Euphemistic expressions and strategies used by Egyptian speakers of Arabic in light of face theory

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The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of Applied Linguistics

EUPHEMISTIC EXPRESSIONS AND STRATEGIES
USED BY EGYPTIAN SPEAKERS OF ARABIC
IN LIGHT OF FACE THEORY

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of Applied Linguistics
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
The degree of Master of Arts
in Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language (TAFL)

submitted by
Noha Gamal Enab

Under the supervision of: Dr. Raghda El Essawi

Spring 2019
To the two FARIDAs in my life, my mom and my daughter

To my dad, the kindest man I have ever known

To Nada, my sister and guardian angel

To Isajbeg, my loving husband

I miss you, mommy!
Acknowledgment

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Abstract

Euphemism, as a linguistic, pragmatic and cultural phenomenon, plays a vital role in creating harmonious interaction and saving face in social communication. However, limited research was conducted on the use of euphemism in Egyptian Arabic. The present study is geared mainly towards probing into the euphemistic expressions and strategies that Egyptian speakers of Arabic resort to when certain tabooed or sensitive topics and concepts are brought up in daily communication - in both face-threatening and non-face-threatening situations- when addressing topics such as physical and mental impairment, cancer, socially-inferior professions, bodily functions, sensitive marital status for women, as well as, death. A population of 275 adult Egyptian men and women from different ages and educational backgrounds were randomly chosen to answer a questionnaire on the euphemistic expressions they most commonly use in day-to-day life. The questionnaire has tested both face-threatening and non-face-threatening acts. Euphemistic strategies were then deduced and analyzed in the light of the classic categorization done by Allan and Burridge (1991). The findings suggest that Egyptian speakers of Arabic tend to use euphemisms a lot in their daily communication, especially in the presence of face-threatening acts. The most frequently used euphemistic strategies varied according to the addressed topic, but the ones most heavily relied upon were: understatement, general-for-specific, hyperbole, borrowing, circumlocution, and technical jargon. The study recommends promoting understanding and awareness of euphemistic expressions as well as strategies when teaching Arabic as a foreign language - especially Egyptian Arabic- hence more effective and interactive communication between learners and native speakers.
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## Phonetic Transcription of Arabic Sounds

### Consonants

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### Footnote

XI
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Theoretical background

Every society has its own set of behaviors, actions, utterances or topics that are considered inappropriate to mention or speak about explicitly. These matters are called “taboos.” “Taboo” originally refers to what is thought to be holy and sacred, or what is believed to be prohibited to touch or talk about.

Wardhaugh (1984) states that a taboo is what society perceives as disagreeable or harmful to its individuals; the reasons for this might be supernatural or only because such behaviors violate a moral code. Wardhaugh (2006) explained that when a society believes that certain practices are harmful to its individuals, it thus decides to prohibit and avoid speaking about such matters or utter certain words that would cause anxiety, embarrassment, or shame; these are called “taboos.” Allan (2001) pointed out that tabooed words are those that create offense, shock or sound indecent when uttered.

Accordingly, language plays a role in sugarcoating such "taboos" through using roundabouts, circumlocutions, metaphors, or other strategies that lead to avoiding referring directly to "taboos" in a direct way. In any society, culture influences language. There is a relationship between the sounds, words, and syntax of a language and how speakers of that language see the world, experience it and behave in it (Pan, 2013). Languages mirror societies' cultures, traditions, religions, psychological orientations, and other social issues. Any change in one or
more of these aspects will thus be reflected in language, as the expressive tool. Wafi (1983) stated that languages act like transporters of cultures; real witnesses of people's history. Since the words we choose to utter tell a lot about who we are and how we like people to perceive us, many people tend to use language politely in the sense of referring to the bad, embarrassing or ugly matters in an inoffensive and socially accepted manner; a way that beautifies them by decreasing the sensitivities in them.

One of the cultural reflections in language is when the speaker tries to hide specific taboo words or expressions that would be frowned upon if expressed explicitly in public by persons, societies, religions or communities. This linguistic process is called “euphemism” (Allan and Burridge, 1991). Euphemism is a universal language phenomenon which is used to show politeness, ease communication, and coordinate personal relationships. It is basically used to avoid a “taboo” and express “politeness” (Huang, 2005). Enright (1985) believes that without it the world would have been full of bitterness and lack of communication between people; that is a pivotal role played by euphemism.

Etymologically, “euphemism” is an English word which comes from Greek, “euphemismos”; “eu” means “good” and “phemi” means “speech,” so the word means “good speech” or “good speaking” (McArther, 1992). The term ‘euphemism’ was first introduced in English by lexicographer Thomas Blount in his ‘Glossographia’ in 1656 as he defined it as ‘a good or favorable interpretation of a bad word’ (Enright, 1985, p. 13). The verb "to euphemize" is to express using a euphemism.
A number of researchers have defined euphemism in different ways. Leech (1974, p. 53) identifies euphemism as a "practice of referring to something offensive or indelicate in terms that make it sound more pleasant or more acceptable than it really is." Willis and Klammer (1981) categorize it as "a mild roundabout word or expression used instead of a more direct word or expression to make one's language delicate and inoffensive even to a squeamish person." Hudson (2000) regards it as the modification of common words and phrases to communicate disagreeable and embarrassing ideas. Abrantes (2005) states that euphemism is a word or a phrase used in a particular "linguistic and extra-linguistic" context to ease or hide something disagreeable (as cited in Al-Khasawneh, 2018). Although these definitions might seem to have different wording, yet they all have something in common; i.e., euphemism is a mode of expression that aims at sugarcoating an unpleasant topic, word or matter to make it sound less distasteful, less shocking, or less offensive.

Alkire (2002) mentions two functions for the usage of euphemistic expressions: “to soften the reality of what we are communicating to a given listener or reader … and to express what is socially difficult" (p. 1). Many euphemisms are used to avoid mentioning a social or cultural taboo in a direct way. Others are used to avoid unpleasant or disagreeable facts we have to deal with on a daily basis, so we use them to be nice and kind towards others or even towards ourselves.

Samoškaitė (2011) mentions that euphemism serves what she has called a ‘tactical function'; she gave an example of the bags for air-sickness found on board of planes. These bags used to carry the words "vomit bag" printed on them, but later these words were changed to "for
motion discomfort”; she claims that changing the words has resulted in a decrease in the number of passengers who actually vomit on board the plane (p.20). On the other hand, the famous novelist and social critic George Orwell has condemned the use of euphemisms in his 1946 essay entitled Politics and English Language. He stated that euphemism is “a symptom of a pathologically inhibited society, a corrosive influence on linguistic clarity, and a tool of thought control” (McGlone & Batchelor, 2003, p. 262).

Euphemism is also deeply rooted in the Arab culture, and this is reflected in Arabic literature, poetry, and prose. For example, the expression “قاردو (؟و)-قاَفا” (عريض القفا a man with a wide nape) is used instead of the offensive and disagreeable expression of “a stupid person” (Al-Qayrawani as cited in Al-Husseini, 2007, p. 339), and the expression “؟اَجكُا ْيِلَيْكَا قِلَالَا (ةْ؟)*اَلْ-ِعُرَّاَنِيَ يِبْأَيْ” (اشكو إليك قلة الفئران في بيتي I complain to you the fewness of mice in my house) instead of directly saying “I suffer from poverty” (Al-Qazwini as cited in Al-Husseini, 2007, p. 340). Euphemism is also highly reflected in the Holy Qur’an, the main source and the premiere reference of religion for Muslims, and which was revealed in Arabic, contains many euphemistic expressions that are used to avoid direct mention of words or phrases that might result in offense or shame. In referring, for example, to the rightful sexual intercourse between husband and wife, the Holy Qur’an mentions different terms with different shades of meanings: “لَامَاستُو (؟اَن)-نِسَأَا” (i.e. you touch the women) (Quran 4:43); “بُقِيرُهُنَّ” (approach your wives to make love) and “؟اَرَرَافُو ئِلَاَ نِسَأَاً؟يُكْمُ” (make love to your wives) (Quran 2:187).
1.2. Statement of the Problem

There is a considerable body of literature on euphemisms in Western cultures, such as British, French and American cultures, in addition to Japanese and Chinese cultures. However, the research on euphemism in Arabic in general and Egyptian Arabic (EA), in particular, is extremely sparse. Each of the very few studies on euphemism as employed by Egyptian speakers of Arabic investigated only one sensitive topic that might lead to the use of euphemisms. The studies were mainly revolving around the following topics: death, bodily functions, intimate body parts and mentioning the evil eye. For example, Gomaa and Shi (2012) assume that "the analysis of euphemisms in EA is scattered in linguistic and literary references. Euphemistic expressions in EA, especially those pertaining to the culturally sensitive area of death, have not received a lot of academic attention." (p, 3). Mughazy (1999) has investigated the strategies used by speakers of Egyptian Arabic in response to compliments that are perceived as invocations of the evil eye; euphemism turned out to be one of the strategies used for this purpose. Wilmsen (2009) has studied euphemism among other techniques used by Egyptian speakers of Arabic in conversational dissembling. A couple of contrastive studies in the use of euphemism were made between Egyptian Arabic and Chinese (Gomaa & Shi, 2012) and Egyptian Arabic and Jordanian Arabic (ElShiekh, 2013). Gomaa and Shi (2012) have investigated the euphemistic expressions used for the mentioning of death in both dialects; whereas ElShiekh (2013) has explored the use of euphemism among other linguistic techniques (namely: hedging and mystification of responsibility) which he observed as employed by speakers of both dialects. Most recently, Zawrotna (2016) has analyzed the use of intimate body part terms and their euphemisms -if any- used by young Egyptians in the light of their social background and their relation to the hearer.
To the best of the researcher’s knowledge, the current study is the first to investigate euphemistic expressions used by Egyptian speakers of Arabic when addressing sensitive topics, such as diseases (physical, mental, and Cancer); body excretions (going to the bathroom and having diarrhea); socially-inferior professions (maid and garbage collector); and sensitive marital status for women in EA (old never-married woman and divorced woman). The study is also the first to examine whether there is a difference in the employment of euphemistic expressions among Egyptian speakers of Arabic in the presence of face-threatening acts (FTAs) versus the absence of face-threatening acts (non-FTAs), as well as the most frequently used euphemistic strategies.

As euphemism is a challenging linguistic phenomenon for non-native speakers of Arabic, the results of the study are expected to raise awareness of non-native speakers learning Egyptian Arabic and culture as well as help them communicate about socially sensitive topics using socially acceptable language; thus avoid face threatening situations and save their face as well as the audience face. In other words, learning about euphemistic expressions would help eliminate any misunderstandings that might arise as a result of miscommunication. The results can also help teachers and material developers to include euphemism and most frequently used euphemistic expressions in the Arabic syllabi

1.3. Research questions

Questions to be addressed by this study are as follows:

**RQ1** • What euphemistic expressions are more likely to be used by Egyptian speakers of Arabic when they talk about these topics: diseases (physical-impairment, mental-impairment...
and Cancer); body excretions (going to the bathroom and having diarrhea); socially-inferior professions (the maid and the garbage collector); sensitive marital status for women (old never-married woman and divorced woman); and death?

**RQ2** • Is there a difference in the employment of euphemisms among Egyptian speakers of Arabic in the presence of face-threatening acts (FTAs) versus the absence of face-threatening acts (non-FTAs) in addressing the targeted topics?

**RQ3** • What euphemistic strategies do Egyptian speakers of Arabic employ the most when addressing each of these topics?

*Important Definitions*

Taboo: “a prohibition imposed by social custom or as a protective measure … or something that is not acceptable to say, mention or do” (Merriam Webster, 2019)

Euphemism: “euphemisms are used to refer to taboo topics (such as disability, sex, excretion or death) in a polite way, or to mask profanity” (Etymoline.com, 2019)

Face: “Face is a familiar enough concept; the figures of speech ‘to save face’ and ‘to lose face’ are current in everyday parlance. The ‘face’ that is referred to in both these expressions is essentially ‘the public self-image that both Speaker and Hearer must have regard to in the speech situation.” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 238)
Face Threatening Acts (FTAs): Any behavior that might harm or damage the Speaker’s or Hearer’s face is considered a face-threatening act, which people, for the most part, try to prevent from happening (Brown & Levinson, 1987).
2. CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. Introduction

This chapter aims at shedding light on the most relevant research on euphemism. It is worth noting that the study of euphemism amongst modern Arab linguists is minimal compared to the massive body of other Western languages. However, the focus in this chapter is on taboo and euphemism definitions in English and Arabic literature, the relation between euphemism and Politeness and Face theory, various classifications of euphemism, as well as some of the strategies used in the formation of euphemisms.

2.2. Taboo and Euphemism

The first thought that might jump to mind when hearing the word "taboo" is "forbidden." This is just one sense of the meaning of the word, but other senses of the word would also include "offensiveness," "rudeness," and even "inconsideration". Swearing, profanity, vulgarity, bullying, among others, are different types of taboo.

Originally, the equivalent of the word taboo in the Arabic language, which is “ʔal-maHzūr ʔal-luʔawī” (المحظور اللغوي prohibited language), was introduced into the Arabic language as early as the eighth century. Al-Fira’ (as cited in Abu-Zalel, 2001), who died in 822 A.D, mentioned the term in Arabic in one of his interpretations of the meanings of the Qur’an. Other Muslim scholars who tackled “the prohibited language and euphemism” in Arabic (as cited in Abu-
Zalel, 2001) were: Al-Jahiz (776-868 AD); Ibn Qutaybah (828-889 AD); Al-Mubarrad (826-898 AD); Al-Tabari (839-923 AD); Ibn-Wahb (743-812 AD); among many others. The main reason all these scholars mentioned taboos and euphemisms is that the Qur’an (the Islamic sacred book which Muslims believe to be the word of God, revealed to Prophet Muhammad p.b.u.h between the years 609 and 632 AD, approximately) is full of euphemistic expressions used to refer to sensitive topics like menstruation, sex, sexual organs, foreplay, adultery, homosexuality, death, some sins, among others in order to avoid direct mentioning of words or phrases that might cause shame or offense. “Euphemism is an apparent technique in the main book of Arabs and Muslims, i.e., the Holy Quran” (Khanfar, 2012, p. 31).

On the other hand, the word “taboo” was introduced into the English language by Captain Thomas Cook in the 18th century, specifically in 1777. He derived it from the Tongan language term “tabu” during his voyage to Tahiti in order to observe the astronomical event of the passage of the planet Venus between the Earth and the Sun (Allan & Burridge, 2006). ‘Tapu’ is an adjective that refers to persons or objects under prohibition (Abi-Esber, 2017, p. 20).

As an example of social/cultural taboos, Captain Thomas Cook in 1892 (as cited in Ullmann, 1974) wrote:

"the women never upon any account eat with men, but always by themselves … They were often asked the reason, but they never gave any other answer, but that they did it because it was right … and it has sometimes happened that when a woman was alone in our company, she would eat with us, but always took care that her own people should
not know what she had done so that whatever may be the reasons for this custom, it certainly affects their outward manners more than their Principle.”

Samoškaitė (2011) claims that the Anglo-Saxon era witnessed the “golden age in the expression of language and the source of four-letter words which were many innuendos and direct references to sex.” The ‘top definition’ for the term "taboo" in the Urban Dictionary is: "something that is viewed as forbidden by society's standards and therefore is rarely talked about openly. Some are less taboo than they were in the past and some are more than ever taboo. And while most have to do with sex, some taboos have to do with food, and others' beliefs and all of them will bring a conversation to a dead stop if you bring them up because these are all things most people do not want to talk about."

Another term that is so much related to taboo is ‘dysphemism.’ Allan and Burridge (2006) defined dysphemism as an expression that carries “offensive connotations for either the subject matter and/or to people addressed or overhearing the utterance” (p. 31). They added that speakers, thus, use dysphemism when talking about their rivals or enemies, things they wish to show disapproval of, and things they want to be observed as looking-down-upon (Allan & Burridge, 2001, p. 27). Thus, dysphemism is sometimes motivated by feelings such as fear, distaste, hatred, and contempt (Dysphemism, n.d. para. 1)

After reviewing the different definitions of “taboo,” one can conclude that “taboo” is an umbrella term that encompasses all - and probably more - of the aforementioned senses of
meaning. It is also noticeable that taboos are categorized into verbal taboos and non-verbal taboos. For the sake of the current study, the focus will be on verbal taboos.

Each religion, society, culture, and even family (among others) has its own set of taboos; and thus, the significance of "euphemisms", emerges. Epstein (1985) has stated: "In the beginning was the Word. There followed, at an undetermined but one assumes a decent interval, private, harsh, and dirty words. Invention here being the mother of necessity, the need for euphemism arose" (p.56)

Religious taboos are mostly connected with the sense of “forbidden” or “prohibited.” In Christianity, for instance, it is considered a breach for one of the Ten Commandments to use the name of God or Jesus a lot “in vain”; the Third Commandment according to King James Version of the Bible states: “You shall not misuse the name of the LORD your God, for the LORD will not hold anyone guiltless who misuses his name.” (Exodus 20:7, New International Version). Thus, the euphemistic terms “Oh Gosh” and “Jeez” are used instead of “Oh God” and “Jesus” respectively. In Judaism, practicing Jews write “G-d” instead of “God” for almost the same reason as Christians do. However, in Islam, mentioning the word God or “Allah” is not a taboo; on the contrary, it is encouraged as an act of worship.

There is no adequate literature on “family taboos,” but through observation, some families have their own “taboo codes” which are not only related to language, but to actions as well. One example is that among some families in Egypt, it is a taboo for a girl to chew gum in
public or sit with crossed legs in front of the elderly. This taboo is not based on any religious or cultural reason, but rather family, social and moral standards.

