

**The Use of Euphemisms by Jordanian Speakers of
Arabic**

استخدام الأردنيين لعبارات التلطف العربية

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Authorization

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Dedication

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Phonetic Transcription of Arabic Speech Sounds

IPA	Latin	Name	Final	Medial	Initial	Isolated	IPA	Latin	Name	Final	Medial	Initial	Isolated	
[t̤]	t	tā'	طاء	ط	ط	ط	[ʔ]	'(a)	'alif	ألف	ا	—	—	ا
[z̤]	z	zā'	ظاء	ظ	ظ	ظ	[b]	b	bā'	باء	ب	ب	ب	ب
[ʔ]	'	'ayn	عين	ع	ع	ع	[t]	t	tā'	تاء	ت	ت	ت	ت
[ɣ]	ġ	ġayn	غين	غ	غ	غ	[θ]	t̤	t̤ā'	ثاء	ث	ث	ث	ث
[f]	f	fā'	فاء	ف	ف	ف	[dʒ]	ġ	ġīm	جيم	ج	ج	ج	ج
[q]	q	qāf	قاف	ق	ق	ق	[ħ]	ħ	ħā'	حاء	ح	ح	ح	ح
[k]	k	kāf	كاف	ك	ك	ك	[ɣ]	ħ	ħā'	خاء	خ	خ	خ	خ
[l]	l	lām	لام	ل	ل	ل	[d]	d	dāl	دال	د	—	—	د
[m]	m	mīm	ميم	م	م	م	[ð]	ð	ðāl	ذال	ذ	—	—	ذ
[n]	n	nūn	نون	ن	ن	ن	[r]	r	rā'	راء	ر	—	—	ر
[h]	h	hā'	هاء	ه	ه	ه	[z]	z	zāy	زاي	ز	—	—	ز
[w]	w	wāw	واو	و	—	و	[s]	s	sīn	سين	س	س	س	س
[j]	y	yā'	ياء	ي	ي	ي	[š]	š	šīn	شين	ش	ش	ش	ش
[ʔ]		hamza	همزة	ء	—	—	[s̤]	ʂ	ʂād	صاد	ص	ص	ص	ص
							[d̤]	ð	ðād	ضاد	ض	ض	ض	ض

	Arabic vowels	Description	English vowels
Short	فتحة ضممة كسرة	Front half-open unrounded Back close rounded Front open spread	a u i
Long	ا و ي ايه او	Front open unrounded Back close rounded Front close unrounded As in šēl (ليش) in Arabic As in duktōr (دكتور) in Arabic	ā ū ī ē ō
Diphthongs	وَ يَ	(أوى) in Arabic as in (?awā) (ليل / ليت) in Arabic As in (layt / layl)	aw ay

The transliteration of consonants used above is acopy of omniglot.com site of Ager (1994)

The Use of Euphemism By Jordanian Arabic Speakers

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Abstract

This study was an attempt to explore “the use of euphemism by Jordanian Arabic speakers”. It aimed to investigate the most common euphemisms Jordanian Arabic speakers use to refer to tabooed words, topics and concepts in their daily communication. The study examined the effect of social variables such as, the dialectal variety, gender and age on the use of euphemism in the Jordanian society in the light of Politeness Principle and Context Theory.

To achieve this goal, the researcher raised the following four questions:

- 1- What euphemisms do Jordanian Arabic speakers use to refer to each of the following topics: Death, sickness, mental illness, excretory functions and cancer?
- 2- Which euphemisms are group-specific?
- 3- Which euphemisms are age-differentiated and which are gender-differentiated?
- 4- What euphemisms do Jordanian Arabic speakers use to refer to other concepts such as: certain places, certain jobs, certain body features, naming and addressing?

To answer the above questions, a questionnaire was developed and distributed to 300 Jordanian Arabic speakers. The sample represented different ages, genders and the three Jordanian varieties, Bedouin, Fallahi and Madani. The questionnaire consisted of three sections which covered the four dimensions of the study:

- 1- The most common euphemisms.
- 2- The group-specific euphemisms.
- 3- Euphemisms that were gender-differentiated.
- 4- Euphemisms that were age-differentiated.

The results of the study showed that Jordanian Arabic speakers tended to employ euphemisms in their daily face-to-face communication. Some euphemisms are viewed as

dysphemisms and others are contaminated by the negative connotation of the original term. Jordanians of different varieties vary in their use of euphemisms. Age and gender factors have a considerable effect on Jordanians' choice and use of euphemisms.

استخدام الاردنيين لعبارات التلطف العربية

اعداد

اكرام اسماعيل العزة

اشراف

الاستاذ الدكتور رياض حسين

ملخص الدراسة

هذه الدراسة هي محاولة لكشف النقاب عن استخدام الاردنيين لعبارات التلطف العربية. تلك العبارات التي يلجأ اليها الاردنيون في حديثهم اليومي لتحل محل العبارات التي قد تؤذي الشعور أو تخدش الحياء أو تتعلق بمفاهيم ذات تأثيرات غير مرغوبة في المجتمع. اضافة الى ذلك هدفت الدراسة الى اختبار كيفية تأثير المتغيرات الاجتماعية كاللهجة، و العمر، و الجنس على استخدام الاردنيين لعبارات التلطف في ضوء نظرية التأدب و نظرية السياق. و لتحقيق هدف الدراسة قامت الباحثة بطرح الاسئلة الاربعة التالية:

1. ما هي عبارات التلطف التي يستخدمها الاردنيون للحديث عن المواضيع غير المرغوب فيها التالية: الموت، المرض، الجنون، التبول و التغوط، و السرطان؟
2. أي من عبارات التلطف تختلف وفقا لاختلاف اللهجات الاردنية؟
3. أي من عبارات التلطف تختلف وفقا لاختلاف الفئات العمرية، و أي منها تختلف وفقا لاختلاف الجنس؟
4. ما هي عبارات التلطف التي يستخدمها الاردنيون للحديث عن بعض المفاهيم غير المرغوب فيها من مثل: بعض الاماكن، بعض الوظائف، بعض الصفات الجسدية و بعض المسميات؟

للإجابة على هذه الاسئلة، استخدمت الباحثة استبانة، وزعت على 300 أردنيا ممن يتكلمون العربية. مثلت العينة اللهجات الاردنية الثلاث (البدوية و الفلاحية و المدنية) ، و تكونت الاستبانة من ثلاثة أقسام كانت بمثابة تغطية شاملة لأبعاد الدراسة الاربعة و هي كما يلي:

- 1- أكثر عبارات التلطف شيوعا عند الاردنيين
- 2- عبارات التلطف الخاصة بكل لهجة عربية أردنية
- 3- عبارات التلطف الخاصة بكل فئة عمرية
- 4- عبارات التلطف الخاصة بكل جنس

أظهرت النتائج أن الاردنيين المتحدثين بالعربية يوظفون عبارات التلطف في حديثهم اليومي المباشر. بعض هذه العبارات اعتبرت عبارات تشنيع و اعتبرت العبارات الأخرى ملوثة بالإيحاءات السلبية التي تحملها العبارات الاصلية. و كشفت

النتائج أيضا عن التباين في استخدام الاردنيين لعبارات التلطف وفقا لتباين لهجاتهم. و كان لعاملي الجنس و العمر التأثير الجلي على اختيار و استخدام الاردنيين لتلك العبارات.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Language is a vehicle through which people communicate and define situations. Language reflects cultural and social inheritance and concerns. The linguistic features of any language exhibit the dominant social and cultural values and beliefs. Those values and beliefs are the basis for such variation in the use of words and expressions. It is well-known that language is an essential part of our existence as human beings.

Through decades, people used to enrich language with many new concepts, such as idioms, collocations and euphemisms. In all societies, and in certain situations, people may replace some words of negative connotations with more positive ones which have a better impact on the hearers. There are also taboo expressions which speakers attempt to avoid. The existence of taboo words is one of the main reasons behind the creation of euphemisms, which supports the principle of politeness that the researcher will discuss later in due course. People have to use euphemisms carefully to make them highly effective in their daily communication.

Euphemisms have been the subject of considerable research. Understanding language is essential for understanding of the reality of everyday life or, in other words, the society which one belongs to. Without understanding language, one suffers from lack of knowledge, loss of internal sense of harmony and loss of familiarity. Euphemisms, as a vital part of any language and as a mirror that reflects many social aspects and attitudes, attract the attention of sociolinguists, scholars and researchers.

Statement of the Problem

This study was an attempt to explore and investigate the variation in the use of euphemisms among Jordanian Arabic speakers. The Jordanian society accommodates a diverse set of dialectal varieties which motivated the researcher to put in huge effort to identify the many euphemisms used in these dialects. The study investigated the social and dialectal factors that stand behind the use of such euphemisms, since euphemisms represent the social and cultural identity.

Theoretical Background

Euphemisms achieve safe communication among members of the same society. Sociolinguists realize that euphemisms are an essential part of any language and culture. Since language is a crucial means of communication, sociolinguists conclude that there is a need to understand and analyze the nature of euphemisms. Moreover, there is a need to shed some light on the factors that motivate the use of euphemisms. This study was mainly based on Politeness Principle and Context Theory that are stated by sociolinguists.

Language has a crucial connection with the cultural and social contexts in a specific society. The social context interpretation consists of two communication planes: Context of Culture and Context of Situation. The two types of contexts are derived from the research work of the Anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1923).

Language is used in social context but not in a vacuum. It is closely related to the social and cultural values. The use of language is influenced by social variables such as, gender, education, age and social status. Malinowski

(1923) proposed "...utterance and situation are bound up inextricably with each other and the context of situation is indispensable for the understanding of the words," (p.86). Thus, he proposed two types of contexts; context of culture and context of situation.

Malinowski's theory of context was developed by Firth (1957) and further elaborated by Halliday. Halliday elaborated the concept of context into verbal context and non-verbal context, which was divided into context of situation and context of culture.

Halliday (2001) classified context of situation into field, tenor and mode. According to Halliday (2001), the field of discourse refers to the nature of social action that takes place. The tenor of discourse refers to the nature of the participants, their status and role. The mode of discourse refers to how language provides the participants' interests in a particular situation. Halliday and Hasan(1985) defined mode as "The symbolic organization of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel"(p.12). Mode is seen as the physical medium of communication; writing and speaking. The present study believes that the tenor and field of discourse are in a close connection with the use of euphemism. In other words, tenor mainly explores the relationship between the speaker and listener within specific situations. Halliday (2001) pointed that field, tenor and mode "are a conceptual framework for representing the social context as the semiotic environment in which people exchange meanings" (p.101).

In the present study, the field of discourse would be elaborated as follows: the use of euphemism varies in degree according to different fields of discourse on one hand and the choice of euphemism is influenced by the events and the subject matter that are discussed on the other hand. For instance, in the

social context, the euphemism "هداك المرض", "that disease" can be used instead of the medical term "cancer" in the Arabic society, but the former euphemism cannot be used in medical documents. In social communication, we can use vague words or roundabout expressions but medical documents have to be precise and objective. The term "cancer" has to be documented as cancer. The use of euphemism is greatly restricted in technological and legal documents.

The tenor of discourse is related to social variables such as sex, age, social status, education backgrounds and role relationships. These variables influence the use of euphemism. For instance, women tend to use more euphemisms than men in their daily communication. According to many researchers such as Lakoff (1975) and Trudgill (1983), women are supposed to be more polite than men due to social and prestigious considerations. Sociolinguists noticed that the elderly use more euphemisms than the young because they pay more attention to their self-images in the eyes of younger generation and other people. The age variable affects people's choices of euphemisms for the same concept or term. It is noticed that people with high social status and high levels of education use euphemisms more than those of the lower class.

The role relationship factor is clearly noticed in the euphemistic expressions that are used in distant relationships than in close relationships. Euphemism should be used flexibly according to social, cultural and situational contexts. According to Gregory and Susanne (1978), all the context theory explained that "language events do not occur in isolation from other aspects of human behavior; rather the researchers know that they operate within the manifold complex of human social behavior and mutually related to it" (p.4). So, language cannot be interpreted out of context. The same language form which is used in different contexts can have different meanings and the same

meaning can be expressed in different language forms. Halliday and Hasan (1985) pointed out that in order to use euphemism appropriately, people should always take the social context into consideration. People's use of euphemisms depends basically on the context of situation.

Politeness is a universal phenomenon. Every culture and every language has its own strategies of showing respect, saving face, avoiding taboos and minimizing the negative effect of impolite expressions. Ide (1989) defined linguistic politeness as follows:

"The language usage associated with smooth communication realized first through the speaker's use of intentional strategies to allow his or her message to be received favorably by the addressee and second through the speaker's choice of expressions to conform to the expected and/or prescribed norms of speech appropriate to the contextual situation in individual speech communities." (p.225)

Fraser (1990) identified four major conceptions of politeness: the social norm, the conversational-maxim, the face-saving and the conversational-contract views. To act politely is the same as using the language appropriately. Politeness derived its character from sociocultural norms. Marquez (2000) offered a definition for the term "polite" by referring to its medieval Latin origin "politus". This Latin term means smoothed and accomplished. Verschueren (1999) defined politeness as "a cover term in pragmatics for whatever choices are made in language use in relation to the need to preserve peoples' face in general, i.e. their public self-image." (p.45). Brown and Levinson (1987) focused on face saving and their concept of politeness as "face-risk minimization" (p.91). Lakoff (1975) viewed politeness as "a verbal velvet glove

to conceal the iron fist" (p.45). Moreover Lakoff (1973) proposed the three following rules of politeness which affect and reinforce each other: Rule one, "don't impose", viz. don't intrude into other people's business. Rule two, "give options" which means to let an addressee make her/his own decision, in other words let the addressee feel free to react as she/he wishes. Rule three is the essential element of politeness and the use of euphemism. It seeks to make the addressee feel good and comfortable. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), every person has face which is one's public self-image. The speaker tends to use a politeness strategy such as euphemism to avoid face loss of either the hearer or the speaker. In addition, Brown and Levinson (1987) divided face into two types; the negative face and the positive face. The negative face, which is related to the person's freedom of action and freedom of speech, means to be free to utter any term without any consideration of its negative effect on the hearer/speaker's face or feelings. The positive face is related to the person's need to be accepted and admired by other members of a society.

Euphemism plays a great role in face maintenance since it softens the communication among people. Xi (2007) stated that in communication, speakers always try to earn the respect from the hearers. So speakers, according to the circumstances, need to use appropriate strategies to express politeness and obtain the best communicative effect. This is the essential core of the Politeness Principle. Leech (1983) concluded that the Politeness Principle consists of six maxims:

- 1 Tact maxim: (maximize benefit of other)
- 2 Generosity maxim: (maximize cost to self)
- 3 Approbation maxim: (maximize praise of other)

- 4 Modesty maxim: (maximize dispraise of self)
- 5 Agreement maxim: (maximize agreement between self and other)
- 6 Sympathy maxim: (maximize sympathy between self and other) (Leech, 1983,p. 132)

Speakers, depending on the maxims above, try to shorten the psychological distance between each other on the one hand, and save faces of both sides, the speakers and the counterparts, on the other hand. This is the essence of the Politeness Principle. Euphemism is a way to maintain the Politeness Principle. For example, most people usually refer to toilet as "rest room", "powder room" or "bathroom" in order to be polite and not to offend others.

Allan and Burridge (2006) wrote about politeness and face maintenance which are represented by using euphemism .They pointed that euphemisms arise from conscious or unconscious self-censoring. They are employed to protect the speaker from being embarrassed or ill thought of and at the same time to protect the hearer or any third party from any expected offence. This reinforces the speaker being polite. According to them “politeness is wedded to context, place and time which is polite at least inoffensive and at best pleasing to an audience.” (p. 30).

The Politeness Principle is applied to people’s daily life under certain rules. This is due to cultural, social and situational considerations which vary from one society to another and from one culture to another. What is seen courteous behavior or utterance in one society might be seen the opposite in

another depending on the previous considerations. Allan and Burridge (2006) stated that “Politeness is sensitive to social standing” (p.30). They pointed that politeness refers to face which is essential in any discussion of politeness. Social interaction is generally controlled by face maintenance or saving. According to them, people look after their own face (self-respect) and they must look after the face-wants of others. Those who succeed and are skillful to do so are said to be polite and diplomatic. Moreover, they believed that face can be lost, enhanced or just saved. This means that the speaker needs to take care of every utterance that what is said will maintain, enhance or affront a hearer’s face in just the way he/she intends, while at the same time maintaining or enhancing the speaker’s own face. After all, euphemism is a mirror that reflects the Politeness Principle and its real representation.

Questions of the Study

The main goal of this study was to explore euphemistic expressions which are used to substitute unfavorable ones in the Jordanian society. More specifically, the study attempted to answer the following four questions:

1. What euphemisms do Jordanian Arabic speakers use to refer to each of the following topics?
 - a) Death
 - b) Sickness
 - c) Mental illness
 - d) Excretory functions
 - e) Cancer
2. Which euphemisms are group-specific?
3. Which euphemisms are age-differentiated and which are gender-

differentiated?

4. What euphemisms do Jordanian Arabic speakers use to refer to other concepts such as:

A) certain places

B) certain jobs

C) certain body features

D) naming and addressing?

Purpose of the Study

The study aimed at analyzing the use of euphemisms from a sociolinguistic perspective. The researcher focused on the effect of social factors on the use of euphemisms among males and females who speak different dialectal varieties in the Jordanian society. More specifically, the researcher focused on the social factors that were related to tabooed topics such as death, mental illness, excretory functions, and others.

Since the study was an attempt to explore and assess the variation in the use of euphemisms among Jordanian Arabic speakers, the population of the study represented the three Jordanian dialectal varieties namely, Bedouin, Fallahi (rural) and Madani (urban). The researcher shed light on the euphemisms used by different Jordanian Arabic dialects. Moreover, the researcher took into consideration the demographic variables that affect the use of euphemism such as :

- Gender
- Age
- Level of education

- Social status

The researcher aimed at exploring euphemisms that Jordanian Arabic speakers belonging to different age and gender groups used to mitigate the power of certain expressions.

Significance of the Study

This study was an attempt to familiarize readers with euphemisms and how they are used in everyday life of Jordanian society. In this way, the study raised people's awareness and stimulated their understanding of the power of language and its relationship to social reality. It contributed to understanding the cultural and social differences among people of different social and dialect backgrounds. It also identified the most common euphemisms used by Jordanian dialect speakers and the ones most frequently used by males and females. Few studies were concerned with social factors as one of the most significant factors in the shaping and formation of euphemisms. This study attempted to fill this gap.

Definitions of Terms

- According to Cowan (1976) pointed out the Arabic root for euphemism is "lutf" or "lata:fah" which means to be kind, favorable, elegant, soft, to treat with kindness and gracefulness according to Cowan (1976). Al-Khuli (1982) translated the English term euphemism into Arabic with "lutf attaâbir" "kind expression" and "ḥusn attaâbir".
- According to Rawson (1981) defined **euphemism** as: “ *powerful linguistic*

tools that are embedded so deeply in our language that few of us, even those who pride themselves on being plainspoken, never get through a day without using them,”. (p.1)

- The function of **euphemism** is to protect the speaker/writer and hearer/reader from possible offense. **Euphemism** enables people to communicate smoothly and without conflict due to social issues. It is something one cannot ignore in order to maintain safe communication. Allan and Burridge (1991) offered this definition “*Euphemisms are alternatives to dispreferred expressions, and are used in order to avoid possible loss of face*”. (p.14)
- Wilson (1993) defined euphemisms as words with meanings or sounds thought somehow to be nicer, cleaner or more elevated and so used as substitutes for words deemed unpleasant, crude or ugly in sound sense.
- **Euphemisms** are roundabout expressions, substituting indirect, vague, pleasant and mild words for more explicit, ugly and offensive ones, for the purpose of avoiding taboos, showing politeness, or avoiding hurting other people’s feelings. Newman (1995) defined **euphemism** as an inoffensive expression that is substituted for one that may be offensive.
- According to Webster’s Dictionary of American English (1997), euphemisms are the substitution of a mild, indirect or vague expression for one thought to be offensive, harsh or blunt.
- A pleasant replacement for an unpleasant word that has pejorative connotations according to Bussman ,Trauth and Kazzazi (2000).

Jordanian Arabic varieties

Hussein and El-Ali (1989) classified the Jordanian dialectal varieties as follows:

Bedouin variety: It is used throughout the Arab world and existed in the pre-Islamic era. In Jordan, it is commonly used by non-sedentary, nomadic tribes and it is spoken by nomads. It is mostly spoken in linguistically heterogeneous towns such as Zarqa, Mafraq, Ma'an and Kerak.

Fallahi variety: It is used by the inhabitants of villages on the West Bank. This variety is related to farmers and farming. It is not well-accepted among some non-Fallahi-speaking groups.

Madani variety: It is the medium of communication in the towns of the West Bank such as Jerusalem and Hebron. It is also spoken among the speakers who fled from the West Bank and Palestine after 1948 and 1967. It is widely used in the Jordanian society for prestigious purposes.

Although Arabic is shared as a common code by all people in Jordan, the language exists in a diglossic situation consisting of the standard and many dialectal varieties. The dialectal varieties exhibit phonological and lexical variation from one dialect area to another. Sawaie (1994) offered comments on language contact between the Jordanian and the Palestinian dialects and the possible patterns of shift that might have existed between them. Palestinian speech norms served as models for East-Jordanians. The language ecology of Jordan is very influenced by the influx of populations into the country as a result of wars in the region. The Palestinians are among these populations. Jordanian Arabic has been fundamentally and linguistically shaped by its relationship to Palestine and Palestinians.

Jordanian varieties are symbolized by the glottal stop [ʔ], [K] and [g] as reflexes

of standard [q].

e.g. [ʔ], [K], [g]

Standard Arabic	Corresponding dialectal sounds	Example
/q/ ق	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [g] Bedouins of Jordan • [ʔ] urbans-Ammani-Jordanian • [K] Palestinian Fllahi in Jordan 	/qabel/ قبل “before” [gabel] [ʔabel] أبل [kabel] كبل

In his study about dialectal varieties in Jordan, Suleiman (2007) mentioned the replacement of sedentary and Bedouin [θ] by the urban [t] or [s] or the replacement of sedentary and Bedouin [ð] by urban [d] or [z]. In addition, the urban [ʒ] is a reflex of the standard [d₅] which is the same in both Bedouin and rural dialectal varieties.

e.g. [K], [tʃ] more examples

Standard Arabic	Corresponding dialectal sounds	Example
/K/ ك	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [tʃ] Palestinian rural and Bedouin Jordanian • [K] Madani (urban) in Jordan 	/kalb/ “dog” [tʃalb] [kalb] كلب

Standard Arabic	Corresponding dialectal sounds	Example
/θ/ ث	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [t] or [s] urban • [θ] Bedouin and rural (sedentary) • [s] urban • [θ] Bedouin and rural (sedentary) 	/θalaθa/ ثلاثة “three” [talate] ثلاثة [θalaθe] ثلاثة /thaw rah/ ثورة ”revolution” [sawra] سورة [θawrah] ثورة

Standard Arabic	Corresponding dialectal sounds	Example
[ð] ذ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [ð] rurals (sedentary) and Bedouins of Jordan • [d] or [z] urbans 	/haða/ هذا "this" [haða] هاظا [hada] هادا
[zʕ] emphatic (thaa) ظ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [ð] rurals (sedentary) and Bedouins of Jordan • [z] urbans 	/a'ðeem/ عظيم "great" [a'ðeem] عظيم [a'zeem] عزم

Limitations of the study

The results of the study could not be generalized due to the limited number of participants who had filled the questionnaire and the Jordanian dialectal varieties involved to the exclusion of the standard Arabic.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Related Literature

Introduction

When certain words or expressions are too offensive, harsh and carry a high degree of risk for a given social situation, speakers tend to employ euphemisms. According to Stien (1998), people should pay much attention to the destructive power of words, expressions or thoughts. The feelings and gestures that accompany the words can hurt, injure, and even lead to death. Euphemism and cultural, social and situational contexts are intertwined. Euphemism carries out the communication in a more pleasant, smooth and effective way. Theoretical studies on euphemism, as well as the empirical studies dealt with both sides of the use of euphemism; the bright side, which makes communication between human beings more comfortable, and the dark side, which, at times, people use euphemistic phrases to conceal the harsh reality of what is being referred to.

