizing and purging the dirty words from the texts were the priorities of people.

A wealthy Scottish physician, Thomas Bowdler, was the first volunteer to do that in the beginning of this era. He undertook the mission of creating versions of the original texts, adding nothing to the original text, but omitting the words and expressions that cannot be read aloud in a family gathering. In other words, he wrote what was called the "Family Shakespeare." He presented two things together: clean Shakespeare and his name because of this process, purging all swearwords from a text, was
called bowdlerization after him, (Shipley, 1984:103). One may ask a question; what happened after practising all these policies? Simply, the answer is avoiding terms that might embarrass ladies, as it was at the peak during the days of Queen Victoria. For example, the table legs were called *limbs* while they covered the legs in little frilly pants. The terms *white* and *dark* meat, for example, were invented for the leg and breast of chicken for the use in a polite company. Additionally, they were uncomfortable with the physical side of human existence so that they created euphemisms for the functions of human body. For more details see Baily (2007:201) and Carnog (1998:95).

**Twentieth Century**

At the turn of the twentieth century, political, cultural, social, and economic factors came together to influence all dimensions of life. The change in ideologies adopted by people was the key to all other changes especially those which emerged after the two world wars. Society in Europe and America was no longer religious, or it had some tangible glimpse that religion had no place and role in society. Hughes (2006:151) adds that in modern society where secularism and democracy dominate, one cannot stop others using offensive or dirty terms. If censorship in the last centuries covered, as it has been seen, the spoken and written language, it is only in print culture where it can be enforced.

In the late part of the 20th century, according to Wardaugh (1986:235), a considerable change with regard to euphemism and taboo has been observed, and certain social restrictions have loosened. Regardless of this, the use of euphemistic or polite language has increased considerably so that certain sectors in life were expressed in an acceptable way,
euphemism allows members of society to speak of unpleasant things or disguise or neutralize the bad.

More attention and focus were given to other areas like business, commerce, and industry. The most dangerous four-letter words may be used to gauge whether society is polite or not when included in the dictionaries. In the main English dictionaries, these words were not included from 1728 till 1960s.

4.5 Euphemism and Dysphemism

It has already been stated that euphemism is the opposite of taboo. Euphemism is, according to Mott (2009:195), an evasive kind of expression used to avoid making an offense, or resorted to through prudishness or a desire to propitiate, or to avoid embarrassment". It is mainly employed to hide the truth and control anger and sense of outrage. They are used to maintain the social fabric of society, when individuals communicate with each other.

Burridge (1998:62, 74) adds that euphemism is a matter of saying the right thing to a partner, taking into account the place and time. It creates harmony and strengthens the social fabric by avoiding the things which threaten the cause of distress and offense. Its motivation is to avoid loss of face by the speaker, the hearer, or the third party. When employed, it serves as in-group strategy (that you are related to the group in interaction). However, if you are not a part of that gang, euphemism turns to dysphemism, (Burridge, 2005:38).

Dysphemism, on the other hand, is defined by Allan and Burridge (1991:26) as "an expression with connotations that are offensive either about the dentatum or to the audience, or both, and it is substituted for
neutral euphemistic expression for just that reason." Todd (2006:62) states that dysphemism is the opposite of euphemism. However, they share most of the same strategies when expressing issues. These are ways of being particularly offensive or disparaging when talking about something. In other words, the use of euphemism is to make negative and offensive subject sound positive, whereas dysphemism is used to make the positive thing sound euphemistically offensive or negative. Both euphemism and dysphemism are utilized in political and social discourse to identify the identity of the political and social stance of their users, see Darwish (2010:216).

The expressions used in dysphemism are curses, name-calling, and any sort of derogatory comment directed towards others either to offend or harm them. Like dysphemism, one of the features of euphemism is being not necessarily a property of the word itself, but of the way we use it. It is deliberate in the sense that speakers can create a sort of style (formal or informal) while interacting. This can be reflected in the following examples:

1. Excuse me for a moment.
2. I am off to have a piss.

Here, the difference in style is considerable; it depends on the situation individuals are in.

Unlike dysphemism, according to Allan and Burridge (2006:51-3), euphemism involves a double think, which means depending on a certain context, what is unspeakable in a certain context can be speakable by using synonyms that avoid dysphemism. This reveals the ability of human
beings in general to hold contradictory points of view. Table (12) shows some euphemistic expressions and their dysphemistic counterparts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Dysphemism</th>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Dysphemism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>seed (semen)</td>
<td>spank, spoof</td>
<td>careful</td>
<td>mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generous</td>
<td>spendthrift</td>
<td>strong minded</td>
<td>plain obstinate</td>
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<tr>
<td>bathroom</td>
<td>Toilet</td>
<td>pass away</td>
<td>kick the bucket</td>
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<tr>
<td>hound</td>
<td>Cur</td>
<td>loo</td>
<td>shithouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my bits</td>
<td>my cunts</td>
<td>have a period</td>
<td>bleed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poo</td>
<td>Shit</td>
<td>Deterrent</td>
<td>threat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invited (with armies)</td>
<td>aggressors</td>
<td>freedom fighter</td>
<td>terrorist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tactical withdrawal</td>
<td>regression</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>Chinese (for example)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play with oneself</td>
<td>self abuse, solitary sin</td>
<td>international student</td>
<td>foreign student</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (12) shows euphemistic expressions and their dysphemistic counterparts

**Euphemism and Taboo**

Euphemism is used to make taboo and harsh issues milder and more acceptable. The use of euphemism for this purpose is not new. Fromkin, Rodman, Hyams (2003:479) explain that this use dates back to the ancient Athenians who used to call filthy things with auspicious and milder terms so that they called prison a 'chamber' and harlots 'companions'. In other words, taboo words stimulate the formation and use of euphemisms. However, there are certain differences and features euphemism and taboo words have.

As far as euphemisms and the process of euphemizing are concerned, according to Thompson (1999), they have the following features:
1- A euphemism is a replacement for an expression which has acquired negative connotations.

2- A euphemism is a synonym for a word or phrase of lower status.

3- Euphemistic expressions are shields used to protect oneself or one's audience from embarrassment, shock, or emotional discomfort.

4- Euphemisms are used in a polite sexually mixed company to avoid the harsh terms from all-male groups.

5- Euphemisms are used in a polite company to avoid typical speech of lower levels of society.

6- Additionally, they are sustainable as long as they retain good connotations.

7- Finally, they reflect the level of education of their users. The more euphemistic expressions are used by a speaker, the more educated s/he is.

Taboo words, on the other hand, have these characteristic features:

1- Taboo expressions have bad connotations.

2- Taboos, as Allan and Burridge (2006:7) mention, are 'dangerous to the individual and to his/her society; they can lead to death or illness.' They are subject to social and constitutionalized imposition of censorship.

3- They are an outcome of constraints on the individual's behaviour and are used in religious, social, or psychological context.

4- They are the sources of embarrassment, shock, and discomfort.

5- They are expressed in forms of swearwords and curses. Using taboo words is to dispel and vent emotional tensions and psychological discomfort.

6- Unlike euphemism, taboo words lower the status of the expression they refer to.

7- De Klerk (1992:288) explains that taboo words are subject to a constant process of change over time. Geography is another factor in this
process. Fromkin, Rodman, Hyams (2003:476) emphasize that what is acceptable in a certain area is not so in another area and vice versa. A taboo behaviour has to be prosecuted, it must be perceived in some way a source of danger to an individual or society.

8- Taboo words reflect an in-group social relationship. Swan (2005:565) states that "using this sort of language generally indicates membership of a group: one most often swears in the company of people one knows well, who belong to one's own social circle, age group etc."

9- The use of taboo words is associated with males more than females and people who are less educated.

In Brief, according to this comparison, euphemisms are the opposite of taboo words.

4.6 Doublespeak or Circumlocution

It is obvious that euphemistic expressions are the replacements of undesirable or unpleasant ones. People in society parade their potentials represented by structures and devices to fulfill their goals.

Doublespeak or circumlocution is an interchangeable term and mentioned when euphemism is focused on. This term was invented by English professor William Lutz, who defined it as "language that only pretends to communicate, that makes the bad seem good, the negative appear positive, the unpleasant attractive, or at least tolerant. It is the language that avoids, shifts, or denies responsibility, language that conceals or prevents thought", see also Gladney and Rittenberg (2005:2) and Burridge, 2005:172-3).

