

**T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**



**THE ROLE OF AGE AND GENDER
IN THE USE OF EUPHEMISM IN IRAQI ARABIC
A SOCIOPRAGMATIC STUDY**

M.A. THESIS

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**Department of English Language and Literature
English Language and Literature Program**

Thesis Advisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Akbar Rahimi ALISHAH

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İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ



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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all materials and results, which are not original of this thesis. (06/08/2019)

Qudama Seger

*To the rose of my heart, my spouse Haneen
To my beautiful daughters, Sana and Manar*

FOREWORD

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ABBREVIATIONS

CA	: Classical Arabic
MSA	: Modern Standard Arabic
IA	: Iraqi Arabic
DA	: Discourse Analysis
CP	: Cooperative Principle
F	: Frequency
P	: Percentage

THE ROLE OF AGE AND GENDER IN THE USE OF EUPHEMISM IN IRAQI ARABIC

ABSTRACT

The role of euphemism comes to be a vital part of any language as a tool that people can use to refine their use of language and save their social relationships with each other. Many social factors influence the use of language, such as age, gender, social distance, level of education and region. The current study is an endeavor to investigate the role of age and gender in the use of euphemism in Iraqi Arabic. It was based partially on the study of Al-Azzeh (2010) and Ghounane (2013). A quantitative method was adopted with a questionnaire that consisted of 19 questions. The sample of the study was 150 native speakers of Iraqi Arabic, 85 males and 65 females, from four cities in Iraq; Al-Anbar (the west of Iraq), Baghdad (the center), Mousl (the North) and Basrah (the South). The range of the participants' ages was between 20-60 and above, as they were divided into 6 age-groups. The participants were chosen randomly from all the categories of the Iraqi society without paying attention to their levels of education, occupations, religious or ethnic backgrounds. No one of the participants was chosen according to his religion or ethnicity at all. After data collection, they were encoded and analyzed through a descriptive analysis using (SPSS). The frequencies and percentages were calculated in terms of age and gender. Age category included 5 groups entitled, G1 (20-30), G2 (31-40), G3 (41-50), G4 (51-60) and G5 (61- above). Gender category was identified as 'males' and 'females'. The difference among the percentages of each group was compared with each other and it was decided whether there is a meaningful difference. The findings of the study showed that IA speakers use euphemisms in their social interactions but also they still need to raise their awareness of that use. It is also revealed that age is not a meaningful factor in determining how people use euphemisms. It can be said that age is a dynamic factor that is considered an effective in the language of a society but it is not in another. The rate of effectiveness belongs to the values and beliefs of societies but not to age-differentiation. It was also proved that gender influences the use of euphemism. Women tend to euphemize their expressions more than men but this does not happen always and not necessary applied to all the categories of communication. In certain situations and topics, men become more polite, or both men and women become less polite. This study can make positive contributions helping us interpret the language according to the effect of contextual and social factors. Having a good knowledge of the social and cultural backgrounds helps to understand the appropriate and polite linguistic ways of a society, and, thus, enhances the social relationships among people. This may have its importance in EFL in which learners become aware to whom and how they use language according to the contexts and situations, and that only knowing its vocabulary and structures is not sufficient. In addition, it helps improving the curriculums and teaching methods by bringing such important sociopragmatic facts into effect as an indispensable component of communicative competence. It was recommended that further study be undertaken to investigate the use of euphemisms in relation to other social factors.