There are even “intra-cultural” differences when it comes to taboos. For example, in Cairo the exclamation word “؟اَحَي” is considered a verbal taboo; whereas in Alexandria it is not, it is a mere exclamation that is used to express shock, excitement or disbelief, etc.

A number of scholars throughout history were interested in understanding what is meant by "taboo"; among which are: linguists, sociolinguists, semanticists, anthropologists, psychologists, philologists, and sociologists - to mention a few - have introduced different definitions of the concept of "taboo"; each of them sees "taboo" from a single or different angle. The researcher finds it convenient to - chronologically - present some of the most important definitions of "taboo" that cover most senses of the term. The review will focus mainly on sociolinguists' definitions of the term.

Jay (1999) classifies taboo into: "swearing, obscenity, profanity, blasphemy, name-calling, insulting, verbal aggression, taboo speech, ethnic-racial slurs, vulgarity, slang, and scatology" (p. 25). He claims that the main "psychosocial factor" behind why people curse is that "cursing permits humans to express strong emotions verbally in a manner that non-curse words cannot achieve. Humans are emotional, sexual and aggressive animals". Gao (2008) claims that “these types of taboo language cannot be separated completely, they are always interwoven” (p. 7).

Trudgill (2000) provided a rationale which supports Jay’s (1999) claim. Trudgill stated that “breaking the rules (may) have connotations of strength or freedom which (people) find
desirable” (p. 18). Battistella (2005) defined taboo words as “offensive language” and classified it into “epithets, profanity, vulgarity, and obscenity” (p. 38). Fershtman, Gneezy & Hoffman (2008) stated that taboo is “the social thought police”, which scares off people from committing some actions that would cause them shame and disgrace before their society.

Euphemism is defined in dictionaries as a rhetorical device: ‘a figure of speech in which a delicate word or expression is substituted for one which is offensive to good manners or delicate ears’ (The Concise English Dictionary, 1905), and ‘polite, tactful, or less explicit term used to avoid the direct naming of an unpleasant, painful, or frightening reality’ (Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, 1961). Ullmann (1976) believed in a psychological motivation behind the use of euphemism; being that fear, courtesy, decency or politeness. He described euphemism as an “inoffensive substitute” for the prohibited word (p. 231). It has also been referred to as a ‘substitution of mild or vague or roundabout expression for harsh or blunt or direct one’ (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 7th edition, 1982). Linfoot-Ham (2005) argued that the need for euphemism is both social and emotional, as it allows discussion of taboo subjects (such as sex, personal appearances or religion) and acts as a pressure valve whilst maintaining the appearance of civility” (p. 228). The Macmillan Dictionary mentions that euphemism is “a word or expression that people use when they want to talk about something unpleasant or embarrassing without mentioning the thing itself.”

From a cognitive point of view, Gomez (2009) proposed defining euphemism or dysphemism as the cognitive process of conceptualization of a forbidden reality, which, manifested in discourse through the use of linguistic mechanisms … enables the speaker, in a particular
context or in a specific pragmatic situation, to attenuate (soften the effect), or, on the contrary, to reinforce (strengthen the impact) of a specific forbidden concept or reality (p. 738). He illustrated his idea in the following diagram:

*Figure 1: Gomez representation for the forbidden reality (2009)*

![Diagram of Gomez representation for the forbidden reality](image)

Allan and Burridge (1991) have coined the term *X-phemisms*, and by X-phemisms they mean both euphemisms and dysphemisms (p. 29). However, almost fifteen years later, they coined a new term *orthphemisms* referring to direct and formal expressions that are neither as blunt and/or harsh as dysphemisms nor as sweet-sounding and nice as euphemisms. And thus, they used X-phemisms as a “union set of orthphemisms, euphemisms and dysphemisms” (2006, p. 33), and they related X-phemisms as shown in figure 1 below (2006, p. 32).

*Figure 2: Contrasting X-phemisms*
Hai-long (2008) contended that there is no dividing line between language and culture. He added that “as an inalienable part of language, euphemism bears the mark of culture … to some extent, euphemism is a mirror of culture” (pp.54-55).

Burridge (2012) added that there can never be one certain euphemism or dysphemism that all people use, as it is so unlikely to find uniformity of judgment between speakers of even very similar backgrounds.

### 2.3. Euphemism and Politeness & Face theory

Although ‘avoiding taboo’ is one of the major psychological bases that led to the emergence of euphemism, the pragmatic scope of euphemism is much broader. Among the pragmatic functions of euphemism is politeness and face-saving.

In an attempt to understand and explain human interactions that focus on being polite and saving one’s own face and others’ face - i.e. saving self-respect and avoiding embarrassment,

Goffman (1955) developed the face-work theory, and by ‘face’ he refers to self-respect or dignity. Face is the positive public image you try to create for yourself before people you interact with; it is how you want others to see and perceive you. This particular face (image) you choose to present about yourself to others may change according to different situations and relationships. Goffman gave another definition of face later on: face is “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self, delineated in terms of approved social attributes.” (Goffman, 1967, p. 213).

“Just as the member of any group is expected to have self-respect, so also he [she] is expected to sustain a standard of considerateness; he [she] is expected to go to certain lengths to save the feelings and the face of others present, and he [she] is expected to do this willingly and spontaneously because of emotional identification with the others and with their feelings.” Goffman (1955, p. 215).

However, Goffman did not originate the notion of ‘face’. It was first introduced over a hundred years ago in the writings of two missionaries: Smith (1984) and Macgowan (1912) who identified face as a remarkable strand of the Chinese culture (Redmond, 2015). Goffman has
then introduced the concept into academia, though he has “never presented a coherent theory. However, scholars use his ideas as the foundation for theory and research across a variety of contexts” (Redmond, 2015, p. 31).

Brown and Levinson (1978 and 1987) took Goffman’s face theory and extended it beyond its preconceived boundaries. They have also used it as a foundation to explore people’s politeness behavior and thus introduce the politeness theory. A theory that has later become remarkably significant and influential (Watts, Ide, & Ehlich, 2008).

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), face is an emotional aspect that can be “lost, maintained or enhanced” and should always be an integral part of people’s interactions (p. 61). They argued that each person has two types of ‘face’: a positive face and a negative face. The ‘positive face’ is “the desire (in some respects) to be approved of” (p. 13) or as they narrowed it down to “the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others.” (p.62); while the ‘negative face’ is “the desire to be unimpeded on one’s actions” (p. 13).

Brown and Attardo (2005) elaborated saying that positive face “is building someone’s ego, the desire to be liked” whereas negative face “is the desire to be left alone, not to be imposed upon, and to be able to act as we please” (p.83). In the same regard, Peccie (1999) claimed that positive face refers to our desire to be accepted and liked by others in society. And thus, ‘positive politeness’ originated in order to save the ‘positive face’ of other people (p. 64), while ‘negative face’ refers to our right to act independently and our need not to be imposed on by others (Note that ‘negative’ does not mean ‘bad’ here, simply an opposite term to ‘positive’) and thus ‘negative politeness’ originated in order to preserve the ‘negative face’ of other
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people (pp. 64-65).

Lutz (1989) believes that negative euphemisms are mainly used to deceive and conceal the truth; she stated that negative euphemisms “… mislead, distort reality, pretend to communicate, make the bad seem good, avoid or shift responsibility, … make the unpleasant appear attractive or tolerable”. Katamba (2005) calls it “doublespeak”. Abu Hammad (2007) argues that politics is one of the most “nourishing” fields of deception and doublespeak. For example, when an urgent withdrawal of troops is called for because defeat is inevitable, it is referred to as “strategic withdrawal” (p.16). He argues that euphemism is sometimes used in this regard as a way of showing horrible things as something normal to the point of making it look more like a deception. He gave an example of an ABC News report, dated back to November 18, 2005: CIA sources described, in detail, a ‘list of six enhanced interrogation techniques … on a dozen top al Qaeda targets' where the expression ‘enhanced interrogation techniques' was used as a deceiving expression for ‘torture' in plain language. Enhanced interrogation techniques range from ‘the attention slap' to ‘the cold cell' where the detainee is left to stand naked in a cell kept near 50 degrees Fahrenheit. Throughout the time in the cell, the prisoner is doused with cold water. ‘Enhanced interrogation,' ‘attention slap' and the ‘cold cell' are not euphemisms, but rather deception in his opinion (p. 18).

Any behavior or utterance that may induce a threat to either the positive or negative face of both speaker and hearer (or addresser and addressee) are called face-threatening acts (FTAs). Politeness or ‘face-saving’ refers to the speaker’s intention to minimize face-threat towards both the speaker and the listener. Brown and Levinson (as cited in Brown & Attardo, 2005, p.
83) stated that “to a large extent politeness can be seen as a tool to save face, both for the speaker and the hearer.” Fraser (1975, p. 13) described politeness as “a property associated with an utterance in which, according to the hearer, the speaker has neither exceeded any rights nor failed to fulfill any obligations”, while Yule (1996) argued that “in the study of linguistic politeness, the most relevant concept is face … politeness is showing awareness of another person’s face” (p. 134). In the same vein, anthropologist Foley (1997) defines politeness as “a battery of social skills whose goal is to ensure everyone feels affirmed in social interaction” (p. 270). Therefore, by being ‘polite,’ the speaker is attempting to save their own face as well as the face of the listener.

Face threats could be severe as they cause a loss of face, i.e., damage positive face; thus they usually generate negative feelings, such as: “embarrassment, shame, humiliation, agitation, confusion, defensiveness, or chagrin” (Redmond, 2015, p. 8). Some examples of face-threatening acts (FTAs) from Brown and Levinson (1987) as presented by Redmond (2015, pp. 9-10) can be found in the following table.
One of the strategies widely used for saving face and minimizing face threatening acts for both the speaker and the hearer is euphemism. “Language users employ euphemistic expressions or indirect means to save either their face or their interlocutors’ face” (Rabab’ah & Al-Qarni, 2012, p. 731). Locher (2004) claimed that speakers employ euphemisms in an attempt to avoid making the hearer feel embarrassed or uncomfortable. Linfoot-Ham (2005) considered the main function of euphemism to be the desire to protect the addressee from being possibly offended. This offense may occur by bringing up a taboo topic or by mentioning the subject matter to which either the addressee may be sensitive. Fernandez (2005) also claims that "euphemistic strategies reinforce the notion of politeness in discourse as a socio-cultural phenomenon" (p. 85). In the same regard, Wardhaugh (2006) suggested that euphemism can be used as a strategy for saving speakers' and others' face. Pour (2010) argued
that it is not always suitable to be direct and straightforward in expressing opinions or facts as this maximizes the face-threatening acts. Thus, euphemistic expressions are used in an attempt to minimize the FTAs. Pour added that in the course of interaction, communicators must maintain each other's face, i.e., they must be aware of two rules: "rule of self-respect and rule of considerateness" (p. 6). Along the same line, Bowers and Pleydell-Pearce (2011) argued that “euphemisms are effective because they replace the trigger (the offending word form) by another word that is similar conceptually” (p. 1).

It is worth noting that despite the claim that their theory of politeness and face-saving is universal, Brown and Levinson were much criticized for generalizing this notion. Many researchers (such as Gu, 1990) have criticized this theory as lacking evidence of its application in non-Anglo-Saxon cultures (Cutrone, 2011). On the other hand, Pour (2010) argued that politeness is a salient element and a determining factor in every single culture. She regarded politeness as a culture-bound phenomenon, i.e., a particular act or word(s) might be polite in one culture, but impolite and face-threatening in another. These differences would most probably result in miscommunication and misunderstandings. She concluded that “generally, the importance of politeness lies in the avoidance of the FTAs” (p. 9).
2.4. Euphemism Classifications

A few scholars and researchers attempted to classify euphemisms into different categories depending on various criteria, rules, and principles. According to Rawson (1981), positive euphemisms are important in showing respect through politeness and is mainly used to attain cooperation between members of a specific society. For instance, in English, the expression “senior citizen” is used to refer to an old person. In Egyptian Arabic, for example, the expression “حاسست اللي بتساعدنا في البيت” (الست اللي بتساعدنا في البيت literary: the woman who helps us around the house) is usually used instead of “الخدامة” (الخدمة literary: the servant), for the sake of politeness and respect.

Moreover, Rawson (1981) provided another classification of euphemisms focusing on whether the euphemistic meaning is correlative with the original meaning or not; he categorized euphemisms into: conscious and unconscious. Conscious euphemisms are greatly used; speakers are aware or “conscious” of the need to speak in a subtle, polite manner, and the listeners understand the implied meanings of euphemisms used. For example, when a lady Speaker says she will go to “powder her nose,” she is consciously using a euphemism for “I want to urinate”; the Hearer is as well aware of what she really wants to do. On the other hand, unconscious euphemisms were developed many years ago that their usage is no longer intended to euphemize or “conceal” the truth; this type of euphemisms is often profoundly established within the history of the society that exceptionally few individuals still recall their unique motivations or unique meanings. Rawson (1981, p. 4) describes this type of euphemisms by saying that some euphemisms “fade away or develop into unconscious
euphemisms, still used, but reflexively, without thought of their checkered origins.” For example, the word “cemetery” was originally used as a euphemism for the less pleasant word “graveyard.”

From a psychological point of view, Tal (2003) delved more into the psychological effect of euphemism on the hearer/reader; and thus, classified euphemisms into two distinguishable types: amplifying and minifying. The amplifying euphemism beautifies the euphemized person or object, making them look more significant and more important than they truly are; “shop” is amplified into a "boutique" and "nurse" into "angel of mercy." The minifying euphemism, on the contrary, is used to reduce the sharpness of what causes contempt and disgust. It camouflages the scandalous and the unspeakable of either baseness or divinity and minimizes fear and shame. For instance, "crippled" is referred to as "handicapped" and later into "physically challenged."

From a semantic point of view, Samoškaitė (2011) suggested classifying euphemisms into six subcategories according to their topics: professional euphemisms, disease euphemisms, death euphemisms, sex euphemisms, crime euphemisms, and political euphemisms.

• Professional euphemisms: These are euphemisms used mainly to make lowly paid or indecent jobs, especially those involving more physical than mental work, sound less undermining and underestimating to people working in these professions. Therefore, “road sweeper or dustman” have transformed into “cleaning operative,” and “garbage man” has become “sanitation engineer,” etc. In Arabic, the expression “؟is-sit ظillī bitsaஇdnā fī (؟)il-
bīt” (الست اللي بتساعدنا في البيت the woman who helps us around the house) is used more often to refer to the maid, rather than the two terms that are considered a bit offensive to use, i.e. “ʔiʃ-fayyālah / ʔiʃ-xaddāmah” (servant)

- **Disease euphemisms**: These are used to undertone the harshness of some illnesses whether these are physical, mental or defects. Thus, we find “AIDS” and “syphilis” become “social disease”; “cancer” becomes “long illness,” or in Egyptian Arabic “ʔil-maraD (ʔ)il-wiHij” (المرض الوحش lit. the bad disease); “deaf” becomes “hearing challenged,” etc.

- **Death euphemisms**: As death is a feared topic in many societies, people tend to avoid mentioning it directly; they try to tone down the way it is expressed. Death has many softer-sounding expressions, such as pass away, reach a better world, to be at peace, to breathe one’s last, etc., and in Arabic, many people say "ʔintaqala ʔilā raHmati (ʔ)il-lāh" (he was transmitted to God’s mercy), among many other expressions for death.

- **Sex euphemisms**: These are used to avoid direct mentioning of sex and sex acts, for example: “willing woman” replaces “loose woman,” “gay boy” replaces “male homosexual,” and “lost girl” substitutes “prostitute,” etc. In Arabic, some people use the term “مثلي miθlī” instead of “شاذ ʃāḍ” to refer to a homosexual person. Also, the expression “yumāris ʔil-Hobb يمارس الحب” (making love) is sometimes used to refer to having sex less offensively.

- **Crime euphemisms**: In the field of crime, “family” substitutes “the Mafia,” “the candy man” replaces “drug pusher,” and “hero of the underground” substitutes “pickpocket,” etc. The
term “‘il-labb ‘ir-rūḥī” (الأب الروحي the godfather) is sometimes used in Arabic to refer to the head of a criminal gang.

- Political euphemisms: Since the function of euphemisms is to reduce the unpleasantness of a term or notion, it is normal that announcements of governments will often resort them to understate the facts and conceal them. For example, “aggression” is transformed into “police action”; “massacre” is replaced by “search and clear”; “war games” become “war exercise”; “student strike” is substituted by “student unrest” (Murphy, 2000). In Arabic, for example, the term “taThīr ʕirqī” (تطهير عرقي ethnic cleansing) is used as a substitute for “‘ibādah dżamāsiyyah” (إبادة جماعية genocide).

Khanfar (2012) also classified euphemisms into five subcategories, three of which are an addition to the previous classification; namely: religious euphemism, euphemism for the profane, and euphemism of excretion. As for ‘euphemism of excretion,’ Khanfar has commented that there are many indirect ways that people use to talk about excretion; they usually use expressions such as ‘powder one’s nose’ or ‘take a leak’ to excuse themselves from a company.

Salih (2013) categorizes euphemism in Arabic into eleven categories, adding four more categories to the aforementioned ones; namely: euphemisms about women (widow, divorced, unmarried women at old age, a woman in a polygamy relationship), euphemisms for poverty and business, euphemisms for lying, and finally euphemisms for defeat.
For the sake of the present study, only five categories have been chosen for further investigation, namely: professional euphemisms, disease euphemisms, death euphemisms, excretion euphemism, and euphemism about women specifically the sensitive marital status of women. This choice is made according to euphemism topics.