Katamba (2005:192) explains that doublespeak is a type of euphemism which indicates the use of language in a way to conceal or hide thoughts.
The basic feature, in fact, according to Crystal (1992:64-5), is the use of more words to express a meaning. When wishing to avoid a sensitive or uncomfortable word, it can have a positive value. It is a roundabout used to avoid bad and filthy words. The use of several words enables us to spread the meaning over them rather than the use of one word. However, this weakens the meaning and avoids confronting mild and nice subjects. Not only is *kill*, as Chaike (1982:199) mentions, more direct from a semantic point than *fire* for effect, it is even more powerful since reference is focusing on one word. Similarly, *fight* and *war* are more powerful than *engage the enemy* and *management and application of controlled violence* respectively.

This use dates back to the Victorian age when men found it embarrassing to name or call a prostitute or her doings as paphian, although 19th century doublespeak favoured academician, abbess, courtesan, or nymph du pave (streetwalker), according to Berdoll (2003:34). She adds that it was a rarity to hear of a lady of certain descriptions. "A little more recent is woman of the night, streetwalker, naughty girl, and commercial sex worker…. As for the specific establishment where these shenanigans take place, a century ago it was referred to as a leaping academy, vaulting school, or disorderly house."

Recently, it is widely and deliberately used by politicians to conceal and hide unpleasant matters and responsibilities especially critical and serious issues. Thus, war is called *violent peace*, failure becomes *incomplete success*, death is turned into *terminal living*, and lies are into *categorical inaccuracies*. 
4.7 Political Correctness/ Politically Corrected Language

One of the basic functions of language is to communicate efficiently in a way that maintains effectiveness of message. Language keeps its speakers updated with alternatives and replacements that enable them to maintain a sort of acceptance. When launching a message, a certain idea can be expressed in various ways, looking for supporters and people accept it. Euphemism is employed to hide or deform the truth or avoid the direct reference to things. The reason behind that is because the things speakers want to talk about are unpleasant or not acceptable. Speakers usually try to tiptoe around it without saying it directly. Political correctness, henceforth PC, is used for the same purpose. Hughes (2006:348) defines PC as" 

a curious sociolinguistic phenomenon, being a form of self-censorship and conformity that has grown up, paradoxically, in free Western societies, especially in America in the last two decades. Generated by attitudes reflecting social sensitivity rather than frankness, it essentially seeks to eliminate prejudicial language and alter attitudes in addressing a whole range of social and political issues, including culture, education, curricula, gender, disability, and ethnicity".

This definition clarifies that the use of PC is deliberate and conscious to hide and blur the truth. It indicates a similarity to the objectives behind the use of euphemism. If so; one may ask how can we distinguish between PC and euphemism?

The root of PC is controversial and debatable. Though Zhao and Dong (2010:119) refer to the second half of the twentieth century, namely
1960s onwards, Burridge (2002:227) mentions it has roots stretching back to at least 1700s not nearly as recent as some people think.

Firstly, PC is characterized by the basic disguise motive; the hunters of this type of language, according to Grants (1977:240), are politically motivated, they persist in disguising and hiding their political intention behind alterative concerns for the purity of language. In other words, they twist words to achieve their purposes.

Secondly, it avoids the traditional judgment of terms, preferring an artificial currency of polite replacements. This leads to the assumption that political and social problems can be solved by changing the language, as Hughes (2006:439) states. Let us say that changing language is governed by changing the attitudes towards a certain issue.

Thirdly, unlike other types of euphemism, as far as the meaning is concerned, it is to enlarge the association distance between the words and things being referred to. PC makes a greater deviation from the things presented, or it sometimes would be a complete distinction like the name given by US president Ronald Reagan to 10- warheads intermediate-range missiles as *peacekeepers*, this case raises a sort of obscurity and vagueness in meaning achieving political purposes.

Fourthly, Hughes (2006:439) adds the factor of time that characterizes PC; social, economical, and political developments affect and provide rich soil for its creation. For example, the US economic decline is called "recession, disinflation, and negative growth". The atomic bombs used in Hiroshima were called as *gadget, the device, the thing*, or by other vague
meanings. All these expressions were employed to make death sound less horrible.

Finally, as its name suggests, PC is associated with decision-makers and leaders in society. Winkler (2007:156) emphasizes that governmental figures and others (now it is used by people work in areas like education, culture, economy, military…etc) coin new alternatives; people think of them as unpleasant or undesirable to give a positive spin on an agenda, programmes, or policy. To achieve that goal, people are led with a constant propaganda and undisturbed by obvious lies. As a result, PC is characterized by the type of its users and attitudes behind this use, being conscious, well organized and controlled.

4.8 Classification of Euphemisms
Euphemisms have been classified in different ways, according to certain perspectives and criteria. This is due to the long history of the topic in language as well as its importance. According to Qi (2010:136), euphemisms are of two types: traditional and stylistic. The first type is indirect reference to topics such as death, sex, disease, and body functions. As these are taboo, people refrain from speaking of them openly. To enhance that purpose, they attempt to create new expressions as alternatives. Such type is a way to extricate humans from barbarism to become civilized creatures.

Stylistic euphemisms, on the other hand, refer to some more polite words and expressions, especially when people tend to be indirect in communicating with each other to make other parties feel comfortable and not hurt them. Some exaggerated and pleasant expressions are employed to ensure social solidarity and co-operation. Political
expressions are good examples like *less developed countries* and *surgical attack* instead of underdeveloped countries and surprise attack respectively.

In their works of (1991) and (2006), Allan and Burridge discuss euphemisms according to their contents and areas, for example, euphemisms for naming and addressing, euphemisms for sex, religion, diseases...etc. These two works are even classified under these topics. For the sake of this study, as what has been done in the last chapter on taboos, it is preferred to do the same to help the reader have an idea about taboos and euphemisms in these areas.

**4.9. Areas of Euphemisms**

Areas where euphemisms are employed to avoid expressing unmentionable and unpleasant issues are many. These are some areas which are selected in this study.

**4.9.1 Sexual Euphemisms**

Under sexual euphemisms, two things should be studied: sexual acts and sexual organs.

**Sexual Acts**

In fact, sexual acts represented by sexual intercourse are regarded as unclean and dangerous processes, that many restrictions are applied to them. Not only is that attributed to culture and the traditions of people, Gura (2005:135) states, it is even sinful and forbidden in religious understanding, like that of Christianity. As a result, when practised, it should be invisible and talking about it in public is shameful. The role of language in society is to help its speakers refer to unpleasant things in an indirectly and culturally appropriate way of saying, according to the
concept of euphemism by Fee and Strauss (2009), to be viewed as pleasant and inoffensive. *Copulate or copulation*, the euphemism for 'fuck', is the act concerned here, has a special binary status in all cultures, being viewed alternatively as sacred, profane or taboo historically. Terms for copulation in English are still regarded as undesirable and controversial when used in public. The public status for these terms, as Hughes (2006:101) describes, is of variety. The origin of these terms, 'foutre' and 'baiser', "are of disputed origin and all at same time regarded taboo".

Sexual euphemism, being dangerous and highly restricted in use, has developed numerous expressions to indicate sexual intercourse and relations. Different linguistic devices are used to refer to. The following expressions show that:

(act of love, all the way, bed time business, between the sheets, be with, carnal knowledge, deflower, exchange flesh or bodily fluids, get into bed with, get into the pants of; go to bed, have sexual intercourse with, have one's way with, have union with, have sex with, have fun with, have intercourse, have an affair with, have a love, lie with, match with, mingle with, play around with, sleep together, sleep with, take a roll with, you know what, warm bed).

Another sexual issue, the state of body or foreplay, describes the action too. Consider these examples, *she's hot stuff, she's a linen lifter, he's a sword man* or a stud, fickle, message, touch, rod ...etc.

Out of this huge number of sexual euphemistic expressions denoting sexual acts, *go to bed* and *make love*, having a primary sexual meaning are the only ones that underwent a complex process of lexicalization,
because a certain level of ambiguity in meaning is retained, see Santaemilia (2005:17-18).

**Sexual Organs**

In her article on 'Sexual Euphemisms in the History of English Language: Sample Probe O', Calvo (2005:63) draws attention to the significance of sexual euphemism and tries to answer the question: What is the motivation behind this significance? In any society, it is banned and prohibited to name certain things directly or transparently because they are taboo. The motivation is to bypass the sanctions and restrictions imposed and "to avoid punishment to the innate human joy in verbal creativity."