Keywords: *Sociopragmatics, Politeness, Euphemism, Iraqi Arabic.*

IRAK ARAPÇASINDA ÖRTMECE KULLANIMINDA YAŞ VE CİNSİYET ROLTÜNÜ

ÖZET

Örtmece rolü, insanların dili kullanmalarını geliştirmek ve birbirleriyle sosyal ilişkilerini kurtarmak için kullanabilecekleri bir araç olarak herhangi bir dilin hayati bir parçası haline geliyor. Yaş, cinsiyet, sosyal uzaklık, eğitim düzeyi ve bölge gibi dilin kullanımını etkileyen birçok sosyal faktör vardır. Bu çalışma, Irak Arapçasında örtmece kullanımında yaş ve cinsiyet rolünü araştırmak için bir çabadır. 19 sorudan oluşan bir anket ile nicel bir yöntem benimsendi. Çalışmanın örneklemini Irak'taki dört ilden 150 yerli Iraklı, 85 erkek ve 65 kadın konuşmacı oluşturdu. Katılımcıların yaş aralığı, 6 yaş grubuna ayrıldıkları için 20-60 yaş ve üstü idi. Veri toplandıktan sonra, (SPSS) kullanılarak tanımlayıcı bir analiz yoluyla kodlanmış ve analiz edilmiştir. Frekanslar ve yüzdeler yaş ve cinsiyet açısından hesaplandı. Yaş kategorisinde G1 (20-30), G2 (31-40), G3 (41-50), G4 (51-60) ve G5 (61- yukarıda) başlıklı 5 grup yer aldı. Cinsiyet kategorisi “erkekler” ve “kadınlar” olarak belirlenmiştir. Her grubun yüzdeleri arasındaki fark birbiriyle karşılaştırıldı ve anlamlı bir fark olup olmadığına karar verildi. Çalışmanın bulguları, IA konuşmacılarının örtüşmelerde sosyal etkileşimlerinde kullandıklarını, ancak yine de bu kullanım konusundaki farkındalıklarını arttırmaları gerektiğini gösterdi. Ayrıca, yaşların, insanların nasıl örtmece kullanacağını belirlemede anlamlı bir faktör olmadığı da ortaya konmuştur. Yaşın, bir toplum dilinde etkili olduğu düşünülen dinamik bir faktör olduğu söylenebilir, ancak başka bir şey değildir. Etkinlik oranı, toplumların değerlerine ve inançlarına aittir, fakat yaş farklılaşmasına değil. Aynı zamanda cinsiyetin örtmece kullanımını etkilediği kanıtlandı. Kadınlar ifadelerini erkeklerden daha çok ifade eder, ancak bu her zaman gerçekleşmez ve tüm iletişim kategorilerine uygulanmaz. Bazı durumlarda ve konularda, erkekler daha kibar olur ya da hem erkekler hem de kadınlar daha az kibar olurlar.

Bu çalışma, dili bağlamsal ve sosyal faktörlerin etkisine göre yorumlamamıza yardımcı olacak olumlu katkılar yapabilir. Toplumsal ve kültürel geçmiş hakkında iyi bir bilgiye sahip olmak, bir toplumun uygun ve kibar dilsel yollarını anlamaya yardımcı olur ve böylece insanlar arasındaki sosyal ilişkileri geliştirir. Bu, öğrencilerin bağlamı ve durumlarına göre dili kimlere ve nasıl kullandıklarının farkında oldukları yabancı dil olarak İngilizce’de önem taşıyabilir ve yalnızca kelime bilgisini ve yapılarını bilmek yeterli değildir / Ayrıca, bu kadar önemli sosyopragmatik gerçekleri iletişimsel yeterliliğin vazgeçilmez bir bileşeni olarak hayata geçirerek müfredatların ve öğretim yöntemlerinin geliştirilmesine yardımcı olmaktadır. Örtmece diğer sosyal faktörlerle ilişkili olarak kullanılmasının araştırılması için ileri çalışmalar yapılması önerilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Sosyopragmatik, İncelik, Örtmece, Irak Arapçasında.*

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Brown and Levinson's theory is a well-known theory of politeness. It is composed of two parts: the first is about the nature of their theory and how it functions during interaction, and the second includes a list of strategies of politeness. Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory is based on the "face" work of Goffman's (1955; 1967). They (1987, p.61) define the concept of "face" as the "public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself". Therefore, a speaker within a society should give efforts to save his/her face and others' faces (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, p.256).

As a tool for communication, language represents how people live and view the world, and reflects their social cultures in their societies. The relationship between culture and language is very deep. Culture clearly affects the way people communicate through its norms, beliefs, attitudes and values. Therefore, Ren and Yu (2013) suggest that it is insufficient to understand a language without understanding the social culture. Ghounane (2013) states that language is the reflection of the social culture. Accordingly, the relationship between language and social culture is inseparable. "Language is rooted in culture, and culture is reflected and passed on by language" (Abbasi, 2012).