2.5. Euphemism Strategies

By looking into euphemism formation, some linguists have attempted to classify euphemisms into strategies by which they are formed. Two of the central and most comprehensive classifications of euphemism strategies are Allan and Burridge (1991) classification and Warren’s Model (1992). Both classifications are used in most studies probing into euphemism strategies. Warren’s Model was later modified by linguists, such as Linfoot-Ham (2005) and Hassanein (2013). In this paper, the researcher will start this section by firstly presenting Allan and Burridge model (1991), then Warren’s model (1992), and finally mention the additions that were made to Warren’s model. It is worth noting that both models have some overlaps as would be shown later in this section.

Allan and Burridge (1991) presented the following classification of euphemism strategies:

1- **Figurative expressions**, like: “go to the happy hunting grounds” for “die”.

2- **Metaphors**. Metaphor is defined by Neaman and Silver (1983a) as the metaphorical transfer as the creation of a concept usually euphemistic, standing for tabooed issues through comparison. Allan and Burridge (1991, p. 15) gave examples of metaphor as in “the cavalry’s
come” for “I’ve got my period” [in reference to the red coats of the British cavalry army].

Hassanein (2013, p. 140) gave an example “preyer” for “sexually predatory.” Rawson (1981, p. 82) exemplified “globes”, “brown eyes” and “melons” for “breasts”, also “riding” for “sex” which is a common metaphor in many languages including English, Greek and Middle Dutch (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 82) and Arabic as well.

3- **Flippancies** [i.e., being less serious in an attempt to sound funny], like: “kicked the bucket” for “die.”

4- **Remodellings**, as in “shoot” instead of “shit,” or “basket” instead of “bastard.”

Remodellings usually end up as one-for-one substitutions in which either the onset or rhyme of the dispreferred term is matched with that of a semantically unrelated word. ‘Remodellings” are referred to as “phonemic replacement” in Warren’s Model (1992) and as “euphemistic mispronunciation” (Rawson, 1981).

5- **Circumlocutions** [i.e., to say something in a roundabout way; to imply something without saying it directly] as in “little girl’s room” for “toilet” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 16)

6- **Clippings** [i.e., removing a piece of the word] as in “Jeez” for “Jesus” or “bra” for “brassiere” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 16)

7- **Acronyms** [i.e., proper words created from the initial letter or two of the words in a phrase. They are pronounced like other words] (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 235) as in “snafu” for

8- **Abbreviations** [unlike “acronyms,” abbreviations do not form proper words, and so they are pronounced as strings of letters] such as “S.O.B” for “son-of-a-bitch” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, pp. 235-236).

9- **Omissions** [i.e., eliminating tabooed words by making a pause or failing to provide any facts about the tabooed issue, both of which require contextually based inference by the listener to be comprehensible] (Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni, 2012, p. 732). For example, “Did you?” for “Did you have sexual intercourse?” (Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p. 241), and “let’s do it” for “sex” (Hassanein, 2013, p. 139). ‘Omissions’ are referred to as ‘deletion’ in the modified version of Warren’s Model (1992) by Linfoot-Ham (2005).

10- **One-for-one substitutions**, like “casket” for “coffin” or “bottom” for “ass” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 17).

11- **General-for-Specific** [i.e. using a general term to refer to something specific indirectly] as in the legal term “person” for “penis” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 17) and “I will go to the bathroom” for “go to urinate/excrete” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 18). ‘General-for-Specific’ is referred to as ‘metonymy’ in Warren’s Model (1992).
12- **Part-for-Whole**: [i.e., using a part of something to refer to the whole of it] and traditionally, this kind of euphemism has been referred to as “synecdoches” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 18). They also mentioned the example: “spend a penny” for “go to the bathroom”; from the days when public bathrooms cost a penny to access.


14- **Understatement**: is a way of presenting tabooed terms in a less significant way as they really are; for example, “sleep” for “die,” “deed” for “act of murder,” and “this guy I’m seeing” for “regular sexual partner.” ‘Understatement’ are also called ‘**litotes**’ (Samoškaitė, 2011, p. 16; Gomaa and Shi, 2012, p. 7).

15- **Borrowing**: [i.e., the use of words from other languages to function as euphemisms]. For example, the Latin word “perspire” instead of “sweat” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 19); the French word “mot” for the female sexual organ (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 95); the Italian word “lesbica” for “lesbian/homosexual”, the Spanish word “puta” for “whore” and the German word “pene” for “penis” (Hassanein, 2013, p. 139). This type is more used with euphemisms for bodily effluvia, sex, sexual acts and bodily organs (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 19). ‘Borrowing’ is referred to as ‘**loanwords**’ in Warren’s Model (1992).
16- **Learned Terms or Technical Jargon**: [i.e., the use of technical terminology in referring to a tabooed issue]. For example “feces” instead of “shit” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 20), and “mental disorders or “mentally challenged” (Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni, 2012, p. 732)

17- **Colloquial or Common Terms**: [i.e., the use of colloquial terms rather than formal terms] like using “period” for “menstruate” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 20)

Other strategies for formation of euphemistic expressions were presented by Warren’s Model (1992) which divided euphemism innovation into two main categories: ‘formal innovation’ and ‘semantic innovation.’ Formal innovation refers to the formation and structuring of euphemisms. It is classified into three subcategories: ‘word formation devices,’ ‘phonemic modification,’ and ‘loanwords.’ And each of these subcategories encompasses further subcategories. Whereas ‘semantic innovation’ is classified into seven subcategories. All these categories are presented in figure 3 below:

*Figure 4: Warren’s Model diagram (1992)*
Warren’s Model (1992, p.6) has presented more euphemistic strategies, as explained below, but some of these strategies overlap with Allan and Burridge (1991) categorization.

Firstly, **Formal Innovation**

Four categories overlap with Allen and Burridge’s classification, namely: acronyms, phonemic replacement (or ‘remodellings’), abbreviations, and loanwords (or ‘borrowing’). These categories will neither be re-mentioned or re-explained below.
I. Word formation Devices: Warren (1992) provides five subcategories under this mechanism by which euphemisms are constructed.

1- Compounding: is when two or more inoffensive words are put together to form a euphemism for a taboo; for instance, “comfort station” for “lavatory” (Warren, 1992, p. 6), “hand job” for “masturbation” (Samokaitė, 2011, p. 15) and “back-door” for “asshole” (Hassanein, 2013, p. 137).

2- Derivation: is when a euphemism is formed by altering a loanword and adding a suffix or prefix from the native language to its base; as in “celibacy” is modified from Latin “caelibatus” (life without love/sex) (Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni, 2012, p. 732).

3- Blends: Warren did not provide examples for the use of “blends” in formal innovation of euphemisms. In psycholinguistics, the term ‘blend’ is used when “two words are amalgamated into one,” (Aitchison, 1994, p. 91). It is evident how ‘blends’ may arise, but examples of euphemistic blends still remain to be found. (Linfoot-Ham, 2005). For example “moobs” for “man + boobs”, “crunk” for “cruel + drunk” and “DASS” for “dumb + ass” (Hassanein, 2013, p. 137).

4- Onomatopoeia: is mimicking the sound of a tabooed word; example: “piss” for “urinate,” here the sound of urine hitting the toilet is used to refer to urination itself.
5- **Acronyms** (mentioned above)

**II. Phonemic modification:** in which the form and sound of an offensive word are modified or altered. This mechanism includes four subcategories:

1- **Phonemic replacement** (mentioned above)

2- **Abbreviation** (mentioned above)

3- **Back slang:** is when words are phonetically ‘reversed’ (i.e., the back part of the tabooed word is transferred to the front part of it and vice versa) in order to avoid explicit mention. For instance, “rape” reversed into “epar” (Warren, 1992, p. 15), and “dekan” for “naked” (Hassanein, 2013, p. 138)

4- **Rhyming slang:** is uttering an inoffensive word that phonetically rhymes with a dispreferred or taboo word; such as “that and this” for “piss” (Huang, 2005, p. 46), “kitt” for “shit” and “grundies” for “undies (i.e. underpants) (Hassanein, 2013, p. 138)

*Secondly, Semantic Innovation:*

Four categories overlap with Allen and Burridge’s classification:

1- **Metaphors** (mentioned above)

2- **Metonymy** [or general-for-specific] (mentioned above)
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3- **Understatements** (mentioned above)

4- **Overstatements** [or hyperbole]

5- **Particularization**: is when a general term is used in a ‘particular’ context in order to refer to a taboo word. For example: “clean” for “sexually disease-free” (Hassanein, 2013, p. 139) or “satisfaction” for “orgasm” and “innocent” for “virginal”; these terms require contextually-based inference by reader/listener in order to be understood (Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p. 232).

6- **Implications**: In this mechanism, several steps are required to understand the intended meaning of the implied word. For example, “loose” which implies “unattached” would lead to the interpretation “sexually easy/available” (Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p. 232), “sleeper” for someone who sleeps around for sex (Hassanein, 2013, p. 140), and “the natural daughter of X” for “illegitimate child” (Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni, 2012, p. 732).

7- **Reversals** (also referred to as ‘irony’) is the use of antonyms ironically or spontaneously to mean the opposite of a taboo or offensive word, for examples: “blessed” for “damned” (Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni, 2012, p. 732). Warren’s reversal (1992) is reminiscent of Ford’s (1968) and Leech’s (1969) “irony” (Hassanein, 2013, p. 140).

Later, some scholars modified Warren’s Model of euphemism strategies, such as:
Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni (2012) added two more categories under Warren’s Model ‘formal innovation’ - namely, Nurseryism and Diminutive. **Nurseryism** (or baby-talk) is using childlike phonemic forms (Huang, 2005). This strategy is frequently used to express male and female (genitals) as in “doty”, “wee” and “suzie” for “male and female genital area” (Rabab’ah & Al-Qarni, 2012, p. 732). **Diminutive** is changing the tabooed word by adding a suffix to indicate smallness or affection. For example “heinie” is a diminutive for ‘hind end’ meaning ‘buttocks’ (Neaman and Silver, 1983b, p. 11).


*Figure 5: Modified Warren’s Model (1992) by Linfoot-Ham (2005)*
'Deletion’ was mentioned before under ‘Omission’ by Allan and Burridge (1991), whereas ‘Naming’ refers to using a name of a particular person to refer to a taboo issue (Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni, 2012, p. 733), such as: “Jiminy Cricket” for “Jesus Christ” and “Austin’s Kitty” for “prostitute”. The other subcategory of “Geographic Adjectives” include “French letter” for “condom”, “English letter” for “sadism” (Rawson, 1981), “Essex girl” for a “sexually available woman” and “Dutch cap” for “contraceptive diaphragm or condom” (Allan & Burridge, 1991,
‘Fuzzy words’ is another category which refers to the use of vague terms which have a flexible meaning and can be interpreted in different ways, as in “the things” for “genitals” (Huang, 2005, p. 46).

Hassanein (2013) further modified Warren’s Model (1992) and Linfoot-Ham’s modified Model (2005). Hassanein added five more subcategories for euphemism formation; namely: neologism (coinage), conversion, iconicity, cloning (reduplication) and back-formation (Hassanein, 2013, pp. 141-142). However, these categories result from data related to nicknames on Gamedesire website; so it’s more of a written form that the current paper does not discuss further.

One of the features of euphemisms is that any euphemistic word can eventually lose its euphemistic sense and even turn into taboo words; a phenomenon called by Stephen Pinker (2003) as “euphemism treadmill.” For example, as mentioned by Khanfar (2012), that in some versions of English, a ‘toilet room’ was replaced by ‘bathroom’ and ‘water closet’ which were later replaced by ‘restroom’ and ‘WC.’ Even word connotations change over time, for example: ‘idiot’ was a neutral term, but it started gaining negative sense to it, so it was euphemized by ‘retarded’ which is now considered rude and offensive. Thus new terms like ‘mentally challenged or special’ have replaced it (p. 12).

For the purpose of the present paper, and based on previous works on euphemism formation and strategies (e.g., Allan & Burridge, 1991; Warren, 1992; Neaman and Silver, 1983a; Huang,
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2005; Linfoot-Ham, 2005; Hassanein, 2013), the above-mentioned strategies of euphemism are selected and used in the data analysis section of this paper.

2.6. Euphemism in Arabic

In Arabic, euphemism is studied more under ‘rhetoric,’ especially under two rhetorical devices, namely: َعَلَّلَكِنَّيْ (الكلانية i.e. metonymy) and َأْتَتْـتَقْرْرَ (التعريض i.e. innuendo) (Albarakati, 2018). However, it has recently been given different labels, like ‘تَأْحِسِنْ عَلَّلَكِنَّ’ (تحسين اللفظ i.e. beautifying the utterance), ‘تَلْتَيِفْ عَلَّلَ’ (تلطيف اللفظ i.e. mitigating the negative senses of the word), and ‘أَتْتَأْوِرْرَ’ (التورية i.e. periphrase) (El-Zeiny, 2009, p.172). There is a robust body of research on politeness and euphemism in the Noble Qur’an and Modern Standard Arabic in Arabic and Islamic studies. The language of most research in this field is - to a great extent - Arabic. Some of the research though was made in English, and among the most recent studies are Farghal (1995), Abu-Zalal (2001), Khanfar (2012), Naaman (2013), Albarakati (2013, 2018), Al Momani, Migdadi & Rabab’a (2018).

However, very limited research was conducted on euphemism in Arabic speaking countries, i.e., dialectal Arabic. Research on euphemism in different Arabic dialects was held on a very narrow scope of either euphemistic expressions of death, sex, body parts; swearing and profanity; or taboo issues among speakers of specific dialect; etc.
Other studies were contrastive analysis between Arabic and English (Al-Husseini, 2007; Haddad, 2009; Jabir, 2014; Galal, 2014; Ishag, 2016; Almufawez, Alalwani & Altalhi, 2018); between dialectal Arabic and a foreign language; namely, Moroccan Arabic and English (Alaoui, 2011), Egyptian Arabic and Chinese (Gomaa & Shi, 2012), Saudi Arabic and British English (Rabab’ah & Al-Qarni, 2012), Saudi Arabic and American English (Al-Khasawneh, 2018); or between two different dialects of Arabic -- Egyptian Arabic and Jordanian Arabic (ElShiekh, 2013), Algerian Arabic and Jordanian Arabic (Azieb & Qudah, 2016). Arabic cross-dialectal studies (Guella, 2013). Abu Hammad (2007) conducted a research on euphemism and tackled Egyptian Arabic, Jordanian Arabic, English, and Australian. Some other research was conducted on Arab students in different communities and/or countries, for example: Arab students in Malaysia (Najeeb, Maros & Nor, 2012); Arab EFL learners in Abu-Dhabi (Altakhaineh & Rahrouh, 2015); Arab students in Iran (Sa’d, 2017); Lebanese Arabic speakers in Australia (Abi-Esber, 2017; Abi-Esber, Yang, Muranaka & Moustakim, 2018).

Translation and subtitling of euphemisms and taboos were also a research concern in this field, as these terms are considered difficult to translate due to the fact that they are culturally and socially loaded (e.g., Farghal & Borini, 1996; Farghal & Ahmed, 1997; Farghal, 2005; Abdalla, 2009; Pour, 2010; Hayajneh, 2010; Al-Kharabsheh, 2011; Farghal, 2012; Thawabteh, 2012; Al-Shawi, 2013; Albarakati, 2014; Shehab, Qadan & Hussein, 2014; Abbas, 2015; Al-Adwan, 2015; Ghaeb, 2016; Aqel, 2016; Anber & Swear, 2016).

Few studies investigated the use of euphemism among speakers of different Arabic dialects: Algerian Arabic (Ghounane 2013, 2014, 2017); Egyptian Arabic (Mughazy, 1999; Zawrotna,
The following section is dedicated to a quick overview of the findings in Arabic-related literature on euphemistic expressions and euphemistic strategies used in Arabic, with a closer focus on studies on Egyptian Arabic.

Farghal (1995) investigates euphemistic expressions of death in both Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and colloquial Jordanian Arabic (CJA). Farghal believes that “death is the most euphemized term in Arabic” (p. 369) and that Arabic speakers tend to avoid the direct mention of death or a verb such as “māta” (مات, i.e., died) by utilizing four main strategies for euphemizing, namely: figurative expressions, circumlocutions, remodelings, and antonyms. He observes that MSA is more abundant in euphemisms compared to spoken varieties of Arabic.

In their study on the language choice in mobile text messages among Jordanian university students, Al-Khatib and Sabbah’s (2008) research informants have reported that they tend to use in their texts English words for euphemistic purposes. A female student said “I myself use English words as euphemisms. They seem to be inoffensive, especially when we talk about matters relevant to such issues as love, disease, body functions, etc.” (p. 57). They also found that English words such as “toilet,” “boyfriend,” “Cancer,” and “period” were used as euphemisms instead of their Arabic equivalents.
Al-Azzeh (2010) explores the most common euphemisms among Jordanian Arabic speakers when referring to tabooed topics, such as death, sickness, mental illness, excretory functions, and Cancer. She examines the effect of social variables, such as dialectal variety, gender, and age on the use of euphemism in the Jordanian society in view of Politeness Principle and Context Theory. The study also aims at finding out what euphemisms Jordanian speakers use to refer to some places, jobs, body features, naming and addressing. A closed-format questionnaire with multiple choice was distributed among 300 Jordanian speakers of Arabic who represent different ages, genders and three Jordanian varieties: Bedouin, Fallahi, and Madani. Besides the suggested euphemisms, participants were asked to provide or indicate more euphemisms that were not listed in the questionnaire, if any. Some of the results show that when referring to death in Jordanian Arabic, 26% of speakers tend to use the expression “؟اتَّخَذْتُهُ عُمْرَتُهُ” (أعطاك عمره May the remainder of the deceased person's life be added to your life), 19.3% chose “َانتقل إلى رحمة الله” (He went to the mercy of God), and 13.3% preferred “تَوَافَفَ” (his soul returned to God). When referring to using the bathroom, 30.6% of speakers tend to say “إلى حمام” (going to the bathroom), 26.6% chose “إلى المرحاض” (going to the toilet). And when referring to Cancer, 32.5% referred to it as “سرطان” (Cancer in English), 18.4% chose “هذا المرض” (that disease), and 14% chose ‘؟لم يكفيكم شره’ (that disease -may God save you from). As for referring to the garbage collector, 56.6% of speakers tend to use the expression “عمال النظافة” (the cleaning worker), 16.6% chose “عمال الأمانة” (secretariat worker), and 16.2% chose “عمال البلدية” (municipal worker). The expressions “لطير” (
“عانس” (spinster), “mitbannitah” (متبنتة spinster), and “bint bunūt” (بنت بنوت virgin) are the mostly used expressions in Jordanian Arabic, according to the study, when referring to an old never-married woman with percentages 57%, 15% and 14% respectively.