As 'cunt' is the most tabooed word in English, it is as if the closer the speakers get to the body's trunk, the more euphemistic expressions should be used and the more polite they have to be. Unlike any other body part, or even any vocabulary in English, 'vagina' occupies the top rank in the degree of synonymous expressions it has. Compared to 'penis', the male sex organ, that has 1000 expressions; 'vagina' has more than 1200 ones, see Allan and Burridge (1991:96). This case is ascribed to the status of its taboo counterpart, 'cunt', being the female sex organ, as it is believed. This huge number helps people talk of sex organs somehow easily with doctors, lovers, and relatives.

Scarborough (1992:211) comments that 'vagina' is Latin in origin for "the sheath of a sword" or "scabbard". However, the anatomists of the Renaissance were struck by the similarity in shape of its structure so that vagina became the "passage leading from the uterus to vulva". Likewise, penis is Latin too, means 'tails'.
Moreover, the fear and unpleasantness of mentioning sex in general include even the equipments and tools that may be used when having sex or making love, like condom. Historically, euphemistic expressions were invented to refer to it. The most preferred euphemisms for condom used these days, as Collier (2007:218) explains, are safety, French letter, and French cap. But window is still the most preferred one for women. For more euphemisms for condom, consider the following words taken from Clalre (1998):

- coat
- envelope
- glove
- pro
- protection
- raincoat
- rubber
- rubber Johnny

4.9.2 Euphemisms for Human Body
Under this area, human body parts and body excretions are tackled to notice the tabooness surrounding them.

Body parts
The geography and boundaries of human body are not open to crossing (talk about) without a valid visa (euphemistic language) that passes through a very tough and strict process (social restrictions and norms). Like sex organs, other body parts like 'breast', 'groins', and the 'backside', are not permissible to refer directly. When descriptive words for body
organs are spoken of, embarrassment results from communication, especially when used in general conversation and not in a medical situation. Le (2006:6) and Burridge (2005:45) agree that speakers tend to generalize more from part-to-whole to avoid embarrassment; it is "a unidirectional transfer from small to large". So the reference is extended like the use of 'belly' to indicate the whole human body, although this case was not long-term. The use of leg for foot and arm for hand are good examples. Compared with other body parts, bawdy parts behave linguistically different from other parts.

Let us talk about some of the most sensitive human body parts. 'Breast' is still that taboo to indicate or speak of directly. Formally, they are called 'breasts' or 'mammary glands', but they are euphemistically called blossom, chest, or front. 'Buttocks' (the back side of human body) are called behind, bottom, rear end seat, tush, or duff. Regardless of the vulgar expressions, rectum and anus are called lower bowel and rectal opening respectively, according to Clalre (1998:82).

**Body Effluvia**

Human body byproducts or waste materials are expelled to make man feel comfortable. If retained in the body, they cause illness and other problems in health and body functions because of the poisonous elements and substances they contain. If in the case mentioned, the excretions will be, as Allan and Burridge (2006:173) describe, the source of embarrassment and confusion while expressing them, it will lead to a verbal insult. To avoid that, as Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2003:478) observe, languages; especially English, tend to borrow words and expressions that look acceptable and clean, compared to their native counterparts, see appendix (4).
'Urination' and 'defecation' are at the top of the list. The beginning will be with urination since it is euphemistically called *number one*. It is politely called *urination* or *making water in a water closet*. Scarborough (1992:186) comments that urinate entered into Middle English through Old French, which borrowed this word from the Latin word ouron. Then late Latin brought forth urinarius, which denoted urinary in medical English. The verb 'urinare' in late Latin was the source to derive other terms like urination as a noun and the verb urinate. He adds that micturition also signifies not only the process (urination), "but the morbid frequency of avoiding the urine" is even expressed. 'Urination' is expressed in many euphemistic expressions; consider these expressions given by Allan and Burridge (1991) and (2006):

- call of nature
- cleanliness training
- ease your bladder
- ease yourself
- empty your bladder
- go to bathroom
- pay a visit
- powder your nose
- spend a penny
- stretch your leg
- void
- wash your hands

*Spend a penny* has a story in the British culture from which this expression was derived. In his book *Kick the Bucket and Swing the Cat*,
Games (2008:431) reports that the penny in this expression was introduced in 1851 after the Great Exhibition that year. Asking for admission to public lavatories and charging for admission was common since that time.

*Number two*, defecation, is called euphemistically so in English. Although it is number two, but more attention and focus were given to it than number one or urination. The reason, as Allan and Burridge (1991:57-8) explain, is that the smell of defecation reminds people of the putrefying corpses; "so the taboo surrounding defecation may be associated with the fear of death", or it is attributed to the wide use of urine in remedies that made people more familiar with it. Unlike urine, faeces smell much worse than urine and messier when trampling in it.

Similarly, *faeces* is originally Latin, from faex or faecis or fecis, plural is faeces; meaning dregs (in wine). When applied to persons, it means "scum". Medical or not, all modern words with a – fec- root generally reflect some contextual sense of "solid waste or bowel function", see Scarborough (1992:185). Euphemistic expressions and words below denote 'defecation' or 'defecate'; they are taken from Allan and Burridge (1991).

- eliminate
- discharge
- go to bathroom
- have a bowel movement
- have BM

Enright (2005:72) brings attention to how sensitive and embarrassing to talk of the place where all kinds of excretion; urination and defecation,
take place. This sensitivity encourages people to produce and invent innumerable expressions to denote this facility. The place where food is prepared, English has only one word to refer to, kitchen. It is not taboo to refer to. Whereas lavatory is indicated by many, (Chaike, 1982:198).

It is worth mentioning that the reference to the use of rest-room left a fertile ground for euphemism due to the acute embarrassment speakers encounter while mentioning that, (Games, 2008:427). The etymology of these words is explained by Stead (2009:128),"

Amongst the hundreds of euphemisms for toilet are discernable themes- first are words of non-Anglo Saxon derivation, which furnish us with some of the most widely used terms, including lavatory, latrine, loo, and toilet itself…. Lavatory and latrine are simple enough – they derive from the Latin lavare, "to wash". Then of loo, however, is contested."

The origin of 'loo' is mysterious although it may be ascribed to waterloo or L'eau, the French for water, according to Games (2008:427). Toilet, on the other hand, is the starting point to give an idea about a friend's house when someone invites you to show you the way to it when saying “Can I show you the geography of the house?". Some euphemistic expressions are suggestive; they tell how toilet is small in size, like the little, chamber, bathroom, washroom …etc. for more words and expressions for the powder-room, consider the following examples taken from Gabay (2005):

- Ablution
- Bathroom
- Blue room
- Cloakroom
- Comfort station
Menstruation and Masturbation

In the culture of some nations, menstrual blood and menstruating woman are perceived as a source of danger and insult among the peoples. This perception seems to be oppressive to women, (Allan and Burridge, 1991:64). The culture of menstruation, according to Buckley and Gottlieb (1988:6), prescribes more prohibition and restrictions to keep a menstruating woman away from any contact with or involvement in activities. At the same time, religions and beliefs, whether divine or pagan, do the same, regardless of the rites women have to be a part of.

The way women were viewed, being weaker than men, evolved more taboos surrounding both women body and effluvia than those of men. Compared with men, as Allan and Burridge (1991:60-61) report, gynaecology is a branch of medicine pertains to the functions and diseases of women. There is no such a special branch for men.

Due to the sensitivity of menstruation, many euphemisms are used to help speakers talk of blood and period as well. The following expressions explain this issue: be sick, come around, come on, unwell, domestic affairs, female physiology, female hygiene, have a visitor, monthly blues, stomach.
cramp, under the weather, have stomachache, it is my time, women's things, it is the wrong time of the month.

4.9.3 Euphemisms for Death

Death can be defined as the end of life, or the state of being dead, (Onions, 1966:247). Death is a symbol of ending a journey which everyone passes through. However, in many societies, death is one of the most sensitive and dreadful topics that people do not refer to, or they avoid talking of. Regardless of the culture they belong to and the background they have, people, Qi (2010:140) states, do not bear or feel ease about talking of death. Like other people, English speakers, as Manser (2007:239) and Crystal (1987:8) stress, are very sensitive while mentioning serious death, it is mirrored in the expressions and words, as English develops euphemisms to cope with the way speakers express taboo words, especially these related to death and its own world, with countless ways of dying.

As ideologies and thoughts change, language also changes to cope with the needs of its speakers. There was no other society than the English one so obsessed with the topic of death like that of the Middle Ages. Books appeared to depict people and their methods of dealing with dying and burial, and preoccupation with death of the Medieval period.