Knowing the phonological and grammatical structure of a language is insufficient for an individual to achieve a successful communication with others, but knowing the cultural characteristics is required to understand the acceptability and appropriateness of the used language in its social contexts (Ekwelibe, 2015). That means, as Hammodi (2018) suppose, both pragmatic and sociopragmatic knowledge of a language helps speakers to build a successful linguistic communication and avoid what is called 'Pragmatic failure' that happens when there is a lack of either linguistic or pragmatic competence between the interlocutors. She (Hammodi, 2018) adds that it is not enough to recognize the literal meaning of expressions in a language, it is more important to be aware of how those words could be expressed and interpreted culturally and socially appropriate since each culture has its strategies of appropriateness. In this case, members of a certain society

believe that they have to behave according to their social and cultural values and norms. They understand what is acceptable and what is not, which topics are considered banned or tabooed, and what are the appropriate ways to be used through communicating about these topics freely and politely (Ghounane, 2013).

The relationship between euphemism and politeness is inseparable, as a universal phenomenon, euphemism is a substantial subject that lies under the representation of politeness where people might use in order to show respect in their communication. They notably strive to create new expressions, phrases and words to substitute others considered impolite, unpleasant or socially inappropriate. Euphemism is a way of 'linguistic beautification' in which people tend to beautify their use of language through their communication with each other when referring to some social topics and concepts which are considered forbidden, tabooed, shameful, embarrassed or sensitive, and those are impolite to talk about them freely and directly (Khanfar, 2012).

Similarly, Allan and Burrige (1991, p.11) assert that euphemisms replace "dispreferred expressions" which are considered tabooed, frightening or disagreeable. Actually, what encourages people to use euphemisms is the existence of taboo language. Kenworthy (1991) proposes that euphemisms are strategies for replacing taboos. For Williams (1975), speakers try to find more polite words which are socially accepted when dealing with some topics which are not easy to be expressed directly. Lyons (1981) supports that people use euphemisms in order to avoid taboo words. Also, Hudson (2000) defines euphemism as "the extension of ordinary words and phrases to express unpleasant and embarrassing ideas" (p.198). Accordingly, euphemism is a way people use to "ameliorate their interaction" (Al-Shamali, 1997, p.3).

Here, all languages have different linguistic strategies to be used indirectly the speakers when communicating about sensitive issues, such as medical, sexual and religious topics. Languages employ various kinds of expressions, phrases, words and gestures to give the speakers the opportunity to soften and mitigate their expressions. Accordingly, speakers can smoothly avoid harming or embarrassing the hearers that may negatively affect social relationships and cause breakdowns in social interactions because the use of words can be sometimes harmful and damaging (Altakhaineh & Rahrouh, 2015).

People use euphemisms in different domains in their everyday casual conversations. Sometimes, they find themselves in need of changing their linguistic behaviors by choosing acceptable expressions which do not carry harsh or tough words in order to keep peoples' feelings and faces away from hurting and loosing during communication with each other (Al-Shawi, 2013). Thus, the role of euphemism comes to be a vital part of any language as a tool that people can use to positively keep and refine social relationships with each other, and give a good impression of cultural values and public image (Altaqhaineh & Rahrouh, 2015).

In fact, the level of euphemism use varies from one society to another and from an individual to another according to some socio-cultural variables such as the social distance between the interlocutors, age, gender, social status, religion, educational background, occupation and the level of formality of context. There are social variables such as age and gender in Arabic culture. This variation determines the use of language and contributes to the shape of the euphemism use (Hassan, 2014). Consequently, the use of euphemism, as a universal phenomenon, relies on the dominant cultural norms and values of societies, and the contextual situations in which the social interactions take place (Ghounane, 2013).