Theoretical studies

Features of euphemisms

Social interaction is exposed to many challenges. It is threatened by the existence of such sensitive topics and tabooed concepts. Taboos can cause discomfort, harm or injury. In certain cases taboos can lead to illness or death. Euphemism more or less originates from taboo. It is to substitute the language taboo.

Euphemism, as sweet talking, is created to replace taboos which are forbidden or impolite depending on the taboo and culture of the people who interpret them. There is a strong relationship between euphemism and taboo. Burchfield (1985) argued that a language without euphemisms would be a defective instrument of communication. Enright (1985) stated that words are, in an obvious sense, euphemisms for what they represent. Enright (1985) pointed out:

"Euphemisms are often conspicuous and frequently ridiculous: politicians speak of 'growth going backwards', the CIA calls its assassination units 'Health Alternation Committees', and the Military codenames a new deadly weapon 'The Peacekeeper'. Euphemism is integral to our daily lives from Public Convenience and Rest Rooms to Social Welfare and Big C" (p.223).

Euphemism plays an important role in our daily communication. From the day it came into existence, euphemism is functioned to lubricate our communication, helps establish a good relationship between human beings and strengthen social stability. Epstein (1985) claimed that "In the beginning was the word. There followed, at an undetermined, but one assumes decent interval, private, harsh, and dirty words. Invention here being the mother of necessity, the need for euphemism arose" (p.56). In communication, for better maintenance of social relationship and exchanging ideas, people had to resort to a kind of language, which could make distasteful ideas seem acceptable or even desirable. This type of language was defined as euphemism in linguistics and it came in different forms and was used for different issues.

Scholars defined euphemism differently from different perspectives. The

definitions of euphemism, which the researcher mentioned earlier in her thesis, share some features:

1. The purpose of using euphemisms is to avoid directly speaking out the unpleasant or taboo reference.
2. Euphemism is a kind of polite and roundabout mode of expression.
3. Euphemism is used to soften or beautify the unpleasantness of reality.

Classifications of Euphemisms

Sociolinguists classified euphemism into many categories according to different rules and principles. For instance, Rawson (1981) divided euphemisms into two general types; positive and negative euphemism. According to Rawson (1981), positive euphemisms existed for the sake of politeness and to achieve cooperation among the members of a specific society, in a specific situation, within a specific culture. For example, for the sake of respect, in English language, the word garbage man is substituted by the euphemism “environmental beautician” and hospital nurse is euphemized as “angel in white”. In Arabic societies people tend to replace the word hospital nurse with the euphemism “malak al rahma”. Rawson (1981) argued that the negative euphemisms conceal the reality and are used for the sake of deception. For instance, Adams (1985) offered this example, “President Reagan, trying to obscure the fact that the MX missile is an awesomely destructive weapon, tried to title it ‘The Peacekeeper’ (p.45).

Lutz (1989) provided this definition of negative euphemism:

" ...misleads, distorts, reality, pretends to communicate makes the bad seem good, avoids or shifts responsibility, makes the negative appear positive, creates a false verbal map of the world, limits, conceals, corrupts, prevents thought, makes the unpleasant appear attractive or tolerable and creates incongruity between reality and what is said or not said" (p.62).

On the other hand, Katamba (2005) stated that “there is a particular kind of euphemism that involves using language in a perverse way to conceal thought. This is called DOUBLESPEAK” (p.192).

On the basis of the correlation between the euphemistic meaning and the original meaning, sociolinguists classified euphemism as conscious and unconscious. The unconscious euphemism was developed long ago and is used unconsciously, without any intention of deceit. It is deeply rooted in the history of the society. The original reference or motivation of unconscious euphemism is hardly remembered. For example, in English language, the term ‘cemetery’ is a euphemism that replaces the unpleasant term ‘graveyard’ since the fourteenth century. Conscious euphemisms are widely employed and spread. Speakers are conscious to say tactfully, and the listeners understand their implied meaning. For example, if a person wants to urinate, he/she would use the euphemism “go to restroom” instead.

Functions of Euphemism

Returning to the positive euphemism, which the present study related to, the researcher borrowed these words from Enright’s book (1985). He stated that “without euphemism, the rotation of the world would have stopped with rubbing and would have been flooded with feud”(p.113). Euphemism is more than a rhetorical device. It is a communicative means. So when it came to the functions of euphemism, the researcher listed the main communicative functions as follows:

a. Avoiding taboo

The word taboo was first used by captain James Cook 1777. It was derived from the word taboo which was heard from the speakers of Tongan. It referred originally to persons, activities, or things under prohibition. In the past, the speakers feared mentioning taboos directly and instead euphemism was used, because of their physical or metaphysical harm. An example is the names of gods and devils which are taboos. Nowadays, the speaker uses euphemism for more important considerations. Above all, these considerations are the social context and then the situational and cultural contexts.

b. Showing politeness and concealing truth

In daily life, euphemism is used for politeness and avoidance of taboo. Politeness plays an essential role in social interaction and conversation. In other words, face maintenance must be taken into consideration to ensure safe communication. Newman (1990) claimed that the two main factors that stand behind the creation of euphemisms are taboo and politeness.

In political, military and economic situations, the function of euphemism differs. It goes in another direction. Euphemism in these cases is viewed as a kind of deception and misleading.

The researcher categorized the studies on euphemisms into: International Studies and Arabic Studies. Both types handled euphemisms from different perspectives.

International literature

Euphemisms and warfare literature

Velica (2004) conducted a study to highlight the use of euphemism for deception and concealing the truth. Velica's study aimed to shed light on the

words and phrases euphemistically used by American and British mass media to refer to military operations. The researcher analyzed written texts connected to military fields. The majority of them were newspaper articles, political or military documents, and internet sites that provide a wide range of military euphemisms. The material Velica (2004) referred to in her study showed that the manner in which people used euphemisms to talk about warfare reflected the political and military concerns and pressures. The texts, that were analyzed, explained the motivations that stand behind the use of euphemisms and the ways in which the truth is concealed and distorted. The military ideology and state policy were the main motivations. The military discourse never used words like murder, assassination, spy, torture, lie or invasion. These words caused fear, and raised awareness of what really happens in the battlefield. In this case, language is no longer an informational tool; instead, it became propaganda. Velica (2004) concluded that political and military doublespeak is intentionally deceiving, and military euphemisms are used, as Rawson (1981) stated, “to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidarity to pure wind” (p.4). In addition, Velica (2004) concluded that a search for ways to reduce the effect of the harsh reality gives people an insight into the way reality is distorted by political and military discourse. The study of Velica is rich in many examples that are used in political and military affairs. Here are some of them provided by her (2004):

‘casualty’ a euphemism used for a wounded or dead person in a war, ‘the final solution’ or ‘special treatment’ a euphemism used for ethnic cleansing, ‘operatives/operator’ for a spy, ‘conventional weapon’ a euphemism used for a non-nuclear weapon, a ‘clean bomb’ a euphemism used for the neutron bomb, having everything standing and destroying people only, ‘executive action’ or ‘neutralizing’ for assassination and finally ‘friendly fire’ a euphemism used for a grenade thrown or dropped by one’s own troops (p. 12-14).

The researcher agrees with Velica in that euphemism has a double face or is a multifaceted phenomenon. However, at the same time, the researcher viewed that euphemism as a sweet talking and as a word with a positive effect on the hearers, listeners and readers is more familiar and acceptable.

Intercultural study of euphemism

The sociolinguists tried to cover all the sides of euphemism. Some of them made a contrastive analysis between the use of euphemism among people of different cultural backgrounds. Hai-Long (2008) had an intercultural study of euphemism in Chinese and English. Hai-Long (2008) believed that failing to understand euphemisms that are used among people from different cultures may cause misunderstanding of their language and social concerns and vice versa. The study aimed to explore the relationship between euphemism and culture. Moreover, the study focused on the importance of teaching euphemism to prove that different cultures produce diverse euphemisms. Hai-Long (2008) concluded that there are differences in the use of euphemism between Chinese and English, according to their cultural and social concerns. For instance, the Chinese respect the elderly more in comparison with the Westerners. They consider the old a symbol of power and status. The origins of euphemism in Chinese and English are different. The author examined the aspect of class. The Chinese emphasized the class distinction, which has a huge impact on Chinese euphemism comparing to English euphemism. Hai-Long (2008) viewed that the psychological taboos in English and Chinese bear a lot of similarity. To conclude, the use of euphemism lubricates the exchange of information and reflects certain values. The present researcher accepts the idea that euphemism is the mirror that reflects one's cultural and social concerns.

Euphemisms and honorifics literature

Allan and Burridge (1991) mentioned something related to some extent to honorifics which are used as euphemisms. They considered using names and addresses like Your/His Highness, Your Lordship, Madam, Chairman, Sir, Mr., Mrs. and so on, a euphemistic behavior. Allan and Burridge (1991) reported that “to use an appropriate style of naming and addressing is euphemistic behavior, and we set about sketching the various conditions under which styles of address are appropriate.” (p.50). Allan and Burridge (1991) emphasized the importance of context in explaining the euphemistic behavior in addressing and naming. They concluded that a style of naming and addressing depends basically on the speaker's and hearer's relative status which is derived from the relative power and the social distance between them. The relative power as Allan and Burridge (1991) viewed is ruled by the situation of clearance. For instance, the relative power of a physician and a policeman is not given for every occasion. The social distance is ruled by age, gender and sociocultural background differentiations, e.g. children addressing adults with titles like Mr. and Mrs.

Agyekum (2003) treated types of honorifics and their linguistic forms used by Akans, (the largest ethnic group in Ghana). The important thing in his study is the honorifics are used as euphemisms. These honorifics are employed for the avoidance of offensive, impolite and literal lexical items. Agyekum (2003) pointed out that “An address form is used as a vocative instead of the bare name of the person” (p.382). This was a representation for the honorifics that are used as euphemisms in Akan language. In his conclusion, he wrote that euphemisms of this type are influenced by Westernization, religion, urbanization and modernization.

Euphemism and medical field literature

Enright (1985) viewed that the use of euphemisms in medical professions was slightly complicated. The people around the patients prefer to use euphemisms more frequently than doctors who seem less inclined than people to use medical euphemism. This differentiation in the attitudes towards the use of euphemisms creates a communication gap between the two poles. Enright (1985) provided a few examples of euphemism used in the medical field in his interesting book such as 'Little' which is a euphemistic adjective employed to lessen the seriousness of diseases and it is accepted by both sides; doctors and patients (p.152). In 'catch a cold', the verb catch implies that it is the person's fault to have this illness. Physicians use euphemism such as, 'ethanol abuser' instead of an old drunk, 'mitotic disease' instead of cancer and so on (p.155).

Tse, Chong and Fok (2003) explored the variation in attitudes towards the information that is received by terminal cancer patients about their illness, focusing on the Chinese perspective. It is clear that cancer and death are both taboo issues that intersect. Many Chinese families object to telling the patient a bad diagnosis. Some doctors recommend respecting the wishes of the family. The study analyzed the principles for and against disclosure. According to Tse et al (2003), the patient of cancer rationally wants the doctor to disclose bad news, but emotionally does not want to hear it. The authors of the study above concluded that doctors should be very careful in using the words like death, fatal illness, or cancer. They should accept the patient avoiding these words. The use of euphemism is a very effective and communicative strategy to deal with patients on life and death issues. Tse et al (2003) pointed out that there is a need to be culturally sensitive in breaking bad news to terminally ill patients. The culture of the patient influences his/her attitude, value system and belief.

Fallowfield and Jenkins (2004) aimed to explore difficulties that encountered doctors and parents in a pediatric setting; people in acute trauma situations such as accident and emergency departments and patients with cancer. Moreover, the study aimed to assess the impact sad and bad news have on doctors and patients on one hand, and assess whether interventions are helping on the other. The authors reviewed examples of research done in different parts of the world, looking at the impact of giving sad and difficult news on the deliverers and recipients. Like all other previous studies, cancer is the disease of a high need of euphemistic expressions. Ambiguity is common in consultations. Fallowfield and Jenkins (2004) wrote that:

"...euphemistic expressions are commonly used in attempt to soften the blow, but sometimes health-care professionals are unaware that they have conveyed the wrong meaning, especially if their non-verbal communication has not been congruent with the intended message." (p.316).

The research above showed that if bad news was communicated badly it could cause confusion, distress and increase the degree of risk upon the patient. With the help of euphemism, the problem was solved. Euphemism can assist acceptance and adjustment. Euphemistic expressions produce benefits for doctors as well as their patients.

Allan and Burrige (2006) believed that the verbal taboos surrounding disease and sickness are motivations for the use of euphemisms in medical affairs. They mentioned some examples of euphemism used to label mental illness and dreadful disease, such as AIDS and cancer. According to them, the origins of mental illness are usually mysterious. This explained the need of using euphemism instead of its bare name. Mental illness is viewed as a moral failure but not as a disease. Moreover, Allan and Burrige (2006) claimed that many

terms of madness are associated with fun; for instance, funny in the head, funny farm, bats and nuts (p.214). In their opinion, many euphemisms that used to describe mental illness have a dysphemistic meaning in a way or another. For example, euphemisms used to describe madness are crack-brained, scatter-brained, he's lost his marble...etc. All of these terms catch up the negative connotation of the origin term, and reveal attitudes that still exist in the cultures and transfer from one generation to another continuously. When it comes to a dreadful disease like AIDS and cancer, it is a matter of reducing the impact of fear on the patients. Those diseases are strongly connected with death. AIDS is linked in the minds with sin. The word AIDS itself is a euphemistic term meaning help. AIDS has another name which is HIV (human immunodeficiency virus). This disease is classified under the disease that is euphemized for the sake of politeness. Allan and Burrige (2006) pointed out that the taboos surrounding cancer are considerable. The cancer diagnosis is linked with death. Euphemisms like tumors and growth, substitute the term cancer. Growths and tumors can be removed but cancer continues to destroy the body cells, or in other words, is incurable. Other euphemisms include The Big C and CA. It is common to describe the cancer patient as someone with a 'touch of the C's' (Allan and Burrige 2006: p.221). In addition, the cardiac disease (heart disease) is a serious one which needs to resort euphemism. For instance, 'the old pump's not working too well' is a euphemistic expression instead of heart attack (Allan and Burrige 1991: p.185).

The previous studies are theoretical studies that deeply examine the communication between doctors and their patients. Many doctors find the interactions between them and their patients stressful especially when it is related to delivering bad, sad and difficult news or information.

Euphemism and gender- differentiation literature

Lakoff (1975) examined the use of euphemisms as a strategy to talk about woman. Her study was an attempt to provide clear evidence from language use for one type of conflict that exists in his society; the conflict that exists between the roles of men and women. The data of Lakoff's study were gathered from her own speech, and that of the media. Since the woman is considered a discomfortable area, there is a need to use euphemisms to cover that sensitive area. According to Lakoff (1975), this is due to a cultural issue. A word like lady, which replaces woman is found in many contexts. It is considered a euphemistic term as well as the euphemistic term housewife which describes the women's role in English. The author viewed that lady was really a euphemism for woman, but gentleman is not classified as a euphemism for man. There is no need to refer to men as 'gentlemen' unlike women who are socially and culturally tabooed. Lakoff (1975) stated that

"To avoid having to resort to terms like 'Afro-American', we need only to get rid of all expressions like 'nigger'; to banish 'lady' in its euphemistic sense from the vocabulary of English, we need only first to get rid of 'broad' and its relations." (p.58).

In other words, Lakoff (1975) claimed that this will not be achieved firstly unless people remove from their minds and cultures the idea that blacks are degraded creatures and woman is a marginal and powerless creature. Secondly, people should start feeling more respect for women and more comfortable about them and their roles in societies. Moreover, she mentioned more examples for euphemisms and so on. But, one says, normally, "woman doctor" and does not say "lady doctor" which is considered an insult. Lakoff (1975) suggested that the term lady is employed as a euphemism for woman, because it does not contain the sexual implications that exist in the term woman. In addition, she wrote about

the status of woman which is euphemistically expressed in the presence of man's bare name. For instance, one says Mrs. John Smith. Mrs. here is a euphemism to cover the existence of woman. Lakoff (1975) concluded that throughout English, there is evidence of many sorts that women are viewed as an unpleasant, embarrassing and sensitive concept. Since this is the view in most cultures, woman is a concept that needs to be euphemized.

Males and females are quite different in regarding positive and negative faces. "Sex varieties are the result of different social attitudes towards the behavior of men and women, and of the attitudes men and women consequently gave to language as a social symbol" (Trudgill, 1983, p. 94) .

Wareing (2004) defined sex and gender in this way: "Sex refers to biological category, which is usually fixed before birth. Gender refers to social category, which is associated with certain behavior" (p.76). The researcher of this study viewed that in Arab societies the gender differentiation exists, but to some extent. She proposed that there are certain sensitive areas which both males and females treat euphemistically in their daily conversation. Males tend to take the Politeness Principle into their account, when they interact with women, in the same degree that women do. The obvious difference between them in using euphemism is that women use this procedure in all types of interactions. The researcher tried to prove her point of view through the questionnaire.

Linfoot-Ham (2005) wrote about the historical change of euphemism formation. He aimed to examine how personal linguistic choices are influenced and produced by societal mores and pressures. To achieve this goal, Linfoot-Ham (2005) examined euphemisms in three British novels which are Emma (by Jane Austen), Lady Chatterley's Lover (by D.H. Lawrence) and Well Groomed (by Fiona Walker). The researcher put these euphemisms into their historical

contexts. Moreover, he took in his account the culture and expectations surrounding each novel. The data of the study was over 250 euphemisms from the three works. The author adopted Warren's model of euphemism formation (1992). What is noticed is that the three works are British and are of a similar genre, i.e. love/romance. According to Linfoot-Ham (2005), Jane Austen intended to introduce her characters as a representative of polite society in her time; the turn of the nineteenth century. It is noticed that the spread of euphemisms in Emma's work is usual and represented the motivations behind them two hundred years ago. Linfoot-Ham (2005) viewed that Lawrence showed a progress in semantic change of the euphemism since Austen's time and used metonyms, metaphors and loan words as strategies to present his euphemisms. Walker used the same strategies of Lawrence and Austen, showing that there are certain sensitive areas that still need to be covered in modern society. But, the difference is that people of modern society talk on the sensitive subject sometimes directly and sometimes euphemistically. Linfoot-Ham (2005) concluded that

"The popularity of certain types of euphemism formation changes over time, and that these changes are probably due to more evolving discourse styles than alternations in motivations for euphemism use." (p.243).

Males tend to use low status, non-standard variants, but females tend to use high status, and standard variants. Yu-Jing (2007) viewed that men seek to control the progress of the conversation. As a result, they do not pay much attention to sociolinguistic strategies such as euphemism or to hearer's face.

Yu-jing (2007) added that men are more likely to use the direct and obvious strategy to express their own idea. However, women use various indirect interactive strategies to achieve the main goal of Face-Saving Theory. The researcher concluded that the gender's use of language is influenced by different

social values, which are put upon them. In interaction, everyone seeks to maintain his/her face and to be respected by others. However, gender differences exist. Linguistic strategies used for the sake of communication vary from one person to another, especially male and female. Yu-Jing (2007) tried to prove the existence of gender differentiation in the use of language and its linguistic and sociolinguistic phenomenon. His article mainly analyzes the Face-Saving Theory advocated by Brown and Levinson (1987) in a perspective of gender language differences. According to Yu-Jing (2007), males are more likely to maintain their negative faces, while females always pay much attention to their positive faces.

In the same area, Xi (2007) investigated the gender-related differences in discourse from the four following factors: using slang, humor, approbation, sympathy and euphemism. Her paper focused on the main differences between men and women in speech behavior, and interpreted the possible causes for the existence of such differences from the culture aspects. As indicated in the previous study, men and women behave differently in performing the Politeness Principle. Xi (2007) viewed that the special psychological feature of women is their use of euphemism much more than men in speech behavior. She provided examples from one of the Chinese ethnic group, Hui. Men and women of this group used different words to express having a bath. Men for instance say it frankly, "I will wash myself", while women say it euphemistically "I will wash my hair". If a woman wants to go to toilet, she will prefer to say "I want to wash my hand", while men say "I want to go to the W. C". (Xi, 2007: p.19). Xi (2007) concluded that euphemism is of a great relationship with gender roles. In speech behavior, women tend to obey the Politeness Principle. Men tend to ignore this principle in their daily conversation. Age, as well as gender, social class and educational level, has been considered as one of the factors that cause language variation.

Euphemism and age-differentiation literature

Age distinctions are frequently reflected in the world of language. Burchfield (1985) stated that

"What has changed from generation to generation was the prominence given either to explicit language or to language that was more reserved. Both kinds co-existed but advanced or retreated according to the mode of writing or the mood of the age". (p. 27-28)

Storr (1985) gave examples from her own experience for the different euphemisms used through different generations. For instance, her grandmother, who was born around 1853, used the euphemism "don't you want to make yourself comfortable?" instead of you want to urinate. Another grandmother, born a decade later, used another euphemism like "Have you taken your precaution?" for the same topic. It is noticed that age factor played an essential role in the use of euphemism.