In their contrastive study comparing euphemism in Saudi Arabic and British English, Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni (2012) conducted two versions of an open questionnaire: one in Arabic for the Saudi participants and the other in English for the British. Each version of the questionnaire was divided into two sections. In section one, the participants were asked to provide demographic information relating to gender, age, and educational background. In the second section, both Arabic and English versions of the questionnaire consisted of 6 conversational situations specifying the three tabooed topics (death, lying and bodily functions), the degree of formality and the relationship between the respondents and the audience (informal vs. formal).

The participants were asked to provide as many appropriate responses as they can. The analyzed data were reported by the participants themselves and not based on actual recorded usage. The participants’ responses to each item were analyzed, and one interesting finding is that the Saudis and the British use taboos when handling death and lying, but hardly ever for bodily functions. The study also revealed that the most frequently used euphemisms strategies for death by Saudi participants fall under three categories: ‘part-for-whole,’ ‘overstatement,’ and ‘understatement,’ while the least frequently used strategies are: ‘fuzzy words,’ ‘learned words and jargon’, and ‘metaphors’. As for bodily functions, Saudi participants resorted more to “general-for-specific”, “metaphor”, and “deletion”, while the least frequently used strategies are: ‘fuzzy words’, ‘loanwords’, and ‘implications’.
Ghounane (2013, 2014, 2017) investigated the linguistic taboos, politeness strategies, and the attitude towards taboos in the Algerian society. Her studies focused only on the Tlemcen Speech Community, which is an Arabic speaking Berberian community located in Northwestern Algeria. In her papers, Ghounane used both quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative (focus group interviews) methods in collecting data. Her results show that sex and death are the most sensitive, and thus euphemized, topics among the Tlemcen Speech community. Although her paper (2014) is entitled *A Sociolinguistic view of linguistic taboos and euphemistic strategies in the Algerian Society: Attitudes and beliefs in Tlemcen Speech Community*, Ghounane fell short on providing the reader with any “euphemistic strategies” used by the Tlemcen community. Ghounane (2013) population consisted of 100 informants who answered the questionnaire and 10 interviewees. The results of the study deduced that gender, age, context of use or situation of the conversation, as well as educational background have acted as active variables in the frequency of using taboo words and euphemisms.

In his intercultural study, Al-Khasawneh (2018) explores the euphemistic strategies used in Saudi Arabic and American English. A questionnaire, adopted from Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni (2012) has been distributed among 145 college students (78 Saudis and 67 Americans). The study tackled three taboo topics, namely: lying, death and bodily functions. Results reveal that the most frequently employed strategies for addressing ‘death’ are: part-for-whole, as in: “؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟�اـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـا~

\textit{الله أجركم (May God glorify your reward)}; and overstatement, as in “؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟�اـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـاـا~

\textit{أنتقل إلى جوار ربه (He went to his God)}; while ‘metaphor’ and ‘taboo expressions’ were the least frequently used. As for ‘bodily functions’, most frequently used strategies are: general-for-specific, as in ‘؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟؟�اـاـاـاـاـا~

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(دورة المياه water closet); metaphor (as in “bayt ئادب”) (بيت الأدب politeness room); and deletion, as in “(i am going to the …) “ were the most frequently used strategies; whereas ‘jargons’ and ‘taboo expressions’ were the least frequently used.

Zawrotna (2016) analyzed the use of intimate body part terms used by young Egyptians in the light of their social background and their relation to the hearer, where she focused on macrolinguistics taboo (taboo words that are not context-specific). Chosen taboo words were semantically associated with two forbidden domains: sexuality and excretion. Zawrotna investigated whether there is a correlation between the use of tabooed terms referring to body parts and the social background of the speaker, as well as the types of strategies employed by Egyptian speakers to avoid mentioning taboos. Sixty people whose ages ranged between 18 and 35 years old were the subjects of the study. They were divided into three groups according to their type of education: students/graduates of private (international) universities, students/graduates of state (public) universities, and individuals with secondary education or lower. The researcher chose these criteria as she has claimed that “in Egypt education is strongly correlated with social class” (Zawrotna 2016, p. 571). Interestingly, the results argued that ‘students/graduates of private (international) universities’ and ‘participants with secondary education or lower’ have similar habits when it comes to openness towards these taboo topics; they rarely made use of any euphemisms when addressing intimate body parts. However, such behavior was rarely observed among the group of ‘students/graduates of state (public) universities’. The researcher concluded that from among the participants,“women tend to maintain verbal hygiene at all times” (p.569).
In his research on the strategies used by speakers of Egyptian Arabic in response to compliments that are perceived as invocations of the evil eye, Mughazy (1999) reported that many Egyptians use ‘euphemism’ when mentioning ‘the evil eye’ or the ‘evil-eyed person’ which are considered “fearsome phenomena” (Mughazy 1999, p. 17). Forty male and female Egyptian teachers of English as a foreign language were the population of his study. They were attending a teacher training program at Georgia State University in Atlanta, Georgia in the United States of America. All teachers work at Egyptian public schools. Their ages ranged between 27 and 36 years old. The group included 26 Muslims and 14 Christians. All participants, except one, professed that they strongly believe in the ‘evil eye.’ Participants were given 12 open-ended discourse completion items in the form of situations, i.e., an oral discourse completion test. The results of the study revealed that one of the pragmatic functions of ‘euphemism’ is to ward off the potential effects of the evil eye. Among the reported figurative expressions used are: “عينه وحشة” (he has a bad eye), “عينه مدورة” (his eyes are round), “عينه تندب فيها رصاصة” (his eye deserves a bullet in it) and “قرره دكر” (his invocation is masculine -- to show intensity) among other euphemisms used to describe an envious person. Also, among the euphemisms used to describe ‘the evil eye’ is: “العين” (the eye) instead of mentioning envy itself.

A contrastive study on the use of euphemism was made between Egyptian Arabic and Chinese. Gomaa and Shi (2012) conducted a contrastive analysis to investigate the euphemistic expressions of death in both dialects. The study seeks to reveal euphemistic expressions used in Egyptian Arabic and Chinese to replace the taboo topic of death, what death euphemisms that
are more frequently used and those that are less frequently used in both languages, and finally what death euphemisms that are mostly used by males versus females. The researchers started the data collection procedure by interviewing some Egyptians of different social, economic and educational backgrounds, ages, and genders to discuss with them the euphemistic expressions they usually and frequently use when referring to death. The responses were taken as the basis for constructing the questionnaire. The questionnaire was divided into two parts. In the first part, the informants were asked to provide some demographic information relating to gender (i.e., either male or female) and their educational level. The second part was a list of euphemized expressions of death. Informants were then asked to identify the euphemized expressions they use to refer to ‘death’ by putting a tick opposite to it/Them. The total population for the study was 40 adults: 20 males and 20 females, all native speakers of Egyptian Arabic, who were randomly selected. This review will only cover results related to Egyptian Arabic since they are more related to the current study. These results indicate that Egyptians consider ‘death’ to be one of the most euphemized topics. The interview revealed that most of the participants of the study were unwilling to mention death directly as they fear it as it is unknown, inexperienced and undesirable. They find themselves reluctant to utter the word ‘mat/it’ (died); only 5% of the participants chose that term; they tend more towards choosing “softboiled” expressions. The frequency of the euphemized expression “توفى” (his soul returned to God) was the most commonly used expression, followed by “البقية في حياتك” (May the remainder of the deceased person's life be added to your life). The results also show that employing euphemistic expressions of death varies in terms of use according to the gender of the participants. The expression “توفى” was slightly more frequent among females (10%) than males (8.7%) and “البقية في حياتك” was employed
with frequency of 9% among females and 8% among males. The expression “fādat rūHuh ʔaT-Tāhirah” (فاضت روحت الطاهرة his purified soul has flown out) was only employed by females but absent among males. Finally, the researcher concluded that Egyptian speakers of Arabic regard the topic of ‘death’ as a taboo that requires employing euphemisms when referring to it.

In the above review the researcher attempted to explore how euphemism is identified and classified in different studies conducted to date. It also aimed to probe into some euphemism strategies and shed light on the relation between euphemism and Politeness and Face theory. Finally, the review took a closer look into the literature that addressed the usage of euphemism among speakers of Arabic in general, particularly Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) speakers. After investigating the literature review, one can conclude that minimal research was conducted on the use of euphemism among ECA speakers, which is the main focus of the current study. The following chapter provides more information about the methodology used in examining the use of euphemism among some ECA speakers.
3. CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter provides information on the methodology used in collecting and analyzing data for this study. It describes the participants, procedures, data collection instrument as well as data analysis.

3.2. Participants

The participants of the study are adult native speakers of Egyptian Arabic of both genders. A sample comprises 275 adult Egyptian men and women from different ages; the age range is between 18 and 75 years old. The participants are randomly selected. They are aware that involvement in the study is entirely voluntary. In an attempt to encourage honest responses and avoid self-censorship, participants are assured that their answers to the questionnaire would remain anonymous.

The study focuses mainly on the euphemistic expressions mostly used by Egyptian speakers of Arabic, the euphemistic strategies used to form these euphemisms, as well as the effect of the presence versus absence of face-threatening acts (FTAs) on the word choice of the participants.
3.3. Procedures

As a preliminary step for choosing topics to which euphemism is mostly applied, firstly the researcher brainstormed with other native speakers who are registered in TAFL MA program, about topics where euphemism is most frequently used in everyday life based on their own observations, as well as euphemistic expressions used in relation to each of the mentioned topic. Secondly, the researcher conducted a pilot study where she designed a questionnaire based on the abovementioned step (brainstorming) and posted it on her Facebook page publicly and asked friends and followers to anonymously reply to her questionnaire where they were asked to provide as many euphemistic expressions as possible for each topic. The pilot study was conducted to examine the use of euphemism among native speakers of Egyptian Arabic when referring to: a physically or mentally challenged person, an old never-married woman, diarrhea, the cleaning woman, going to the bathroom, an old never-married man, a pregnant woman, and Cancer. Results suggested that there is a tendency to use euphemistic expressions when addressing these topics; hence the researcher’s decision to delve more into the use of euphemism in referring to them. The researcher also decided to study how Egyptians refer to: death, a divorced woman, and the garbage collector; as the researcher believes these topics to be sensitive and likely to be euphemized.

The researcher then used the replies collected from the pilot study as a basis for the optional replies given in the questionnaire of the current study. For example, one of the questions of the pilot study, which was conducted in English language, was: “You have a cleaning lady who helps with the house chores. What would you call her when you are talking with your friends?” The replies were: “jayyālah / xaddāmah” (شغالة / خدامة maid), “pis-sit ʔillībitsāgīdnā
fī (؟)il-bīt” (الست اللي بتساعدنا في البيت the woman who helps us around the house), and “just her name”. So when the researcher was designing the questionnaire for the current study, she took into consideration the above-mentioned expressions, and also added more expressions - from observation - like: “؟is-sit ئillī bitnaDDaf” (الست اللي بتنظيف the cleaning woman), and “housekeeper” (in English).

3.4. Instrument

For the purpose of the current study, quantitative data collection will take place. A questionnaire, which is a quantitative technique that has typically been used in previous studies in that field (for example: Elayyan, 1994; Al-Azzeh, 2010; Gomaa and Shi, 2012; and Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni, 2012), is conducted and is meant to elicit mass data from as many Egyptian speakers of Arabic as possible. One great advantage of this instrument is that it can easily reach tens of Egyptian speakers of Arabic all over the world by one click, and allows for more understanding of the euphemistic expressions used by the participants, their frequency of use, as well as the euphemistic strategies applied.

The topics chosen for the current questionnaire are partially based on Samoškaitė (2011) classification of euphemism topics (diseases, death, and socially-inferior professions), Khanfar (2012) classification (bodily functions), and Salih (2013) classification (sensitive marital status for women).
The questionnaire, which is conducted by the researcher, includes two semi-identical sets of questions. Each set consists of ten questions in the form of ‘situations’ that are chosen to reflect the five above-mentioned mostly euphemized topics. The ten questions are divided as follows: Questions 1, 2 and 3 tackle diseases, i.e. physical impairment, mental impairment, and Cancer, respectively. Questions 4 and 5 are about rather socially-inferior professions in Arab communities, i.e., the maid and the garbage collector. Questions 6 and 7 tackle bodily functions; particularly, using the bathroom and having diarrhea. Questions 8 and 9 tackle sensitive marital status for women; specifically, old never-married woman and divorced woman. Finally, Question 10 tackles death.

Regarding questionnaire format, the questionnaire is divided into three sections:

- Section 1 asks participants to provide demographic information related to gender, age, and educational background.

- Section 2 consists of ten face-threatening acts (FTAs). In an attempt to create face-threatening situations which might lead the participants to use euphemisms as a face-saving strategy, the researcher created social situations where the speaker is making reference to one of the euphemism incurring topics in the presence of the subject - or a close relative to the subject - to whom the topic refers (i.e., face-threatening act), which might possibly lead the participants to use euphemisms for saving both the Speaker’s and the Hearer's face. For example, Question 1 in Section 1 examines what the participant would say if they want to describe a physically-impaired person in the presence of her/his relatives. Question 5 examines what the participant would say if they are talking over the phone in the presence of their maid and have to mention over the phone that they cannot leave the house now because the maid is still working. The
USE OF EUPHEMISM IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC

purpose of creating this set of situations is to find out how likely would a face-threatening act (FTA) lead the subject to use a euphemistic expression.

The ten situations are closed-format; i.e., a number of possible replies are given for each situation. Some of the pros of closed-format are that it makes the questionnaire easier and quicker to answer; it also improves the consistency of responses and makes it easier to compare with other respondents. For example, Question 1 (which is about describing a physically impaired person) gives multiple possible replies, such as: “muʕāq” (handicapped), “ʡāgiz” (disabled), “qaʕīd” (seated), “min zawī (?iHtiyāgāt (?i-xāSSIDah” (with special needs), “ʡala kursī biʕagal” (a person in a wheelchair), “ʡanduh maʃākil fī rigluh” (he has problems in his legs), and “miʃ ʡādir yimʃī” (he cannot walk). Question 5 gives possible replies, such as “ʃaɣɣālah / xaddāmah” (maid), “ʡis-sit ʡillī bitnaDDaf” (the cleaning woman).

However, one of the drawbacks of this format is that it may not have the exact answer the respondents want to give. Thus, in order to address such issue, each closed-format question is followed by an option for the participant to provide an alternative reply that is not among the provided responses. The responses include not only euphemistic expressions but also dysphemistic and orthophemistic ones -i.e., X-phemisms as called by Allan and Burridge (2006), as presented earlier in section 2.2., Figure 1. These replies are then analyzed after each question under “other expressions”. It is worth noting though that some of the replies provided
by some participants under “other expressions” were the same as the options given in the questionnaire, with a slight difference that does not make a change in the meaning of the reply, so the researcher had to manually re-categorized them under the given options for more accurate results. For example, in Question 1, one of the participants wrote under other expressions: “baʔūl ʔismuh“ (I mention his name) instead of choosing the option “ʔismuh” (his name) provided among the possible replies.

Section 3 consists of a semi-identical set of situations and replies as in Section 2. However, the only one - yet big - difference is that this set is designed in a way that does not create face threatening situations (non-FTAs) while section 2 situations does. For example, Question 1 in Section 3 examines what the participant would say if they are talking with their sibling about a physically-impaired person they met in the street that morning. Question 5 asks what the participant would say if they are talking with their sibling about their maid (but not in her presence). The multiple possible replies given for this section are the same as those in section 2. The main purpose of this set of questions (non-FTAs) is to investigate whether the participants would still use euphemistic expressions when there is no threat to either the Speaker’s or Hearer's face.

Research Question (RQ) 1 [What euphemistic expressions are more likely to be used by Egyptian speakers of Arabic when they talk about these topics: diseases (physical-impairment, mental-impairment and Cancer); body excretions (going to the bathroom and having diarrhea); socially-inferior professions (the maid and the garbage collector);
sensitive marital status for women (old never-married woman and divorced woman); and death?) would be addressed by analyzing data extracted from Section 2 of the questionnaire.

- RQ 2 [Is there a difference in the employment of euphemisms among Egyptian speakers of Arabic in the presence of face-threatening acts (FTAs) versus the absence of face-threatening acts (non-FTAs)?] would be addressed by analyzing and comparing data from both Section 2 and Section 3 of the questionnaire.

- RQ 3 [what euphemistic strategies do Egyptian speakers of Arabic employ the most when addressing each of these topics?] would be addressed by analyzing both Section 2 and Section 3 of the questionnaire according to -mainly- Allan and Burridge (1991) classification of euphemistic strategies.

Since the research is targeting Egyptian speakers of Arabic from different backgrounds, the situations along with the suggested X-phemisms were developed in Egyptian Arabic.