Arabic language, like other languages, has several linguistic strategies in which Arabs use in order to show politeness in their communication. Arabic language employs several expressions that have euphemistic forms for various kinds of discourse such as sexuality, death, bodily description, healthy disabilities, addressing terms, professions and diseases, as well as, "it is used for referring to many themes and genres such as political, religious and literary" (Al-Barakati, 2013, p.11). Euphemism is a common rhetorical device used in Arabic poetry, prose and most of literary works, as well as, the Holy Quran, the holy book of Muslims with various euphemistic phrases and expressions. On this basis, the speakers of Arabic around the world continue using euphemisms in their spoken communication paying attention to specific dialectical differences (Al-Hamad & Salman, 2013).

Researchers around the world have studied the use of euphemism in their languages in relation to social factors from sociopragmatic and sociolinguistic perspectives. Euphemism has been investigated in relation to age (Al-Azzeh, 2010; Alotaibi, 2015;

Mofarej & Al-Haq, 2015; Ghounane, 2013; Mwanambuyu, 2011; Moustakim, Yang, Muranaka & Esber, 2018), gender (Al-takhaineh and Rahrouh, 2015; Fitriani, Syarif & Wahyuni, 2019; Karimania and Khodashenas, 2016; Zaiets, 2018; Habibi and Khairuna, 2018; Sa'ad, 2017), educational level (Alotaibi, 2015), religion (Mocanu, 2018), and regional variety (Azzeh, 2010; Mofarej and Al-Haq, 2015). The researcher notices that Iraqi Arabic (IA), as a variety of Standard Arabic (SA), employs various euphemisms for many social, religious, political and commercial topics. Therefore, on the basis of the researcher's knowledge of the linguistic background in Iraq, as a native speaker of IA, this study attempts to explore what euphemisms IA speakers use and for which areas of communication these euphemisms belong to. Moreover, the current study aims to investigate the influence of age and gender in the use of euphemism from a sociopragmatic perspective.

1.2 Significance of the Study

The study of pragmatics in relation to social factors has held the interest and attention of researchers and linguists (Matei, 2011; Majeed and Janjua, 2014; Shams and Afghari, 2011). The benefit of their efforts is to show how pragmatic phenomenon are governed and influenced by social factors which differ from one society to another. Age and gender are main variables in affecting the shape of social linguistic use and shape the way people think and express their thoughts and values.

In particular, the Arabic researchers tried to study the influence of age and gender on interactional use of language such as apologizing (Abu Humei, 2017), emphasizing (Abudalbuh, 2011) and thanking (Al-Khateeb, 2009). Euphemism is a common strategy in Arabic in all its varieties. The Arabic researchers studied the use of euphemism in relation to the social factors and investigated the verbal and nonverbal ways and expressions that Arabs use through their daily spoken communication. Iraqi researchers and linguists didn't study IA in depth and use of euphemism notably because of the lack of resources and research, in time IA as a variety of Arabic, has a lot of linguistic phenomenon that can be studied and researched.

Accordingly, the current study mainly deals with identifying and clarifying the use of euphemism in Iraqi culture in general, and gives much focus on the role of social factors,

specifically age and gender, in euphemism use. Thus, this study is one of the first studies which investigate this field of study in IA. Therefore, it aims to provide a more understanding about the use of euphemisms in IA by identifying common expressions which are used by Iraqi speakers of Arabic. This aim may open a door to recognize the effect of the cultural and social variation in the use of linguistic strategies through every day communication, and raises the notion of the role of the social factors in shaping the language use.

Hopefully, the study may have significant implications for improving communicative strategies for Iraqi speakers of Arabic in general, and also motivates other researchers for further extended studies in this field.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Iraq is one of the Arabic countries which employs Arabic as an official language because the majority of people are Arabic Muslims who use Standard Arabic (SA) for the written and formal use of language whereas there is a variety of Arabic, Iraqi Arabic (IA), for the spoken and informal forms of communication. In the past, IA was always divided according to the religious variation that includes the coexistence of Muslims, Christians, and, as well as, the Jews. Therefore, it was seen that the linguistic situation was affected by the religious beliefs as well as social traditions and customs. Recently, it is supposed that the variation of religious beliefs do not have a high level of influence on how people speak. This is due to the increasing migration of Jews and Christians to other countries since 1950s. In recent years, Islam is the common religion of the majority of Iraqis.