According to Peccei (2004), one of the ways that a person describes him/herself is by age and generation (e.g. a fifty-six-year-old). One of the factors that affect the way one talks in a given situation, is the age of his/her conversational partner. Peccei (2004) added that people's everyday experience offers many examples of vocabulary used by teenagers and young adults which need to be translated for older age groups

Arabic Literature

Arabic euphemization

Farghal (1995) shed light on the nature of euphemism in Arabic. The study was an attempt to investigate Arabic euphemistic expressions in relation to the Politeness Principle which is proposed by Leech (1983) and the Cooperative Principle's Maxims of Conversation that was proposed by Grice (1975). The data of the study are drawn from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and a Colloquial Jordanian (CJA) as spoken in the rural Northern parts of Jordan excluding urban and Bedouin dialectal varieties. Farghal (1995) argued that there is a close interaction between the Politeness Principle and the Cooperative Principle's maxims of conversation. To achieve the purpose of the study, four major categories of euphemism, the figurative expression, circumlocution, remodeling, and antonyms were discussed excluding the other categories such as ellipses, abbreviations and understatements. The examples of the four categories were analyzed to explore the nature of euphemization in Arabic. The cooperative principle and its maxims according to Farghal (1995) were proposed to treat the fact that "language users often mean more than what they actually say when they engage in conversation" (p. 367). Farghal (1995) pointed out that euphemism exists in Standard Arabic more than colloquial Arabic, because it is deeply rooted to the linguistic politeness. Farghal's study showed that Arabic utilizes four major devices for euphemization: figurative expressions, circumlocutions, remodelings, and antonyms. The study argued that there is a strong relationship between the Politeness Principle and the Cooperative Principle's maxims of conversation. Finally, the study showed that Arabic euphemisms surpassed one or more of the maxims of conversation, viz., the quantity maxim, the quality maxim, the relation maxim and the manner maxim. Farghal (1995) offered interesting examples for each of the four devices used for euphemization in Arabic.

- Figurative euphemisms have a much heavier presence in taboo areas such as death, urination, defecation, and sex. Farghal (1995) viewed that death is the most euphemized topic in Arabic. Native speakers of Arabic avoid mentioning death or use the verb 'mātā', 'to die', when they refer to the occurrence of death.

Instead, they use figurative euphemisms to refer to the same topic. In MSA here are some examples of death euphemisms:

MSA euphemism	English translation
'intaqala 'ilā raḥmat-i-l-lāh'	'He transferred to the mercy of God'
'intaqala 'ilā jiwār-i- rabb-ih'	'He transferred to the neighborhood of his Lord'
'intaqala 'ilā dār-i-l-baqā'	'He transferred to the home of eternity'

(Farghal, 1995, p.369-370)

The following examples are euphemism used for death too in Colloquial Jordanian Arabic.

CJA euphemism	English translation
'xubzāt-uh xilṣin'	'His bread ran out'
' 'a'tā-k 'umr-uh'	'He gave you his age'

(Farghal, 1995, p.370)

Urination and defecation are another sensitive area that requires figurative euphemisms. The following examples are taken from the CJA.

CJA euphemism	English translation
'rāḥ yegḏi ḥājih'	'He went to meet a need'
'rāḥ yirayyiḥ ḏamīr-uh'	'He went to relieve his conscience'

(Farghal, 1995, p. 371)

In the second example above, Farghal (1995) noticed that it was used mostly among Jordanian male youths rather than other age groups or females. This note proved that there are age and gender differentiations in the use of euphemisms. All the previous examples surpassed the maxim of quality as

Farghal (1995) viewed.

The other device that is used for euphemizing in Arabic is circumlocution. Here are examples from MSA and CJA for this device.

MSA euphemism	CJA euphemism	English translation
'āmil-u naḏāfat-in' 'zabbāl-un'	'āmil naḏafah' 'zabbāl'	'a cleanliness worker' 'trash man'

The euphemism used for the person who fails in his study.

MSA euphemism	English translation
'lam yuḥālif-hu-l-ḥaḏ-u'	'luck was not his ally'

(Farghal, 1995: p. 374)

CJA euphemism	English translation
'mā twaffag-iš'	'he was not lucky'

(Farghal, 1995, p. 374)

Remodelings are another device for euphemizing that was discussed and analyzed in Farghal's study. Farghal (1995) noticed that this device appeared clearly in Colloquial Arabic more than in Standard one.

Remodeling involves the substitution of a semantically unrelated word for an offensive one. The following examples were taken from the CJA remodelings:

CJA euphemism	Offensive counterpart
'yil'an ḥarīš-ak' 'Damn your-!'	'yil'an ḥarīm-ak' 'Damn your kinswomen'

(Farghal, 1995, p. 375)

Farghal (1995) pointed out that remodelings rhyme with the words they substitute. Antonyms are the fourth device for euphemizing negative states such as the MSA euphemisms for the following taboo topics:

The MSA euphemism	The counterpart
mu‘aāfā ‘healthy’	marīḍ ‘ill’
baṣīr “sighted”	ā‘mā “blind
‘ā'idūn “returners”	lāj'ūn “refugees.”

(Farghal, 1995, p. 377).

The researcher supported the idea proposed in Farghal’s study that Standard Arabic had more euphemisms than colloquial one. But she contradicted him in considering expression like *xubzāt-uh xilṣin* a euphemistic expression. The researcher viewed that this expression holds a heavy association of the bad connotation of the original term 'died'. Furthermore this type of expressions is sarcastic and does not hold any religious implications which make the addressee feels comfortable.

Al-Khatib (1995) attempted to provide a detailed overview of the linguistic taboo in Jordanian Arabic and to bring to light the socio-cultural factors that might influence its use as a whole. Al-Khatib (1995) maintained that the euphemistic processes are used to replace taboo words in Jordanian Arabic. Al-Khatib (1995) adopted a theoretical procedure to achieve the aim of his study. He benefited from various sociolinguistic theories and previous works in examining and analyzing taboos of Jordanian society. Al-Khatib concluded that there was a large number of socio-cultural factors such as, age, education, setting and topic which affects the use of taboo words and their euphemistic equivalents. The study showed that the phenomenon of euphemism is viewed as a product of the socio-cultural rules accepted by the members of the speech community. The use of euphemism showed that there are alternative strategies that people can utilize to express their ideas and attitudes. Al-Khatib (1995) observed that Jordanian Arabic has a considerable range of euphemistic processes and a variety of euphemisms. Moreover, the study introduced the code-switching strategy

which was employed by Jordanians euphemistically to soften the verbal impact of taboo words. Al-Khatib viewed that Jordanians have a great variety of linguistic options to describe linguistic taboos connected with body functions such as excretion. Jordanians see words associated with urination and defecation as dirty and obscene. For example euphemisms like “raaḥ ‘alageer matraḥ” 'he went to a place that cannot be mentioned', “raaḥ ‘ala dorit ?almayeh” 'he went to the water circulation' all could replace the linguistic taboo “raaḥ ‘ala ?il mirḥaad” “he went to the toilet” (Al-Khatib,1995,p.448). The study included linguistic taboos connected with unpleasant matters such as death, disease, crime and punishment. Those matters have “a great connotative effect on a large number of words in Jordanian Arabic” (Al-Khatib, 1995, p. 448). For instance, the word 'moot', 'death'cannot be uttered without saying “lasamḥa ?allah” 'God forbid', (Al-Khatib, 1995, p. 449).

Farghal (1995) stated that death is the most euphemized topic in Arabic. Al-Khatib (1995) who supported Farghal's statement, also believed that death is the most contaminated event in the Jordanian society. In order to replace all words related to it, a large number of euphemisms are created. The following examples of euphemisms are all related to death.

Examples of the taboo term /maat/ 'died':

Euphemisms	English Translation
?a‘taak ‘umruh	‘he donated you the rest of his life’*
rabna rayahu	‘laid to rest’*

(Al- Khatib, 1995, p. 449) Key: *= inaccurate translation

Terms related to ceremony of death like/ beet ?al ‘aza/ ‘ceremony of mourning':

Euphemisms	English Translation
Beet ?al ?ajir	‘ceremony of rewards’*

(Al- Khatib, 1995, p. 449) Key: *= inaccurate translation

Depending on the culture and social concerns, illness is viewed as unlucky and ill-omened event. People vary in the way they talk about fatal disease like 'cancer' or 'heart attack'. The study of Al-Khatib offered the following examples of euphemisms Jordanian Arabic tend to use during a conversation. The term /saratan/ 'cancer':

Euphemisms	English Translation
?il marad ?ili mayitsamaḡ	'the disease which cannot be named'*
haḏaak ?ilmarad	'that disease'*

(Al-Khatib, 1995, p. 449) Key: *= inaccurate translation

Al-Khatib (1995) gave more euphemisms used in Jordanian Arabic to replace taboo words associated with crime and punishment. For instance:

The taboo word /sirqa /'theft':

Euphemisms	English Translation
?ixtilaas	'embezzlement'*

The taboo word / taraduuh /'he was fired':

Euphemisms	English Translation
?anhu xadamaatuh	'he finished his duty'*

The taboo word/ ma ?istaqbaluuḡ/ 'he was not received by someone':

Euphemisms	English Translation
ma ?a'tahuuḡ wiji	'he was not welcomed'*

(Al-Khatib, 1995: p. 449) Key:*= inaccurate translation

After examining his own list of euphemisms, Al-Khatib (1995) noticed that Jordanians use different types of euphemisms, for instance, metaphors (e.g. ?irtaah), 'laid to rest' for died. Generic expressions (e.g. yi'malha 'to do it' for

urination, infantile expressions (e.g. yi‘mal bebi ‘to do bebi' for urination, and finally metonymy (e.g. raaḥ ‘ala ġeer maṭraḥ 'went to a place that cannot be mentioned', for toilet) (Al-Khatib, 1995, p. 452).

The other interesting thing that attracted the researcher's attention in Al-Khatib's study was the educational and age factors that affected the use of linguistic taboo and euphemism. Al-Khatib (1995) mentioned the use of code-switching and code-mixing as a means of euphemizing and violating language taboos. For instance, the English word toilet is used instead of/ merḥād/ or/ ḥamām/.

According to Al-Khatib (1995), educated speakers are well-acquainted with both standard and colloquial Arabic while uneducated speakers are unable to take advantage of Standard Arabic. Education enables the speaker to widen the range of the euphemistic expressions and procedures to avoid using unacceptable words.

Al-Khatib (1995) proved that the age factor is of a great importance in revealing linguistic diversity. The effect of age can be observed clearly in the way adults talk to their children about excretory functions. The researcher of the present study also tried to prove the effect of sociocultural factors such as, education, age and gender in the use of euphemism.

Euphemism and the multifaceted function

Euphemism was defined as a sweet talking and as deception. In this field, Abu Hammad (2007) studied euphemism from two perspectives; the usual use of euphemism, sweet talking, and the unusual use which is deception. To achieve the goal of his study, the researcher adopted a theoretical method. The first part of

his study dealt with euphemism as sweet talking to replace taboo and profanity (bodily effluvia, sex and swearing). The researcher analysed the non-linguistic (audio and visual) and linguistic techniques used in euphemism: metaphors, loan words, figurative speech, circumlocutions, and others. The second part of his study is dedicated for the euphemism as deception or doublespeak. He analysed different examples that are used in law, military, political and nuclear as a means of deception.

Abu Hammad (2007) concluded that euphemism can be used for two different purposes; sweet talking, for the sake of politeness and maintaining one's face, and deception to conceal horrible things and plain facts. He claimed that euphemism as sweet talking is widely used in people's everyday language, depending on when and where it is used. Deception is widely used among politicians and in military affairs to serve their needs and propaganda.

Abu Hammad (2007) provided examples for the two types of euphemisms he dealt with. For the first type, which is sweet talking, a euphemism is used in British English "lose your lunch" instead of "vomiting" (p.8). Another euphemism is to refer to a menstruating woman as the "cavalry's come" (p.9), since the cavalry wears red clothes. A "beep" sound or showing an icon with a beep sound on the mouth of the speaker is a technique used to substitute unpleasant words in audio-visual broadcasting.

In addition, Abu Hammad (2007) provided this example to explain the deferential in people's interpretation of tabooed objects. For many Jordanians, it is a taboo to say someone died of cancer; instead, they may use the euphemism "that disease" (p.4). In the same society, to refer to cancer as cancer is acceptable for others. Using 'that' (not 'this'), Jordanians want the disease to be far away from the speaker and the hearer. In addition, Abu Hammad (2007) provided another

example which is related to Arabic culture. Some Arabs “usually fear mentioning “genies” since they believe that genies have demonic effects on the people who mention their names” (p.4). Genie in Arabic culture is a taboo word that should not be mentioned to avoid its malevolent forces.

When it comes to the euphemism as a deception, Abu Hammad (2007) mentioned these examples: The defeated army who should withdraw is described as a “strategic withdrawal” (p.16). Another example is "closed military area" instead of “a demarcation" for the press and observers to stay out so that they would not witness the depredation of the occupation force” (p.16). The “enhanced interrogation techniques” is a euphemism for torture (p.18). The researcher of this study agrees with the conclusion of Abu Hammad.

Euphemism and inter-cultural literature

Al-Qadi (2009) compared between English and Arabic euphemism from a sociolinguistic perspective. The goal of the study was to highlight euphemisms in English and compare them sociolinguistically with Arabic. In his study, Al-Qadi (2009) tried to analyze the modern standard English-Arabic varieties sociolinguistically. He used interesting examples in his study which was worth mentioning in the present study. Here are some of them:

Tabooed topics such as:

Death

Arabic euphemism	English euphemism
-intaqala ?ila: jiwa:ri rabbih (He moved to become near his Lord) =died	-pass away/ expire/ depart/ go to a better place or world/ breathe one's last = die

(Al-Qadi, 2009, p.15)

Urination and defecation (p.15)

Arabic euphemism	English euphemism
-bajt arra:ḥah (a house of rest) = a toilet	-pay a visit = urinate/ defecate

(Al-Qadi, 2009, p.15)

Occupations

Many low occupations are euphemized to become more pleasant to the ears.

Arabic euphemism	English euphemism
-ā:milah manziliyah (female home worker) = xa:dimah (female servant)	-domestic engineer = servant

(Al-Qadi, 2009, p.16)

Al-Qadi (2009) wrote about the euphemisms that are used to address women such as "um al ʔya:l" ""mother of sons", with which sons refer to both sons and daughters" (p.16). In addition, Al-Qadi (2009) offered examples of loan words used as a type of euphemization. For instance, the English word "tragedy" is used instead of the Arabic word "maʔsa:h" and "comedy" instead of "mallha:h". Al-Qadi (2009) concluded that the degree of politeness in Arabic euphemisms was more than in English. The euphemisms in languages differ from one generation to another.

Empirical Studies

International studies

Cross cultural study

Euphemism points the way to sensitive areas of culture and society. The field work which was performed by Foster (1965) in the village Tzintzuntzan, 230 miles West of Mexico City was an attempt to explore the sensitive areas of culture that were covered by euphemistic usages. For example, in that Mexican village, pregnant women attempted to conceal their condition for as long as possible by speech and other ways. Pregnancy was classed and euphemized as an “illness” due to the fear of envy. The act of birth is euphemistically expressed by “to get better following an illness” (Foster, 1965, p.56). Fear of envy explains the avoidance of the word as pregnant.

According to Foster (1965), the nature of and the context in which euphemism is used depend basically on certain values within a certain culture. The researcher agrees that the use of euphemism is controlled by specific values within a given society as Foster concluded in his study.

In her empirical study, Zizheng (2005) tried to see how well the students of two classes in Anhui University have grasped English euphemism. For this purpose, the author used a test that consisted of four parts. The test was meant to judge the student’s ability to understand and use English euphemisms. The format of the questions was multiple choice. The author concluded that euphemism has become one of the major subjects of cross-cultural studies as

people come to realize the significance of euphemism.

According to Zizheng (2005), English teachers should pay attention to euphemism teaching to improve students' cross-cultural awareness and communicative competence. The researcher offered some examples of English euphemisms which are used in Zizheng's test.

•An official said to an old colleague of his, "As ____, you know much more about our country than I".

- A. an old person
- B. an old adult
- C. an elder citizen
- D. a senior citizen

(Zizheng, 2005, p. 40)

• The boy looked so fresh and pink and_____

- A. fat
- B. heavy
- C. chubby
- D. full

(Zizheng, 2005, p. 40)

•Oliver said sadly, "My father is gone. My mother is_____. So, I must take care of my younger sisters".

- A. mad
- B. crazy
- C. insane
- D. a little confused

(Zizheng, 2005, p. 41)

•Your grandfather has difficulty in hearing anything. You tell this case to a guest

who tries to greet him by saying _____

- A. my grandfather is hard of hearing
- B. my grandfather is deaf
- C. my grandfather cannot hear you
- D. my grandfather is behind his ears

(Zizheng, 2005, p. 41,42)

Another example is about a tabooed concept which is related to a job.

•You are not too sure whether Mr. White is an undertaker or not, so you ask him,
“Are you _____ Mr. White?”

- A. an undertaker
- B. a mortician
- C. a funeral director
- D. a grief reliever

(Zizheng, 2005, p. 42)

The researcher of the present study believed that there is a need really to understand the others’ cultural and social attitudes and awareness which stand behind the creation of euphemisms.

Euphemisms and gender- differentiation study

Lakoff (1975) wrote that where men more often use direct questions, women more often provide tag questions. It is a euphemistic strategy to touch the sensitive areas in speech. Senlow (1985) examined sex differences in perceptions and uses of profanity. The instrument of this study was a questionnaire. The sample consisted of 135 undergraduate students (61 females, 74 males) in Virginia Tech, Department of Communication Studies. The sample represented a rural-urban continuum. Participants were asked to provide demographic

information. They were asked to use a four-point scale to assess their own use of profanity in everyday conversations and the use of profanity by friends. The students had to indicate how strongly they agree or disagree whether it was alright to use profanity in social and media conditions or not. In addition, the subjects were asked to evaluate the degree of obscenity for sixteen profane words. The words were categorized into sexual, religious and excretory. The researcher concluded that women avoid blunt language and use a greater number of euphemisms than men do. Women adopted a more polite form of speech to refer to such vulgar terms. There were sex differences in the reported uses and perceptions of profanity. Women tended to use profanity less frequently into their speech. They expressed more positive impression and attitudes towards the use of euphemisms instead of profanity. The researcher supports the existence of gender differentiation in the use of euphemisms. She tries to prove it through her study.

Euphemisms and medical studies

The following studies showed that euphemism plays a vital role in the doctors' use of euphemism. Doctors often use a range of euphemisms as a means of facilitating communication in the consultation on one hand and to reduce the degree of risk the patient may be exposed to on the other hand. Again, the cultural and social concerns about illness differ and vary from one society to another.

Friedrichsen, Strang and Carlson (2002) attempted to explore the differentiation in the cancer patients' interpretation of the information they receive about their illness. They used tape-recorded semi-structured interviews. The sample was thirty patients with incurable cancer in the county of Ostergötland in Sweden. The age range of the participants was 29-86 years old. The researchers concluded that words such as "cancer", "death" and "incurable" should never be used because those words block the patients' ability to

understand the information given to them. However, using euphemisms could give the patient unrealistic hope and the degree of risk is reduced. The use of fortifying words could strengthen the patient. In addition, it was found that by using euphemisms, patients believed that their cancer was localized and that the aim of the palliative treatment was curative.

Taylor and Ogden (2005) aimed at assessing whether General Practitioners (GPs) use or avoid the term "heart failure" (p.322) and to evaluate the impact of the previous term versus the euphemism that stands for it on patient's beliefs about illness. The researchers adopted two instruments for their study. The first one was a cross-sectional survey of GPs and an experimental study of patients' beliefs. For the first instrument, the sample was 42 GPs and for the second one the sample was 447 patients on one General Practice in a semi-rural area of the UK. The study concluded that GPs avoid the term "heart failure" for the fear of upsetting the patient and prefer the euphemism "fluid on your lungs as your heart is not pumping hard enough" (p.322). The patients who received the term described by using the previous euphemism are less depressed and anxious. A euphemism may be less open but more protective of patient's experience. GPs tend to respect their patients' beliefs about health.

In a similar study in medical the field, Taylor and Ogden (2009) pointed that GPs sometimes use euphemism rather than medical terms for the sake of patients' comfort and relief. Their study focused on the use of the term "obese" (p.2) in the consultation or its euphemism "your weight may be damaging your health" (p.2). The methods of the study consisted of a cross-sectional survey followed by an experimental study which was used with two conditions: the term "obese" versus the GPs preferred euphemism. The sample for the first method was the 19 GPs and the sample for the second one was 449 patients. The results of the study showed that GPs avoid using the term "obese" and preferred to use a

euphemism. The most commonly used euphemism was “your weight may be damaging your health”. The term "obese" made the patient feel more anxious and upset than when the term was labeled using the euphemism. This study was performed in one of General Practice in West London.

The researcher supports the euphemization of certain medical terms to enhance the way patients react towards their illness and to reduce the adverse effect of medical terms that describe a patient’s situation.

Euphemisms in everyday life

Language has a crucial relationship to social reality. Eliason (2006) studied euphemism from another point of view. He tried to shed light on the use of euphemisms in everyday life and to familiarize beginning students of sociology with euphemism. To achieve his goal, he adopted an exercise in his introductory sociology classes that allowed students to become, to some extent, more aware of euphemisms that were commonly used in everyday life. In addition, the exercise informed them of how language could shape people’s perceptions of social reality.

The students were asked to brainstorm for 15-20 minutes and come up with as many words, and their corresponding euphemisms, as possible. They provided examples of euphemism which clearly reflected the differentiation in the use of euphemisms according to social reality and historical considerations. For example, people in the U.S. started using euphemisms like "African American" rather than "Negro", "Asian American" instead of "Oriental", and "heavy" instead of "fat" (Eliason, 2006, p. 68). These examples provided good evidence for the differentiation in the use of euphemism throughout history and among the members of the society in their everyday life. Most of the students’ responses

were positive towards the use of euphemism. A few of them reflected negative attitudes towards the use of euphemism such as the politician, military and wealthy individuals' use of the linguistic phenomenon to mislead and control others. It seems that euphemisms differ historically and there are group-specific euphemisms.

Euphemisms and contamination

McGlone, Beck and Pfiester investigated the associative contamination that accompanied the euphemism itself, on one hand and the camouflage-like properties which was suggested by the communicative pragmatic theory. For this purpose, McGlone et al (2006) conducted two studies. The first one aimed to explore whether euphemisms lose their brightness and soft touch as they become conventional or familiar. The researchers utilized a questionnaire that consisted of fifteen expressions describing each taboo topic. They were selected for a total of sixty euphemism stimuli. The sample of the study was two hundred and twenty one UTL-Austin undergraduates (88 males and 143 females). The lists of expressions described tabooed concepts such as urination, vomiting, and death. For example, the euphemistic expression "pass away" is more polite and familiar than the literal term "die". The results of this study contradicted the associative contamination hypothesis or in other words, the polluted euphemism by its association with negative referents. In the second study, McGlone et al (2006) examined the attribution consequences of conventional and unconventional euphemistic encodings of tabooed topics. The researchers used an experiment that consisted of four different versions of a fictitious first-person narrative. The four versions described events occurring on a week day of a female student. The sample of the study was one hundred twenty undergraduate students (58 males and 62 females) in Lafayette College. The participants were asked to rate the narrator's description of the concept urination which was encoded differently

across the narrative versions. In the first version, the narrator described the urination with conventional euphemism such as "I had to leave the lecture early because I had to use the bathroom". In the second version the event was described by unconventional euphemism such as "I had to leave the lecture early because I had to heed Nature's call"(p, 272). In the third one, she used the literal term "I had to urinate". In the last version, she encoded the event by using a modified conventional euphemism such as "I had to utilize the bathroom"(McGlone et al, 2006, p.272). McGlone et al concluded that familiarity may enhance, not detract from, a euphemism's displacement and face-maintenance capacity. The findings of the two studies contradicted the associative contamination that accompanied the conventional euphemism and agreed with the camouflage-like properties.