The choice of topics in this questionnaire is based firstly on the aforementioned pilot study conducted by the researcher, and also inspired by previous studies on the use of euphemism by speakers of different dialects/varieties of Arabic, such as: Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni (2012) study that investigated death, bodily functions and lying in Saudi Arabic and British English; Gomaa and Shi (2012) whose study focused on euphemistic expressions in referring to death in Egyptian Arabic and Chinese; and Al-Azzeh (2010) research on how Jordanian speakers of
Arabic use euphemism to refer to death, going to the bathroom, old never-married woman, the garbage collector and Cancer. The rest of the topics; namely: physical impairment, mental impairment, maid and having diarrhea were added for investigation by the researcher based on the pilot study and observation.

### 3.5. Data Analysis

For answering the research questions, data are analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software. In order to find out the most frequently used euphemisms, Frequency Distribution Tables were used to find out the difference in the usage of euphemism in the presence of FTAs and absence of FTAs. The questionnaire verbal responses were converted into numerical data before using the SPSS software. Each question and reply was given a code that differentiates it from the other.

It was mentioned earlier in the chapter (Section 3.4) that an “other expressions” option is given to the respondents in order to add any other expression they usually use that is not among the provided options. These responses were then coded and analyzed by the researcher, and some of them were categorized among the already-mentioned options, and others were left alone and given different codes and they will be mentioned under “other expressions” in chapter 4, as explained in section 3.4. above.
4. CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter reports on the results of the current study, which presents findings regarding: the most frequently used euphemisms among Egyptian speakers of Arabic when referring to some diseases (physical challenge, mental challenge, and Cancer), socially-inferior professions in the Arab communities (maid, garbage collector), body excretions (using the bathroom and having diarrhea), socially sensitive marital status of women (old never-married and divorced) and finally, death, as mentioned in research question 1 (RQ 1). The results also probe into whether there is a difference between the use of euphemism in the above-mentioned topics in the presence of Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) versus the absence of Face Threatening Acts (non-FTAs), which is the focus of RQ 2. Finally, it aims at finding out the most frequently used euphemistic strategies employed in the formation of euphemisms (RQ 3).

Section One of this chapter will address RQ 1 and RQ 2, while Section Two will address RQ 3.

Section One

4.1. Euphemistic expressions used by Egyptian speakers of Arabic to refer to targeted topics and the effect of FTAs on such choices

The following section is dedicated to suggesting answers to RQ1 and RQ2. As mentioned earlier, both research questions will be answered by comparing results from Section 2 and Section 3 of the questionnaire. Results of this section will be presented according to topic, followed by a discussion of the results for each topic.
4.1.1. Euphemisms used in case of physical impairment, and the effect of FTAs:
Questions that dealt with this issue are Q1 and Q11 of the questionnaire.

Q1: If you have to describe a physically-impaired person in the presence of his brother, how
would you describe him?

Q11: If you are talking to your brother/sister about a physically-impaired person you met on
the street, how would you describe him?

Results from Q1 and Q11 are summarized in tables 4.1 and 4.2 respectively as shown below.

Table 4.1. Euphemisms used to refer to a physically-impaired person (FTA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>μuṣāq</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عاقة</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaṣīd</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xāSAH</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

USE OF EUPHEMISM IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC
As shown in Table 4.1, the three most frequently used expressions for describing a physically-impaired person in an FTA situation are: “亢anduh mafākil fī rigluh” (he has problems in his legs) [35.3%], “亢nduh maʕiHtiyāgāt maʕi-xāSSah” ( antics with special needs ) [28%], and “亢jādir yimʃī” ( he cannot walk) [25.1%].
When asking the same question but in a non-FTA situation, the results were as indicated as in table 4.2.

**Table 4.2. Euphemisms used to refer to a physically-impaired person (non-FTA)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vali Valid muʕāq</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕāgiz</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaʕīd</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>min zawī (ʔ)il-ʔiHtiyāgāt (ʔ)il-xāSSah</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕala kursī mutaHarrik</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>75.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕala kursī biʕagal</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>78.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the absence of FTAs, 33.8% of the sample chose to describe the physically-impaired person as “min zawī (؟)il-?:Htiyāgāt (؟)il-xāSSah” (من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة with special needs), 20% chose “muʢāq” (مأق handicapped), and only 14.5% chose “ʢanduh maʃākil fī rigluh” ( عنده مشاكل في رجله he has problems in his legs).

**Other expressions**

Some of the “other” expressions that were stated by participants:

In the presence of FTAs, expressions like: “min ʢahli (؟)il-?:azm” (من أهل العزم a person of self-determination), and the English term “disabled” were added. In the absence of FTAs, the previous expressions appeared, in addition to “min zawī (؟)il-himamm” (من ذوي الهمم a person of high endeavour).
Discussion of results

In the presence of FTAs, and by checking the percentage of the first three mostly used expressions in table 4.1., it turned out that the majority of participants (60.4%) chose to use euphemistic expressions when referring to the topic; i.e. “إنه مسأله في رجله” (عنده مشاكل في رجله he has problems in his legs) and “مسيء قادر يمشي” (مش قادر يمشي he cannot walk), and almost one third of the population (28%) chose to use the orthophemism “من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة” (من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة with special needs). Orthophemism refers to direct and formal expressions that are neither as blunt and/or harsh as dysphemisms nor as sweet-sounding and nice as euphemisms, as explained by Allan and Burridge (1991) who coined this term back then.

In the absence of FTAs, a little more than one third of the population (33.8%) chose to use the orthophemism “من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة” (من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة with special needs), 20% chose to use the taboo word “معاق” (معاق handicapped) and only as little as 14.5% tended to euphemize the topic. The non-euphemistic - rather a taboo - expression “معاق” (معاق handicapped) appeared in the results in the absence of FTAs where 20% of participants chose to state the problem directly rather than hinting at it, compared to 2.2% in the presence of FTAs. This indicates that FTAs play a role in the word choice among participants.

It is worth noting though that the expression “معاق” (معاق handicapped) , was once used as a euphemism on its own, but has become negatively connotated and needs to be euphemized itself. This is an example of what Pinker (2003) calls “euphemism treadmill”, a phenomenon
where a euphemistic word eventually loses its euphemistic sense and even turn into a taboo word. The same is true of the expression “من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة” which is becoming less euphemistic and more of a regular term in referring to the targeted group.

When participants were given the chance to add other expressions, they mentioned very positive ones that totally avoided mentioning the problem or even hinting at it; on the contrary, it shows how some people actually think highly of the physically-impaired and view them as strong people of self-determination and high endeavor.

4.1.2. Euphemisms used in case of mental impairment, and the effect of FTAs:
Questions that dealt with this issue are Q 2 and Q 12 of the questionnaire.

Q2: If you have to describe a mentally-impaired person in the presence of his relatives, how would you describe him?

Q 12: If you are talking to your brother/sister about a mentally-impaired person you saw on the street, how would you describe him?

Results from Q 2 and Q 12 are summarized in tables 4.3 and 4.4 respectively as shown below.

Table 4.3. Euphemisms used to refer to a mentally-impaired person (FTA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

63
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valid</th>
<th>mutaxallif</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>0.4</th>
<th>0.4</th>
<th>0.4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>متخلف</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muʕāq zihniyyan</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>معاق ذهنيا</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sanduh taʔaxxur</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zihnī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>عنده تأخر ذهني</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mutaxaxxir</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>متأخر</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sanduh muʃkilah fi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dimāɣuh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>عنده مشكلة في دماغه</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>min zawī (?i)il-</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔiHtiyāgāt (?i)il-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xāSSah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marīD / ʕayyān</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>59.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>مريض/عيّان</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sanduh Zurūf</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.3 shows that the three most frequently used expressions for describing a mentally-impaired person in an FTA situation are: “こともあります (he has some issues) [31.6%], “من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة (with special needs) [25.8%], and “مريض/عديان (sick) [21.5%].

**Table 4.4. Euphemisms used to refer to a mentally-impaired person (non-FTA)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>متخلف</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>معاق ذهنيا</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عديا تأخر ذهني</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Expression</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>متأخر</td>
<td>retarded</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عنده مشكلة في دماغه</td>
<td>anduh muʃkilah fī dimāγuh</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة</td>
<td>min zawī (?]il- xāSSah</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مريض /عيّان</td>
<td>mariID / ūayyān</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عنده ظروف</td>
<td>ūanduh Zurūf</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عنده إعاقة ذهنية</td>
<td>ūanduh ūiʡāqah zihniyyah</td>
<td>96.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retarded (in English)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the absence of FTA, 23.3% of the participants chose to use “muʕaq zihniyyan” (معاق ذهنياً mentally handicapped), 19.6% chose “min zawī (?ilʔitiyāgāt (?il-xāSSah” (من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة with special needs), and 17.5% chose “ʕanduh ʔiʕaqah zihniyyah” (عند وعاقة ذهنية he has intellectual disability).

Other expressions

Some of the “other” expressions that were stated by participants:

In the presence of FTAs, expressions like: “min zawī (?il-himamm” (من ذوي الهمم a person of high endeavour), “muxtalif” (مختلف different), and “malāk” (ملاك an angel) were added. In the absence of FTAs, the previous expressions appeared, in addition to “ʕanduh krumuzūm ziyādah” (عند كروموسوم زيادة he has one extra chromosome)

Discussion of results

In the presence of FTAs, almost half of the participants chose to use euphemistic expressions when referring to the mentally-impaired; namely, “ʕanduh Zurūf” (عند وظائف he has some issues) and “marīD / ʕayyān” (مرض / عيان sick), while a little more than a quarter chose the orthophemism “min zawī (?ilʔitiyāgāt (?il-xāSSah” (من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة with special needs).

However, there seems to be no clear word preference in the absence of FTAs. The usage of the two non-euphemistic expressions “muʕaq zihniyyan” (معاق ذهنياً mentally handicapped) and “ʕanduh ʔiʕaqah zihniyyah” (عند وعاقة ذهنية he has an intellectual disability) appeared in the
absence of FTAs, while their usage in the presence of FTAs was insignificant (2.2% for the former and 6.9% for the latter).

Notably, the expression “min zawī (؟)il-ʔiHtiyāgāt (؟)il-xāSSah” (من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة with special needs) in the case of the mentally-impaired person suggests that it is almost equally used in the presence and absence of FTAs. This might be the result of the wide media usage of the term as well as the people specialized in the field and how they refer to the mentally-impaired; more like a field jargon orthophemism.

By comparing the first three choices in each of the tables 4.3 and 4.4, it is well-noticed that the majority of participants tended to use euphemism in the presence of FTAs but that tendency decreased in the absence of FTAs. This suggests that mental impairment topic is considered a taboo or a sensitive issue to talk about in the presence of the impaired person, his family or acquaintances, as this might hurt their feelings. However, it is not as much avoided if the hearer is less likely to be hurt by its direct mentioning.

As is the case with the physically-impaired, when participants added other expressions, they used very positive ones that show how some people actually respect the mentally-impaired and view them in a positive light and even glorify them by describing them as angels “malāk”.

Also, the medical term “ʕanduh krumuzūm ziyādah” (عنده كروموسوم زيادة he has one extra chromosome) was used as a form of euphemism.
4.1.3. Euphemisms used in case of Cancer and the effect of FTAs:

Questions that dealt with this issue are Q 3 and Q 13 of the questionnaire.

Q3: If you have to inform your friend that someone dear to him was diagnosed with Cancer, what would you say?

Q 13: If you are talking to your brother/sister about someone you met who suffers from Cancer, what would you say?

Results from Q 3 and Q 13 are summarized in tables 4.5 and 4.6 respectively as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Valid saraTān</strong></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cancer (in English)</strong></td>
<td>117</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ʡil-maraD (ʡ)il-wiHiʃ</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>63.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ʡil-maraD (ʡ)il-xabīθ</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>65.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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As shown in Table 4.5, it is clear that the three expressions that are most frequently used in FTA situations are: “Cancer” (in English) [42.5%], “waram” (ورم tumor) [29.8%], and “saraTān” (سرطان Cancer in Arabic) [12.4%]

Table 4.6. Euphemisms used to refer to Cancer (non-FTA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vali saraTān</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancer (in English)</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>77.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?Al-lāhumma (?i)H-HfaZnā</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>70.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waram</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the absence of FTA, as shown in table 4.6, 51.3% of the participants chose to use the word “Cancer” in English, 25.8% chose “saraTān” (سرطان Cancer in Arabic), and 9.8% chose to use “waram” (ورم tumor).

**Other expressions**

In the presence of FTAs, participants chose to add expressions such as: ‘The big C,’ “عندى اعتلاء (i)btīlā?” (he is put into a divine test), and “maraD (i)l-gannah” (مرض الجنة the disease that leads to Heaven). In the absence of FTAs, the previous expressions were used in addition to the term ‘tumor’ in English were shared by participants.

**Discussion of results**

By comparing the first three mostly used expressions in tables 4.5 and 4.6, there is no significant difference in the first-word choice in the presence of FTAs (42.5%) and absence of
FTAs (51.3%); the word “Cancer” (in English) is the mostly used. The disease, in general, is almost equally euphemized in the presence and absence of FTAs (72.3% and 61.1% respectively), indicating a high level of sensitivity and avoidance of mentioning the word “saraTān” (سرطان Cancer) in Arabic.

The euphemization of Cancer by using the English equivalent among speakers of Arabic supports Al-Khatib and Sabbah (2008) conclusion where their subjects used the English equivalent of the term in their text messages. It is interesting to note that in the case of English speakers – as Allan and Burridge (1991) suggested - the word ‘Cancer’ (when used in English by English speakers) is more associated with “malignancy, corruption, and death, so it is generally shunned. People prefer to talk about ‘growths’ and ‘tumors’ both of which can be benign, whereas a view prevails that cancer cannot” (p. 4). In the same manner, it seems that most Arabic speakers refrain from using the term “saraTān” (سرطان) in Arabic and rather prefer to utter its English equivalent. This might be due to the fact that some foreign terms have less effect - or are less hurting - to the hearer’s ears.

On the other hand, the result differs from Al-Azzeh (2010) who suggested that Jordanian speakers of Arabic tend not to euphemize Cancer and instead use the Arabic equivalent “saraTān”; obviously, Egyptian speakers - at least the participants of this study- tend to euphemize it. This might suggest that in Egypt the main word used to refer to the illness is the Arabic word (hence euphemism is in English) but in Jordan’s case it could be the opposite.
Sensitivity towards the targeted topic here is suggested by the fact that in the absence of FTAs, more participants tend to use the Arabic word for Cancer “saraTān” [25.8%] compared to “waram” (i.e., tumor) [29.8%] in the presence of FTAs. This is an indication that FTAs play a role in the choice of words and euphemistic expressions related to Cancer.

It is interesting to note that when people choose to give other expressions they became more creative linguistically and tried to say things even nicer demonstrating a high level of euphemism. The fact that the same expressions were used in both the absence and presence of FTAs confirms how participants view this topic to be very sensitive.

4.1.4. Euphemisms used in referring to the ‘maid’ (a socially inferior-profession in Arab communities) and the effect of FTAs

Questions that dealt with this issue are Q4 and Q14 of the questionnaire.

Q4: If a friend called you over the phone and asked you to hang out with him. You cannot leave home now because the maid is there. Your friend doesn’t know your maid’s name. The maid can hear your conversation. How would you refer to the maid to your friend?

Q 14: If you are talking to your brother/sister about the maid (in her absence). How do you refer to the maid?
Results from Q 4 and Q 14 are summarized in tables 4.7 and 4.8 respectively as shown below.

**Table 4.7. Euphemisms used to refer to the maid (FTA)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شغالة / خدامة / شغال / xaddāmah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>servant (in English)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الست اللي بتضف / ʡis-sit ʡillī</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الست اللي بتساعدنا في البيت</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>89.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housekeeper (in English)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just her name</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>93.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بننضف / ʡandinā Duyūf</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>98.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عندنا ضيوف / binnaDDaf</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>93.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Table 4.7 shows that the three most frequently used expressions for describing the maid in an FTA situation are: “ʡis-sit ʡillī bitsaʢidnā  fī (ʡ)il-bīt” (الست اللي بتساعدنا في البيت the woman who helps us around the house) [63.3%], and “ʡis-sit ʡillī bitnaDDaf” (الست اللي تنظف the cleaning woman) [21.1%].

Table 4.8. Euphemisms used to refer to the maid (non-FTA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valid</th>
<th>شغالة / خدامة</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>servant (in English)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʡis-sit ʡillī bitnaDDaf</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʡis-sit ʡillī bitsaʢidnā fī (ʡ)il-bīt</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>87.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housekeeper (in English)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>89.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the absence of FTAs, as shown in table 4.8, 41.5% of the sample chose to use “ʡis-sit ʡillī bitnaDDaf” (الست اللي بتنظف the cleaning woman), 26.5% chose “ʡis-sit ʡillī bitsaʢidnā  fī (?il-bīt” (الست اللي بتساعدنا في البيت the woman who helps us around the house), and 17.8% chose “ʃaɣɣālah / xaddāmah” (شغالة / خدامة maid).

Other expressions
In the presence as well as the absence of FTAs, some of the other expressions that were mentioned by participants are: “the help”, and “TanT ʡillī bitnaDDaf ʡil-bīt” (طنط اللي بتنظف البيت the aunt who cleans the house) and “bonne” (French equivalent of ‘maid’).