IA varies in how it is used phonologically. Taking an example of the linguistic differences between Mousl and AlAnbar could reveal the effect of region on language. In Mousl, the speakers use the letter /k/ (ق) more than /g/ (ك) which is preferred in AlAnbar. For example, in the speakers of Mousl say /aku:l/ (أقول) 'I say', but the speakers of AlAnbar say /agu:l/ (أقول) 'I say'. The social life in Iraq may vary according to the customs and traditions for each region and city. For example, if we compare Baghdad and AlAnbar, we may find some differences. In Baghdad, the social structure takes an urban style since it is the capital. Whereas in AlAnbar, a Bedouin style is the most covered. This does not mean that the people in AlAnbar live in tents with camels

and do not have modern life. They have a deeper commitment to traditions and ethics. This commitment could be shown in their close social relationships with each other more than in Baghdad. The impact of the strong relationships puts much responsibility on the speakers to keep their relationships safe without breakdowns in their social communication. In addition, they pay much attention to show politeness and respect to others by using strategies and ways which help them to achieve that. Therefore, indirectness is supposed to be used by Iraqis in general, but more in the cities that give the traditions much consideration. As well as, women in these cities are expected to be more polite than men. In the same line, elderly people are expected to have experience in using indirect expressions and euphemisms more than young people.

In general speaking, this linguistic differentiation is the reflection of the society's views and beliefs. For instance, socially, the Iraqi males have more power and freedom to do and say thing than females and females are expected to show more politeness in their language during interaction with others more than males. For example, a hearer can pay attention to when an Iraqi man intends to enter the toilet, he will say: /ari:d ^bu:l/ 'I want to urinate', while a women would prefer to say: /hta:dʒ hamam/ 'I need a toilet'. Here is an obvious signal to the effect of gender position in the Iraqi society in that females are committed to show politeness more than males. Also, it is shown clearly that Iraqi elderly people tend to use polite speech more than adults. For example, when a 60 years old man wants to talk about sexuality he will say: /^ljima'ʕ/ 'intercourse', whereas a 20s young man will say: /^ldʒins/ 'sexuality'. In this case the age effect plays a vital role in the choice of expression for talking about a tabooed topic.

From the above discussion, it could be said that the difference in using language in the use of euphemism is considered an integral linguistic device in IA, and the speakers of IA are aware of using euphemisms concerning many topics through their daily communication. But that use is governed and influenced by many social factors such as age, gender, educational background, occupation and social status. As a result, the researcher notices that it is important to explore to what extent age and gender can affect the Iraqis' language use in general and euphemism use in particular. Hence, the current study is an attempt to investigate the role of age and gender in the use of euphemism in IA.

1.4 Questions of the Study

With respect to the statement of problem, the current study investigates and examines the role of age and gender in the use of euphemisms in IA. The research is based on the three following questions:

- 1- To what extent do Iraqi speakers of Arabic use euphemistic expressions when communicating about topics referring to death, bodily description, diseases, disabilities, occupations, sexuality and honorifics?
- 2- How does age-differentiation influence the use of euphemism by Iraqi speakers of Arabic?
- 3- How does gender-differentiation influence the use of euphemisms by Iraqi speakers of Arabic?

1.5 Definitions of Significant Terms

Euphemism: is a term derived from a Greek word, ‘eu’ means *well* or *sounding good* and *pheme* means *speech*. Euphemism refers to the use of words and phrases to substitute dispreferred expressions (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p.32). The use of euphemism enables us to talk about unpleasant social topics in an indirect and less offensive way in order to avoid embarrassing or shocking others.

Politeness: is an abstract pragmatic term refers to the constraints on human interaction that aim to show consideration and awareness to others’ feelings in both verbal (nonlinguistic) and nonverbal (nonlinguistic) social communication (Yule, 2009, p.119). The focus of Politeness is on the aspect of ‘face’ that is the self-image people introduce to others (Craig, Tracy & Spisak, 1986, p.440). For the purpose of maintaining and preserving others’ faces from being threatened, many strategies of politeness are employed, such as; on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record strategies. Politeness is a universal phenomenon that is common to all cultures in which each culture determines what is considered polite or impolite.