No surprise, therefore that the scene of death can be found across Europe on the pages of manuscripts, on the walls and the stained glass windows of churches, and on the large murals depicting living figures together with skeletons and cadavers. In addition to that individuals were interrupted during work to be preached for the way of dying. Regardless of their level in society and age, all were represented there and the message was clear:
we are dying sooner or later, willingly or unwillingly- no one escapes. This was due to the dominance of Christianity and its teachings at that time.

By contrast, during these days, the scene is totally different. Allan and Burridge (1991:153-4 & 2006:222-3) say: "death has become the great taboo subject, smothered in prudery. There is a parallel between the repression of sex, which brought with it a thriving industry in pornography during the Victorian time, and today's taboo on death."

People are kept away from death by institutions which care for the sick and dying and the industry to dispose of the dead. Life-threatening factors have already decreased, and life insurance is, in fact, insurance against death. People are insulated from the direct interaction with death. In spite of reaching adulthood, many people never see a real corpse except on film or video. Life has become empty of symbols to constantly remind of death which is attributed to the increase of life expectancy and the decline in the number of life-threatening diseases. Because of advancing technologies, science is exalted to such an extent that it is believed that mortality can be avoided and life can be prolonged. The role of religion and faith is minimized, or even neglected. Life after death or death is the beginning of life after death is not believed in any more.

Thus, transition from religion to secularism appears in forms of thoughts in everyday life and expressions in language; fall asleep with Jesus is replaced with non-religious euphemisms as in cease to live and left us. For more euphemistic expressions for death, consider the following ones taken from Allan and Burridge (1991) and Gabay (2005):
Defence personnel, on the other hand, are obliged to talk of death and killing. Killing or being killed is an inevitable matter in the everyday life of soldiers (5). To avoid its horror and discomfort that remind them of their true mortality, but not make them dispirited, there is use of distant style and impersonalized language in their written manuals, (Chaike, 1982:198-9).

Not surprisingly, these dramatic changes in culture and thoughts are coped with its linguistic counterparts; language is twisted to develop and provide its speakers with their needs. The linguistic change is not just confined to the concept of death and its euphemisms. People who work in this field, equipment used for, and the place where the loved ones are laid to rest are covered too. See these expressions; they are taken from Allan and Burridge (1991 & 2006) and Gabay (2005):

- bite the biscuit - lost - memorial park
- bite the dust - loved on - mortician
- bite the big one - pass away - memorial counselor
- breathe one's last - nonviable - memorial house
- buy the farm - remains - chapel of rest
- casket - tree suit - room of mediation
- closed one's eyes - journey's end - melt
- early departed - last round-up - one-way trip
- grief therapist - big D - wooden overcoat
- kick the bucket - big jump - worm food

- answer the last call - gone to heaven
- asleep with Jesus/ Christ - gone to heavenly Father
- a full/big sleep - gone to one's rest
- be at rest                                    - go to one's reward
- be with God                                  - go to one's last home
- climb the Golden Stair                      - in the arms of Father
- come to Jesus                                - join the angels
- cross the Great Divide                      - kneel at the Big gate
- departed this life                           - knock the Heaven's door
- departed to God                              - laid to rest
- everlasting sleep                            - met his/her Maker
- fall asleep in the arms of Jesus             - passed over Jordan
- go home                                      - passed over the other side
- gone to better world                         - gone to Everlasting/ Eternal palace

4.9.4 Religious Euphemisms

With reference to its origin, euphemism, according to Bryant (1948:323), was a religious word, in its imperative form, used to warn worshippers to use no terms but the most appropriate ones in the temple. From a religious point of view, taking the name of God in vain is forbidden and taboo, or it is profane or blasphemous. To avoid this use and express it appropriately, if inevitably, English has developed many euphemistic expressions for the sacred name; especially in the history of Christianity. This process focused on the name of God, but to a lesser extent to that with Jesus or Christ or Lord, (Hughes, 2006:201).

Pronouncing the divine Name itself in its full spelling is blasphemous and culpable. So reverence for the divine name is shown by giving epithets; God is called The Majesty, The Holy One, The Strong One, The Rock, The Heaven or The Stone, (Ford, 1968:159). Speakers avoid uttering the Name, as Hughes (1998:12) states, "by a surreptitious erosion of the unacceptable or taboo form, transforming it by means of phonetic
disguise into seemingly innocuous variants." He shows some of these forms with the date when they appeared. Table (13) below clarifies examples on religious euphemisms. Appendix (1) includes more examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Euphemism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>1350s</td>
<td>Gog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1386</td>
<td>Cokk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1569</td>
<td>Cod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1601</td>
<td>'sbody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1706</td>
<td>Ounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1760s</td>
<td>Gracious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1820s</td>
<td>ye gods!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Good grief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>by Godfrey!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>1528</td>
<td>Gis, Jis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1660</td>
<td>Gemini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1830s</td>
<td>Jiminy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Gee wiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Jeez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1920s</td>
<td>Jeepers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Jeepers Creepers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Criminy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1840s</td>
<td>Cripes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>for crying out loud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td>Lud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1765</td>
<td>Lawks!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Law sakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Lumme! (Lord love me!)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (13) shows the religious euphemistic expression
Consequently, the phonemic devices are the best means to euphemize the divine Name in English.

### 4.9.5 Swearing

In his book *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, McArthur (1992:1010, 276) defines swearwords as a non technical term for a word or phrase that is obscene, abusive, and socially offensive. They are usually associated with the genitals and sexual activities (cunt, fuck, prick), excrement (shit), or religious (Jesus Christ), while cursing is to invoke supernatural power against someone or something explicitly or implicitly, or utterance consigning an object to evil, (Onions, 1966:237).

The tribulation through swearing may range from trivial penalties to death because of its sacred and serious place in the religion, according to Wajnryb (2005:183). From a historical point of view, lengthy and forceful ordinances against swearing were found among the people of old civilizations and religions of the ancient Egyptians, the Jews, early Christians, the Greeks and the Romans. It seems their use by speakers is inevitable since they develop what Mencken (1957:316) calls 'denaturalized profanity'. He adds there are *darn, goldenarn, gosh* …etc, for spoken discourse and *damfino* and *damphool* for written discourse. It would be a grave breach of etiquette to use any of them when writing a letter to a high ranking religious figure, like an Archbishop.

In the course of time, different policies were practised to stop profanity. In the seventeenth century, as Allan and Burridge (2009:380) report, the first organized form of linguistic censorship was seen. Laws against profanity were there on the stage. The fine was a whopping ten pounds which could have bankrupted a theatre company at that time. Over the
years, the shock power resulting from profanity declined greatly. The history of proscriptions of profanity indicated that swearing should be common and disturbing, at least to the true believers. Otherwise it would not have been necessary to impose formal bans against it. Nowadays, the official and semiofficial proscriptions have been neglected. If the only real disagreement is on when it began, the deterioration of profanity has been noted widely, (Rawson, 1989:6).

Allan and Burridge (2009:380) add that "outside of Islam, blasphemous and religiously profane language is no longer considered offensive by the majority of speakers, and has given way to more physically and sexually based modes of expression." This reflects the sweeping transition in the history of foul language in English from the religious to the secular in the case of swearing. (4)

When feeling angry or frustrated, swearing is used to express these emotions. It is the basic and typical purpose behind this use. Swearwords, according to Dewaele (2010:107), are well suited to do so, their primary meaning is connotative. However, the emotional impact is variable, depending on the experience of an individual with his/her culture and its language conventions. Games (2008:219) states that we swear to show fear or that we are not afraid. The name of God is taken in vain at precisely the moment when we should be most circumspect. Tension is released when one swears. We swear when we are angry, or there is a point to be emphasized, or when we feel that we have lost control of the situation. People swear to shock, impress, or flirt. When showing care, we swear too. In all these situations, we swear and use bad language because it goes beyond or step over a line of general acceptability.
As all societies do the same and suffer from this bad side of the usage of language, speakers do their best to curb or control their cursing and swearing. In his book *Cuss Control: The Complete Book on How to Curb Your Cursing*, O'Connor (2006), especially in the last chapters, suggests to the readers a method and therapies to help them control anger and avoid swearing and cursing.

_Goddamn_ or _Goddam, God damn you, or God's wounds_ that refers to the sufferings of Christ at the Crucifixion, have become the principal focus of religious swearing, (Hughes, 2006:205). It is pointed out by Games (2008:205) that swearing is expressed in three forms:

1. Words to do with excretion start early because small children are naturally curious about it.
2. Sexual language or imaginary, thoughts turn to swear when hormones start ranging towards puberty.
3. Religious or blasphemous vocabulary.