Arabic Studies

Euphemism and women place

In his study, Abd-el-Jawad (1989) aimed at exploring and analyze the naming system and conventions dominant in Jordan including the Jordanian terms for women through history. This section was related to the present study. For this purpose, Abd-el-Jawad adopted a survey that consisted of a list of terms that the Jordanians use to refer to women. The sample of the study was one-hundred native adult speakers of Arabic (50 males, 50 females). The age range was between 18-80 years old. The participants came from different cultural background; Urban, Rural and Bedouin. They were asked to evaluate the terms used to refer to women, whether the term was neutral or had negative or positive connotations. They were also asked to give reasons for their evaluations. The study of Abd-el-Jawad (1989) showed that there was a differentiation in the use of euphemistic terms when referring to women according to level of education, type of contexts (formal or non-formal), social status, gender, and age

differentiation. This study proved that wives and women, in general, are viewed as unpleasant objects which should be covered by a euphemistic term.

Abd-el-Jawad (1989) provided some examples regarding this issue, such as /"il-jamaaʕa"/ 'lit. the group', /"ahl il-beet"/ 'lit. the people of the house', /"ʔumm liʕyaal"/ 'lit. mother of the children', /"il ʕeeli"/ 'lit. the family', /"ʔumm fulaan"/ 'lit. mother of so and so-her eldest son'. (p.312). In the same study, the researcher provided more examples for the euphemistic terms used in formal context such as /"kariima"/ instead of /ʔibna/ 'daughter', /"ʕaqiila"/, /"ḥaram"/ or /"qariina"/ instead of /"zawja"/ 'wife'. (p.318). /"madam"/ 'wife' was another euphemistic term used as a cover to mention women. The term 'madam' was a borrowed term that is used in Western societies. Loan words or borrowed terms were one of the strategies people from different cultures use to form euphemisms.

It seems that the Arab society does not change its view towards women, but the way in which the woman, as a taboo object that is euphemized, changes. This is due to the social, cultural and situational contexts.

Euphemisms and honorifics study

Some honorifics are considered euphemisms due to their function which is to smooth and improve social relations among interactants. According to Farghal (2002), language has two basic functions: the effective function whose main goal is to express feelings and enhance social relations among the interactants and the referential function whose main purpose is to pass information among interactants. In human interaction, a combination of the two functions is found. Farghal's study (2002) examined Jordanian's general awareness of honorifics and its correlation with age, sex and social background. For this purpose, he utilized three open questionnaires in Arabic. The first one consisted of 17 situational and

discoursal social honorifics. The subjects were asked to cite the social context for each honorific's use. The second one consisted of 17 social contexts that need the employment of situational and discoursal honorifics. The subjects were asked to provide honorifics that suit these contexts. The third questionnaire consisted of situational and discoursal honorifics (10 items) that would call for uptakes on the part of the hearer. The sample of Farghal's study was 944 Jordanian subjects (427 males, 517 females). They belonged to city, countryside and the baadiyah 'desert'. The age range was 18-45 years old. Farghal (2002) concluded that Jordanians' overall degree of awareness of such honorifics was quite high. Politeness plays an obvious role in Jordanian society. There were clear correlations with the social variables of age, sex and social background. It seems that some honorifics are considered as a type of euphemism. Farghal (2002) claimed that honorifics such as 'ajallaka 'Allah' 'May God elevate your status', 'ba'iid annak' 'May it be far from you', and 'bala gaafyih' 'without ambiguity' (Farghal, 2002,p.178) were all used when mentioning something that is socially tabooed e.g. mentioning shoes or toilet.

Euphemisms and the politeness formula

Mazid (2006) investigated some aspects of translating politeness in Emirati Arabic. His study shed light on the euphemisms, forms of address and non-verbal politeness in the U.A.E. Mazid (2006) adopted a short questionnaire to collect the required data of the study which was the politeness formulas. The sample of the study was 15 female U.A.E. University students. Personal observation was another instrument used as a source for both formulas and euphemisms in the Emirati society. Mazid (2006) declared that "...Emirati Arabic is heavily infiltrated with religious expressions, and the U.A.E. culture still adheres to an Islamic code of behavior" (p. 82). In addition, students often produced literal translation of Arabic into English when encountered with

idiomatic and formulaic expressions. Here are some examples of euphemistic expressions in the Emirati Arabic:

Death: ?il marḥuum (the deceased; the one who is a recipient of mercy) or ‘āṭaak ūmruḥ’ “He has given you his life”.

Urination: yriiq il maa? (“to spill/pour water”, “to powder his nose”).

Mention a taboo: ‘?Alla yizzak’ ‘May God grant your dignity’ ‘Karama Allaah wajhak/wayhak’. (Mazid, 2006, p.79)

Sickness and Disease: ‘?umm iSSibyaan’ ‘short epilepsy’ ‘mayhuud’ ‘tired’ or ‘sick’ (Mazid, 2006, p.79).

Mazid (2006) pointed that to mention female members of the family in the Emirati society, there was a need to use euphemisms. He also provided examples of this process. For instance, “?il yaal” lit. “kids”, “?il ?ahl” lit. “family”, “?umm il'yaal” lit. “mother of kids”, “?il beet” lit. “home”, “?il mazbih” “wife”, “?il ḥurma” “woman”, the word is derived from the root ḥaraam i.e. “forbidden or taboo”, “?il freeḥ” “any female”, “?il'yuuz” (mother). (p.79)

The present researcher suggests that the Arabic culture and societies strongly stick to their customs and religion.

Euphemisms and gender- differentiation study

Al-Khatib and Sabbah (2008) examined the linguistic structure and sociolinguistic functions of Arabic-English code-switching in mobile text messages as used by a group of Jordanian university students. The researchers designed a self-report questionnaire and interviews for data collection. The sample of the study was 46 students (17 males, 29 females). The age range was 17-26 years old. They were from Jordan University, Yarmouk University, University of Science and Technology and Petra University. They were native speakers of Arabic. The thing that attracted the attention of the present researcher

was the English words that were used in certain instances for euphemistic purposes. They were used to avoid mentioning taboos or offensive topics. Code-switching is one of many strategies that are employed to create euphemistic expressions. According to Al-Khatib and Sabbah (2008) English words such as "toilet", "boyfriend", "cancer", "period" were used as euphemisms by the mobile text message writers among the Jordanian students. Al-Khatib and Sabbah (2008) concluded that the great majority of the students considered euphemism one of the basic factors that made them use English words. Moreover, informants reported that they consciously or subconsciously tended to use the code-switching strategy in their texts for euphemistic purposes. Al-Khatib and Sabbah (2008) provided examples of English words used as euphemisms. They seemed to be smooth and inoffensive especially when the mobile text messages deal with matters that were considered sensitive areas such as love, disease, certain places...etc. The following example clarifies the matter.

Hi 3aloush kefek? Yesterday I couldn't come to the class la2ino kan 3indi **stomachache**! Bti3rafi it's the **period time**. (Al-Khatib and Sabbah, 2008, p. 57)

The English words "stomachache" and "the period time" were used as euphemisms to talk about menstruation. Code-switching between Arabic and English served the function of euphemism and demonstrated a clear variation between the females' and males' use of this strategy. The present researcher agrees with Al-Khatib study that loan words are a vehicle through which euphemisms could be tailored and created.

CHAPTER THREE

Methods and Procedures

This chapter provides information on the methods used in this study. It describes the population, the sample and their selections. It also describes the instrument, its validity and reliability. In addition, data collection procedures and data analysis are explained.

Population and sample of the study

The population of the study consisted of native speakers of Jordanian Arabic in different regions in Jordan, namely, adult males and females speaking Bedouin, rural (Fallahi) and urban (Madani) dialectal varieties. The sample of the study consisted of three hundred people, males and females, chosen from the population of Jordan. The age range was between 25 and 75 years old. The following tables show the distribution of the sample according to the linguistic/dialectal variety they use at home and with friends, their age and their gender.

Table 1: Distribution of the sample according to linguistic/dialectal variety.

Variety	No. of participants	Percentages %
Bedouin	60	20
Fallahi	100	33.3
Madani	140	46.7
Total	300	100

Table 2: Distribution of the sample according to age.

Age range	No. of participants	Percentages %
25-35	137	45.7
36-45	62	20.7
46-55	48	16
56-65	27	9
66-75	13	4.3
75 or above	13	4.3
Total	300	100

Table 3: Distribution of the sample according to gender.

Gender	No. of participants	Percentages %
Males	158	52.7
Females	142	47.3
Total	300	100

They were selected from several areas in Jordan including: West of Amman (Seventh circle), South of Amman (Marj Al Hamam, Al-Karak, Al-Tafeeleh and Al-Qatraneh) and East of Amman (Markah), which clearly accommodates a wide range of Jordanian dialectal varieties, and North of Jordan (Irbid). In addition, the sample of the study was chosen randomly .The sample covered different generations and the subjects received varying levels of education. In terms of social class, some of them belonged to upper class and others belonged to lower class.

Instrument of the Study

The researcher developed a questionnaire to collect data for the study. One great advantage of this instrument is that it permitted the researcher to control the specific variables of the situation, and survey people's attitudes

towards a social phenomenon like the use of euphemisms. It gives the researcher an opportunity to examine the influence of social variables on people's use of euphemism in their daily communication. This instrument is very useful to collect data about the use of euphemism among Jordanian Arabic Speakers.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire is partially based on Ellayan's questionnaire (1994). It was divided into three sections. In the first section, subjects were asked to supply the demographic information, i.e. age, gender, social status, monthly income, level of education and the dialectal variety they use in their everyday life.

The second section of the questionnaire was designed to find out the euphemisms which Jordanian Arabic speakers used to refer to tabooed terms such as, death, sickness, mental illness, excretory functions and cancer in their daily conversation. The participants were asked to choose the euphemism(s) they tended to use most of the time or dysphemism(s) if there was any one listed in the questionnaire. Moreover, they were asked to provide or suggest more euphemisms that were not listed in the questionnaire.

The third section of the questionnaire was designed to collect euphemisms frequently used by Jordanian Arabic Speakers to refer to certain concepts in their daily life such as, certain places (cemetery, mental illness hospital, prison, and the place where people receive condolences after somebody dies), certain jobs (garbage man, the undertaker, and the nurse), certain body features (deafness, cross-eyed person, fat person, ugly woman, short person and stupid person) and finally, naming and addressing (woman, the

step wife, the barren woman, the mother-in-law, the single old woman, postpartum phase and the poor). The euphemisms of each concept were tabulated.

Three hundred eighty copies of the questionnaire were distributed by the researcher and assistants. The survey involved the participation of many Jordanians from different dialectal varieties, different ages, genders and social classes. Thus, assistants were needed to help the researcher administer the survey. The researcher's assistants were her daughters, sisters, relatives, friends and former classmates who were from different regions. They were given clear instructions prior to administering of the questionnaire. Furthermore, the questionnaire was accompanied with a covering letter that had an explanation of the purpose of the study. The official approval to conduct the research was given to the respondents (See Appendix 1) and finally three hundred copies of the questionnaire were received. The respondents were given one week to return their responses. The researcher used different means to ensure the completeness of the sample. For instance, the researcher sent the questionnaire by e-mail to some participants who could use the internet.

Validity of the Instrument

The researcher achieved the validity of the instrument by asking a jury of seven university professors who are linguists, sociolinguists and literature experts to provide their comments and suggestions on the questionnaire's content. Some comments and suggestions were received as to changes and modifications of the questionnaire. For instance, one of the professors added the euphemism "rayeḥ çala al-safarah" lit. "going to the embassy" instead of the term "rayeḥ çala elḥamam" lit, "going to bathroom". One of the jury suggested omitting the euphemisms related to a drunken person, to vomiting and to liars.

Another professor recommended taking into account the social relations (distance, i.e. friend, colleague, boss, etc.). Although his recommendation was important, implementing it would have taken a lot of time and effort, more than what is anticipated by this thesis.

Their comments and notes were taken into consideration in the final version of the questionnaire. Then the researcher asked her supervisor to re-check the questionnaire after the modifications had been made to ensure the appropriateness of the questionnaire for the participants.

Reliability of the Instrument

The researcher conducted a pilot study to achieve the reliability of the instrument as much as possible. The questionnaire reliability was determined by means of test-retest. A group of twenty Jordanian Arabic speakers who had the characteristics of the whole sample of the study were asked to fill out the questionnaire within twenty minutes. The test was performed in the first week of December 2009. Furthermore, they were asked to pinpoint the exact time needed to finish the questionnaire. Their views were useful and constructive for the distribution of the questionnaire. They were selected randomly and they were excluded from the main sample of the study.

The test included these additional questions:

1. Were the questions straightforward and easy to comprehend?
2. Did the questionnaire draw out the information required?
3. Was filling up the questionnaire time-consuming or tedious?

After ten days the questionnaire was distributed to the main sample of the study. The results matched those of the first test.

Data Collection and Statistical Analysis

The researcher and her assistants asked the participants to fill out the questionnaire according to their actual use of euphemism in their daily face-to-face communication. They were asked to fill out the questionnaire individually and independently. They were asked also to finish the questionnaire in a fixed time ranging between 20-30 minutes. The questionnaires were collected; the researcher checked the data and entered responses to questions by using Excel sheets.

- The researcher placed the statement of results into tables. These tables were numbered and were given titles.
- Descriptive statistical analysis was used such as frequencies, percentages and ranks.
- The researcher interpreted information and made a logical comparison between the results of her study and those of the previous studies she had referred to in Chapter Two.

Procedures of the Study

The researcher followed certain steps to achieve the goal of the study. These steps were summarized as follows:

1. The researcher reviewed the definition of euphemism in English and its counterpart in Arabic. In addition, she investigated the relationship that existed between euphemism and the Politeness Principles on one hand, and between euphemism and the Context Theory on the other hand. The researcher stated a number of previous studies that were related to the use of euphemisms, the social factors that affected people's use of this

phenomenon and the variation in the use of euphemism according to the historical perspective.

The researcher took into consideration the cultural differences that shaped the attitudes of people from different regions towards the use of euphemism in their daily life. Moreover, the researcher provided a variety of definitions for the dialectal varieties in Jordan according to different scholars such as Hussein and El-Ali (1989), Sawaie (1994), and Suleiman (2007).

2. In order to get access to a good amount of related literature, the researcher utilized many sources of information. For instance, the researcher asked for Journal articles from the British Library, sent e-mails to researchers who investigated the same problem, ordered books from Amazon Library, and used M.A. theses (e.g. Elayyan, 1994). Arabic studies were conducted on the use of euphemism such as the studies of, Abd-el-Jawwad (1989), Farghal (1995, 2002), Al-Khatib (1995, 2008) and Al-Qadi (2008). International studies treated euphemisms from different angles and perspectives e.g. Allan and Burridge (1991, 2006) and Enright (1985)
3. Depending on the related literature, the theoretical background and the aim of the study, the researcher raised the questions of the study which covered all the elements of the study.
4. The researcher designed a questionnaire that covered the demographic information and Jordanians' choice of euphemisms, according to the context of situation, and cultural and social values.
5. The instrument's validity was achieved by asking a group of experts in the linguistics and sociolinguistics field to comment and modify the content of the questionnaire and its language. Their comments and modifications were taken into the researcher's account.

6. To ensure the reliability of the instrument, the researcher asked a group of twenty Jordanians, who represented the three dialectal varieties mentioned earlier in the study, to answer the questionnaire and they were excluded from the sample of the study.
7. The research was accompanied with a permission letter which was obtained from the Middle East University.
8. The questionnaire was distributed by the researcher and her assistants for the reasons the researcher mentioned previously (see p.79).
9. The data which was taken from the questionnaire was checked, recorded, analyzed and interpreted. The researcher rejected the invalid responses. For instance, some respondents used the term "فيلم رعب", "horror movie" to describe the ugly woman. The previous term was a kind of sarcasm and it was rejected. The results were tabulated and each table was given a number and title. The results were analyzed by using a descriptive statistical analysis (i.e. frequencies, percentages and ranks).
10. The results of the questionnaire were discussed and explained logically. The researcher compared them with results of previous studies she had referred to in reviewing the previous literature.
11. The conclusion was presented in a brief, simple and precise way so that every reader would comprehend the nature of euphemism as a sociolinguistic phenomenon and the factors that stood behind its creation.
12. The conclusion suggested some recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings of the Study

Introduction

This chapter consists of the answers to the four questions of the study which investigated the variation in the use of euphemisms among Jordanian Arabic speakers. The questions under investigation were as follows:

1. What euphemisms do Jordanians Arabic speakers use to refer to each of the following topics?
 - a. Death.
 - b. Sickness.
 - c. Mental illness.
 - d. Excretory functions.
 - e. Cancer.
2. Which euphemisms are group- specific to speakers of Jordanian Arabic varieties?
3. Which euphemisms are age-differentiated and which are gender-differentiated?
4. What euphemisms do Jordanian Arabic speakers use to refer to other concepts such as:
 - a. Certain places.
 - b. Certain jobs.
 - c. Certain body features.
 - d. Naming and addressing.

Findings Related to the First Question

The following five tables show the results of the frequencies and percentages of the euphemisms which Jordanian Arabic speakers use to refer to the five topics mentioned previously in question one. Tables (5), (6) and (8) include dysphemistic expressions or taboos which mean offensive terms such as, "مريض", "مجنون" and "سرطان". The five tables are as follows:

Table 4: Frequencies and Percentages of Death Euphemisms in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
اعطاك عمره	78	26.00
انتقل الى رحمة الله	58	19.33
توفي	40	13.33
العمر لك	34	11.33
البقاء لله	29	9.67
الله اخذ أمانته	28	9.33
الله اخذ وداعته	20	6.67
انتقل الى جوار ربه	7	2.33
الله استخاره	5	1.67
ارتحم	1	0.33
Total	300	100%

From the table above it is noticed that in Jordanian Arabic the euphemized expression "اعطاك عمره" had the highest percentage 26% with frequency of 78. Next, the euphemism "انتقل إلى رحمة الله" had a frequency of 58 and a percentage of 19.33%. The third position was occupied by the euphemism "توفي" with frequency of 40 and 13.33%. When it comes to the euphemism with the lowest

frequency, it is noticed that the euphemized expression "ارتحم" had the lowest frequency as shown in Table Four.

Other terms:

The results of death's euphemisms indicated that the participants suggested the euphemisms "الدايم الله" six times and "خلصو زيتاته" nine times.

Table 5: Frequencies and Percentages of Sickness Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
مريض	120	40.00
تعبان	54	18.00
عيان	42	14.00
مش مبسوط	34	11.33
بعافية	20	6.67
عليل	10	3.33
مجعلك	10	3.33
متوعك	7	2.33
تلفان	3	1.00
Total	300	100%

The findings in Table (5) show that the term "مريض" had the highest frequency of 120 with a percentage of 40.00%. Next, the euphemized expression "تعبان" had a frequency of 54 and a percentage of 18.00%. The third frequency was recorded for the euphemism "عيان" with a value of 42 and 14.00%. The euphemism "تلفان" had the lowest frequency of three with 1.00% among the Jordanian Arabic speakers.

Other terms:

It is noticed that the participants suggested the euphemism "طريح" to refer to sickness five times in the survey.

Table 6: Frequencies and Percentages of Mental Illness Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
مريض نفسياً	130	43.33
مجنون	71	23.67
خالص كازه	21	7.00
مظيع	21	7.00
مأجر	15	5.00
مهتوف	10	3.33
مغزول	10	3.33
ملموس	10	3.33
مالوم	6	2.00
صابو الخفيف	6	2.00
Total	300	100%

The results in Table (6) show that the euphemism "مريض نفسياً" had the highest frequency of 130 with 43.33% in Jordanian Arabic. Next, the term "مجنون" occupied the second position with a frequency of 71 and 23.67%. The third euphemism was "خالص كازه" with a frequency of 21 and 7.00%. The two euphemisms "مالوم" and "صابو الخفيف" had the lowest frequency which was six with a percentage of 2.00%.

Other terms:

Five of the participants suggested the term **مأجر السطوح** as a euphemism to refer to mental illness.

Table 7: Frequencies and Percentages of Excretory Functions Euphemisms in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
رايح عالحمام	92	30.67
رايح على التواليت	80	26.67
رايح عالسفارة	25	8.33
رايح على WC	24	8.00
رايح عالخلا	15	5.00
رايح على بيت الخارج	13	4.33
رايح اخذ علي ايدي مي	12	4.00
رايح على بيت الراحة	9	3.00
رايح اتسير	7	2.33
رايح على غير مطرح	5	1.67
رايح أطير عصافير	4	1.33
رايح يقرص	4	1.33
رايح على بيت الادب	4	1.33
رايح اعد	3	1.00
رايح اتمشى	3	1.00
Total	300	100%

Table (7) shows that in Jordanian Arabic the term "رايح على الحمام" had the highest frequency of 92 and 30.67%. The euphemism "رايح على التواليت" had the second frequency of 80 with 26.67 %. The third position was recorded for the euphemism "رايح على السفارة" with a frequency of 25 and 8.33%. The

euphemized expression "رايح اتمشى" had the lowest frequency of three and 1.00%.

Other terms:

The euphemism "أفك وضوئي" was suggested seven times by the participants to refer to excretory functions.

Table 8: Frequencies and Percentages of Cancer Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
سرطان	97	32.55
هذاك المرض	55	18.46
المرض اللي يكفيكم شره	42	14.09
ورم	38	12.75
المرض العاظل	26	8.72
اللي ما يتسمى	17	5.70
مرض عضال	16	5.37
طالعتله غدة	7	2.35
Total	298	100%

Table (8) shows that the term "سرطان" had the highest frequency of 97 and 32.55% among Jordanian Arabic speakers. The euphemism "هذاك المرض" had the second position with a frequency of 55 and 18.46%. The third euphemism "المرض اللي يكفيكم شره" had the frequency of 42 and 14.09%, whereas the euphemism "طالعتله غدة" had the lowest frequency of seven and 2.35%.

Other terms:

For the term "السرطان" the euphemism "المرض الخبيث" was suggested by the participants 16 times and the euphemism كانسر was suggested 16 times as well.

Findings Related to the Second Question

This question related to the euphemisms that were group-specific, or in other words, euphemisms that were specifically reported for Bedouin variety, Fallahi variety and Madani variety. Use of euphemisms of the topics of death, sickness, mental illness, excretory functions and cancer is reported in tables from nine to thirteen. Percentages and ranks were requested to measure the type and the degree of use of euphemisms by members of the various dialect groups. Tables (10), (11) and (13) include the dysphemistic expressions which are mentioned previously in question one. The results are tabulated as follows:

Table 9: Percentages and ranks of Death's Euphemisms in the Jordanian varieties.