Discussion of results
By comparing results from both tables, the majority of participants tend to use euphemisms when referring to the maid in the presence as well as the absence of FTAs. However, in the presence of FTAs, there is a clear preference of using the euphemistic expression “ʡis-sit ʡillī bitsaʢidnā  fī (?il-bīt” (الست اللي بتساعدنا في البيت the woman who helps us around the house) with a percentage of 63.3%; while in the absence of FTAs “ʡis-sit ʡillī bitnaDDaf” (الست اللي بتنظف the cleaning woman) got the highest percentage of use (41.5%). Although both expressions are euphemisms, it is worth noting that the former expression sounds more respectful than the
latter; as associating the lady with “giving help” is less degrading than “cleaning houses for pay”. This might be the reason that the former was more used in the presence of FTAs.

On the other hand, the non-euphemistic expression “ʃaɣɣālah / xaddāmah” (شغالة / خدامة maid), which is also considered a dysphemism, appeared more clearly in the absence of FTAs with a percentage of 17.1% compared to 1.1% in the presence of FTAs. The reason for this might be that most participants regard the term(s) as too degrading -or dysphemistic- to use even in the absence of FTAs. Results from tables 4.7 and 4.8 support Salih (2013) conclusion that: “it is a matter of delicacy (decorum) not to refer directly to people of humble occupations since directness hurts their feelings and dignity” (p. 229). In the case of this study however results reveal that ‘delicacy’ or ‘decorum’ are not limited to cases where ‘people of humble occupation’ are present. In fact terms were used in the presence and absence of FTAs.

It is worth noting that in the Egyptian society, French language is less likely spoken by the majority of Egyptians, unlike English, so the use of the word “bonne” to refer to the maid is an even higher level of euphemism than using an English word.

4.1.5. Euphemisms used in referring to a ‘garbage collector’ (a socially inferior-profession in Arab communities) and the effect of FTAs

Questions that dealt with this issue are Q 5 and Q 15 of the questionnaire.

Q5: The garbage collector knocked on the door, and you opened for him. Someone from inside the house is loudly asking you “who is it?” .. how would you refer to him (in his presence)?
Q 15: If you are talking to your brother/sister about the garbage collector (in his absence). How do you refer to him?

Results from Q5 and Q15 are summarized in tables 4.9 and 4.10 respectively as shown below.

Table 4.9. Euphemisms used to refer to the garbage collector (FTA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>riz-zabbāl</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pik-kannās</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitāʢ (ʡ)iz-zibālah</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ũamil (ʡ)in-naDāfah</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>84.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riz-zibālah</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>90.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ũawānī/ no reply</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>94.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.9 shows that the three most frequently used expressions for referring to the garbage collector in an FTA situation are: “ʿāmil (ʔ)in-naDāfah” (عامل النظافة the cleaning worker) [42.5%], and “bitāʢ (ʔ)iz-zibālah” (بتاع الزبالة garbage collector) [35.6%].

**Table 4.10. Euphemisms used to refer to the garbage collector (non-FTA)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vali</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔiz-zabbāl (الزبال)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kannās (كنّاس)</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>68.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitāʢ (ʔ)iz-zibālah (بتاع الزبالة)</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>96.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿāmil (ʔ)in-naDāfah (عامل النظافة)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>97.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the absence of FTAs, as presented in table 4.10, 38.9% of the sample chose to use “bitāʢ (ʡ)iz-zibālah” (بتاع الزبالة garbage collector), 28.7% chose “ʔiz-zabbāl” (الزبال garbage man), and 28% chose “Ṣāmil (?in-naDāfah” (عامل النظافة the cleaning worker).

Other expressions

Some other expressions mentioned by participants, in both the presence and absence of FTAs, are: “ʕammū  bitāʢ (ʡ)iz-zibālah” (عمو بتاع الزبالة uncle who collects garbage) and “bitāʢ ʔir-rabij” (بتاع الراشب the man who collects rubbish)

Discussion of results

In the presence of FTAs, the two mostly used expressions in referring to a garbage collector are: “ʕāmil (?in-naDāfah” (عامل النظافة the cleaning worker) [42.5%], and “bitāʢ ʔizzibalā” (بتاع الزبالة garbage collector) [35.6%]. The former expression is a euphemism, while the latter is not considered a euphemism. The difference in the percentage of usage between both expressions is not big enough to indicate a clear preference of use. Using “ʕāmil (?in-
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naDāfah” (عامل النظافة cleaning worker), as Al-Azzeh (2010) hinted, “reflects an attempt to make this unpleasant job sounds almost attractive” (p. 127), and this is one of the fundamental purposes of politeness principle.

However, in the absence of FTAs, the majority of participants chose the non-euphemistic expressions: “bitaʢ ʡizzibalā” (بتاع الزبالة garbage collector) and “ʡiz-zabbāl” (الزبال garbage man).

It is worth noting that the percentage of subjects who chose the expression “bitaʢ ʡizzibalā” (i.e.garbage collector) was almost the same in the presence and absence of FTAs. This might indicate that this term is considered an orthophemism that is neither degrading nor dignifying, and is widely used in referring to the garbage collector in Egyptian Arabic.

4.1.6. Euphemisms used in case of ‘going to the bathroom,’ and the effect of FTAs:

Questions that dealt with this issue are Q 6 and Q16 of the questionnaire.

Q 6: If you are hanging out with friends from the other gender and you need to go use the bathroom, what would you say?

Q 16: If you are hanging out with friends from the same gender and you need to go use the bathroom, what would you say?

Results from Q6 and Q16 are summarized in tables 4.11 and 4.12 respectively as shown below.

Table 4.11. Euphemisms used to refer to using the bathroom (FTA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vali d</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piring-ilmahammam</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uring (?)-ilm-mayyah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uring ha'ilm bibbi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iring-tuwalit</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iring ha'ilm zayy (?)-in-nas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>58.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.C. (in English)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>63.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iring halabbil nidai? iring-Tabi'ah</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>65.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iring thawani wi gayy</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in Table 4.11, it is clear that the three expressions that are most frequently used in an FTA situation are: “θawānī wi gayy” (Thuwani Wajay) [34.2%], “ʔit-tuwālit” (التواليت French for ‘toilet’) [31.3%], and “ʔil-Hammām” (الحمام bathroom) [24.7%].

**Table 4.12. Euphemisms used to refer to using the bathroom (non-FTA)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valid</th>
<th>ʔil-Hammām</th>
<th>109</th>
<th>39.6</th>
<th>39.6</th>
<th>39.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dūrt (ʔ)il-mayyah</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harūH ʔaṣmil bibbī</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔit-tuwālit</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>84.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haṣmil zayy (ʔ)in-nās</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>85.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.C. (in English)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harūH bīt (ʔ)ir-rāHah</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the absence of FTAs, as shown in table 4.12, 39.6% of the sample chose to use “ٌِٰل- Hammām” (الحمام bathroom), 33.5% chose “ٌِٰت-tuwālit” (التواليت French for ‘toilet’), and 10.9% chose “ٌِٰر-میل bibbī” (ٌِٰروح عمل بیبی I will go pee).

Other expressions
Some of the expressions that were added by some participants, in both the absence and presence of FTAs, are: the English word “restroom” and the French word “vestiaire”.

Discussion of results
There seems to be no preference in referring to that topic neither in the presence nor the absence of FTAs. Both expressions: “ٌِٰل-Hammām” (الحمام bathroom) and “ٌِٰت-tuwālit” (التواليت French for ‘toilet’) are orthophemisms (direct and formal expressions) and were used in both FTA and non-FTA situations; although slightly less frequent in the presence of FTAs. A possible explanation is that the reference to the place they indicate makes them less likely to be
used in the presence of FTAs in comparison to non-FTAs. The word “ʔit-tuwālit” (التواليت French for ‘toilet’), as a foreign word, was used in the beginning as a euphemism, but it was later affected by the ‘euphemism treadmill’ where it lost its euphemistic sense and became a common term like its Arabic equivalent “ʔil-Hammām” (حمام bathroom). The word choice comes in agreement with Al-Azzeh (2010) results where her participants showed preference of using the exact same expressions when referring to going to the bathroom.

The results support Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni (2012) who concluded that their participants hardly ever used taboos when referring to bodily functions, explaining that the human nature tends to conceal the process of excretion and consider it a highly-tabooed topic.

Interestingly enough, in the absence of FTAs, the non-euphemistic, direct expression “harūH ʔa’amil bibbī” (هاروح اعمل ببي I will go pee) appeared as a choice although only 10% of participants chose to use it. The low percentage suggests that the majority refrain from talking bluntly about the topic even in the absence of FTAs; probably for decorum’s sake.

Under “other expressions”, some participants showed preference to using foreign words in both English (restroom) and French (vestier). In Egypt, French is considered a little bit of a higher level than English as it is spoken by fewer people compared to English. So, if “restroom” is a euphemism, “vestier” is also a euphemism but of higher level.

4.1.7. Euphemisms used to refer to diarrhea, and the effect of FTAs:

Questions that dealt with this issue are Q 7 and Q 17 of the questionnaire.
USE OF EUPHEMISM IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC

Q 7: If you are hanging out with friends from the other gender and they offered you some food, but you cannot eat because you have diarrhea. What would you say?

Q 17: If you are hanging out with friends from the same gender and they offered you some food, but you cannot eat as you have diarrhea. What would you say?

Results from Q7 and Q17 are summarized in tables 4.13 and 4.14 respectively as shown below.

Table 4.13. Euphemisms used to refer to having diarrhea (FTA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ﺏﺕﻥٰٰ ٓﺡٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰٰ..
As shown in table 4.13, it is clear that the expression that is most frequently used in an FTA situation is: “baTnī wagṩānī” (بطني وجعاني I have a stomach-ache) with a percent of 91.6% of the whole sample; a clear preference.

Table 4.14. Euphemisms used to refer to having diarrhea (non-FTA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Validation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wândī ṭishāl</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batnī wagṩānī</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>90.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badxul (?!)il-Hammām kitīr</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>96.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbīnā misahilhālī</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>98.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mif gašān</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>99.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, in the absence of FTAs, as presented in table 4.14, 59.6% of the sample chose to use “baTnī wagḏānī” (بطني وجعاني I have a stomach-ache), 30.5% chose “ṣāndī ʿishāl” (عندى إسهال I have diarrhea).

**Other expressions**

In the absence, as well as, the presence of FTAs, two English expressions were suggested by participants; i.e., “ṣāndī diarrhea” (I have diarrhea) and “ṣāndī tummy ache” (I have a tummy ache).

**Discussion of results**

In both FTA and non-FTA situations, the first preference by the majority of participants was the euphemism “baTnī wagḏānī” (بطني وجعاني I have a stomach-ache) which totally avoids mentioning having diarrhea or even hinting at it. However, the percentage of choosing the term was of a lesser extent in the absence of an FTA (59.6%) compared to the situation where an FTA was present (91.6%). The difference between the two situations indicates that FTAs plays a role in euphemizing this topic. The results agree with Abrantes (2005) who stated that bodily functions cause embarrassment and hiding this topic is a face-saving technique. On the other hand, in the absence of FTAs, almost one third of the participants chose to directly mention the topic.
Some participants shared that they mention having diarrhea using English equivalent “diarrhea” which is considered a euphemism when used in non-native language, and others used “stomach-ache” which is a euphemistic way of referring to the topic even in English.

4.1.8. Euphemisms used in referring to ‘old never-married lady,’ and the effect of FTAs:

Questions that dealt with this issue are Q 8 and Q 18 of the questionnaire.

Q 8: If you have to describe an old never-married lady, how would you refer to her (in the presence of her relatives)?

Q 18: If you are talking with your brother/sister about an old never-married lady, how would you refer to her?

Results from Q8 and Q18 are summarized in tables 4.15 and 4.16 respectively as shown below.

Table 4.15. Euphemisms used to refer to an old never-married woman (FTA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vali'd 2ānīsah</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīf mitgawwizah</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>46.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕazbah</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>47.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in table 4.15, the three most frequently used expressions in an FTA situation are: “miʃ mitgawwizah” ( مش متجوزة not married) and “naSibhā lissah magāʃ” (نصيبها لسة ماجاش This part of destiny has not come yet) with 30.9% each, and “single” (in English) with 20.4%.

Table 4.16. Euphemisms used to refer to an old never-married woman (non-FTA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vali</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Čānis</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miʃ mitgawwizah</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the absence of FTAs, by comparing Tables 4.15 and 4.16, 54.2% of the sample chose to use “miʃ mitgawwizah” (مش متجوزة not married), 18.2% chose “naSibhā lissah magāʃ” (نصيبها لسة ماجاش This part of destiny has not come yet), and 12.7% chose “single” (in English).

**Other expressions**

In the absence of FTAs, the expressions: “Hurrah” (حزة free) and “maHzūzah” (محظوظة lucky) are two expressions that some participants preferred to use when referring to an old never-married woman. In the presence of FTAs, the expression “mustaqillah” (مستقلة independent) appeared as a word choice.

**Discussion of results**

In both FTA and non-FTA situations, the majority chose to use the expression “miʃ mitgawwizah” (مش متجوزة not married), which is not a euphemism on its own, but it is not

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>مش متجوزة</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³azbah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>69.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عازبة</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>single (in English)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naSibhā lissah magāʃ</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نصيبها لسة ماجاش</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
offensive either; it is considered an orthophemism. The expression “miʃ mitgawwizah” (مش متجوزة not married) only explains the status as it is, without trying to beautify it or make it sound bad.

This choice was followed by the expression “naSibhā lissah magāʃ” (نصيبها لسة ماجاش this part of destiny has not come yet), which is a more religious choice of words and is considered a euphemism in this case since it underlies the fact that the delay in marriage is all about divine destiny and the woman is not to be blamed by any means.

These results might suggest a lack of social agreement on the best way to refer to an old never-married woman in a manner that does not breach face and reflects positively on speaker’s general decorum.

The expression “ʢānis” (عانس spinister) did not appear even once in results related to FTAs. However, it appeared -although only 1.8% - in the absence of FTAs. The term is considered disrespectful dysphemism and - by observation - many people refrain from using it in the presence of FTAs unless they want to hurt the hearer’s feelings deliberately. The very low frequency of choosing this expression agrees with the hypothesis that this word in specific is considered a taboo. The word choice here differs from Al-Azzeh (2010) results where the majority of subjects (57.05) chose to use the term “ʢānis” (عانس spinister); however, Al-Azzeh explained this by saying that in the Jordanian culture this concept of a single woman is not considered unpleasant and needs to be euphemized.
The “other expressions” suggested by some participants show that they respect and even have a high opinion of the unmarried woman by describing her as “free”, “independent” and “lucky”. The researcher wonders if these choices were suggested by married women who now think the grass is greener on the other side.

4.1.9. Euphemisms used in case of ‘divorced woman,’ as a socially sensitive marital status for women, and the effect of FTAs:

Questions that dealt with this issue are Q 9 and Q 19 of the questionnaire.

Q 9: If you have to refer to a divorced lady, how would you refer to her (in the presence of her relatives)?

Q 19: If you are talking with your brother/sister about a divorced woman, how would you refer to her?

Results from Q9 and Q19 are summarized in tables 4.17 and 4.18 respectively as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.17. Euphemisms used to refer to a divorced woman (FTA)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in Table 4.17, the most frequently used expression in an FTA situation is: “munfaSilah” (منفصلة separated) [54.2%] followed by “kānit mitgawwizah” (كانت متجوزة she was married) [18.9%] and finally “muTallaqah” (مطلقة divorced) [15.6%].

Table 4.18. Euphemisms used to refer to a divorced woman (non-FTA)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valid</th>
<th>muTallaqah</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>مطلقة</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>49.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>munfaSilah</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guzhâ sabhâ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>83.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>säbit guzhâ</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>85.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>divorced (in English)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>90.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kânit mitgawwizah</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>98.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>separated (in English)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>99.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(no comment)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>99.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maHasSalj’nasîb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the absence of FTAs as shown in table 4.18, 49.8% of the sample chose to use “muTallaqah” (مطلقة divorced), while 33.5% chose “munfaSilah” (منفصلة separated).

Other expressions
The expression “qawiyyah” (قوية strong) was mentioned as ‘other’ preferred reference to a divorced woman in the presence of FTAs.

Discussion of results
In the presence of FTAs, the percentage difference show a tendency by the majority to use the expression “munfaSilah” (منفصلة separated), while in the absence of FTAs, almost half of the participants chose “muTallaqah” (مطلقة divorced), and one third of them preferred to use “munfaSilah” (منفصلة separated).

Although the expression “munfaSilah” (منفصلة separated) is an orthophemism, it has less impact on the native ears than “muTallaqah” (مطلقة divorced), a less agreeable term. This might be the reason why the term “muTallaqah” (مطلقة divorced) appeared more frequent in the absence of FTAs with a percentage of 49.8% compared to 15.6% in the presence of FTAs.

There seems to be no tendency for euphemizing the subject matter in the presence of FTAs. The results differ from the conclusion drawn by Qanbar (2011) who has stated that divorce acts as a social defect for women and thus people refrain from talking directly about it in her presence, as it is clear that the participants of this study believe otherwise.
The added expression “qawiyyah” (قوية strong) reveals how some participants think highly of the divorced woman as they understand that going into divorce is a tough experience; thus a divorced woman is strong enough to survive such a thing.

4.1.10. Euphemisms used to refer to “death,” and the effect of FTAs:

Questions that dealt with this issue are Q 10 and Q 20 of the questionnaire.

Q 10: If you have to inform somebody about the death of someone dear to him, what would you say?

Q 20: If you are telling your brother/sister that an actor has died, what would you say?

Results from Q10 and Q20 are summarized in tables 4.19 and 4.20 respectively as shown below.