Ljung (2011:6) concludes that the difference between religious and non-religious swearing is vulgarity; linguistic constructions are viewed by polite society as what can or cannot be said. Vulgar constructions are the ones widely used when swearing or cursing.

### 4.9.6 Health Euphemisms

Cooperative desire, not to impose one's trouble on others and not to be seen whinge, is the key motivation behind the abstention surrounding disease and sickness. Disease, this English word, was once a euphemism consisting of two morphemes: dis- "cease to" and ease "be comfortable". Fear and superstition associated with illness can be traced long back in the history. In the Middle Ages, for example, according to Allan and
Burridge (1991:171), people were afraid of some treatments, very few other remedies were effective. Because that period was religious in dominance, the etiology was shrouded in mystery; divine punishment for sins committed by the complaints led to this. The belief mentioned above is no longer adopted and completely confronted by the people of the twentieth century due to the tremendous advances and discoveries modern medicine has achieved. Yet diseases like AIDS and cancer, for instance, are still mysterious, and causing the same fears and superstition, (Allan and Burridge, 1991:180).

The language of euphemism for disease and illness is still rich in lending a helping hand to its speakers to avoid unspeakable matters in life. Ford (1968:258) notes that people exercise different types of euphemism, of which is the use of the exact opposite words to which the user refers. The strong belief in ill-omened words is the reason behind the same. Allan and Burridge (2006:203) state that "accident was once giving the meaning "happening", from the Latin "accidens". Yet the meaning was narrowed to be the euphemism of "misfortune", so diseases are really the ' accident' of the body.

**Some Diseases**

Let us talk of some diseases, especially the ones which are difficult to speak of explicitly. Syphilis, historically, was the most fearful disease, not because of its accounts of mortality, but was because of its relation to sexual organs. The physical symptoms of syphilis were reflected in moral depravity, as it was believed to cause it. However, the real reason was not clear, in spite of its connection to sexual behaviours. Being severe and serious in the Middle Ages and after, it was so till the sixteenth century when the name (syphilis) took its final shape. Thus, it was
euphemistically called in different names; social disease, S. T. D., V. D.,\nterponemal disease, luetic disease (from Latin, lues), and special disease,\nall are to denote it, they all reflect its danger and seriousness. As the\nFrench were blamed for introducing this disease to the rest of Europe, it\nwas called French ache, French disease, French fever, French pox…etc.

Similarly, leprosy was so called after a biblical character 'Lazarus', who\nwas the victim of a skin disease that may well have been leprosy; it\nshared the same danger with syphilis. Allan and Burridge (2006:178-9)\nadd that this disease was considered a punishment for sin and heresy. The\ndiseased person was seen as physically and morally dangerous, he was\ndeprived of all normal community rights, like inheritance. The animal-\nlike appearance of the diseased was perceived as the fitting punishment\nfor their transgression against God.

Cancer, on the other hand, is one of the most serious diseases till date. Its\nimage, according to Allan and Burridge (2006:220), "is very much that of\nlatent malignancy which, even after treatment, is ready to strike again."
The symptoms are sometimes hidden: it depends on the type of cancer a\nperson is infected with. When a diagnosis appears, the common practice\nis to spare the feeling of the patient by concealing the results. Allan and\nBurridge (2006:221) go on to give some euphemistic expressions which\nhelp hide cancer, doctors feel reluctant to use the word when mentioning\nit to the patients due to its demoralizing effect on them. Doctors, in\ngeneral, prefer mitotic disease instead of cancer. The Big C and CA are\nother euphemisms refer to it. However, growth and tumour are more\npreferable by patients themselves because of the benign image that does\nnot invoke the same unpleasant images of decay and corruption, or even\ndeath. Finally, obituaries and death notices include euphemistic
expressions for cancer: died after a prolonged illness/ a long battle against illness are commonly read.

AIDS, on the other hand, is another serious disease. The fear surrounding this disease is unbelievable; it is sometimes called the disease that changed the World. The connection of homosexuality and injected-drug abusers links the disease to deviant behaviour, enforcing correlation between moral and physical corruption. Because of all that, AIDS was labeled by variant names before taking the current one. The abbreviations PWA, PLA, and PLWA "person living with AIDS" are more preferable, especially by AIDS activists. Whereas GRID (Gay Related Immune-Deficiency) was a suggestive label since the disease was linked with gay community. In the course of debate over labeling it, AIDS was taken to stand for (Acquired Immune-Deficiency Syndrome), though HIV (Human Immune Deficiency Virus) is positive too, as Allan and Burridge (1991:190-1) explain.

Madness
The purpose of using euphemisms is to avoid offending others, or masking the truth, or making unpleasant things seem pleasant, or not imposing one's troubles on others…etc. The more tabooed a subject is, the more euphemistic expressions are developed in that field. Talking of madness is in a delicate way, especially these days, in order not to offend people who are mentally disturbed, or even related to them like relatives and friends. Historically, exactly in the Victorian time, they were herded in Hospital of St Mary of Bethlehem in London and people were allowed to see them every first Thursday of the month. Nowadays, the lunatics are kept in their asylum: people, as Games (2008:285) reports, use language to keep those who are undergoing mental deficiency distant from them.
In the history of euphemism for madness and insanity, language provided various words to refer to this category of people. *Mania* and *psychosis*, for example, are Greek; *insanity, dementia*, and *lunacy* are Latin. The origin of the latter, as Games (2008:286) explains, comes from lune for moon in Latin, people in that time had the belief "that the moon's waxing and waning affect the minds of those afflicted by mental turbulence." The thirteenth century is the date when it appeared in English. Having its impressive long history in English, mad itself is descended from the Middle English amad, meaning 'distract'. 'Wild with desire' and 'extravagantly foolish' are some other meanings that mad gave. Although they were used early in the field of psychiatry to denote madness euphemistically, idiot, cretin, imbecile, and moron are not so any more.

Schur (2001:95) brings to our attention C3, a term used when classifying people suffering from mentally and physically deficiencies and developed the connotation of unfit or even worthless. Now, place like the institutions or hospitals where they are treated or kept in are called *sanatorium* or *sanatarium*- they are basically for physical illness,. Below are some euphemisms for insanity or madness, after Allan and Burridge (1991).

- Affected - fruitcake - out of lunch
- Bananas - have a breakdown - round the bend
- Certifiable - loopy - scattered-brain
- Cracked - mentally challenged - shattered-brain
- Unhinged - mentally disordered - cracked-brain
- Disturbed - unbalanced - mentally deficient
- Doolally - nuts - upstairs
Disability

Valentine (2002:218) emphasizes that in spite of the use of labels and expressions, their euphemistic coating is lost. This requires a periodical review to upgrade derogatory connotations. He suggests a familiar process to name a marginalized group euphemistically: popular discriminatory terms are avoided and replaced by expert labels that appear neutral. People who suffer from physical and mental disability are categorized in a delicate way to upgrade their capacities and potentials.

According to *The American Heritage Book of English Usage* (1996:192), being too negative to call people handicapped or disabled, *challenged* is proposed instead to substitute them, as in case of physically or mentally challenged. Likewise, *differently-abled* is used as a substitute to disabled or handicapped too; it gives a positive attitude to depict people with disabilities quite capable of achieving and accomplishing a particular task or performing a certain function. It has been stated that insane or mad persons are euphemistically labeled as *mentally-disabled*, this is because handicapped implies helplessness, whereas disability in this context does not.

The definition of challenged, according to Enright (2005:134), clarifies that it is "lacking some features that are considered a standard requirement (for example, hair on the head or height) or having some disability, from slight to serious (plumpness, say, to total paralysis). Ironically, the euphemism for 'bastard' is *parentally challenged*." In sum, *differently able* and *differently challenged* are euphemistically employed to signify handicapped or those who suffer from any disability or limitation in his/her features. By the same token, *impaired* can be used like 'challenged' with certain features, as in *hearing-impaired* to denote
totally deaf or unable to hear well. For more examples, see table (14) below, after Enright (2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aurally challenged</td>
<td>deaf, or hard of hearing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behaviourally challenged</td>
<td>someone guilty or criminal behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>follicularly challenged</td>
<td>Bald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horizontally challenged</td>
<td>fat (surely satirical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quantitively challenged</td>
<td>fat (satirical use of PC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vertically challenged</td>
<td>PC for short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visually challenged</td>
<td>suggested substitute for 'ugly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>optically challenged</td>
<td>blind or with poor eyesight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physically challenged</td>
<td>physically impaired, see 'disabled'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intellectually challenged</td>
<td>stupid or of low intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mentally challenged</td>
<td>suffering from a mental illness, or of low intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>differently able</td>
<td>someone suffering a disability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>differently sized</td>
<td>Fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>differently weight</td>
<td>fat, not used to mean over skinny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hearing impaired</td>
<td>either totally deaf or unable to hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visually impaired</td>
<td>blind, or having poor eyesight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (14) contains some euphemisms for handicapped persons

4.9.7 Aging

Though aging is inevitable and unavoidable process in life, the Westerners do not like to talk of advancing age and its disadvantages. Manser (2007:237) mentions that problems associated with the later ages of life, like failing physical and mental health, make it difficult and uncomfortable to discuss the same. Western society is characterized by individuality and independence in lifestyle. To be viewed as a weak and disadvantaged group, senior citizens, as old people are euphemistically
called, are probably unwilling to adopt the idea of being unable to support
and take care of themselves, (Qi, 2010:139).