Euphemism	Bedouin Variety		Fallahi Variety		Madani Variety	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
اعطاك عمره	30.00	1	24.00	2	25.71	1
الله اخذ وداعته	25.00	2	3.00	8	1.43	9
العمر لك	13.33	3	8.00	6	12.86	4
البقاء لله	11.67	4	9.00	5	9.29	6
انتقل الى رحمة الله	8.33	5	27.00	1	18.57	2
الله اخذ امانته	6.67	6	10.00	4	10.00	5
توفي	3.33	7	13.00	3	17.86	3
ارتحم	1.67	8	-	-	-	-
انتقل الى جوار ربه	-	-	4.00	7	2.14	7
الله استخاره	-	-	2.00	9	2.14	7

Table (9) indicates that the euphemism "أعطاك عمره" had the highest percentage 30.00% with rank one in Bedouin variety. While the same euphemism occupied the second position in Fallahi variety with a percentage of 24.00% and it had the highest percentage 25.71% with rank one in the Madani variety. The euphemism "الله أخذ وداعته" occupied the second position in the Bedouin variety with percentage of 25.00% and rank two. This euphemism had the percentage of 3.00% and rank of eight in the Fallahi variety. In the Madani variety the same euphemism occupied the lowest rank of nine with 1.43%.

The euphemized expression "العمر الك" had the third rank with 13.33% in Bedouin variety, whereas it occupied the sixth rank with 3.00% in the Fallahi variety. The same euphemism had the fourth rank with 20.86% in the Madani variety. The euphemism "ارتحم" ranked eight which was the lowest rank with 1.67%. These euphemisms were not used in the Fallahi and Madani varieties.

The euphemism "الله استخاره" had the lowest percentage 2.00% in the Fallahi variety and ranked nine. This euphemism was not used in the Bedouin variety and it ranked eight with 2.14% in the Madani variety. The euphemism "انتقل إلى رحمة الله" had the highest percentage with the first rank in the Fallahi variety, whereas it took the second rank with 18.57% in the Madani variety and the fifth rank with 8.33% in the Bedouin variety.

Other terms:

The Bedouin participants added the euphemism "الدائم الله" six times to death euphemism. It is noticed that the Fallahi variety added the euphemism "خلصو زيتاته" nine times to the same topic.

Table 10: Percentages and ranks of Sickness Euphemisms/dysphemism in the Jordanian varieties.

Euphemism	Bedouin Variety		Fallahi Variety		Madani Variety	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
عيان	30.00	1	14.00	3	7.14	4
مريض	18.33	2	42.00	1	47.86	1
مش مبسوط	13.33	3	15.00	2	7.86	3
عليل	13.33	3	1.00	7	0.71	8
تعبان	11.67	4	9.00	4	27.14	2
مجعلك	6.67	5	4.00	5	1.43	7
بعافية	5.00	6	9.00	4	5.71	5
تلفان	1.67	7	2.00	6	0.00	9
متوعك	-	-	4.00	5	2.14	6

The findings in Table (10) show that the euphemism "عيان" had the highest percentage 30% and ranked first in the Bedouin variety. In the Fallahi variety, the same euphemism had the third rank with 14.00% and the fourth rank with 7.14% in the Madani variety. The term "مريض" had the second rank with 18.33% in the Bedouin variety. In the Fallahi variety, the same term had the highest percentage 42.00% with rank one and it had the highest percentage 47.86% with rank one in the Madani variety as well. The euphemism "مش مبسوط" had the third rank with 13.33% in the Bedouin variety. It ranked second with 15.00% in the Fallahi variety. In the Madani variety, this euphemism

occupied the third rank with 7.86%. The euphemism "تلفان" had the lowest percentage 1.67% ranked seven in the Bedouin variety. At the same time, it occupied the sixth rank with 2.00% in the Fallahi variety. It had no rank in the Madani variety. The euphemized expression "عليل" occupied the lowest percentage 1.00% ranked seventh in the Fallahi variety. It had the lowest percentage 0.71% with rank eight in the Madani variety, whereas the same euphemism had the third rank with 13.33% in the Bedouin variety.

Other terms:

The Bedouin participants suggested the euphemism "طريح" to sickness euphemism five times.

Table 11: Percentages and ranks of Mental Illness Euphemisms/dysphemism in the Jordanian varieties.

Euphemism	Bedouin Variety		Fallahi Variety		Madani Variety	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
مريض نفسياً	20.00	1	43.00	1	53.57	1
مغزول	16.67	2	-	-	-	-
مهتوف	15.00	3	1.00	6	-	-
لملموس	10.00	4	3.00	5	0.71	7
مالوم	10.00	4	-	-	-	-
مجنون	8.33	5	27.00	2	27.86	2
مظيع	8.33	5	8.00	3	5.71	4
خالص كازه	6.67	6	7.00	4	7.14	3
مأجر	3.33	7	8.00	3	3.57	5
صابو الخفيف	1.67	8	3.00	5	1.43	6

Table (11) shows that the euphemism "مريض نفسياً" had the highest percentage ranked first in the three Jordanian Arabic varieties. The percentages

according to their order in the Table 11 above were: 20%, 43% and 53.57%. The euphemism "مغزول" had the second percentage with second rank accordingly in the Bedouin variety. The same euphemism was not used by the Fallahi and the Madani varieties participants. The euphemism "مهتوف" ranked third with 15% in the Bedouin variety, whereas it took the lowest rank in the Fallahi variety with 1%. It is noticed that it was not used by the Madani variety respondents.

In addition, it is noticed that the term "مجنون" ranked second in the Fallahi variety and Madani variety with 27% and 27.86%. Respectively the euphemism "مأجر" ranked third with 8% in the Fallahi variety and the third rank was occupied by the euphemism "خالص كازه" with 7.14% in the Madani variety. The euphemism "صابو الخفيف" had the lowest rank in the Bedouin variety with 1.67%, while the euphemism "لموس" had the lowest rank in the Madani variety with 0.71%.

Other terms:

It is noticed that the Fallahi participants suggested the euphemism "مأجر السطوح" five times to the Mental illness euphemism.

Table 12: Percentages and ranks of Excretory Functions Euphemisms in the Jordanian varieties.

Euphemism	Bedouin Variety		Fallahi Variety		Madani Variety	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
رايح عالخلا	15.00	1	4.00	6	1.43	5
رايح اخذ علي ايدي مي	15.00	1	3.00	7	-	-
رايح عالحمام	13.33	2	37.00	1	33.57	2
رايح على بيت الخارج	11.67	3	5.00	5	0.71	7
رايح على غير مطرح	8.33	4	-	-	-	-
رايح عالسفارة	6.67	5	13.00	3	5.71	4
رايح على بيت الادب	6.67	5	-	-	-	-
رايح يقرص	6.67	5	-	-	-	-
رايح على التواليت	5.00	6	22.00	2	39.29	1
رايح اتسير	3.33	7	3.00	7	1.43	6
رايح على بيت الراحة	3.33	7	6.00	4	0.71	7
رايح اتمشى	3.33	7	-	-	0.71	7
رايح أطير عصافير	1.67	8	2.00	8	0.71	7
رايح على WC	-	-	2.00	8	15.71	3
رايح اعد	-	-	3.00	7	-	-

Table (12) indicates that the two euphemism "رايح على الخلا" "رايح اخذ على" had the highest percentage 15% and ranked first in the Bedouin variety whereas the first euphemism ranked sixth with percentage of 4% in the Fallahi variety and ranked fifth with percentage of 1% in the Madani variety.

It is clear in the above table that the second euphemism took the seventh rank with percentage of 3% in the Fallahi variety and was not used in the Madani variety. The term "رايح على الحمام" ranked second in the Bedouin and Madani varieties with percentage of 13.33% in the Bedouin and 33.57% in the

Madani variety, respectively. The previous term had the highest percentage 37% with rank of one among the Fallahi participants.

The euphemism "رايح على التواليت" had the highest percentage 39.29 and ranked first in the Madani variety. The same euphemism had the second rank in the Fallahi variety with a percentage of 22% and ranked sixth with percentage of 5% in the Bedouin variety. The euphemism "رايح على بيت الخارج" ranked third with percentage of 11.67% in the Bedouin variety. This euphemism ranked fifth with percentage of 5% in the Fallahi variety and it had the seventh ranked seventh with percentage of 0.71%.

The euphemism "رايح على السفارة" ranked third with percentage of 13.00% in the Fallahi variety. It ranked fifth with percentage of 6.67% in the Bedouin variety and it ranked fourth with percentage of 5.71% in the Madani variety. The euphemism "رايح على WC" ranked third with percentage of 15.71% in the Madani variety and it ranked eighth with percentage of 2.00% in the Fallahi variety. This euphemism was not used by the Bedouin variety respondents. The percentage euphemism "رايح اطيير عصافير" recorded the lowest percentages and ranks among the three varieties. In the Bedouin variety it ranked eighth with a percentage of 1.67%. In the Fallahi variety it had the eighth rank with a percentage of 2.00% and it ranked seventh in the Madani variety with a percentage of 0.71%.

Other terms:

It is noticed that the Bedouin participants suggested the euphemism "افك وضوئي" three times to excretory functions euphemism. It is suggested three times too by the Fallahi participants and one time by the Madani variety.

Table 13: Percentages and ranks of Cancer Euphemisms/dysphemism in the Jordanian varieties.

Euphemism	Bedouin Variety		Fallahi Variety		Madani Variety	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
المرض اللي يكفيكم شره	31.67	1	10.00	4	9.42	4
المرض العاقل	18.33	2	11.00	3	2.90	6
اللي ما يتسمى	18.33	2	3.00	8	2.17	7
هداك المرض	10.00	3	20.00	2	21.01	2
ورم	10.00	3	8.00	6	17.39	3
طالعتله غدة	5.00	4	4.00	7	-	-
سرطان	3.33	5	35.00	1	43.48	1
مرض عضال	3.33	5	9.00	5	3.62	5

It is noticed that the euphemized expression "المرض الي يكفيكم شره" had the highest percentage of 31.67% and ranked first in the Bedouin variety. In the Fallahi variety, it had the percentage of 10.00% and ranked fourth and in the Madani variety it had the percentage of 9.42% and ranked fourth as well. The term "سرطان" had the highest percentage in the Fallahi variety which was 35.00% and ranked first and the highest percentage in the Madani variety of which was 43.48% and ranked first, whereas it ranked fifth with a percentage of 3.33% in the Bedouin variety which means the lowest rank. The two euphemisms "المرض العاقل" and "اللي ما يتسمى" had the percentage of 18.00%

ranked second in the Bedouin variety. In the Fallahi variety, the first euphemism had the percentage of 11.00% and ranked third.

The same euphemism ranked sixth with a percentage of 2.90% in the Madani variety, whereas, the euphemism "اللي ما يتسمى" eighth ranked eighth with a percentage of 3.00% which means, at the same time, the lowest percentage and rank in the Fallahi variety. In the Madani variety, this euphemism had the lowest rank as well, which was seven with percentage of 2.17%. In the Bedouin variety the euphemism "هذاك المرض" ranked third with a percentage of 10.00%. It ranked second in the Fallahi variety with 20.00% and in the Madani variety with a percentage of 21.01%. At the same time, the euphemism "ورم" ranked third again in the Bedouin variety with a percentage of 10.00% and it ranked third in the Madani variety with a percentage of 17.39%. This euphemism ranked sixth in the Fallahi variety with a percentage of 8.00%.

Other terms:

It is noticed that the Bedouin participants added the euphemism "المرض الخبيث" nine times to cancer euphemisms, whereas the Madani participants suggested the euphemism "كانسر" thirteen times. This euphemism is suggested one time by the Bedouin participants and two times by the Fallahi variety. The Fallahi participants suggested the previous euphemism five times and the Madani participants used it four times.

Findings Related to the Third Question

This question dealt with the euphemisms which were age-differentiated and gender-differentiated among Jordanian Arabic speakers. Ranks and percentages were required to measure the degree of differentiation in the use of euphemisms according to the age variable. Frequencies, percentages and ranks were used to measure the degree of differentiation according to gender variable. Tables (15),(16),(18),(20),(21), and (23) include the three dysphemistic expressions which are mentioned before. Results of each variable are shown in Tables (14) through (23) as follows:

Table 14: Frequencies, Percentages and Ranks for Death's Euphemisms among Males and Females in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Males			Females		
	Frequency	Percentage	Rank	Frequency	Percentage	Rank
اعطاك عمره	45	28.48	1	33	23.24	1
انتقل الى رحمة الله	31	19.62	2	27	19.01	2
توفي	20	12.66	3	20	14.08	4
البقاء لله	16	10.13	4	13	9.15	6
العمر إلك	13	8.23	5	21	14.79	3
الله اخذ أمانته	13	8.23	5	15	10.56	5
الله اخذ وداعته	13	8.23	5	7	4.93	7
انتقل الى جوار ربه	5	3.16	6	2	1.41	9
الله استخاره	1	0.63	7	4	2.82	8
ارتحم	1	0.63	7	-	-	-
Total	158	100		142	100	

Table (14) shows that the euphemism "أعطاك عمره" had the highest frequency of 45 with a percentage of 28.48% and ranked first among Jordanian Arabic males. The same euphemism had the highest frequency, as well, of 33 with a percentage of 23.24% and with ranked first among females in the

Jordanian Arabic. The euphemized term "انتقل إلى رحمة الله" ranked second with a frequency of 31 and with the percentage of 19.62% among males. Again the same euphemism ranked second with a frequency of 27 and the percentage of 19.01% among females in Jordanian Arabic. The term "توفى" ranked third with a frequency of 20 and a percentage of 12.66% among males and ranked fourth with a frequency of 20 and with the percentage of 14.08% among females. The two euphemisms "الله استخاره" and "ارتحم" had the lowest frequency of one and ranked seventh with the percentage of 0.63% among males where as they were not used among females. The euphemism "انتقل إلى جوار ربه" had the lowest rank with a frequency of two and with the percentage of 1.41% among females. It is noticed that the previous euphemism ranked sixth with a frequency of five and with the percentage of 3.16% among males.

Other terms

The euphemism "الدائم الله" was used five times to refer to death euphemisms by males and it was used once only by females. On the other side the euphemism "خلصو زيتاته" was suggested nine times by males.

Table15:Frequencies, Percentages and Ranks for Sickness Euphemisms/dysphemism among Males and Females in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Males			Females		
	Frequency	Percentage	Rank	Frequency	Percentage	Rank
مريض	60	37.97	1	60	42.25	1
تعبان	26	16.46	2	28	19.72	2
مش مبسوط	24	15.19	3	10	7.04	4
عيان	18	11.39	4	24	16.90	3
بعافية	11	6.96	5	9	6.34	5
متوعك	7	4.43	6	-	-	-
عليل	6	3.80	7	4	2.82	7
مجعلك	4	2.53	8	6	4.23	6
تلفان	2	1.27	9	1	0.70	8
Total	158	100		142	100	

Table (15) shows that the term "مريض" ranked first with a frequency of 60 and with a percentage of 37.97% among males in Jordanian Arabic. The same term ranked first too among females with a frequency of 33 and with a percentage of 23.24%. The euphemism "تعبان" ranked second among males with a frequency of 26 and with a percentage of 16.46%. It ranked the same among females with a frequency of 28 and with a percentage of 19.72%. The euphemized term "مش مبسوط" ranked third with a frequency of 24 and with a percentage of 15.19% among males. It ranked fourth with a frequency of 10 and with a percentage of 7.04% among females. The euphemism "عيان" ranked third with a frequency of 24 and with a percentage of 16.90% among females, where as it ranked fourth with a frequency of 18 and with a percentage of 11.39% among males. The euphemism "تلفان" had the lowest rank among both genders with a frequency of two and with a percentage of 1.27%, while it had the frequency of one and with a percentage of 0.70% among females.

Other terms:

The euphemism "طريح" was suggested five times by males to refer to sickness euphemisms.

Table 16: Frequencies, Percentages and Ranks for Mental Illness Euphemisms/dysphemism among Males and Females in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Males			Females		
	Frequency	Percentage	Rank	Frequency	Percentage	Rank
مريض نفسياً	64	40.51	1	66	46.48	1
مجنون	35	22.15	2	36	25.35	2
خالص كازه	15	9.49	3	6	4.23	4
مضيع	12	7.59	4	9	6.34	3
مأجر	10	6.33	5	5	3.52	5
مهتوف	9	5.70	6	1	0.70	7
مغزول	5	3.16	7	5	3.52	5
ملموس	4	2.53	8	6	4.23	4
مالوم	2	1.27	9	4	2.82	6
صابو الخفيف	2	1.27	9	4	2.82	6
Total	158	100		142	100	

The findings of the above table show that the euphemism "مريض نفسياً" ranked first among males and females in Jordanian Arabic with a frequency of 64 and with a percentage of 40.51% among males and with a frequency of 66 and with a percentage of 46.48% among females. The term "مجنون" ranked second among the two genders with a frequency of 35 and with a percentage of 22.15% among males and with a frequency of 36 and with a percentage of 25.35% among females. The euphemized term "خالص كازه" ranked third with a frequency of 15 and with a percentage of 9.49% among males, where as it

ranked fourth with a frequency of six and with a percentage of 4.23% among females.

The euphemism "مضيع" ranked third among females with a frequency of nine and with a percentage of 6.34%. The same euphemism ranked fourth among males with a frequency of 12 and with a percentage of 7.59%. The two euphemisms "مالوم" and "صابو الخفيف" had the lowest rank with a frequency of two and with a percentage of 1.27%. They ranked sixth with a frequency of 4 and with a percentage of 2.82% among females. The euphemism "مهتوف" had the lowest rank among females with a frequency of one and with a percentage of 0.70%. It ranked sixth among males with a frequency of nine and with a percentage of 5.70%.

Other terms:

The euphemism "مأجر السطوح" was suggested five times by males only to mental illness euphemisms.

Table 17: Frequencies, Percentages and Ranks for Excretory Functions Euphemisms among Males and Females in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Males			Females		
	Frequency	Percentage	Rank	Frequency	Percentage	Rank
رايح عالحمام	52	32.91	1	40	28.17	2
رايح على التواليت	33	20.89	2	47	33.10	1
رايح عالسفارة	16	10.13	3	9	6.34	4
رايح على WC	11	6.96	4	13	9.15	3
رايح عالخلا	7	4.43	5	8	5.63	5
رايح على بيت الخارج	7	4.43	5	6	4.23	6
رايح على بيت الراحة	7	4.43	5	2	1.41	9
رايح اخذ علي ايدي مي	6	3.80	6	6	4.23	6
رايح يقرص	4	2.53	7	-	-	-
رايح اتسير	3	1.90	8	4	2.82	7
رايح على غير مطرح	3	1.90	8	2	1.41	9
رايح على بيت الادب	3	1.90	8	1	0.70	10
رايح اعدد	3	1.90	8	-	-	-
رايح اتمشى	2	1.27	9	1	0.70	10
رايح أطير عصفير	1	0.63	10	3	2.11	8
Total	158	100		142	100	

Table (17) shows that the term "رايح على الحمام" had the highest rank with a frequency of 52 and with a percentage of 32.91% among males in Jordanian Arabic. The previous term ranked second with a frequency of 40 and with a percentage of 28.17% among females. The euphemized term "رايح على التواليت" had the highest rank with a frequency of 47 and with a percentage of 33.10 among females. It ranked second with a frequency of 33 and with a percentage of 20.39% among males. The euphemism "رايح على السفارة" ranked third among males with a frequency of 16 and with a percentage of 10.13%, where as it ranked fourth with a frequency of nine and with a percentage of 6.23%. The

euphemism "WC على رايح " ranked third with a frequency of 13 and with a percentage of 9.15%. The same euphemism ranked fourth with a frequency of 11 and with a percentage of 6.96% among males. The euphemism " رايح اطير " had the lowest rank among males with a frequency of one and with a percentage of 0.63% and it ranked eighth among females with a frequency of three and with a percentage of 2.11%. The two euphemisms " رايح على بيت الأدب " and " رايح اتمشى " had the lowest rank with a frequency of one and with a percentage of 0.70%. The first euphemism ranked eighth among males with a frequency of three and with a percentage of 1.90%, whereas the second euphemism ranked ninth with a frequency of two and 1.27% among them.

Other terms:

The euphemism " أفك وضوئي " was suggested six times by males and one time by females to Excretory Functions euphemisms.

Table 18: Frequencies, Percentages and Ranks for Cancer Euphemisms /dysphemism among Males and Females in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Males			Females		
	Frequency	Percentage	Rank	Frequency	Percentage	Rank
سرطان	54	34.18	1	43	30.71	1
المرض اللي يكفيكم شره	28	17.72	2	14	10.00	5
هداك المرض	23	14.56	3	32	22.86	2
ورم	21	13.29	4	17	12.14	3
المرض العاقل	11	6.96	5	15	10.71	4
اللي ما يتسمى	8	5.06	6	9	6.43	6
مرض عضال	8	5.06	6	8	5.71	7
طالعتله غدة	5	3.16	7	2	1.43	8
Total	158.00	100.00		140	100.00	

Table (18) shows that the term "سرطان" had the highest rank among both males and females in Jordanian Arabic with a frequency of 54 and with a percentage of 34.18% among males and with a frequency of 43 and with a percentage of 30.71% among females. The euphemism "المرض اللي يكفيكم شره" ranked second with a frequency of 28 and with a percentage of 17.72% among males. The previous euphemism ranked fifth with a frequency of 14 and with a percentage of 10.00% among females. The euphemism "هداك المرض" ranked third among males with a frequency of 23 and with a percentage of 14.56%. It ranked second among females with a frequency of 32 and with a percentage of 22.86%. The euphemism "ورم" ranked third among females with a frequency of 17 and with a percentage of 12.14%. It ranked fourth among males with a frequency of 21 and with percentage of 13.29%. The euphemized term "طالعتله" had the lowest rank among male with a frequency of five and with a percentage of 3.16%. It occupied the lowest rank as well among females which with a frequency of two and with a percentage of 1.43%.

Other terms:

Males used the euphemism "المرض الخبيث" ten times to refer to cancer and they also used the euphemisms "كانسر" six times, whereas females used the first euphemism six times and the second one ten times to refer to cancer.

Table19: Percentages and Ranks of Death's euphemisms according to the Age Groups in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	25 – 35		36 - 45		46 - 55		56 - 65		66 – 75		> 75	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
انتقل الى رحمة الله	21.90	1	17.74	2	20.83	2	3.70	5	30.77	1	15.38	3
اعطاك عمره	19.71	2	24.19	1	29.17	1	44.44	1	30.77	1	46.15	1
توفي	16.06	3	12.90	3	10.42	4	18.52	2	-	-	-	-
العمر إلك	12.41	4	12.90	3	10.42	4	7.41	4	-	-	15.38	3
الله اخذ أمانته	12.41	4	9.68	4	8.33	5	-	-	7.69	2	-	-
البقاء لله	10.95	5	9.68	4	12.50	3	7.41	4	-	-	-	-
الله اخذ وداعته	2.92	6	4.84	5	6.25	6	11.11	3	30.77	1	23.08	2
انتقل الى جوار ربه	2.19	7	4.84	5	2.08	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
الله استخاره	1.46	8	3.23	6	-	-	3.70	5	-	-	-	-
ارتحم	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.70	5	-	-	-	-

Table (19) shows that the euphemism "انتقل إلى رحمة الله" had the highest rank among participants in the group of age 25-35 with a percentage of 21.90%. The euphemism "أعطاك عمره" ranked second with a percentage of 19.71%. The term "توفى" ranked third with a percentage of 16.06%. The euphemism "الله استخاره" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 1.46%. The euphemism "اعطاك عمره" had the highest rank with a percentage of 24.19% among the participants in the group of age 36-45. The euphemism "انتقل إلى رحمة الله" ranked second with a percentage of 17.74%. The term "توفى" ranked third with a percentage of 12.90% and the euphemism "الله استخاره" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 3.23%.