Table 4.19. Euphemisms used to refer to death (FTA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valīd māt (مات)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawaffā (توفى)</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>🙎Al-lāh yirHamuh (الله يرحمه)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in table 4.19, the two most frequently used expressions in such an FTA situation are: “tawaffā” (توفى his soul returned to God) [33.8%] and “؟Al-lāh yirHamuh” (الله يرحمه May God have mercy on him) [18.9%].
## Table 4.20. Euphemisms used to refer to death (non-FTA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid  màt</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>46.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawaffà</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>76.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?Al-lâh yirHamuh</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>87.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti?įʃ  ?inta / ?il- ba?iyyah fi Hayâtak</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabinã ?istarad wadištuh</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>94.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?intaqala ?ilã raHmati</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>96.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?il-lâh / bîn ?idîn Rabbinã</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, in the absence of FTAs, as indicated in table 4.20, 46.9% of the sample chose to use “māt” (مات died), while 29.5% chose “tawaffa” (توفى his soul returned to God).

Other expressions

In the presence of FTAs, the religion-oriented expression “fī (ئ)il-gannah” (في الجنة in Heaven) was mentioned under ‘other expressions’ preferred in referring to death. However, in the absence of FTAs, not a single expression was added under “other options”; indicating that expressions presented by researcher covered the topic.

Discussion of results

In the presence of FTAs, the majority of participants chose to use the euphemistic expressions: “tawaffa” (توفى his soul returned to God) and “?Al-lāh yirHamuh” (الله يرحمه May God have mercy on him); both of which are religious oriented expressions.
In the absence of FTAs, the majority of participants (46.9%) stated death directly as it is rather than hinting at it; differing from Gomaa and Shi (2012) ECA participants among who 5% only chose the direct un-euphemized word “māt” (مات died). This could indicate that death is considered a sensitive topic in the presence of the deceased person’s family and acquaintances. However, it is still acceptable to talk about it directly if its mentioning would not be hurtful to either the hearer or the speaker. This also indicates that the topic might be less of a taboo to the subjects of the current study compared to Gomaa’s (2012).

These results concur Salih’s (2013) conclusion that the majority of Arabs believe in the inevitability of death, and when they mention ‘death’ they tend to be more concerned about life after death rather than death itself; so they link it with the soul turning back to its Creator, recalling God’s mercy and praying for forgiveness of sins to the deceased person.

However, the results might somehow differ from Farghal’s (1995) and Al-Azzeh’s (2010) beliefs that death is the most euphemized topic in Arabic; especially if we are to consider its use in the absence of FTAs.

The one more expression that was added by one of the participants in referring to death is also a religious oriented one, i.e. “fī (?il-gannah” (في الجنة in Heaven).
Section Two

4.2. Euphemism Strategies used by Egyptian speakers of Arabic when referring to targeted topics

This section aims at discussing euphemism strategies used in referring to targeted topics starting with strategies most frequent euphemisms rely on, then moving to other strategies that “other expressions” reveal. The categorization is in light of Allan and Burridge (1991) classification of euphemism strategies.

Below is a table that illustrates most frequently used euphemisms in addressing targeted topics, strategies on which these euphemisms rely on, as well as ‘other expressions’ added by participants and the strategies they are based on.

Table 4.21. Euphemism Strategies Summary Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Most Frequent Euphemisms AND strategies they rely on</th>
<th>“Other” euphemisms AND strategies they rely on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Impairment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Euphemisms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Euphemisms</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- عندما مشاكل في</td>
<td></td>
<td>- أهل العزم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- رجله</td>
<td></td>
<td>- من ذوي الهمم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strategies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Strategies</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- understatement</td>
<td></td>
<td>- hyperbole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Impairment</td>
<td>Euphemisms</td>
<td>Strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عدى ظروف</td>
<td>understatement</td>
<td>ملءños</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مريض</td>
<td>general-for-specific</td>
<td>مختلف</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة</td>
<td>technical jargon</td>
<td>مختلف</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cancer</th>
<th>Euphemisms</th>
<th>Strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>عدى ظروف</td>
<td>understatement</td>
<td>ابتلاء</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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4.2.1. Euphemism strategies used for referring to a ‘physically-impaired person’ with focus on most frequently used ones.

It seems that the most frequently applied euphemism strategies when addressing physical impairment are: understatement and technical jargon. Understatement is a way of presenting tabooed terms in a less significant way than they really are (Allan and Burridge, 1991). The two expressions “miʃ ʡādir yimʃī” (مش قادر يمشي he cannot walk) and “ʢanduh maʃākil fī rigluh” (عندوه مشاكل في رجله he has problems in his legs) that subjects tended to use the most in the presence of FTAs, could be considered an understatement. Speakers who picked these expressions are endeavoring to lessen the seriousness and multifaceted nature of physical impairment by making the problem sound less critical than it really is.

The expression “min zawī (ʡ)il-ʡiHtiyāgāt (ʡ)il-xāSSah” (من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة with special needs) which a little more than one third of participants used in the absence of FTAs, is more of a technical jargon, according to Allan and Burridge (1991) categorization. It is categorized as such because it is used in the media and written on the disabled signs on the streets, in public transportation and other public places around Egypt. Technical jargon is a learned terminology that is used in referring to a tabooed topic or term.

The “other expressions” revealed more euphemism strategies -though less frequently used; such as, hyperbole and borrowing. Hyperbole is a way of presenting a tabooed issue in an exaggerated language to make an emotional effect on the hearer, according to Allan and Burridge (1991). Both expressions “min ʡahli (ʡ)il-ʡazm” (من أهل العزم a person of self-
determination), and “min zawī (ʔ)il-himamm” (من ذوي الهمم a person of high endeavour) are good examples of the hyperbole strategy as hearing them might probably result in more appreciation and respect for the afflicted person and make the hearer become more compassionate towards the physically challenged person.

The English term “disabled” is clear borrowing from English. Borrowing is the use of words from other languages to function as euphemisms; this is probably because the hearer of a non-native expression or term would less likely associate a negative connotation to them compared to terms from the native language.

4.2.2. Euphemism strategies used for referring to a ‘mentally-impaired person’ with focus on most frequently used ones.

As in the previous section (4.2.1), the majority of participants employed understatement and technical jargon strategies; in addition to general-for-specific strategy when euphemizing mental impairment. The expression “ʕanduh Zurūf” (عندو ظروف he has some issues) is an understatement of the problem, and “min zawī (ʔ)il-ʔiHtiyāgāt (ʔ)il-xāSSah” (i.e.with special needs) is a technical jargon.

Referring to the mentally-challenged as “marīD / ʕayyān” (مرض/عیان sick) is a general-for-specific strategy as being ‘sick’ is an umbrella term that is used here to refer to a specific condition.

Under ‘other expressions’, participants showed preference for using hyperbole and remodelling besides technical jargon. “min zawī (ʔ)il-himamm” (من ذوي الهمم a person of high endeavour)
and “malāk” (ملاك an angel) are examples of hyperbole strategy as the speakers referred to the afflicted as ‘angels sent from heaven’ and as ‘people of high endeavour’ revealing how they look up to them.

The expression “muxtalif” ( المختلف different) might be considered a remodelling to the taboo term “mutaxallif” ( متخلف stupid). Remodeling is a way in which either the onset or rhyme of the dispreferred term is matched with that of a semantically unrelated word; which usually ends as a one-for-one substitution, according to Allan and Burridge (1991). However, this requires an understanding of the speaker’s intention in order to decide whether it is remodeling or just a one-for-one substitution strategy.

Technical jargon strategy is obvious in the use of “٣anduh krumuzūm ziyādah” (عنده كروموزوم زيادة he has one extra chromosome) , and this is how doctors explain the condition of the affected person - especially that with Down Syndrome - to have inherited one extra chromosome than usual; this is applicable if the mentally-challenged person has Down Syndrome.

4.2.3. Euphemism strategies used for referring to ‘Cancer’ with focus on most frequently used ones.

When Arabic speakers refer to Cancer in English instead of using its Arabic equivalent “سِرطان” saraTān,” they are employing ‘borrowing’ euphemism strategy, as a foreign word is believed to have less impact on the hearer than using a word in their native language; it probably sounds
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less harsh and less shocking. This preferred strategy was also clear when participants chose to refer to Cancer as “the Big C” and “tumor” (in English).

The second preferred strategy was general-for-specific as participants chose to use “waram” (ورم tumor). Tumor is a general term for any abnormal growth of cells in the body; it could be either benign or malignant. If the general term ‘tumor’ is malignant, then it refers to the specific ‘Cancer’.

On the other hand, two religious euphemisms were used in referring to Cancer; i.e. “يثيلأ” (ابتلاء divine test), and “مرين (?)القانه” (مرض الجنة the disease that leads to Heaven); this strategy could be considered a hyperbole since the speaker tried to embellish the dreadful disease by giving it a divine characteristic, therefore probably making the fact of having the disease a little more acceptable.

4.2.4. Euphemism strategies used for referring to the ‘maid’ with focus on most frequently used ones.

The majority of participants chose to use euphemistic expressions when addressing this topic, both in the presence and absence of FTAs. The most popular strategy used here is circumlocution. Circumlocution, according to Allan and Burridge (1991), is when a single taboo word is replaced by an entire sentence or a phrase. Participants here replaced the word “maid” or “servant” with the phrase(s) “يس-س الميس-سيدنا في (؟)البيت” (الست التي بتساعدنا في البيت the woman who helps us around the house) and “يس-س الميس-بتنا (؟)” (الست التي بتنظف البيت the cleaning woman), making it sound better and more respectful.
Other strategies that appeared under ‘other expressions’ are borrowing and hyperbole. The French equivalent “bonne” and the English word “the help” are examples of borrowing where participants chose to use English and French languages to refer to the maid. In the expression “TanT ʔillī bitnaDDaf ʔil-bīt” (طنط التي تنظف البيت the aunt who cleans the house), the word “tānt” (aunt) is a hyperbole where the cleaning lady is referred to as an “aunt” to the speaker, for the sake of decorum.

4.2.5. Euphemism strategies used for referring to the ‘garbage collector’ with focus on most frequently used ones.

Most of the frequently used expressions chosen by participants in referring to the garbage collector do not rely on euphemism, except for “ʕāmil (ʔ)in-naDāfah” (عامل النظافة the cleaning worker) which can be regarded as technical jargon strategy since this is how the government, the media and other official bodies refer to the garbage collector. The expression can also be categorized under hyperbole strategy as it is linked to cleanliness which is of great importance in life.

Other expressions brought to light two more euphemism strategies used in this topic: borrowing and hyperbole. The word “rubbish” in “bitāʢ ʔil rubbish” (بتاع الراش the man who collects rubbish) is considered foreign word strategy which is borrowing. And the word “ʕammū” in “ʕammū bitāʢ (ʔ)iz-zibālah” (عمو بناع الزبالة uncle who collects garbage) is a hyperbole as referring to the garbage collector as “uncle” is a sort of embellishment and showing more respect.
4.2.6. Euphemism strategies used for referring to ‘going to the bathroom’ with focus on most frequently used ones.

The most frequently used euphemism in the presence of FTAs is “ثواني وجاي” (θawānī wi gayy") which does not refer to the place nor the action. This deletion or omission of reference is one of the many strategies used in employing euphemistic expressions. Omission is the elimination of tabooed words by making a pause or failing to provide any facts about the tabooed issue, both of which require a contextually based inference by the listener to be comprehensible] (Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni, 2012, p. 732). In the absence of FTAs, the majority chose the expression “الحمام” (bathroom), and this indicates euphemism strategy general-for-specific, as the bathroom is a general term referring to the place where something specific takes place; i.e. urinating.

The expression “التواليت” (التواليت French for ‘toilet’), which is present in both FTA and non-FTA situations, was considered borrowing in the past before the term got so integrated into the Egyptian culture and so frequently used that many people might not realize its foreign origin (another example of the euphemism treadmill). The expression “التواليت” (التواليت French for ‘toilet’) nowadays is almost on the same level as the Arabic word “الحمام” (bathroom); general-for-specific strategy.

These results agree with Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni (2012) and Al-Khasawneh (2018) in their conclusion on strategies used by their subjects (Saudi Arabic speakers) when addressing bodily functions. They mentioned that their subjects tended to use both general-for-specific and omission strategies the most.
Other expressions included the English word “restroom” and the French word “vestiaire”; both of which are obvious examples of borrowing strategy.

4.2.7. Euphemism strategies used for referring to ‘having diarrhea’ with focus on most frequently used ones.

The most frequently used euphemism when referring to diarrhea was “baṬnī wagṢānī” (بطني وجعاني I have a stomach-ache) which is considered a general-for-specific strategy and a part-for-whole strategy as well. Stomachache, a common symptom of many diseases, is used here as a general term to refer to a specific disease which is diarrhea; thus general-for-specific strategy is applied. It could also be a part-for-whole strategy, as having a stomachache is part of the process of having diarrhea. According to Allan and Burridge (1991) part-for-whole strategy is using a part of something to refer to the whole of it.

Other participants preferred borrowing from English when referring to the topic by using the two expressions “ʢandī diarrhea” (I have diarrhea) and “ʢandī tummy-ache” (I have a tummy-ache).

4.2.8. Euphemism strategies used for referring to an ‘old never-married woman’ with focus on most frequently used ones.

The euphemistic expression “naSibhā lissah magāf” (نصيبها لسة ماجاش This part of destiny has not come yet) is a circumlocution where a word was substituted by a longer expression in order to refer to the topic in a roundabout way.
Choosing to use the English word “single” is an application of borrowing strategy where participants borrowed the English equivalent of the word.

Other expressions showed a tendency towards using hyperbole strategy. The three expressions “Hurrah” (حرة free), “maHzūzah” (محظوظة lucky) and “mustaqillah” (مستقلة independent) are instances where participants depicted the single woman in an overstatement and described her as free, lucky and independent; all of which are positive. This word choice raises a question whether those who chose these expressions are unhappily married ladies who believe that being single is a better status.

4.2.9. Euphemism strategies used for referring to a ‘divorced woman’ with focus on most frequently used ones

No obvious euphemistic strategy was used in referring to a divorced woman, except for the term “muTallaqah” (مطولة divorced) which is a Modern Standard Arabic term; thus might be considered a euphemism. In that case, the strategy would be borrowing. However, it is hard to consider it as a euphemism here as this would contradict with the fact that it was used more in the absence of FTAs.

The other added expression was “qawiyyah” (قوية strong) which is a hyperbole. The participant who chose this word looks up to the divorced woman as strong probably because she bore the brunt of the difficult process of divorce.
4.2.10. Euphemism strategies used for referring to ‘death’ with focus on most frequently used ones

The expression “tawaffâ” belongs to the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) lexicon rather than spoken or colloquial Egyptian Arabic. This is considered code-switching between the varieties of language, and this could be classified under euphemistic strategy: borrowing. Borrowing from MSA adds to the formality of the speech, and this is suitable when talking about a fearful topic like death.

As for the expression “للله يرحمه” (May God have mercy on him), it can be regarded as part-for-whole strategy, as praying God to have mercy on someone’s soul is part of what people usually do after someone’s death. Thus referring to the whole ‘death’ or ‘being dead’ by part of it which is making prayers for the dead person. This strategy choice confines with Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni (2012) and Al-Khasawneh (2018) conclusion that their subjects tended to use part-for-whole strategy more likely when addressing death.

The other added expression “في الجنة” (in Heaven) is a hyperbole where the participant is trying to lessen the harsh effect of talking about death by reminding the hearer that the deceased is in a much better place now.

Results of the above section reveal that there is a tendency to use certain euphemism strategies more than others. The most frequently relied upon are the following eight strategies: understatement, technical jargon, general-for-specific, borrowing, circumlocution, hyperbole, omission and part-for-whole. Euphemisms added by participants under ‘other expressions’
revealed their tendency to use four main strategies: hyperbole, borrowing, remodelling and technical jargon. The two mostly used among them are hyperbole and borrowing; while the least used are remodelling and technical jargon.

This chapter displayed and discussed results reached by the current study regarding euphemistic expressions used by Egyptians to refer to sensitive topics in Egyptian community in presence or absence of FTAs, and the strategies expressions used reflect. Results indicated that Egyptian speakers tend to use euphemisms heavily especially in presence of FTAs. Results also reflected some concordance with previous studies conducted in the Arab world about similar topics, as well as some differences. The chapter highlighted both and attempted to explain them.
5. CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND FINAL REMARKS

5.1. Conclusion

The current research investigates the use of euphemism among speakers of Egyptian Arabic. The main objective of this study is to find out the euphemistic expressions most likely used by speakers when addressing certain sensitive topics, such as: physical and mental impairment, Cancer, socially-inferior professions, bodily functions, sensitive marital status for women and death. It also delves into the role of face-threatening acts in the use and choice of euphemistic expressions, and finally, it explores euphemistic strategies employed the most by speakers when addressing each of the aforementioned topics. Findings of the study suggest the following:

- In the presence of FTAs, there seems to be a stronger tendency to use language that hints at, rather than specify, sensitive topics. This result supports Halliday (2001) and Halliday and Hasan (1985) in their observation that the context of situation affects people’s choice of euphemisms. It also concurs with Leech (1983) who stated that applying politeness principle bridges the psychological gap between interlocutors and saves face of both the hearer and the speaker.

- In the presence of FTAs, results suggest that Egyptian speakers of Arabic tend to mostly choose euphemism when addressing topics related to physical-impairment, mental-impairment, cancer, the maid, the garbage collector, diarrhea, going to the bathroom, an old never-married woman and death. This indicates that the speakers consider these topics to be
sensitive and need euphemization to refer to them, hence save their and the hearer’s faces. However, speakers did not tend to use euphemism as much when referring to a divorced woman, which might indicate that the majority do not consider this topic as sensitive and needs to be euphemized. This suggests a social change that would be interesting to verify through further research about the situation in Egypt and other Arab countries.