To be indicated as 'old' is unacceptable, even when realizing they actually
passed their prime times and are heading towards the sunset or twilight
years sooner or later. Postman (1976:211) emphasizes that if euphemism
is one of the intellectual resources to create a new perspective on a certain
issue, say aging or senility, then it would not happen without an authentic
and true tendency in the culture to achieve that, and language lends
support with rich resources of euphemisms and polite expressions. These
two steps should go abreast, since changing attitudes quickly is not
guaranteed by changing the name only.

Senior citizens that euphemistically appeared in 1938 is unlike
expressions based on old or older. It acknowledges that age is not
necessarily the only relevant factor in describing people who are
advanced in years. Speakers or users of language should be careful and
aware of the age agreed-upon. Moreover, not only does it (senior citizen)
indicate old age, but even social and civic status is reflected, The
American Heritage Book of English Usage (1996:207). Being mature, is
acceptable, if it denotes old with the implication of wisdom brought on by
the years. The golden/sunset years come at the age when senior citizens
are sent to their twilight home in some countries.

To conclude, because the words that hold the expression "old" is taboo,
English euphemizes it with various expressions. The process covers the
place where senior citizens are sent to as well.
4.9.8 Other Issues

When an economic crisis, like the Great Depression happened in 1930s in America, administrations in all nations even developing countries, according to Safari (1980:25-6), exert more efforts to find solutions for the recession or the crabwise movement of the economy or rolling readjustment or even banana, the latter is the best euphemistic expression for 'depression'. This happens because companies and corporations try to adopt New Deal policies which result in resignation, it means redesigning staff members' job, or a job handled by some staff will be reassigned to other ones, (Vickers, 2002:113). It does not mean to fire or dismiss any, but it is to downsize the number of employees. "The euphemism allow(s) management to disguise some very unpleasant decisions... (and) continue filtering negative information." In such circumstances, the issue of low income group becomes a vexed question, to keep them underprivileged, not poor. Their children are described as unable to secure much beyond the necessities of today's world because of the modest finances of the family, not poor.

Lying is shameful! When politicians and economists make official statements, their intention is not to tell lies at all, but they are always economical with the truth, or embroid the truth itself, since an untrue version of events by missing out some important facts is conveyed. Being economically inactive or between jobs (without job), it would be difficult to find a job, even as a sanitation engineer not garbage man, to support one's family. If married, women will think of family planning not in the family way. The traditional role of family is that its members help each other, but now independence and individuality are the ways the families live with. The question is who is going to take care of love children or those who are born on wrong side of the blanket? Society should have no
bastards or illegitimates; it is an eventual outcome of the complicated social life. Girls are betrayed or attacked not raped; there are still men who commit a statuary offense to leave girls the victims of felonious assault.

Whether said at Westminster Abbey or elsewhere, "to thee to be my wedded wife… to have and to hold… for fairer, for fouler … for better, for worse … for richer, for poorer, … in sickness and in health … from this time forward … till death us do part … if Holy Church will it ordain … and thereto I plight thee my troth" , some husbands do not keep their word or respect the sacredness of this vow. They look for an extramarital relation, which they think to be not adulterous, with a girl who goes astray or do that with a commercial sex worker, not prostitute. Prostitution is understood in commercial terms given in the house of pleasure, which lies in the red light area, at any time, especially on dirty weekends. These ladies (sex workers) avoid having a love child in order not to commit a criminal operation (abortion). This type of operations is still prohibited by law. For more examples, see Funk (1978:77), Gabay (2005:401-2), Putney (1991:119), Saeed (2002:6).
Thus, bad human attributes and humble jobs are expressed nicely in order not to hurt the feelings of others.

4.10 Culture and Euphemism
Language is the historical record of life that never lies. If history neglects an event in its procession, language does not. Individuals of a certain society share the norms and traditions, and their society develops and guides individuals not to be misled at any moment. Individuals, on the other hand, vary in the way they perceive and control these norms and values. Hudson (2000:112) makes analogy to illustrate this matter: some
people are better than others at social interaction, and "some people are
good at intellectual debate and poor at phatic communion, and vice
versa." Societies differ in how social norms are perceived: what is
socially acceptable in one culture can be unacceptable in another. Another
point here is the change in culture from one generation to another. Allan
and Burridge (2006:10) report an event that happened in the seventeenth-
century Europe, "women from all social classes, among them King
Charles I's wife Henrietta, commonly exposed one or both breasts in
public as a display of youth and beauty." The question here is that can a
royal family member in Europe do the same these days?! Can strippers,
like those of Las Vegas, be displayed all over the western society, or even
across the United States of America itself?

Regarding euphemism, these various cultures should have a certain
amount of euphemism to view its society polite, (Bryant, 1948:332). The
role of euphemism is to be the language reflection of social culture; and
these changes in society, due to socio-economic development, as Zhao
and Dong (2010: 119) explain, are conveyed via language. Additionally,
it is possible to see that members of a given society do not understand and
perceive the social values equally; this is why the lower class members
use profanity. They ignored that these words are vulgar and taboo,
(Chaike, 1982:107).

To illustrate, differences in culture can be seen in the way people speak of
aging or senility. English people in general do not prefer to speak of
aging, even those who have already passed their prime time. Old age, to
them, is associated with bad connotations: it brings into the crisis of an
advanced age represented by loneliness and neglect by the young
generation who do not assume any responsibility of taking care of the
aged. The attitude towards this situation is completely different; it is the opposite in another culture, where the aged, as Qi (2010:139) reports, do not feel lonely at all; all family members (three or four generations) live closely. Thus, people of that culture use the word "old" in a favourable sense. Both cultures develop different methods to speak of aging.

Death once was not taboo to talk of, because of faith and ideologies that dominated, especially in the Middle Ages. Death was mentioned publicly, and expressed in various ways and means. The change in culture reflects to us how people recruit more euphemistic expressions for referring to death. Not only was it confined to the act and word of death, but it covered even issues related to it. The shift from faith to secularism affected even euphemism itself, while referring to this topic. To be reunited with God the Father is not believed in any more. This has motivated people to invent non-religious euphemisms for death. It seems that euphemisms are good symptoms about how polite society is. The more polite the society is, the more euphemisms are used in writing and speech. Olurankinse (1992:189) explains that Yoruba, one of the major ethnic groups living in Nigeria, makes ample use of euphemisms. Their everyday speech, writing, and even oral poems contain a wide range of euphemisms.

4.11 Gender and Euphemism
It may be fair enough to say that men and women are viewed differently; though feminist movements all over the globe do their best and exert more efforts to ensure equality between men and women, it is still foggy, and seems in vain. In her article "Language and Women's Place", Lakoff (1973) tackles a number of social and linguistic issues to show the place women occupy in society. The use of language is her means to give
evidences for inequality in the role men and women play in society. In their early lives, girls are blamed and criticized if they talk rough, like boys. When learning her lessons well, she is not rewarded. Even when in her womanhood, her attempts to be taken seriously as a human being are in vain too because she is "accused of being unable to speak precisely." Whether she does or does not, a girl is damned. Being unqualified or incapable of holding responsibility, along with other behaviours, women are denied access to power.

Lakoff (1973:58) brings to our attention, as well as social aspects, a linguistic issue to support what she already claimed: gentleman is the masculine counterpart for lady, however, the euphemistic word for woman is lady, but gentleman is not so for a man. Pointing out that lady and woman show the same connotation is a vexed question. Most importantly, women are referred to by derogatory terms used by men. Whereas the opposite does not exist, it is an interesting area to be investigated, as Risch (1987:354) reports.