Among the 46-55 age group the euphemism "أعطاك عمره" had the highest rank with a percentage of 29.17%, whereas the euphemism "انتقل إلى رحمة الله" ranked second with a percentage of 20.83% and the euphemism "البقاء لله" ranked third with a percentage of 12.50%. The euphemism "انتقل إلى جوار ربه" ranked seventh which is the lowest with a percentage of 2.08% among this group of age.

The euphemism "اعطاك عمره" had the highest rank with a percentage of 44.44% among the participants of the age range 56-65. The term "توفى" ranked second with a percentage of 18.52%. The

euphemism "الله أخذ وداعته" ranked third with a percentage of 11.11%. The three euphemisms "انتقل إلى رحمة الله", "الله استخاره", and "ارتحم" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 3.70%.

It is noticed that the three euphemisms "أعطاك", "انتقل إلى رحمة الله", "عمره" and "الله أخذ وداعته" had the highest rank with a percentage of 30.77% among the participants of age range 66-75. The euphemisms "الله أخذ أمانته" ranked second which was the lowest rank at the same time with percentage of 7.69%. The euphemism "أعطاك عمره" had the highest rank with a percentage of 46.15% among the participants of age above 75. The euphemisms "الله أخذ وداعته" ranked second with a percentage of 23.08% and the lowest rank with a percentage of 15.38% was occupied by the two euphemisms "انتقل إلى رحمة ربه" and "العمر إليك" respectively.

Table 20: Percentages and Ranks of Sickness Euphemisms /dysphemism according to the Age Groups in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	25 – 35		36 - 45		46 - 55		56 - 65		66 – 75		> 75	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
مريض	43.80	1	38.71	1	41.67	1	40.74	1	30.77	1	7.69	3
تعبان	27.74	2	19.35	2	4.17	4	7.41	3	-	-	-	-
عيان	8.76	3	16.13	3	14.58	2	18.52	2	7.69	4	53.85	1
مش مبسوط	7.30	4	14.52	4	12.50	3	18.52	2	23.08	2	7.69	3
بعافية	6.57	5	4.84	5	12.50	3	3.70	4	7.69	4	-	-
مجعلك	2.19	6	1.61	7	4.17	4	-	-	15.38	3	15.38	2
عليل	1.46	7	3.23	6	4.17	4	3.70	4	7.69	4	15.38	2
متوعك	1.46	7	1.61	7	4.17	4	3.70	4	7.69	4	-	-
تلفان	0.73	8	-	-	2.08	5	3.70	4	-	-	-	-

Table (20) shows that the term "مريض" had the highest rank among the participants in the groups of age 25-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, 66-75 but with different percentages. The first group had the percentage of 43.80%, the second had the percentage of 38.71%, the third had the percentage of 41.67%, the fourth had the percentage of 40.74% and the fifth had the percentage of 30.77%.

The euphemism "تعبان" was ranked second among the participants of the age group 25-35 and 36-54. The first group had the percentage of 27.74% and the second one had the percentage of 19.35%. The euphemism "عيان" ranked third with a percentage of 8.76% among the participants of the age group 25-35 and it had the same rank with a percentage of 16.13% among the participants of the age group 36-45. The euphemisms "تلفان" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 0.73% among the participants of the age group 25-35. The two euphemisms "مجعلك" and "متوعك" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 1.61% among the participants of age the group 36-45. The euphemism "عيان" was ranked second with a percentage of 14.58% among the participants of the age group 46-55. At the same time, the two euphemisms "عيان" and "مش مبسوط" ranked second with a percentage 18.52% among the participants of the age group 56-65. It is clear that the euphemism "مش مبسوط" ranked second with a percentage of 23.08% among the participants of the age group 66-75, while the euphemism "مجعلك"

ranked third with a percentage of 15.38% and the euphemisms "عيان", "بعافية", "عليل" and "متوعك" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 7.69%. The euphemisms "عيان" had the highest rank with a percentage of 53.85% among the participants of the age group 75 and above. The two euphemisms "مجعلك" and "عليل" ranked second with a percentage of 15.38%. The two euphemisms "مريض" and "مش مبسوط" ranked third which is the lowest with a percentage of 7.69%.

Table 21: Percentages and Ranks of Mental Illness Euphemisms/dysphemism according to the Age Groups in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	25 – 35		36 - 45		46 - 55		56 – 65		66 – 75		> 75	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
مريض نفسيا	44.53	1	45.16	1	52.08	1	40.74	1	15.38	1	23.08	1
مجنون	26.28	2	25.81	2	16.67	2	25.93	2	15.38	1	15.38	2
خالص كازه	9.49	3	4.84	5	4.17	4	7.41	4	7.69	2	-	-
مضيع	8.03	4	6.45	4	4.17	4	-	-	15.38	1	15.38	2
مأجر	8.03	4	1.61	6	4.17	4	-	-	7.69	2	-	-
صابو الخفيف	2.19	5	1.61	6	2.08	5	-	-	-5	-	7.69	3
مالوم	0.73	6	1.61	6	2.08	5	-	-	-	-	23.08	1
مهتوف	0.73	6	1.61	6	6.25	3	11.11	3	15.38	1	-	-
ملموس	-	-	1.61	6	4.17	4	11.11	3	15.38	1	15.38	2
مغزول	-	-	9.68	3	4.17	4	3.70	5	7.69	2	-	-

Table (21) shows that the euphemism "مريض نفسياً" ranked first among all groups, but in the age range 25-30 it had the percentage of 44.53%, in the age range 36-45, 45.16%, in the age range of 46-55, 52.08%, in the age range 56-65, 40.74%, in the age range of 66-75, 15.38% and in the age of 75 and above 23.08%. The term "مجنون" ranked second in all age groups except the age range 66-75 it had the highest rank with a percentage of 15.38%. In the age range of 25-35, 26.28%, in the age range 36-45, 25.81% in the age range 46-55, 16.67% ,in the age range 56-65, 25.93% and in the age range 75 and above 15.38% .

The euphemisms "خالص كازه" ranked third with a percentage of 9.49% among the participants of the age group 25-35. The two euphemisms "مالوم" and "مهتوف" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 0.73%. The euphemism "مغزول" ranked third with a percentage of 9.68% among the participants of the age group 36-45. The following euphemisms "مأجر", "صابو الخفيف", "مالوم", "مهتوف" and "ملموس" had the lowest rank with percentage of 1.61%. The euphemism "مهتوف" ranked third with a percentage of 6.25% among the participants of the age group 46-55. The two euphemisms "صابو الخفيف" and "مالوم" had the lowest rank which was five with a percentage of 2.08%. The two euphemisms "مهتوف" and "ملموس" ranked third with a percentage of 11.11% among the participants of the age group 56-66. The euphemism

"مغزول" ranked fifth which is the lowest rank with a percentage of 3.70%.

The term "مجنون" and the euphemisms "مريض نفسياً", "مضيع", "مهتوف" and "لموس" had the highest rank with a percentage of 15.30% among the participants of the age group 66-75. The euphemisms "خالص", "كازه", "مأجر" and "مغزول" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 7.69%. The euphemisms "مريض نفسياً" and "مالوم" had the highest rank with a percentage of 23.08% among the participants of age 75 and above. The term "مجنون" and the two euphemisms "مضيع" and "لموس" had ranked second with percentage of 15.38%. The euphemisms "صابو" occupied the lowest rank with a percentage of 7.69%.

Table 22: Percentages and Ranks of Excretory Functions Euphemisms according to the Age Groups in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	25 – 35		36 - 45		46 - 55		56 - 65		66 – 75		> 75	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
رايح عالحمام	32.85	1	25.81	2	31.25	1	40.74	1	15.38	1	23.08	1
رايح على التواليت	31.39	2	29.03	1	27.08	2	14.81	2	15.38	1	15.38	2
رايح عالسفارة	11.68	3	8.06	4	2.08	5	3.70	5	7.69	2	-	-
رايح على WC	8.76	4	16.13	3	2.08	5	3.70	5	15.38	1	15.38	2
رايح عالخلا	3.65	5	1.61	7	8.33	3	3.70	5	7.69	2	-	-
رايح على بيت الخارج	2.19	6	1.61	7	4.17	4	7.41	4	-	-	7.69	3
رايح على بيت الراحة	2.19	6	1.61	7	4.17	4	11.11	3	-	-	23.08	1
رايح على غير مطرح	2.19	6	1.61	7	2.08	5	-	-	15.38	1	-	-
رايح اعرذ	2.19	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.38	1	15.38	2
رايح اظير عصفير	1.46	7	3.23	6	-	-	-	-	7.69	2	-	-
رايح اتسير	0.73	8	4.84	5	4.17	4	-	-				
رايح يقرص	0.73	8	-	-	-	-	3.70	5				
رايح اخذ علي ايدي مي	-	-	4.84	5	8.33	3	7.41	4				
رايح اتمشى	-	-	-	-	2.08	5	-	-				
رايح على بيت الادب	-	-	1.61	7	4.17	4	3.70	5				

Table (22) shows that the participants of the age 25-35 selected the term "رايح على الحمام" mostly. This means that it had the highest rank with a percentage of 32.85%. The euphemism "رايح على التواليت" ranked second for the same group with a percentage of 31.39%. The euphemism "رايح على السفارة" ranked third with a percentage of 11.68% among the same participants. The two euphemisms "رايح اتسير" and "رايح" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 0.73%. The euphemism "رايح على التواليت" had the highest rank with a percentage of 29.03% among the participants of the age 36-45, while the term "رايح على الحمام" ranked second with a percentage of 25.81%. The euphemism "رايح WC" ranked third with a percentage of 16.13%. The five euphemisms "رايح على غير", "رايح على بيت الراحة", "رايح على بيت الخارج", "رايح على الخلا" and "رايح على بيت الأدب" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 1.61%. The term "رايح على الحمام" had the highest rank with percentage of 31.35% among participants of the age group 46-52. The euphemism "رايح على التواليت" ranked second with a percentage of 27.08%. The two euphemisms "رايح على الخلا" and "رايح اخذ على ايدي مي" ranked third with a percentage of 8.33%. The euphemisms "رايح على السفارة", "رايح WC", "رايح على غير مطرح", "رايح اتمشى" and "رايح على غير مطرح" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 2.8% among the same group participants.

The term "رايح على الحمام" had the highest rank with a percentage of 40.74% among the participants of the age group 56-65. The euphemism "رايح على التواليت" ranked second with a percentage of 14.81%. The euphemism "رايح على بيت الراحة" ranked third with a percentage of 11.11%. The euphemisms "رايح على السفارة", "رايح WC", "رايح على بيت الأدب", "رايح يقرص", "رايح على الخلا", "رايح على" had the lowest rank among the participants of the age group mentioned previously. The term "رايح على الحمام" and the euphemisms "رايح على التواليت", "رايح WC", "رايح على غير مطرح", "رايح اعرد" had the highest rank with a percentage of 15.38% among the participants of the age group 66-75. The euphemisms "رايح اطيير عصافير", "رايح على الخلا", "رايح على السفارة" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 7.69%. The two euphemisms "رايح على بيت الراحة" and "رايح على الحمام" had the highest rank with a percentage of 23.08% among the participants of the age above 75. The euphemisms "رايح على بيت", "رايح على WC", "رايح أعرد" ranked second with a percentage of 15.38%. The euphemism "رايح على بيت" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 7.69% among the participants above 75.

Table 23: Percentages and Ranks of Cancer Euphemisms/dysphemism according to the Age Groups in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	25 – 35		36 - 45		46 – 55		56 - 65		66 – 75		> 75	
	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank	Percentage	Rank
سرطان	42.34	1	27.87	1	31.91	1	14.81	3	15.38	2	7.69	3
هداك المرض	17.52	2	18.03	2	14.89	3	29.63	1	15.38	2	23.08	1
ورم	14.60	3	18.03	2	8.51	4	7.41	4	7.69	3	-	-
المرض اللي يكفيكم شره	9.49	4	13.11	3	14.89	3	18.52	2	46.15	1	23.08	1
المرض العاقل	6.57	5	9.84	4	6.38	5	14.81	3	7.69	3	23.08	1
اللي ما يتسمى	5.84	6	3.28	6	6.38	5	7.41	4	-	-	15.38	2
طالعتله غدة	2.92	7	1.64	7	-	-	-	-	7.69	3	7.69	3
مرض عضال	0.73	8	8.20	5	17.02	2	7.41	4	-	-	-	-

Table (23) shows that the term "سرطان" had the highest rank with a percentage of 42.34% among the participants of the age group 25-35. Next, the euphemism "هذاك المرض" ranked second with a percentage of 17.52%. The euphemism "ورم" ranked third with a percentage of 14.60%, whereas the euphemism "مرض عضال" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 0.73% among the previous age range. The term "سرطان" had the highest rank also among the participants of the age group 36-42 with a percentage of 27.87%. The two euphemisms "هذاك المرض" and "ورم" ranked with percentage of 18.03%.

The euphemism "المرض اللي يكفيكم شره" ranked third with a percentage of 13.11%. The euphemism "طالعته غده" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 1.64%. The term "سرطان" had the highest rank with 31.91% among the participants of the age group 46-55. The euphemism "مرض عضال" ranked second with a percentage of 17.02%. The two euphemisms "هذاك المرض" and "المرض اللي يكفيكم شره" ranked third with a percentage of 14.89%. The two euphemisms "المرض العاقل" and "اللي ما يتسمى" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 6.38%. The euphemism "هذاك المرض" had the highest rank among the participants of the age group 56-65 with a percentage of 29.63%. The euphemism "المرض اللي يكفيكم شره" ranked second with a percentage of 18.52%. The term "سرطان" and the euphemism "المرض العاقل" ranked third with a

percentage of 14.81%. The euphemisms "ورم", "اللي ما يتسمى", and "مرض عضال" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 7.41%.

The euphemism "المرض اللي يكفيكم شره" had the highest rank with a percentage of 46.15% among the participants of the age group 66-75. The term "سرطان" and the euphemism "هذاك المرض" ranked second with a percentage of 15.38%. The third rank was occupied by the three euphemisms "ورم", "المرض", and "العاطل", and "طالعتله غدة" which was the lowest rank with a percentage of 7.69%. The euphemisms "المرض اللي يكفيكم شره", "هذاك المرض", and "المرض العاطل" had the highest rank among the participants of the age above 75 with a percentage of 23.08%. The second rank is occupied by the euphemism "اللي ما يتسمى" with percentage of 15.38%, whereas the term "سرطان" and the euphemism "طالعتله غدة" had the lowest rank with a percentage of 7.69%.

Findings related to the Fourth Questions

Question four dealt with euphemisms that were used to refer to certain concepts such as, certain places, certain jobs, certain body features and certain naming and addressing ways in Jordanian Arabic. Tables from 24 through 44 show the results of each concept and the distribution of their frequencies and percentages according to the number of participants for each concept. Some of these tables include dysphemistic expressions such as, السجن, مستشفى المجانين, المقبرة, مرة, عانس, نفسه, عقيمة, عاقر, مره, قصير, ناصح, أشول, أحول, أصم, أطرش, اللي بيدفن الموت, بيت العزا, فقير and الاب.

Table 24: Frequencies and Percentages of Cemetery Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
المقبرة	208	69.33
التربة	29	9.67
الصحراء	22	7.33
المدفن	21	7.00
المجناة	13	4.33
الفسقية	4	1.33
الجبانة	3	1.00
Total	300	100%

Table (24) shows that the term "المقبرة" had the highest percentage 69.33% with a frequency of 208. The euphemism "التربة" had the second frequency of 29 and with a percentage of 9.67%. The euphemism "الصحراء" had the third position with a frequency of 22 and 7.33%. The euphemism "الجبانة" had the lowest frequency of all euphemized terms used to refer to cemetery.

Table 25: Frequencies and Percentages of Mental Illness Hospital Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
مستشفى الامراض العقلية	89	29.67
مستشفى المجانين	79	26.33
مستشفى الامراض النفسية	61	20.33
الفحيص	30	10.00
العصفورية	22	7.33
المرستان	19	6.33
Total	300	100%

As can be noted from Table (25), the euphemism "مستشفى الأمراض العقلية" had the highest frequency of 89 with a percentage of 29.67%. The term "مستشفى"

"المجانين" had the second position with a frequency of 79 and a percentage of 26.33%. The third position was occupied by the euphemism "مستشفى الأمراض العقلية" with a frequency of 61 and a percentage of 20.33%, while the euphemism "المرستان" had the lowest percentage of 6.33% with a frequency of 19.

Table 26: Frequencies and Percentages of Prison Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
السجن	216	72.00
دار خالته	30	10.00
الاصلاحية	27	9.00
مركز التأهيل و الاصلاح الاجتماعي	17	5.67
دار الاصلاح	10	3.33
Total	300	100%

Responses in Table (26) show that the term "السجن" had the highest frequency of 216 with a percentage of 72.00%. The euphemism "دار خالته" had the second position with frequency of 30 and a percentage of 10.00%. The euphemism "الاصلاحية" had the third position with frequency of 27 and a percentage 9%, whereas the euphemism "دار الإصلاح" had the lowest frequency of all euphemism and terms referring to prison.

Other terms:

It is noticed that the term "الحبس" was suggested ten times by the respondents.

Table 27: Frequencies and Percentages of the Place of Memorial Ceremony Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
بيت الأجر	140	46.67
بيت العزا	104	34.67
المدالة	22	7.33
بيت المجبرين	19	6.33
المأتم	10	3.33
المدانة	3	1.00
Total	300	100%

It can be noted in Table (27), that the euphemism "بيت الأجر" had the highest frequency of 140 with 46.67%, followed by the euphemism "بيت العزا" which occupied the second position with a frequency of 104 and 34.67%. The euphemism "المدالة" had the third position with a frequency of 22 and 7.33%. The euphemism "اللازمة" had the lowest frequency of two with 0.67%.

Other terms:

The euphemism "البرزه" was used nine times in the survey to refer to a place of memorial ceremony.

Table 28: Frequencies and Percentages of Garbage man Euphemisms in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
عامل النظافة	167	56.61
عامل الامانة	49	16.61
عامل البلدية	48	16.27
عامل الوطن	21	7.12
السنتيشن	10	3.39
Total	295	100%

Table (28) shows that the euphemism "عامل النظافة" had the highest frequency of 167 with a percentage of 56.61%. The euphemism "عامل الأمانة" had the second position with a frequency of 49 and a percentage of 16.61%. The euphemism "عامل البلدية" occupied the third position with a frequency of 48 and 16.27%, while the euphemism "السنتيشن" had the lowest frequency of 10 with 3.39%.

Table 29: Frequencies and Percentages of the Grave Digger Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
اللي بيدفن الموتى	163	54.52
الخانوتي	101	33.78
الجبان	14	4.68
اللي بلحد	12	4.01
ابو تراب	9	3.01
Total	299	100%

Table (29) shows that the term "اللي بيدفن الموتى" had the highest frequency of 163 with 54.52%. The euphemism "الخانوتي" had the second frequency of 107 with a percentage of 33.78%. The euphemism "الجبان" had the third frequency of 14 with 4.68%. The euphemism "أبو تراب" had the lowest frequency of 9 with 3.01%.

Table 30: Frequencies and Percentages of Nurse Euphemisms in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
نيرس	154	51.33
سستر	116	38.67
ملاك الرحمة	24	8.00
الملاك الابيض	6	2.00
Total	300	100%

Table (30) shows that, the euphemism "نيرس" had the highest frequency of 154 with 51.33%. Next came the euphemism "سستر" with a frequency of 116 and 38.67%. The third position was occupied by the euphemism "ملاك الرحمة" with a frequency of 24 and 8.00%. The euphemism "الملاك الأبيض" had the lowest frequency of six with 2.00%.

Table 31: Frequencies and Percentages of Deaf Person Euphemisms/dysphemisms in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
أطرش	115	38.33
سمعه ثقيل	71	23.67
أصم	58	19.33
سمعه خفيف	56	18.67
Total	300	100%

Table (31) shows that the term "أطرش" had the highest frequency of 115 with 38.33%. The euphemism "سمعه ثقيل" had the second position with a frequency of 71 and 23.6%. The third position was occupied by the term "أصم"

with a frequency of 58 and 19.33%. The euphemism "سمعته خفيف" had the lowest frequency 56 with 18.67%.

Table 32: Frequencies and Percentages of Cross-Eyed Person Euphemisms/dysphemisms in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
أحول	230	76.92
أشول	47	15.72
عيونه ضاربة	22	7.36
Total	299	100%

Table (32) shows that the term "أحول" had the highest frequency of 230 with a percentage of 76.92%. The euphemism "أشول" had the second position with a frequency of 47 and 15.72%. The euphemism "عيونه ضاربة" had the lowest frequency 22 with 7.36%.

Table 33: Frequencies and Percentages of Fat Person Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
ناصر	132	44.00
مليان	65	21.67
سمين	38	12.67
صحته منيحه	32	10.67
مررب	23	7.67
عفي	10	3.33
Total	300	100%

Table (33) that the euphemism "ناصر" had the highest frequency of 132 with 44.0%. The euphemism "مليان" had the second frequency of 65 with a

percentage of 21.67%. The euphemism "سمن" had the third frequency of 38 with 12.67%. The euphemism "عفي" had the lowest frequency ten with 3.33%.

Table 34: Frequencies and Percentages of Ugly Woman Euphemisms in Jordanian Arabic.

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
ماشى حالها	85	28.33
مش بزيادة	76	25.33
مش و لابد	63	21.00
مش بطالة	43	14.33
خفيفة دم	17	5.67
أمورة	16	5.33
Total	300	100%

Table (34) shows that the euphemism "ماشى حالها" had the highest frequency of 85 with 28.33%. The euphemism "مش بزيادة" had the second frequency of 76 with 25.33%. The euphemism "مش و لابد" had the third frequency of 63 with 21.0%, whereas the euphemism "أمورة" had the lowest frequency of 16 with 5.33%.

Other terms:

The participants suggested the euphemism "الله يستر عليها" 28 to label the ugly woman.