- In the absence of FTAs, results show that Egyptian speakers of Arabic are less likely to use euphemism when referring to physical-impairment, mental-impairment, the garbage collector and death. However, they still use euphemism in referring to cancer, diarrhea, the maid, and an old-never married woman. This indicates that speakers see the four aforementioned topics as sensitive issues that better be euphemized even in the absence of FTAs.

- Euphemism strategies that most frequently used euphemisms relied upon:
  - In talking about physical impairment, most participants resorted to the usage of two main euphemistic strategies: understatement and technical jargon; other expressions’ strategies were hyperbole and borrowing.

  - In referring to mental impairment, understatement, technical jargon and general-for-specific were the most frequently used strategies. Other expressions’ strategies included hyperbole, remodelling and technical jargon.
- When referring to Cancer, borrowing was on the top of the strategies used, followed by general-for-specific. Hyperbole and borrowing appeared as main strategies in ‘other expressions’.

- As for addressing a socially inferior profession, specifically ‘the maid’, circumlocution was the main strategy, followed by borrowing and hyperbole under ‘other expressions’.

- Technical jargon and hyperbole were the mostly used strategies in referring to the garbage collector, followed by borrowing and hyperbole as revealed by participants’ other expressions.

- For using the bathroom, speakers tended to use omission and general-for-specific strategies most frequently, and added expressions that were based on borrowing strategy.

- General-for-specific was the main strategy used in referring to having diarrhea, followed by borrowing.

- Circumlocution and borrowing are the euphemistic strategies participants tended to use the most when referring to an old never-married woman, as well as hyperbole strategy.
- There is no certain strategy that was used when referring to a divorced woman; participants opted for not euphemizing this topic.

- When referring to death, participants tended to use two strategies more frequently than others, namely: part-for-whole and borrowing. Hyperbole appeared as a strategy under ‘other expressions’ added by participants.

5.2. Pedagogical Implication

Teaching culture cannot be separated from language teaching. Teaching taboo and euphemism, as part of the culture, is crucial if teachers are keen on empowering their students to become competent language learners and active communicators. Results of the current study are hoped to raise cross-cultural awareness of euphemism in order to help bridge the gap between learners’ culture and that of the language they are learning namely Egyptian Arabic. hence facilitate intercultural communication and avoid any possible breakdowns or misunderstanding in communication, in addition to saving face of both the speaker and the hearer, especially in the case of a face-threatening acts (FTA).

Farhgal (1995) concluded the importance of his research by stating that “euphemizing is a rich pragmatic resource whose absence would adversely affect the second-language acquirer’s communicative competence (p. 377). Davies (1987) stated that learners who master pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary of a language “may nevertheless be extremely unsuccessful in their interactions with native speakers of that language if they do not have
some understanding of their norms of politeness.” (p. 79). Wang (2013) concluded his study on euphemism by stating the importance of euphemisms as a crucial component in people’s daily communication. “It can help people form a positive communicative atmosphere to establish harmonious social relationships and eventually to achieve communicative goals … In the foreign language learning process, euphemistic expressions are also capable of promoting successful communication. Therefore, euphemism is of great significance in English learning and teaching” (p. 160).

The usefulness of many euphemisms is also enhanced by the frequency with which they can be used; the learner who memorizes some necessary euphemisms, especially when speaking with people of the other gender, can help save both faces and avoid misunderstandings that might arise from such a situation. They are worth the effort of learning. In their research, Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni (2012) advise syllabus designers to integrate euphemism instances in Saudi Arabia EFL textbooks as euphemism is considered a “significant pragmatic component” and learning it will broaden foreign language learners’ understanding of euphemism usage within the culture of the target language (p. 742).

Salih (2013) suggests that some euphemistic expressions should be presented to foreign language learners at the elementary level as polite expressions that are used to talk about some unmentionable topics. He believes that foreign language teachers’ role is to explain pragmatic and cultural aspects of language besides grammatical and semantic ones. He also urges teachers to designate lessons that allow students to “discuss themes, areas, and ways of creating and forming euphemisms” (pp. 231-232).
The results of this study indicate that euphemism is an important tool that Egyptians will most likely resort to during communication when dealing with certain topics that are sensitive in their community. Failure to use them would be considered rude on the part of the speaker. There is therefore a need to ensure that learners of Arabic are fully aware of this tool and topics it is used to address to ensure learners are able to communicate successfully with native speakers. Hence the study recommends that teachers of Arabic as a foreign language integrate Arabic euphemism in their syllabi, help broaden learners’ awareness and understanding of the use of euphemism; most frequently used euphemistic expressions and euphemism strategies. Hence learners will become more interactive learners and active communicators.

5.3. Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

The current study excludes possible variables that probably affect the euphemism choice and strategies used among participants, such as gender, age, educational, economic and social backgrounds, demographic distribution, religion, dialect, and current profession; among other social variables. It is worth mentioning that the majority of the participants (79.2%) turned out to be females; compared to 20.8% males; this imbalance of participants might have affected the word choice and the use of euphemism as women tend to be more euphemistic by nature compared to men; a limitation that could be avoided in further research by trying to reach almost equal numbers of female and male participants then studying the effect of gender on the use of euphemism.
5.4. Suggestions for further research

The main aim of this research was to shed light on the use of euphemism among Egyptian speakers of Arabic in day-to-day life, regarding frequently used euphemisms, euphemism strategies, as well as the effect of face-threatening acts on the choice of euphemisms. Further research could study the impact of various social variables on the use of euphemisms; gender, age, social background, etc. For example, the gender distribution of the population of the current study turned out to be 79.2% females and 20.8% males. Age distribution was 15.5% between 18 and 24 years old, 57.9% between 25 and 35 years old, 18.1% between 36 and 45 years old, 5.3% between 46 and 55 years old, 2.4% between 56 and 65 years old, and 0.8% between 66 and 75 years old. The research on the use of euphemism could also depend on qualitative research methods, such as: natural data, oral interviews, and/or media analysis. It would be worthwhile to broaden the scope of topics in future research; this could delve into what -if any- euphemisms Egyptian speakers of Arabic use in referring to: a deaf person, a blind person, a poor person, a fat person (these topics were tackled in Jordanian Arabic by Al-Azzeh, 2010).
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USE OF EUPHEMISM IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC


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Appendesies

Appendix A : Questionnaire

دراسة في علم اللغة الاجتماعي حول استخدام متحدثى اللغة العربية (بالأخص اللهجة المصرية) للتلفظ اللغوي في المواقف المختلفة

أرجو الإجابة عن هذا الاستبان الذي يستغرق حوالي 10 دقائق

كل الأسئلة اختيار من متحدثين حسب كأنها إجابة مطابقة أو إجابة متناقضة، بين الإختيارات.

الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة

استمارة موافقة مسبقة للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية

تهتف الدراسة إلى البحث في استخدام متحدثين للغة العربية (بالأخص اللهجة المصرية) للتلفظ اللغوي في المواقف المختلفة التي قد يعترضون لها في مرحلة الرشد. النتائج البحثية قد تؤثر في دورية متخصصة أو مؤشر علمي أو ربما كليهما. لا توجد أي محدوديات من المشاركة في هذا البحث، وكذلك لا توجد أي امتيازات من المشاركة في البحث. إن مشاركتك في هذا الاستبان نموذجية أو الإجابات سيتم استخدامها لأغراض نظرية ولا يتم التعريف على بياناتك الشخصية سواء من قبل الجامعة أو غيرها. الإستمارة من المشاركة في هذا الاستبان لا يمتص أن تكون توقيت أو مكان آخر. ويمكنك أيضاً التوقف من المشاركة في أي وقت من دون قوة أو فضول لهذه الدراسة، أي أنك ملتزم بموقع المشاركة في هذه الدراسة. بعد أن توجهت إلى الدراسة الرئيسية، لن تتمكن من أي إجابات ناجية من هذه المشاركة.

رقم الهاتف
(262) 749 2608

البريد الإلكتروني
nohaenab@aucegypt.edu

بعد قراءة استمارة الموافقة المسبقة للمشاركة في الدراسة الباحثية، هل توافق على المشاركة في الاستبان؟

نعم، توافق على المشاركة في هذا الاستبان

لا، لا أتوافق على المشاركة في هذا الاستبان
Section 2

القسم الثاني

(أرجو تحديد اختيار واحد فقط أو كلاهما لإجابة بعد كل سؤال إلى ما لا نهاية في الاختيارات)

1- لو مضرع توصف شخص معاق جسديًا في وجوه أخوه... هقول إيه؟

☐ 1. نفق
☐ 2. خنزير
☐ 3. قيد

4- من دون الاتياجات الخاصة

☐ 5. على كرسي متحرك
☐ 6. على كرسي جبل
☐ 7. عند مشاكل في رجله
☐ 8. من قادر يمشي

☐ Other...
2. لو مضطر توصف شخص مخلوف عقلياً في وجود أقاربه.. هتفوصف بإي؟

- مخلوف
- مصعل دهاء
- عده لما علقي
- مريض
- ملاك
- عده مشكلة في دماغه
- من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة
- جوان
- عده عدواء
- عده إعاقة عقلية
- retarded
- رتارديد
3- لو عايز تبلغ صاحبك إن حد عزيز عليه مصاب بمرض السرطان.. هقول إيه؟

- عنده السرطان
- عنده الكامئ
- عنده المرض الوجهي
- عنده المرض الباطل
- عنده المرض الغزيث
- عنده التي مايسمي
- عنده الثلم الحطثة
- عنده ورم
- Other...
1. The servant

2. The maid

3. The maid's job

4. The one who is waiting

5. The one who helps in cleaning the house

6. Another...

- 5. If the house was your house and you opened it for him, and you were left alone in the house, you asked him, "Where is the housekeeper?" How do you say that in Arabic?
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6 - لو إنت في قعدة فيها أصحاب من الجنس الآخر، وعازيز/عاززة تروح الحمام، هنقول إيه؟

- 1. هروح الحمام
- 2. هروح دورة المولدة
- 3. هروح أعمل بسي
- 4. هروح التوالت
- 5. هروح أعمل زي النش
- 6. هروح الWC
- 7. هروح بيته الزايدة
- 8. هاني إداء الطارعة
- 9. هنادي مية
- 10. هنادي نفس
- 11. نانى وميا / حاجة

Other...

7 - لو إنت في قعدة فيها أصحاب من الجنس الآخر وبيعبرمو عليك تأكل وإنت مش قادر لإن عندك إسهال، فسألوك عن السبب .. هنقول إيه؟

- 1. عندي إسهال
- 2. بيخني وجماني شوبة
- 3. باخلي الحمام كثير
- 4. نانى مساهلها في زيادة

Other...
USE OF EUPHEMISM IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC

8- لو تتكلم عن بنت قادام أفكارها و عليها تقول إن سنها كبيرة و لسة ماتجوزت، تقول إيه؟

- خانس
- للصأ
- أم مسحورة
- عازبة
- single
- لسة تسبيها ماجليك
- فلها فطر الجوار
- بنت بنوت
- virgin
- عزاء
- باره

Other...
* لو بترصف ست مطلقة قدم أقاربها .. حكول إيه؟

- مطلقة
- متصلبة
- جوزها سابقا
- سابيت جوزها
- divorced
- كانت متزوجة
- separated
- مسارية

Other...
10. لو عايز تقول لحد إن شخص عزيز عليه مات... هقولو إيه؟

1. فلان مات
2. فلان توفى
3. فلان الله يرحمه
4. فلان تعيش إياه
5. فلان توفاه الله
6. بنيا استرد ويعنه
7. بنيا أخذ أمانته
8. فلان انقل للرفق الأعلى
9. فلان انقل إلى رحمة الله
10. فلان البقاء
11. البقاء في حيال
12. فلان رينا اقتحره
13. فلان رينا الفكره
14. فلان رينا رحه
15. فلان قابل وجه كريم
16. فلان بين إين رينا
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Euphemism in Egyptian Arabic</th>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>فلان قال وجه كريم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>فلان بين إخوين ربنا</td>
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<td>فلان الدواء نا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>فلان في روضة الله</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>فلان ارتخى</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>فلان الرحم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
القسم الثالث

(أرجو تحديد الخيار واحد فقط أو كتابة إجابة بذكى سواء تم كتابة الإجابة في الاختيارات)

1- لو يتكلم مع أخوك / أختك عن شخص معاق جسديا قابلته في الشارع ... هل توصفه إرائي؟

○ شايق
○ عيد
○ غبر
○ من دوي الاختيارات خاصة
○ على كرسي معمر
○ على كرسي معدل
○ عدد مشاكل في رجله
○ مش قادر بعملي
○ Other...
2- لو بنتكلم مع أخوك / أختك عن شخص متخلف عقلًا شوفته في الشارع .. هقول إيه؟

- متخلف
- معاق ذهنيًا
- عدده آخر عقل
- مريض
- ساخر
- عدده مشكلة في دماغه
- من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة
- قلبي
- عدده مزرك
- عدده إعاقة ذهنية
- retarded
- ريتارد

Other...
3- لو يتكلم معي أخوك `/ أختاك عن شخص قابلته عندك مرض السرطان ... هنقول إيه؟

☐ 1- عند السرطان
☐ 2- عند الكامرأ
☐ 3- عند المرض الوحش
☐ 4- عند المرض البطال
☐ 5- عند المرض العينين
☐ 6- عند اللي ما ينسى
☐ 7- عند اللهم أحفظنا
☐ 8- عند ورم

☐ Other...
4- لو يتكلم مع أخوك / أختك عن الشغالة (في عقد وجودها) .. بتنقول إيه؟

- خلال الخانة
- الشغالة
- المبزفات
- البيت الذي يتنغف
- البيت الذي يتساعنا في تطيف البيت
- housekeeper كبير
- Other...

5- لو يتكلم مع أخوك / أختك عن الزبال (في عقد وجودها) .. بتنقول إيه؟

- الزبال
- الحمام
- بنا الزبال
- عمل البقالة
- Other...
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1. لو إن كنت في قاعة فيها أصحاب من نفس جنسك، وعايزون كروح الحمام... هنقول إيه؟
   - خروج الحمام
   - خروج دورة الميث
   - خروج أعمال بيبي
   - خروج التوليفت
   - خروج أعمال زى النانس
   - خروج ال WC
   - خروج بيت ارادة
   - هيئتي أنا في الطريعة
   - هناك ميتك
   - هناك نفسي
   - تواقي وجاي / حاجة
   - Other...

2. لو إن كنت في قاعة فيها أصحاب من نفس جنسك، وعايزون كروح إن عندهم "إسهال"... هنقول إيه؟
   - حدي إسهال
   - يعني وعاجلي شويعة
   - يدخل الحمام كثير
   - رنا مسحلها في زيادة
   - Other...
- لو تتكلم مع أخوك / أختك عن بنت وناعز تقول إن سنها كبير ولية متفجورة ... يقول إنه:

- عائشة
- شيماء
- ممجردة
- عازبة
- single
- فائقة قطر الجوار
- بنت بنو ثقيف
- virgin
- عائرة
- بيات

Other...
USE OF EUPHEMISM IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC

* 9. لو بتكلم مع أخوك / أختك عن ست مطلقة... بقول إيه؟

- 1. مطلقة
- 2. مفصلة
- 3. جوزها سافها
- 4. سبت جوزها
divorced
- 5. كانت مجوزة
-separated
- 7. ميلاردة

Other...
USE OF EUPHEMISM IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC

10- لو بقول لأخوك / أختك إن الممثل الفلاني مات .. هكون إيه؟

- 1 - فلان مات
- 2 - فلان توفي
- 3 - فلان الله يرحمه
- 4 - فلان مات
- 5 - فلان توفاه الله
- 6 - رينا استرد وديعته
- 7 - رينا أخذ أمانته
- 8 - فلان التقل إلى الفراق الأعلى
- 9 - فلان التقل إلى رحمة الله
- 10 - فلان الله يطهر
- 11 - البقاء في حيائك
- 12 - فلان رينا اغتاله
- 13 - فلان رينا التكره
- 14 - فلان رينا رحمة
- 15 - فلان قال وجه كريم
- 16 - فلان بين إذن رينا

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14. فلان رينا رجعه
15. فلان قال وجه كريم
16. فلان بين إلينى رينا
17. فلان الدوم لم
18. فلان في دم الله
19. فلان ارثاع
20. فلان الرحم
Appendix B : IRB Approval

CASE #2018-2019-045

To: Noha Enab
Cc: Sara Tarek
From: Atta Gebril, Chair of the IRB
Date: Dec 4, 2018
Re: Approval of study

This is to inform you that I reviewed your revised research proposal entitled "The Use of Euphemism among Egyptian Speakers of Arabic: A Sociolinguistic Study on Euphemistic Expressions and Strategies with the Investigation of the Role of Face, Gender and Age" and determined that it required consultation with the IRB under the "expedited" category. As you are aware, the members of the IRB suggested certain revisions to the original proposal, but your new version addresses these concerns successfully. The revised proposal used appropriate procedures to minimize risks to human subjects and that adequate provision was made for confidentiality and data anonymity of participants in any published record. I believe you will also make adequate provision for obtaining informed consent of the participants.

This approval letter was issued under the assumption that you have not started data collection for your research project. Any data collected before receiving this letter could not be used since this is a violation of the IRB policy.

Please note that IRB approval does not automatically ensure approval by CAPMAS, an Egyptian government agency responsible for approving some types of off-campus research. CAPMAS issues are handled at AUC by the office of the University Counsellor, Dr. Ashraf Hatem. The IRB is not in a position to offer any opinion on CAPMAS issues, and takes no responsibility for obtaining CAPMAS approval.

This approval is valid for only one year. In case you have not finished data collection within a year, you need to apply for an extension.

Thank you and good luck.

Atta Gebril
IRB chair, The American University in Cairo
2046 HUSS Building
T: 02-26151919
Email: agebril@aucegypt.edu