Hick (2004:124) mentions in his definition of gender that the differences between men and women were traditionally social rather than biological. The inferiority women suffer from in society exits even in the case of titles women are given and addressed with. Unlike male epithets or titles which are prestigious and associated with power, female address forms, according to Mills (1995:84), have sexual and non-prestigious meanings.

With regards to the relation or the way men and women use euphemisms in their language, as their status differs, their use of language does the same. Aitcheson (1992:116-7) attempts to draw sex differences in language usage, this topic attracted a lot of attention, especially in the last decades. She says "the most consistent difference found between men and
women within the Western world is a tendency for women to speak in a way that is closer to the prestige standard. In colloquial terms, they speak better than men." The reason behind that, as she states, may be ascribed to the fact that women are curbed and pressurized to behave in a lady-like manner, a part of which is to speak nicely.

The concept, men and women's language differs, is somehow supported through researches conducted in various fields of linguistics. Women's language, according to Allan and Burridge (1991:231), is characterized by euphemism and politeness. Men's language is dominated by foul language. The possible justification for this case is that not all language members are expected to respond to and react with given matters equally in culture. Men tend to use slang, or they are slang users, whereas women are slang eschewers. According to De Klerk (1992:279), it is "attributable to the fact that use of slang often implies a high level of confidence, which is a typically male attribute in Western society." As a result, it is seen that language plays an important role in representing members of society, i.e. males vs. females. Women are keener than men to use euphemisms in their speech.

4.12 Morphological Aspects in Euphemisms

To express untouchable subjects euphemistically, language provides its speakers with all possibilities to achieve the purpose of interacting with others. Here it is found that some points related to the morphology of English language are to be discussed.

Potter (1950:156) states that suffixes may be multiplied by analogy. Historically, the old undertaker was shortened to stand for funeral undertaker. Euphemistically, it became mortician in conformity with
other words end with the suffix *ian*, like that in musician, physician, mathematician, and electrician.

The prefix *off*, as Allan and Burridge (1991:88) believe, is associated with males when talking of masturbation. In addition to that, it "captures the release from pent up earthly desire that motivates masturbation." They add that the image of a rocket shooting off into the space is associated with the same act. Words like *beat off, jack off, whack off*, and *yank off* are the euphemistic verbal phrases that denote the act of self-abuse or self-pleasuring.

A problem is encountered by native and non-native speakers of English; it is represented by the phonetic similarity which the two words have. Allan and Burridge (1991: 24) raise the similarity between *regina* and *vagina*, which is a taboo word. The non-native English learners, like Thai, as Crystal (1987:8) believes, feel embarrassment when they use *yet*, because of the phonetic resemblance with *jed*, that signifies an impolite word in Thai for "to have intercourse."

**4.13 Semantic Aspects**
When euphemisms are tackled on the light of their semantic values, some points are brought to the attention. This section focuses on semantic aspects in euphemism.

**Which Type of Meaning**
Obviously, euphemisms are employed to make something unpleasant seem pleasant and acceptable, they are substitutes for words that have bad connotations or are not preferred. To avoid these bad or unpleasant expressions in a conversation, a new name is given, and attitudes are worked on too. In his discussion of the types of meaning, Leech
(1981:15) calls "the way language reflects the personal feelings of the speaker, or his attitude towards something he is speaking about", as effective meaning. In this type, meaning is conveyed and reflected through the connotative content of the word used, whether positive or negative.

**Euphemisms and Attitudes**

Any word used, of course, has the semantic features [+good] or [+bad], depending on how the word is perceived by people in their culture. Though being close in meaning and sharing the same basic semantic features, the substitutes or euphemisms are neutral or even pleasant. When the meaning is clearly disvalued, as Chaike (1982:196-7) explains, a new substitute or euphemism should be invented or replaced by another one. Euphemisms are characterized by the loss of their euphemistic character, regardless of the reason behind their rise (religious, fear, or social reason). So they assume, what Pei (1949:251) mentions, "the full stark significance and connotations of the original word they have displaced, become taboo, and ultimately have to be replaced by new euphemism." Psycholinguistically, taboo, according to Risch (1987:354), is defined by its affectation, the reactions aroused by the world, not by their denotative meaning.

To be accepted, new words are created because of the pleasantness of their connotation to the mind of the hearer and not to his ear. In this sense, Qi (2010: 137) emphasizes that because of its delicate association with the listener, euphemisms are better than taboo. This pleasantness helps change the attitudes of people towards any issue. Pretty associations are developed with the new word. The example given by Allan and Burridge (1991:170) clarifies that: *invasion* is a dysphemism expression;
its connotations of unwanted interference and enforced domination of others come with this word when it is mentioned. By contrast, humanitarian aid are the connotation associated with rescue mission, as it is the substitute for invasion. In such a case, giving or coining a new word is justifiable in harmony with the blocking principle by Allan (2001:111): "if a listeme already exists to express a meaning, do not consider another one without a good reason for doing so. For more examples, see McMahon (1994:281).

Are Euphemisms Synonyms?
This section discusses a semantic relation among a number of euphemistic words or expressions that denote and signify the same thing that is a synonym. A good start is to define synonym as specifying what is similar and not different among the words, (Murphy, 2003:134) and (Denham and Lobeck, 2010:297). These words are, in fact, different in form or structure, but similar in meaning. As an Arabic native speaker and English as a foreign language learner, when looking up a word in my English-Arabic dictionary, it is affirmed that words give the same meaning. It comes to the mind whether these words are synonymous or not. However, they are perceived so. Learners are confused, and problems are encountered by them, especially when using these words in a real interactive situation with a native speaker.

It is reported by Lavrova (2010:42) that "euphemisms are emotionally, neutral words and expressions, used instead of synonymous structures (italics are mine) that are perceived as impolite, rude or indecent." This statement brings to our attention that euphemisms are synonymous. Svejcer (1978:141), on the other hand, has the same idea. However, he compares between General English and American or British English. He
assumes that a number of unpleasant occupations are renamed euphemistically because they are not prestigious, for example, in American society. In General English, a person who sells land or property is called land-agent man. While in American English, the same person is called a real-estate man, but realtor is given in British English to the same person, to be seen like any other regular jobs.

Rawson (1989:15) raises some issues to show how synonyms related to social and political activists respond. It is difficult to find more pleasant words instead of unpleasant counterparts. "Overweight people …, have begun trying to take the sting out of fat. …, homosexuals have defiantly adopted faggot and dyke, some prostitutes have opted for whore." In her book *Dangerous English 2000!*, Claire (1998) attempts to guide learners and readers how to differentiate between the levels of euphemisms in the context of formality Vs. informality. To illustrate, talking of a woman who plans to have a child, she is formally called pregnant or gestating, the general term is pregnant, euphemistically speaking, she is labeled as she is great with child, or she is in a family way, or expecting a child. To denote her with slang expressions, preggers, swallowed a watermelon seed, have one in oven, and cooking one in the pots, are given. Whereas knocked up is a vulgar expression in this respect. For more examples, see appendix (2).

Lyons (1981:159) sees that descriptive synonyms, without having the same expressive or social meaning, like 'lavatory', 'toilet', 'loo', 'WC', etc, refer to the fact that it is unnecessary to use all these by all the speakers of a language, though they may well understand members of a set of synonyms. This idea is somehow shared by Thompson (1999: viii), it has already been mentioned when features of euphemism were discussed in
To him, euphemisms are synonymous substitutes for a word or phrase of lower status. Briefly, being different in structure or form and similar in meaning, euphemisms are regarded as synonyms, taking into account the level of these expressions when used. The arduous task for non-native speakers or English as foreign language learners is how to differentiate among various expressions to pick up the most appropriate one.

**Semantic Stops**

Some euphemistic words and expressions are suggestive. The following examples are given to make the idea clear:

1- Allan and Burridge (1991: 88-9) comment that words like *cap, hood, overcoat, diving suit, raincoat* ...etc, are euphemistic to denote condom, meaning something is covered, wearing a condom is like taking a shower with a raincoat.

2- The particle *up* in dysphemistic expressions, as in *knocked up, banged up, up the spout, up a gum tree* …etc, gives the connotation that no one wants to be in an unwanted state, as they refer to pregnancy.

3- Games (2008:447) refers to the noun/verb *jerk*, along with *yerk*, it is assumed to imitate the sound of a whip or rod. With the particle *off*, to *jerk off*, and other verbs like *bring, jank, pull, suck, toss, and wank*, all are extended to the point of orgasm.