Table 35: Frequencies and Percentages of Short Person Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
قصير	132	44.00
مربوع	66	22.00
طوله وسط	56	18.67
ربعية	20	6.67
زملك	15	5.00
ميدالية	11	3.67
Total	300	100%

It can be noted in Table (35) that the term "قصير" had the highest frequency of 132 with 44.00%, while the euphemism "مربوع" had the second position with frequency of 66 and 22.00%. The third position was occupied by the euphemism "طوله وسط" with frequency of 56 and 18.67 %. The euphemism "ميدالية" had the lowest frequency of 11 with percentage of 3.67%.

Table 36: Frequencies and Percentages of Stupid Person Euphemisms in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
استيعابه بطيء	120	40.00
عقله على فده	104	34.67
فهمه قليل	58	19.33
رابط فيله عالباب	18	6.00
Total	300	100%

Table (36) shows that the euphemism "استيعابه بطيء" had the highest frequency of 120 with a percentage of 40.00%, while the euphemism "عقله على فده" had the second frequency of 104 with a percentage of 34.67%. The

euphemism "فهمه قليل" had the third frequency of 58 with a percentage of 19.33%, whereas the euphemism "رابط فيله على الباب" had the lowest frequency of 18 with 6.00%.

Other terms:

The euphemism "سلامتك والنعنع" was used eight times in the survey, whereas the euphemism "على البركة" was suggested nine times to refer to the stupid person.

Table 37: Frequencies and Percentages of Woman Naming Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
مره	131	45.33
حرمة	44	15.22
ام الاولاد	42	14.53
الاهل	25	8.65
العيلة	16	5.54
ولية	15	5.19
الجماعة	12	4.15
عاقبة	4	1.38
Total	289	100%

Table (37) shows that the euphemism "مره" had the highest frequency of 131 with a percentage of 45.33%. The euphemism "حرمة" had the second frequency of 44 with a percentage of 15.22%.

The euphemism "أم الأولاد" had the third frequency of 42 with a percentage of 14.53%, whereas the euphemism "عاقبة" had the lowest frequency of four with a percentage of 1.38%.

Other terms:

The participants used the euphemism "الداخليه" seven times and the euphemism "المدام" was used fourteen times to refer to woman.

Table 38: Frequencies and Percentages of Step Wife Euphemisms in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
شريكتها	183	67.28
أختها	35	12.87
أرفيقتها	28	10.29
الخوية	26	9.56
Total	272	100%

It is noticed in Table (38) that the euphemism "شريكتها" had the highest frequency of 183 with 67.28%. The second position was occupied by the euphemism "أختها" with a frequency of 35 and 12.87%. The euphemism "أرفيقتها" had the third frequency of 28 with a percentage of 10.29%. The euphemism "الخوية" had the lowest frequency of 26 with a percentage of 9.56%.

Table 39: Frequencies and Percentages of Barren Woman Euphemisms/dysphemisms in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage %
الله ما اعطاها	127	42.33
ما بتجيب أولاد	100	33.33
عافر	47	15.67
عقيمة	26	8.67
Total	300	100%

Responses in Table (39) show that the euphemism "الله ما أعطاها" had the highest frequency of 127 with a percentage of 42.33%. The euphemism "ما بتجيب أولاد" occupied the second position with frequency of 100 and 33.33%. The term "عافر" had the third frequency of 47 with 15.67%. The euphemism "عقيمة" had the lowest frequency of 26 with 8.67%.

Table 40: Frequencies and Percentages of Mother-in-Law Euphemisms in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
عمتي	111	37.25
مرة عمي	94	31.54
خالتي	45	15.10
خالنكو	39	13.09
طننت	9	3.02
Total	298	100%

Table (40) shows that the euphemism "عمتي" had the highest frequency of 111 with a percentage of 37.25%. Next came the euphemism "مرت عمي" had the second frequency of 94 with 31.54%. The euphemism "خالتي" occupied the third

position with a frequency of 45 and with 15.10%, while the euphemism "طننت" had the lowest frequency of nine with 3.02%.

Table 41: Frequencies and Percentages of Postpartum Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
نفسه	154	50.49
والده جديد	112	36.72
حورية	30	9.84
Total	296	100%

Table (41) shows that the term "نفسه" had the highest frequency 154 with a percentage of 50.49%. The euphemism "والده جديد" had the second position with a frequency of 112 and 36.72%. The third position was occupied by the euphemism "حورية" which had the lowest frequency of 30 with a percentage of 9.84%.

Table 42: Frequencies and Percentages of Spinster Woman Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
عانس	170	57.05
متبنته	45	15.10
بنت بنوت	43	14.43
بنت البيت	40	13.42
Total	298	100%

As can be noted from Table (42), the term "عانس" had the highest frequency of 170 with 57.05%. The euphemism "متبنته" had the second frequency of 45 with 15.10%. The euphemism "بنت بنوت" had the third

frequency of 43 with a percentage of 14.43%. The euphemism "بنت البيت" had the lowest frequency of 40 with a percentage of 13.42%.

Other terms:

The euphemisms "فاتها الفوت" and "فاتها القطار" were suggested fourteen times in the survey.

Table 43: Frequencies and Percentages of Step-mother Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
مرة الاب	206	68.67
الخالة	94	31.33
Total	300	100%

Responses in Table (43) show that the term "مرت الأب" had the highest frequency of 206 with percentage of 68.67%. The euphemism "الخالة" had the lowest frequency of 94 with 31.33%.

Table 44: Frequencies and Percentages of Poor Person Euphemisms/dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic

Euphemism	Frequency	Percentage
على باب الله	72	24.00
فقير	67	22.33
على قد حاله	54	18.00
مستور	48	16.00
جماعه بسطا	31	10.33
دخله محدود	15	5.00
رزقه قليل	13	4.33
Total	300	100%

Results in Table (44) shows that the euphemism "على باب الله" had the highest frequency of 72 with percentage of 24.00%. The term "فقير" occupied the second position with a frequency of 67 and 22.33%. The euphemism "على قد" had the third position with a frequency of 54 and 18.00%, whereas the euphemism "رزقه قليل" had the lowest frequency of 13 with a percentage of 4.33%.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

This chapter provides analysis and discussion of the findings of the four questions raised in the first chapter of this thesis. Moreover, it provides explanation and interpretation of the results under the umbrella of the reviewed literature. Conclusions are stated and recommendations are made for further research.

Discussion and Analysis of Findings Related to the First Question

Findings related to death, sickness, mental illness, excretory function and cancer euphemisms that were used in Jordanian Arabic and were tabulated in tables 4-8 showed that:

A) Death and mental illness are the most euphemized topics.

B) The euphemism "أعطاك عمره" which was one of the death euphemisms in Jordanian Arabic had the highest frequency. It was the most common euphemism among Jordanian Arabic speakers. This is due to the fear of death which occupied a considerable area in Jordanian culture and traditions. Jordanians avoid mentioning death directly. Instead, they resort to euphemized expression with the assumption of keeping it away from the speaker / hearer.

This result agrees with Stein's belief (1998) that language can have a destructive power if people do not pay much attention to their utterances. The result also agrees with Farghal (1995) in his statement that death is the most euphemized topic in Arabic. Similarly, it supports Al-Khatib's conclusion (1995) who found out that death is the most contaminated event in the Jordanian society.

C) The euphemism "مريض نفسياً" was the most common euphemism among Jordanian Arabic speakers. The motivation behind this is that the Jordanians view mental illness as a shameful and mysterious disease which needs to be hidden or to be spoken about euphemistically and politely. This agrees with Allan and Burrige (2006) in their explanation of mental illness euphemization. Furthermore, the use of euphemisms such as "صابو الخفيف" or "ملموس" in Jordanian Arabic proved that mental illness is a mysterious disease caused by supernatural creatures such as genies or ghosts according to Jordanian culture. It is noticed that some Jordanians used euphemisms such as "خالص كازه" to refer to mental illness in a funny way. The researcher believes that some euphemisms like the previous one is an offensive expression rather than a euphemistic one. It catches up the negative connotation of the original term "مجنون" and it is a stimulus of fun. The previous result agrees with Allan and Burrige (2006) who found out that euphemisms such as, "crack-brained", and "scatter-brained" are funny and dysphemistic expressions .

D) When it comes to the euphemization of sickness in Jordanian Arabic, it can be seen that Jordanian Arabic speakers tend to name sickness or related terms barely such as the term "مريض". The researcher believes that sickness doesn't mean, in a way or another, a dreadful disease therefore, it is not worth euphemizing since it is not a source of fear.

E) Results, related to excretory functions indicate that Jordanian Arabic speakers used the euphemism "رايح عالحمام" frequently. One important point that

is worth noting is the slight difference between the frequency of the use of the two euphemisms "رايح عالحمام" and "رايح على التواليت". This result agrees with Ide (1989) in his definitions of politeness and with Brown and Levinson (1987) in their concept of politeness as face-risk minimization. The researcher believes that Jordanian Arabic speakers applied the Politeness Principle in their daily communication and their choice of euphemized expression depended on context of situation which was proposed by Malinowski (1923) and developed by Firth (1957) and Halliday (2001).

F) Results of cancer's euphemization indicated that Jordanian Arabic speakers tended to use the term "سرطان" which is the bare name of a dreadful disease. This result contradicts Tse, Chong and Fok (2003) in their conclusion about cancer as a dreadful disease that should be euphemized. It also contradicts Fallowfield and Jenkins (2004) and Allan and Burridge (2006) who believed that cancer is a serious disease that needs to be euphemized. Furthermore, the result contradicts Friedrichsen, Strang and Carlson (2002), Tayler and Ogden (2004), (2009) who viewed that cancer is one of the many diseases that arouse fear and threaten one's life, accordingly there is a necessity to euphemize it.

Discussion and Analysis of findings Related to the Second Question

Results related to death euphemisms confirm that the euphemism اعطاك "عمره" was mostly used in both Bedouin and Madani varieties. The previous euphemism is group-specific. It is noted that the euphemism "الله اخذ وداعته" is used mostly in Bedouin variety. This means that it is group-specific. In terms of other euphemisms used by the participants it is clear that the euphemism "الدايم الله" is specific for the Bedouin variety. The responses of Fallahi variety indicated that

the euphemism "انتقل الى رحمة الله" was mostly used among the Fallahi group. It is clear that this euphemism is specific for Fallahi variety speakers. (see Table 9)

In addition, the Fallahi participants suggested the euphemism "خلصو زيتاته" to refer to the death concept. It seems that this euphemism is restricted to the Fallahi variety. The researcher believes that it could not be considered a euphemism. This is due to the pejorative connotation it carries. It seems to be an insult rather than a euphemism. The researcher believes that this is a dysphemistic expression and it does not function successfully like euphemisms do. This result is not on line with Farghal (1995) who considered the term "xubzatuh xilsin" a euphemism.

Results related to the "sickness topic" indicated that this topic was mostly euphemized in the Bedouin variety. Bedouins used the euphemism "عين" instead of the term "مريض" in their daily communication. It is a specific euphemism to the Bedouin variety. The other two varieties Fallahi and Madani used the term "مريض" which is the bare name of sickness. It is clear that people of Fallahi and Madani variety do not believe that sickness is worth euphemizing because it is not serious. (see Table 10)

Findings related to mental illness indicated that the euphemisms "مالوم", "مهتوف" and "مغزول" are exclusive to the Bedouin variety. They were not used in the other two varieties Fallahi and Madani. The euphemism "مأجر" was mostly used in the Fallahi variety, whereas the euphemism "خالص كازه" is a specific one for Madani variety. Furthermore, people of Fallahi variety used the euphemism "مأجر السطوح" which is a specific property for them. The researcher thinks that this euphemism is a source of fun and it is unfair to say that it is a euphemism

whose function is to substitute an unpleasant expression with a pleasant, agreeable one. In general these facts change due to time. (see Table 11)

Findings related to "excretory functions topic" pointed out that the two euphemisms "رايح عالخلا" and "رايح اخذ علي ايدي مي" are group specific. This is due to the fact that they were used mostly in the Bedouin variety according to environmental issues . Bedouins tended to use euphemisms like the two previous ones, because it seems that they stick to their customs and old euphemistic expressions more than other varieties. If we examine the results carefully, we could immediately notice that in the Madani variety people tended to use euphemisms such as "رايح على التواليت" and "رايح على WC". The two terms "toilet" and "WC" are loan words used as euphemisms in Madani. It seems that people of the Madani variety pay much attention to prestigious purposes more than other varieties. As a result, the two euphemisms are group specific for the Madani variety.

With regard to the Fallahi variety it is noticed that the euphemisms "رايح عالسفارة", "رايح على بيت الراحة", and "رايح اعد" are mostly, and sometimes only used by the Fallahi variety speakers especially the third one which is exclusive for Palestinian Fallahi . The researcher notes that the Fallahi variety speakers have a considerable ability to create funny euphemisms which are accepted by interactants. She views that people of Fallahi variety tend to euphemize the taboos in a funny way rather than a polite way. In their cultural background it achieves the same goal of euphemism .The results of cancer topic confirmed that cancer was mostly euphemized in the Bedouin variety. The euphemisms "اللي ما يتسمى" and "المرض اللي يكفيكم شره" were mostly used in the Bedouin variety unlike the other two varieties in which the term "سرطان" was the mostly used one. The euphemism "هداك المرض" is a group-specific for the Madani and Fallahi.

Moreover, the Bedouins used the euphemism "المرض الخبيث" which was suggested by respondents as an exclusive euphemism for the Bedouin variety. Bedouins still believe that cancer euphemisms do not fade through decades or become contaminated with the negative association. (see Table 12-13)

This result agrees with McGlone, Beck and Pfiester (2006) in their findings which contradicted the associative contamination that accompanied the familiar euphemisms. (see p. 72). Moreover, it is noticed that in Madani variety the loan word "كانسر" is used as a euphemism and it is a group-specific one. This result matches to some extent the finding of Al-Khatib and Sabbah (2008) who investigated the use of code-switching strategy for euphemistic purposes.

Discussion and Analysis of Findings related to the Third Question:

Results obtained on death euphemisms indicated that the euphemism " انتقل الى رحمة الله " was mostly used by Jordanian's of age 25-35 and 66-75, while the euphemism " اعطاك عمره " was used among all ages of Jordanian Arabic speakers nearly equally. This euphemism did not fade or become contaminated through generations. It was noticed that the euphemism " الله اخذ وداعته " was mostly used by old generations. The results showed that there is age-differentiation in the use of death euphemisms and this agrees with Al-Qadi (2009) in his conclusion that the euphemism in languages differs from one generation to another and from time to time. (see Table 14)

Results related to sickness euphemisms confirmed that the term

"مريض" was mostly used in Jordanian Arabic except among the old generation who tended to use the euphemism "عيان" instead. The two euphemisms "مش مبسوط" and "مجعلك" were mostly used among older Jordanian people. The researcher maintains that the old generation still stick to their old traditions and their cultural inheritance more than the young one who do not view sickness as a source of fear. In addition the old participants suggested the euphemism "طريح" which is not used by young Jordanian in their daily life. (see Table 15)

Results related to mental illness euphemisms pointed out that the euphemism "مريض نفسيا" was used frequently among all generations. This familiar euphemism didn't lose its brightness through decades. This fact agrees with McGlone, Beck and Pfister (2006) who maintained that familiarity may enhance a euphemism's replacement and face-maintenance capacity. The euphemism "خالص كازه" was mostly used among Jordanians of old ages. The euphemisms "مالوم", "مهتوف", "مغزول" and "لموس" were mostly used among old generations. It seems that younger generation did not use these euphemisms and they consider them old-fashioned euphemisms. Furthermore the old generation seems to have a stronger belief in superstition. (see Table 16)

Results related to excretory functions euphemisms indicate that the euphemisms "رايح علىWC", "رايح على التواليت", "رايح على الحمام", "رايح على السفارة" are used among all generations. The researcher suggested that context of situation affects the euphemism choice among Jordanian Arabic speakers regardless of their age or generation. This result agrees with Halliday (2001) and Halliday and Hasan (1985) in their statement that people's choice of euphemisms depends on the context of situation, whereas, it was noticed that euphemisms such as "رايح على" "رايح على غير مطرح", "رايح اعرد", بيت الراحة

found that younger people showed their respect by using more acceptable euphemistic expressions. This result confirms what Storr (1985) found when she analyzed euphemisms used through generations. She noticed that age factor played an essential role in the use of euphemism among people. (see Table 17)

Results of cancer euphemisms used by different generations indicated that the term "سرطان" is mostly used among the younger generation. The researcher views that Jordanians of younger generation believe that cancer is emotionally charged with death and negative connotations. Accordingly, they viewed that euphemization of this word did not prevent the dreadful reality of this disease. This result contradicts, to some extent, Allan and Burrige (2006), Al-Khatib (1995) and Enright (1985) who asserted that taboos surrounding cancer are considerable so there is an essential need to be euphemized. In addition, euphemisms such as "المرض اللي يكفيكم شره", "اللي ما يتسمى", and "هداك المرض" were mostly used by older respondents. It seems that the old people believe that cancer, as a source of fear and is inevitably linked with death, is worth euphemizing to reduce the degree of unpleasant effect of the term on the hearer. The young generations suggested the loan word "كانسر" as a euphemism for cancer. This result indicated that this strategy is a specific property for young generation. (see Table 18)

Findings of death euphemisms among males and females in Jordanian Arabic indicated that there are no significant differences between males and females in reports of death euphemisms use. For instance, the euphemisms "اعطاك عمره" and "انتقل الى رحمة الله" are used frequently among the two genders. The most worthy observation in this topic is the use of the euphemism "العمر إلك" more frequently used among females than males. Since the degree of fear of death does not decrease through generations, the researcher points out that there

is no need to pay much attention to prestigious and trendy terms to refer to death euphemistically. (see Table 19)

Results related to sickness euphemisms used among males and females in Jordanian Arabic indicated that the two genders tended to use the term "مريض" frequently. There were no significant differences in their use of sickness euphemisms except the euphemism "متوعك" which was more frequently used among male respondents. In a case like the euphemism "متوعك" the researcher believes that men prefer to use neutral words with low rhetorical style when compared to women.(see Table 20)

Findings related to mental illness euphemisms showed that females used euphemisms like "مالوم", "صابو الخفيف", "مغزول" and "ملموس" more frequently compared to males. This is perhaps due to the tendency of females to believe in supernatural creatures that cause certain disease such as mental illness. Such psychology leads to superstition, whereas males, to some extent, do not tend to accept this belief. The euphemism "مأجر السطوح" was mostly added by males to the questionnaire. It was noticed that this euphemism is a funny one as the researcher mentioned before. It seems that males have tendency to treat taboos in a funny way to soften its harsh reality. Men practice more humor than women. (see Table 21)

Results on excretory functions euphemisms used among males and females showed that males tended to use the euphemism "رايح عالحمام" more frequently than females. While females tended to use euphemisms like "رايح على" and "التوالييت" more frequently than males did. This result agrees with Lakoff (1975), Trudgill (1983) and Linfoot-Ham (2005) in their claim that women prefer polite and prestigious words much more than males do. The

researcher believes that women favor euphemisms more than men, because of their special psychological feature. Furthermore, females intend to give others a better impression of their language image much more than males do. If we examine euphemisms such as " رايح على بيت الراحة", " رايح يقرص " and " رايح عالسفارة " which were used among males it will be clear that males prefer words with low rhetorical style.(see Table 22)

Results related to euphemisms of cancer indicated that the term " سرطان " was frequently used among males and females. This result came contrary to expectations. One way to explain why in daily communication both genders used bare name of cancer rather than its euphemisms, is to say that many of the cancer euphemisms evoke an image which is undeniably painful and polluted with the harsh reality of the disease. Furthermore, they realized from their daily experience that cancer euphemisms fade and do not function successfully among interactants. Depending on the results of this concept, it was noticed that the only significant difference between females and males was in the use of the euphemism " المرض اللي يكفيكم شره " which was more frequently among males and the use of the euphemism " هداك المرض " more frequently among females. With regard to other euphemisms which were suggested by the participants, females added the euphemism " كانسر " while males added the euphemism " المرض الخبيث ", this agrees to some extent with Abu Hammad (2007) and Al-Khatib (2008) about using loan words such as " كانسر " as a euphemism specifically among females. (see Table 23)

Discussion and Analysis of Findings Related to the Fourth Question

Results related to cemetery euphemisms used among Jordanian Arabic speakers indicated that Jordanians used the term "المقبرة" frequently. A major point to note is that despite its being a taboo, Jordanians preferred to use it in their communicative society. In fact, the euphemisms of this concept such as "التربة" and "الصحرا" were used more frequently among old generations and Bedouins specifically. The possible explanation is that old people emphasize using euphemistic expressions to reflect their politeness and their cultural inheritance. Another possibility is that some people like Bedouins behave according to their own context of culture and social values more than others do. This result agrees with Malinowski (1923) and Halliday (2001) in their Theory of Context.(see Table 24)

Results related to mental illness hospital euphemisms revealed that most of Jordanian Arabic speakers used the euphemism "مستشفى الامراض العقلية". This tendency to euphemize mental illness proved that Jordanians view it a sensitive area that need to be covered. Euphemisms such as "الفحيص" and "العصفورية" were used in certain situations for the sake of humor rather than politeness and they are derived from the name of the places where they exist. In the case of the two previous euphemisms the context of situation affects one's selection of euphemisms. This agrees with Halliday (2001) who asserted that one's choice of euphemism depends on context of situation. As the researcher mentioned earlier, some euphemisms are transformed into dysphemisms due to their unfavorable impact on speaker / hearer. (see Table 25)

It appears from the results related to euphemisms used to refer to prison that the term "السجن" which is the origin word for prison, was mostly used among Jordanian Arabic speakers. This result reflects the tendency of Jordanians to use the bare name of that taboo place rather than its euphemisms. Furthermore, they used the term "الحبس" which is a dysphemism and it was suggested by the participants. This is evidence that Jordanians view that this place is a place where justice is achieved. It seems that there is no significance in euphemizing a place like the prison. The researcher believes that prison has its advantages such as to control the illegal behaviors and impoliteness. Since the function of euphemism is to be polite with others and make the addressees feel good, the word "السجن" does not need a cover to express it euphemistically due to its advantage mentioned before, whereas few of the Jordanians used the euphemism "دار خالته" and "دار الاصلاح" to reduce its unpleasant impact on listeners under certain circumstances and situations. (see Table 26)

Results related to euphemisms of a place of memorial ceremony indicated that most of Jordanian Arabic speakers used the euphemism "بيت الاجر". They used other euphemisms less frequently than the previous one such as "المدالة" and "اللازمة". The use of euphemism such as "بيت الاجر" highlights the implicit belief that death and any concept related to it is socially and psychologically tabooed in Arabic culture. The previous euphemism itself implied religious connotation to smooth the severe reality of death. Jordanian Arabic speakers deal with the event in the light of religious purposes such as "الاجر" "reward" to divert people's attention to the bright side of death. Another explanation is to help the family of the deceased to overcome their loss. Using a euphemism like "بيت الاجر" enhances the ability to accept death. This result matches, to some extent, Mazid (2006) who stated that "...Arabic culture still adheres to an Islamic code of behavior". (p 82). It is noticed that the euphemism "البرزة" is exclusive to old generation.(see Table 27)

Euphemisms used to refer to garbage collector indicate that Jordanian Arabic speakers tended to euphemize this term frequently. They used, mostly, the euphemism "عامل النظافة". The researcher views that euphemistic words used to label garbage collector such as "عامل البلدية" and "عامل الوطن" reflect the attempt to make this unpleasant job sounds almost attractive and respectable. This is one of the main goals of politeness principle. This result agrees with Leech (1983) who stated that politeness shortens the psychological distance between interactants and saves faces of both sides; the speakers and the counterparts. (see Table 28)

Findings related to gravedigger euphemisms indicate that this concept was not considered a sensitive area that needs to be covered euphemistically among Jordanian Arabic speakers. They tended to use the term "اللي بيدفن الموتى" mostly. This result was not expected, but facts should be stated. Jordanians believe that it is possible to cover some jobs which are associated with embarrassment like garbage man, but it is difficult to refer to a job like gravedigger with euphemisms. The findings here showed that this term is heavily charged with bad omens making the function of euphemisms of this concept unsuccessful.(see Table 29)

Results related to euphemisms used to label female nurse indicate that most of the Jordanian Arabic speakers euphemized this term. It is noticed that they used the two loan words "نيرس" and "سستر" as euphemisms which implied mercy and sympathy. This job is -unfortunately- associated with degradation and shame in Arab societies at large. This is due to social standing and cultural attitudes and concerns towards certain women's jobs. In order to enhance and inflate the image of this job, Jordanian Arabic speakers made this occupation sound higher in rank and pleasant to the ear. The use of euphemisms in that

sensitive area succeeded in getting such an address accepted by both sides; the addresser and addressee. This result agrees with Enright (1985) , Leech (1983) in their belief that euphemism strengthens social stability and with Rawson (1981) in his classification of euphemism into positive and negative euphemisms, this was one of the positive euphemisms which can result in successful communication among members of society. (see Table 30)

Results of deaf person euphemisms indicate that Jordanian Arabic speakers used mostly the term "أطرش". Some of them used the euphemism "سمعته ثقيل". Indeed, this body feature did not receive a fair euphemization in Jordanian society. The bare name of this feature was accepted among interactants. Jordanians did not find it necessary to use euphemisms of a deaf person. This result opposes Brown and Levinson (1987) in their belief that the politeness strategies such as euphemism prevent face loss. Furthermore, it opposes Lakoff (1975) in her statement that "politeness is as a verbal velvet glove to conceal the iron fist".(see Table 31)

Results related to the cross-eyed person euphemisms indicate that Jordanian Arabic speakers used the term "أحول" which is considered a frank expression. In addition, the terms "عيونه ضاربة", "أشول" and "أثول" are all considered euphemisms for this certain body feature. The researcher believes that none of the previous terms could be considered euphemisms. They seem to be sarcastic because they were contaminated by the pejorative connotation of the original word.(see Table 32)

Fat people euphemisms showed that the term "ناصح" was mostly used among Jordanian Arabic speakers and they used the euphemistic expression "مليان" less frequently. To some extent, this feature is not expressed

euphemistically in Jordanian society. It seems that the context of situation and the type of relation between interactants control the use of euphemisms to describe this unfavorable feature. For instance, Jordanians use the euphemism "مليان" to describe a fat person who intends to marry to beautify his/her image. (see Table 33)

The researcher views that, in certain situations, Jordanians resort to euphemism to make the hearer feel more comfortable and this finding agrees with Lakoff (1975) in his third rule of politeness principle. The tendency to use the euphemisms of the previous feature in certain circumstances depends basically on the psychological traits of the hearer. This result contradicts Taylor and Ogden (2009) in their findings that the use of term obese which means fat made the patient feel more upset than using its euphemisms.(see Table 34)

Results related to the ugly woman euphemisms indicate that most of Jordanian Arabic speakers used the euphemism "ماشي حالها" to describe the ugly woman. They also used the euphemism "مش بزيادة" less frequently. A point to note here is that Jordanians euphemize this feature because of many reasons. Firstly, this feature is related to gender factor. In other words, it is a feature that reduces the degree of femininity of women. Secondly, this feature is euphemized for psychological purposes for instance, to make the woman feel more comfortable. Finally, it is euphemized for the sake of politeness and concealing truth. This result matches to some extent Marquez's definition of politeness (2000) (refer to p.8), the approbation maxim of Leech (1983) (refer to p.8) and Rawson's definition of euphemism (1981). (refer to p.16) and (see Table 35)

Short people euphemisms, showed that the term "قصير" is mostly used among Jordanian Arabic speakers. They used the euphemisms "مربع" and "طوله"

"وسط" less frequently. It is clear that Jordanians do not consider this body feature a taboo to be avoided or euphemized. It does not carry any sarcasm or distasteful connotation according to their social beliefs. (see Table 36)

Results related to stupid person euphemisms indicate that the euphemism "استيعابه بطيء" was the mostly used euphemism among Jordanian Arabic speakers. Moreover, they used all the euphemisms related to this concept according to their varieties. For instance, the euphemism "رابط فيله عالباب" was mostly used in Bedouin variety specifically in al-Kerak . To be more specific, Jordanian Arabic speakers viewed that this body feature to be associated with embarrassment and sensitivity. Their tendency to euphemize this concept proves that they do care for their utterances to achieve safe communication on the one hand and to maintain hearer's face on the other hand. This result confirms what Allan and Burridge (2006) believed about face maintenance. Moreover, the euphemism "سلامتك والنعنع" was suggested by participants of Fallahi variety and this means that it is a group specific euphemism. The researcher assumes that Jordanians of Fallahi variety are creative and have a sense of humor. But again she believes that this type of euphemism is a dysphemism due to its unfavorable impact on hearers.(see Table 37)

Results related to woman naming and addressing system in Jordanian society indicate that Jordanian Arabic speakers tended to use the euphemism "مره" frequently and euphemisms such as "أم الأولاد", "حرمة" and "عاقبة" less frequently. Some of Jordanian Arabic speakers used euphemisms such as "المدام" and "الداخلية". It is noticed that the euphemisms were used by younger generation. It seems that the young generations tend to be more aware of the prestigious language levels and the fashionable style of speech. In general the results showed that Jordanians euphemize women terms differently, but they all agreed that she represents a sensitive topic which needs to be designated

euphemistically. This result matches the findings of Lakoff (1975) that woman is viewed as embarrassing and sensitive concept, this is due to a cultural issue. The result also agrees with Abd-el-Jawad (1989) in his conclusion that women are viewed as unpleasant objects which need to be covered by euphemistic terms. In addition, the result agrees with his conclusion about existence of differentiation in the choice of euphemisms when referring to women according to many reasons. (see p.73) Furthermore, this result confirms what Mazid (2006) found when he examined the use of euphemisms in Emarati society including those which were used in mentioning female members of the Emarati family. (see p. 77) and (see Table 38)

Results related to other wife euphemisms indicated that the euphemism "شريكنتها" was the most frequent one among the Jordanian Arabic speakers. They used also euphemisms such as "أختها" and "ارفيقتها". The differentiation in the choice of euphemism depends basically on the type of the variety one uses in his/her daily life. The results showed that Jordanians employed the Politeness Principle when they refer to this concept. They put into consideration the context of culture when they treat a sensitive concept as the one mentioned above. The researcher believes that the sensitivity of this concept is deeply rooted in the Jordanian culture. This result agreed with Cowan (1976), Allan and Burridge (1991), and Newman (1995) in their definitions of euphemism. (see p.16-17) and (see Table 39)

Results related to euphemisms which Jordanian Arabic speakers used to refer to barren woman indicated that the euphemism "الله ما اعطاها" was the mostly used one, whereas the term "عقيمه" was used less frequently. This shows that Jordanians have a strong awareness of mentioning this term directly. It is a matter of maintaining others' feelings and faces rather than hurting their feelings and offending them. The researcher argues that the use of the euphemism "الله ما"

"اعطاها" smooths the blunt reality of being barren. Since the Jordanian society is strongly stuck to Islamic religion, the use of the term Allah creates an atmosphere of sympathy and comfort. This result agrees with Leech (1983) in his sixth maxim of politeness principle (see p.10). It agrees also with Mazid (2006) in his statement that "Emirati Arabic is heavily infiltrated with religious expressions." (p. 82)

Results related to mother-in-law euphemisms indicate that Jordanian Arabic speakers used the euphemism "عمتي" frequently and the euphemisms such as "خالتي", "طننت" and "مرة عمي" less frequently. Since the relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law used to be sensitive and doubtful, Jordanians tend to euphemize the term "حماتي" "mother-in-law" for the sake of politeness and to soften the communication between both sides. (see Table 40)

Results related to postpartum euphemisms indicate that the term "نفسه" was the mostly used euphemism among the Jordanian Arabic speakers. It is noticed that the euphemism "حورية" was used only in Bedouin variety. This group specific euphemism showed that Bedouins have a considerable tendency to use euphemisms in their daily communication. This means that they are not influenced by the modern society and its values. The researcher believes that the euphemism "حورية" is derived from the term "حور العين" in the Holy Quran. This term symbolizes beauty and eternity in heaven. The euphemism "حورية" has a pleasant impact on the hearer. (see Table 41)

Findings related to single woman euphemisms point out that the term "عانس" was used most frequently among the Jordanian Arabic speakers. They used the euphemisms "متبنته", "بنت بنوت" and "بنت البيت" less frequently. This concept is not viewed unpleasant or harsh to be expressed directly. A woman who is

described with this term is socially admired and accepted. According to the researcher, this woman is not an alien or a taboo, so there is no need to euphemize this concept. This does not contradict with the Politeness Principle and its main goal. (see Table 42)

Finding of "step-mother euphemisms" indicate that most of the Jordanian Arabic speakers used the term "مرة الأب" and few of them used the euphemism "الخالة". It seems that this concept did not receive a fair treatment since it is unacceptable and embarrassing. This result is contrary to Allan and Burridge (2006) in their statement that people want to respect others and be respected by others as well. This concept is always connected with an unfavorable image in order to shorten the psychological distance between the two negative poles, it is necessary to use a euphemism to replace that concept. The researcher views that Jordanian Arabic speakers have a strong belief that the euphemization of this concept is in, a way or another, a distortion of the reality. This result agrees with Rawson (1981) in his classification of euphemism into positive and negative euphemisms. According to him a negative euphemism conceals the reality. It also confirmed the definition of negative euphemism presented by Lutz (1989). (see p.25) and (see Table 43)

Results related to "poor person euphemisms" revealed that the euphemism "على باب الله" and "على قد حاله" were mostly used in Jordanian Arabic. Jordanian Arabic speakers viewed that the direct addressing of the poor makes the people involved ashamed, while to use a euphemism like "على باب الله" is more polite to him. The miserable conditions of the poor lead people to use euphemisms in an attempt to divert others attention so as not to intensify their misery. Jordanians tendency to use euphemisms of this concept meets social and psychological needs of the counterparts. The term "فقير" "poor" offends their own sensibilities and dignities. Furthermore, Jordanian Arabic speakers use

euphemisms to refer to the previous concept in order to upgrade poor people. The developed civilization of the Jordanian society requires people to be more cultivated and polite. This result agrees with Leech (1983) in his approbation maxim, which means maximize praise of other. (see Table 44)

Conclusions

Euphemism embodies the civilization and morality of human being. As people live in different times and societies and the language they use belongs to different categories, accordingly euphemisms that are created by them vary and reflect various social cultures and values.

Euphemisms are always culturally loaded. On the basis of research findings, the most important conclusion is that certain tabooed topics and concepts receive a fair euphemization in Jordanian society such as , death, mental illness, excretory functions, garbage collector, memorial ceremony, stupid person and mental illness hospital. Jordanian Arabic speakers use the euphemisms of the previous topics appropriately and successfully in their daily communication. In other words, they respect the Politeness Principle and they apply the context theory intentionally. They use this sociolinguistic phenomenon to bring the sense of pleasantness in communication, thus they make the communicators get along better with others. Their tendency to use euphemistic expressions varies from one tabooed concept to another according to their social concerns, cultural issues and situational context. Jordanian Arabic speakers have positive attitudes toward the use of euphemisms.

In addition, the data obtained indicated that the unpleasant association of some tabooed words is caught up with the euphemism. With the passage of time the euphemism itself turns into dysphemism. Jordanian Arabic speakers realize this fact and accordingly they tend to say the tabooed expression frankly and directly. The term "السرطان" and "المقبرة" are evidence. Moreover, data explored the variation in the use of euphemisms among Jordanian Arabic speakers according to some social factors. These factors are as follows:

1) The dialectal varieties in Jordanian Arabic affect the Jordanians' choice of euphemisms. Some euphemisms are exclusive to Bedouin variety. Others are exclusive to Madani variety and Fallahi variety. In other words there are group-specific euphemisms in Jordanian Arabic.

2) The age factor has also an impact on the employment of euphemisms in Jordanian Arabic. Generally, old generations use more euphemisms than the young because they pay more attention to their behavior and care much about their self-images in the eyes of younger generation. However both generations evaluate their use of euphemisms according to their own beliefs and concerns. The data obtained prove that Jordanian Arabic speakers of different ages differ in their choices of euphemisms except for some tabooed topics.

3) In terms of the gender factor, women of Jordanian Arabic tend to use more euphemistic expressions than men. Women perform better in applying the Politeness Principle. They are more linguistically polite than men. This is due to their different social roles and they are usually required to be more polite. The prestigious purposes and the presence of the opposite sex affect the women/men choices of euphemisms. The existence of gender differentiation in the use of euphemisms cannot be ignored or denied. Despite the unexpected results the researcher explored in her study, Jordanian Arabic speakers maintained their faces and that of others.

Recommendations and Suggestions for Future Research

This research took an initial step in exploring and examining the use of euphemisms by Jordanian Arabic speakers in their daily communication. It would indeed be valuable to replicate this study in the future, keeping in mind the following recommendations.

- Future research can be conducted on the use of euphemisms in warfare.
- The use of euphemism in the Glorious Quran and Al-Hadith is a valuable topic to be conducted by further research.
- This research can be extended by including the effect of relation role in the use of euphemisms.
- A further study can investigate the use of euphemisms by ethnic groups in Jordanian society.
- Future research can examine the translation of tabooed words in American movies into Arabic in T.V screen.
- More research can explore the use of euphemisms in Arabic novels.

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APPENDIX 1

Panel of Experts and Validation Committee of the Questionnaire

Name	Position	Specialization	Place of Work
1. Riyadh Hussein	Professor/Department Chairman	Sociolinguistics	MEU
2. Atef Jalabneh	Associate professor	English Syntax and semantics	MEU
3. Rasoul Khafaji	Professor	Contrastive Linguistics and Translation Studies	MEU
4. Zakaria Abu Hamdia	Professor	Sociolinguistics	JU
5. Jihad Hamdan	Professor/Department Chairman	English Linguistics	JU
6. Mahmoud Al-Khatib	Professor	English Linguistics	JUST
7. Tawfiq Yousef	Professor	English Literature	JU

APPENDIX 2
Questionnaire of Euphemisms in Jordanian
Arabic

عزيزي المشارك،

تقوم الباحثة باجراء دراسة حول ظاهرة تلطيف العبارات و الكلمات باللغة العربية، و ذلك كمتطلب لنيل درجة الماجستير في اللغويات التطبيقية. و عليه يرجى التكرم بتعبئة الاستبانة المرفقة بدقة و موضوعية.

و تؤكد الباحثة ان هذه الدراسة تجرى لغايات البحث العلمي فقط، و لن يتم اطلاق أي شخص سوى الباحثة على البيانات الواردة في هذه الاستبانة.

شاكرين لكم حسن تعاونكم.

الباحثة،
اكرام العزة

القسم الاول:

التاريخ:/.../....

العمر:

65 – 56 55 – 46 45 – 36 35-25
أكثر من 75 75 -66

الجنس:

أنثى ذكر

الحالة الاجتماعية:

متزوج أعزب

الدخل الشهري:

أقل من 200 د.أ 200 – 450 د.أ 500 – 750 د.أ 800 – 1000 د.أ
أعلى من 1000 د.أ

المستوى العلمي:

أمي ابتدائي اعدادي ثانوي
جامعي ماجستير دكتوراة

اللهجة التي تتحدث بها في حياتك اليومية:

البدوية الفلاحي المدني

القسم الثاني:

اعتاد الناس على استخدام العديد من عبارات التلطف للتحدث و الاشارة إلى بعض الموضوعات و العبارات ، و المفاهيم غير المرغوب فيها من قبل افراد المجتمع في حياتهم اليومية. يرجى تحديد العبارة/العبارات اللطيفة التي تلجا اليها انت بالذات عند التحدث او الاشارة الى الامور الغير مرغوب فيها و المبينة ادناه، و ذلك بوضع اشارة (√).

اولا: الموت

اذا اردت ان تخبر عن موت شخص ما، فأى من العبارة/العبارات التالية تستخدم؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	انتقل الى رحمة الله
	الله اخذ أمانته
	اعطاك عمره
	الله اخذ وداعته
	انتقل الى جوار ربه
	البقاء لله
	الله استخاره
	ارتحم
	توفي
	العمر لك

عبارات اخرى

ثانيا: المرض

اذا اردت ان تخبر شخصا ما عن مرض شخص آخر، فأى من العبارة/العبارات التالية تستخدم؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	عيان
	متو عك
	مش مبسوط
	بعافية
	عليل
	تعبان
	مريض

مجعلك	
تلفان	

عبارات اخرى

ثالثا: المرض العقلي

اذا اردت ان تتحدث عن شخص ما مصاب بمرض نفسي (الجنون)، فأى من العبارة/العبارات التالية تستخدم؟
ضع اشارة (√)

مجنون	
مأجر	
خالص كازه	
مالوم	
مهتوف	
مغزول	
لمموس	
صابو الخفيف	
مظيع	
مريض نفسيا	

عبارات اخرى

رابعا: الذهاب الى دورة المياه

اذا اردت ان تخبر شخصا ما عن رغبتك بالذهاب الى دورة المياه، فأى من العبارة/العبارات التالية تستخدم؟
ضع اشارة (√)

رايح عالخلا	
رايح على بيت الادب	
رايح على بيت الراحة	
رايح على بيت الخارج	
رايح اخذ علي ايدي مي	
رايح يقرص	
رايح على التواليت	
رايح أطير عصافير	
رايح اتسير	

	رايح اتمشى
	رايح اعرد
	رايح على WC
	رايح عالحمام
	رايح عالسفارة

عبارات اخرى

خامسا: السرطان

اذا اردت ان تتحدث عن شخص ما مصاب بالسرطان، فأى من العبارات/العبارات التالية تستخدم؟
ضع اشارة (✓)

	سرطان
	هداك المرض
	المرض العاقل
	مرض عضال
	طالعتله غدة
	ورم
	المرض اللي يكفيكم شره
	اللي ما يتسمى

عبارات اخرى

القسم الثالث: المفاهيم غير المرغوب فيها

أولا: الاماكن

أ- إذا اردت أن تذكر المقبرة في حديثك مع الاخرين، أي من العبارات/العبارات التالية تستخدم؟
ضع اشارة (✓)

	المقبرة
	المدفن
	الصحرا
	التربة
	المجنة
	الجبانة
	الفتقية

عبارات اخرى

ب- إذا اردت أن تذكر مستشفى الامراض العقلية في حديثك مع الاخرين، أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدم؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	مستشفى المجانيين
	العصفورية
	المرستان
	الفحيص
	مستشفى الامراض العقلية
	مستشفى الامراض النفسية

عبارات اخرى

ج- إذا اردت أن تذكر السجن في حديثك مع الاخرين أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدم؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	السجن
	الاصلاحية
	دار الاصلاح
	مركز التأهيل و الاصلاح الاجتماعي
	دار خالته

عبارات اخرى

د- إذا اردت أن تذكر مكان العزاء في حديثك مع الاخرين أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدم؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	بيت العزا
	بيت الاجر
	المدالة
	بيت المجبرين
	المأتم
	اللازمة

المدانة	
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عبارات اخرى

ثانيا: بعض الوظائف

أ- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للحديث عن الزبال؟
ضع اشارة (√)

عامل الوطن	
عامل النظافة	
عامل الامانة	
عامل البلدية	
السنثيشن	

عبارات اخرى

ب- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للحديث عن الشخص الذي يقوم بدفن الموتى؟
ضع اشارة (√)

الحنوتي	
الجبان	
اللي بيدفن الموتى	
ابو تراب	
اللي بلحد	

عبارات اخرى

ج- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للحديث عن الممرضة؟
ضع اشارة (√)

الملاك الابيض	
ملاك الرحمة	
نيرس	
سسئر	

عبارات اخرى

ثالثا: الصفات الجسدية

أ- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للحديث عن الأصم؟
ضع إشارة (√)

	أطرش
	سمعه خفيف
	أصم
	سمعه ثقيل

عبارات اخرى

ب- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للحديث عن الأهل؟
ضع إشارة (√)

	أهل
	عيونه ضاربة
	أشول

عبارات اخرى

ج- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للحديث عن الشخص البدين؟
ضع إشارة (√)

	سمين
	ناصح
	صحته منيحه
	مليان
	مررب
	عفي

عبارات اخرى

د- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للحديث عن الفتاة القبيحة؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	مش بطالة
	ماشي حالها
	مش و لايد
	مش بزيادة
	أمورة
	خفيفة دم

عبارات اخرى

ه- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للحديث عن القصير القامة؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	طوله وسط
	مربوع
	ميدالية
	زمك
	قصير
	ربعية

عبارات اخرى

و- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للحديث عن الغبي؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	عقله على فده
	استيعابه بطيء
	فهمه قليل
	رابط فيله عالباب

عبارات اخرى

رابعاً: العبارات التي تستخدم لتسمية و لتعريف بعض افراد المجتمع

أ- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للإشارة الى المرأة؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	مره
	حرمة
	ولية
	عاقبة
	الجماعة
	الاهل
	ام الاولاد
	العيلة

عبارات اخرى

ب- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للتعريف بالضررة؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	شريكها
	ارفيقتها
	الخوية
	اختها

عبارات اخرى

ج- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للإشارة الى المرأة العاقر؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	ما بتجيب اولاد
	الله ما اعطاها

عافر	
عقيمة	

عبارات اخرى

د- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للإشارة الى الحماة؟
ضع اشارة (√)

عمتي	
خالتي	
مرت عمي	
خالتي	
طننت	

عبارات اخرى

ه- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للإشارة الى المرأة العانس؟
ضع اشارة (√)

بنت البيت	
متبنتة	
بنت بنوت	
عانس	

عبارات اخرى

و- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للإشارة الى المرأة النفساء؟
ضع اشارة (√)

نفسه	
حورية	
والده جديد	

عبارات اخرى

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ز- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للإشارة الى زوجة الاب؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	مرت الاب
	الخالة

عبارات اخرى

ح- أي من العبارة/ العبارات التالية تستخدمها للإشارة الى الفقير؟
ضع اشارة (√)

	فقير
	على باب الله
	على قد حاله
	مستور
	رزقه قليل
	دخله محدود
	جماعه بسطا

عبارات اخرى