4- The verbs molest and abuse are used to signify sexual abuse of children: both of them reflect society's abhorrence for the adult perpetrators. By the same token, attributed to the great abnormality and society's reluctance for the issue; incest has no euphemistic expression in English; the only it has is one taboo expression, *motherfucker*, without a counterpart.
4.14 Euphemism and Language Change

As far as the linguistic change is concerned, the role of euphemisms in this process is vital and significant. To Burkhardt (2010:362), euphemism is one of the factors of semantic change. Mayer et al (2005:138) confirm that taboo, does the same; they lead together, in some semantic areas, to an endless chain of replacements. The reason is that a new euphemism converts into taboo soon like its predecessors. Like the change in language, the process of euphemism change is consistent and unstable. They sometimes become more familiar to the speaker to be perceived like clichés, though the latter is "the product of a lazy mind, whereas euphemisms are the product of a timid mind." The connotative force of cliché is frequently lost to become threadbare, (Becker, 1966:181). Moreover, euphemisms become more objectionable than the common words, and loose their reputation because of their bad connotations.

Allan (2001:164,168) emphasizes the role of euphemisms in language change. He assumes that euphemisms and dysphemisms motivate language change by promoting new euphemisms, or giving new meanings for old ones, and causing some exciting vocabulary to be abandoned. To achieve this purpose, remodelling, acronym, phonetic similarity …etc are the sources to do so. Creating a new synonym is not subject to the blocking principle mentioned above, like Shoot! Sugar! Shivers! and Shucks! which are euphemisms to denote shit, while they express anger or frustration.

4.15 Pragmatics and Euphemism

Strategies of politeness are highly employed in this respect since euphemism is used to avoid being impolite, frightening people, and threatening others.
**Indirectness**

Qi (2010:137) states that it is offensive and rude to speak of a taboo or refer to it directly; this characterizes a person or society as impolite. Thus, people attempt whatever they have to be indirect, when referring to unpleasant matters. He adds that this matter is, in fact, the reason behind creating euphemism.

Hudson (2000:263) discusses what has been mentioned above: indirectness is employed by speakers to diminish the unpleasantness the meaning earns. Languages have different sources to conceal unpleasantness in communication.

It is, according to Agyekum (2004:333), widely used in politics; political statements and programmes are based on manipulating various strategies, of which are metaphor, proverbs, circumlocution, ideas, and visions to fulfill that. It has been seen when PC was discussed; invasion, war, and many other sensitive issues in society are given different names, the purpose is to avoid direct reference to particular matters. English contains in its lexicons a number of words (propaganda, misinformation, and doublespeak, for example) which are used to describe language that is designed to mislead in some ways, they are employed to reduce the possibility of offensive notions of certain direct expressions. In the following example, the speaker intends to use the bathroom, he refers to that indirectly:

- Excuse me, can I wash my hands?
- Excuse me for a minute.

Depending on the context, the message is interpreted and understood it is a request to use the bathroom indirectly.
Politeness

Politeness is defined by Yule (1996:60) as "the means employed to show awareness of another person's face. Face, on the other hand, means "the public self-image every member wants to claim for himself" (Brown and Levinson, 1987:61).

As far as euphemism is concerned, some euphemisms have emerged because of bashfulness and the desire to be polite and show reverence, (Lavarove, 2010:42). Referring to politeness imposes the reference directly or indirectly to society. It is completely true that an act is preferred by an individual. However, that act is already determined by social norms and values that have been acquired and programmed by individuals as a part of socialization process early in their lives, (Reiter, 2000:2).

With reference to naming and addressing others and the relation to euphemism, they can be good examples to guide us here. Before discussing that, the factors which control the situation have to be explained: both power and the social distance determine the way names and epithets are used. In societies, two groups of people exist; powerful people (whose status allow them to practise power over others) and powerless (those who are lower than the first group), they are the subordinates to them. It could be a person who is not familiar with another one; they are psychologically distant from his/her partner.

Politeness, as Allan and Burridge (2006:29-30) state, is wedded into context, place, and time. Rules and norms of a given period of time cannot be applied, say of the Victorian Age to the 20th century, though the same society (geographically) are the data. Allan (2001:29) focuses on an
important point, the maxim of quality by Grice, mentioned in Levinson (1983:101-2), "do not say what you believe to be false". Or as Allan himself paraphrases it "speaker should be genuine and sincere."

Thus, politeness or deference is realized into two aspects: when S humiliates and abases himself or when speaker (S) raises Hearer (H) satisfies H's wants considering himself as superior. H, in this context, is perceived as of higher social rank than S. In a situation like this, deference, of course, is reflected in various ways; of which asymmetrical or non-reciprocal address forms are exchanged because their social rank is different. Honorific system existing in all languages reflects this relationship by raising of the other or lowering of oneself, as Brown and Levinson (1987).

Regarding address forms represented by titles and names, they are euphemistic expressions used to show politeness. Society develops a special kind of language including rules to help individuals communicate with each other efficiently. When the relation is non-reciprocal, the higher gives name (like first name) and receives title, as in this example:
A- John! Do what I asked you to do yesterday.
B- Yes, Sir.

In this conversation, A, according to the rule mentioned above, is superior to his/her hearer, s/he gives FN and orders s/he to do something, whereas hearer is seen lower than speaker because s/he exchanges title.

Allan and Burridge (1991:41) say "when speaker is inferior to hearer –or-named, s/he will use un-reciprocal (or conventionally un-reciprocable) deferential forms such as Your/ Her Majesty, Your/His Highness, Your Lordship, Mr. President, Madam, Chairman and so on…. These titles do
not include names, but identify a role or a social position, so to some they impersonalize."

**Summing Up**

The books written on euphemism in English present the concept of euphemism and how people dealt with it in the past. The word 'euphemism' is Greek in origin; it means "speak fair". Dysphemism, political correctness, and doublespeak, as related terms, are explained in this chapter. How fields of sex, religion, serious diseases, disability, and human body are euphemized, are stated in detail. Like taboo words, euphemisms are one of the sources of language change because when the meaning of a word is degraded, speakers try to find a substitute.
Notes on Chapter Four

1- Euphemism is pronounced as /juːfəmɪzml/, according to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2004:428).

2- Grants (1977:247) defines euphemism as "the substitution of an agreeable or inoffensive expression for one that may offend or suggest something unpleasant". Meyer et al (2005:138) sees euphemism as the replacement of taboo words by an expression which is less embarrassing. Also, another definition is by Adukanil (2008:33) "a vague or roundabout expression designed to cover up embarrassing situation or unpleasant realities. It is the social sugar-coating of language to make reality less harsh. It is a social tool to gain respectability and sanitise certain ugly realities of life". It is seen as masking unpleasant topics by employing disarming expressions, (Alexander, 2003:90). Finally, Richards, Platt, and Platt (1992:130) define it as "the use of a word which is thought to be less offensive or unpleasant than another word."

3. The Master of Revels was an official who was responsible for court entertainments in England. Being established in 1495, the first who occupied this position was a royal household heading the "Revels Office" or "Office of the Revels" overseeing originally royal festivities, and later stage censorship, until this duty was transferred to the Lord Chamberlain in 1624. Sir Edmund Tilney (1579-1610) did little more than license theatres for £3 a month and read plays for 7 shillings each. Depending on its records, it left valuable source for information on elaborate court productions from the fifteenth century through the eighteenth century.

4. The Renters is a group which appeared in the 16th and 17th century, they were against the use of dirty and forbidden words in society.

5. Death in the military is understood differently. As camouflage is used to hide soldiers' figures and sand-bags to deaden the shock of their weapons, euphemism is recruited in the same way soldiers are recruited to
hide the serious and unpleasant situation military members are in. Administrations are busy with how to keep soldiers highly spirited and zealous to win battles. Language is used carefully to achieve that. Since the First World War, many euphemisms were developed to refer to death. *Friendly fire* is one of them, to refer to missiles fired by one's own side, not hostile. Missiles or fire in general like the friendly one should be to kill enemies; however, it could kill the shooters themselves by their own firepower. *Body bag*, in which a corpse was wrapped for storage and transport, was common since Vietnam War. Due to the scandal behind this term, it was replaced by human remains pouches, that became closer to its predecessor in having bad connotation, then *transfer tubes*, as a term in the military, was the more preferred to talk of the *casualties*, not dead persons. The verb 'kill' is expressed euphemistically with:

to (blow away, bump off, burn, deconflict, degrade, eliminate, ice, knock off, liquidate, neutralize, put to sleep, rub out, sanction, service a target, snuff out, take out, terminate with extreme prejudice, top, and waste). The dead body is called non-living person, remains, and stiff.