Iraqi Arabic (IA): is a variety of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) language spoken by the majority of Iraqis. It is also known as ‘Mesopotamian’ which is one of the five main dialects of Arabic alongside the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, Syro-Lebanese, Egyptian and Maghreb dialects. IA has a lot of loan words from various languages;

Turkish, Persian, English and even French. It is the language of everyday face-to-face interaction and used in informal occasions (Blanc, 1964; Ridha, 2014).

Beside Kurdish, the official language in Iraq is MSA that is considered the H variety, whereas IA is the L variety in Iraq. Then, it is seen that the linguistic situation in Iraq is diglossic in which two varieties (MSA and IA) are used by the Iraqis. MSA is used for formal uses in media, writing, street signs and conferences, while IA is used for informal speech and daily communication.

The linguistic variation is obvious in IA. It could be varied into three styles; the Southern, the Middle, and the northern styles. For instance, when we observe the way of talking of an Iraqi lives in Baghdad and another lives in Mousl or AlAnbar. The Baghdadi speaker tends to speak in a simple way that is close to MSA (MSA). The Mousli speaker's language sounds as it is affected by Syrian Arabic in which the speaker use the letter /k/ (ق) more than the Baghdadi or the Anbari speakers. Whereas the speaker from AlAnbar chooses the letter /g/ (گ) instead of /k/ (ق). For example, the Baghdadi and Anbari speakers say /galbi/ (گلبی) 'my heart', /agu:l/ (أقول) 'I say', while the Mousli speaker says /k^lbi/ (قلبي) 'my heart' and /aku:l/ (أقول) 'I say' (Al-Amiri & Dhaighami, 2007).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The Concept of Euphemism

In recent years, euphemism captures a great attention and attracts a lot of researchers around the world to study and investigate its position in societies. It has a significant status in all languages and cultures in which it is a tool people use to show politeness and avoid aggression, insulting and embarrassment to each other in order to perform an ideal communication. Therefore, the subject of euphemism has always been fascinating “many linguists, sociolinguists, anthropologists and rhetoricians” (Ren & Yu, 2013).

During human daily interaction, if certain areas of communication are considered unmentionable and the speakers find themselves obliged to mention to these areas, they try to use alternative words and phrases which replace the forbidden ones as a linguistic strategy of expression euphemizing. Basically, the origin of the term ‘*euphemism*’ derives from the Greek word “*euphemismos*”, the prefix “*eu*” means “good” and “*phemi*” means ‘speaking’, then the word gives the meaning of “speaking well” (McArthur, 1992, p.387). It is defined in the dictionary of Merriam Webster (1989) as “an inoffensive expression substituted for another that may offend or suggest something unpleasant”. The New Oxford Dictionary of English (1998, p.634) defines euphemism as “a mild or indirect word or expression substituted for one considered to be harsh or blunt when referring to something unpleasant or embarrassing”.

In the same line, Howard (1985) suggests that euphemism is the substitution of an offensive expression with smoother and more circumlocutory one. Euphemism is a way of referring to something indecent or unpleasant in a more agreeable way by substitution the indecent expression by another pleasant one. Euphemism gives people the chance to deal with tabooed or vexatious subjects, for example, death, crime, disease, and sexuality (Leech, 1981). Rawson (1981, p.1) describes euphemisms as “powerful linguistic tools that are embedded so deeply in our language that few of us, even those who pride themselves on being plainspoken, never get through a day without using them”.

Crespo (2005) describes euphemism as a vital tool for the expression of politeness in a substantial way through the indirectness which helps to avoid offence and insures politeness. Without euphemism, a sense of vulgarity, discourtesy and even incivility would be linked to languages as Enright (1985, p.29) said: “A language without euphemisms would be a defective instrument of communication”. Cobb (1985) maintains that presenting a situation, a person or an object agreeably and politely rather than offensively is the main purpose of using euphemism. Through euphemism, speakers can hide an unpleasant truth and soften indecency (Trinch, 2001).

People use euphemisms in different domains in their everyday casual conversations. Sometimes, they find themselves in need to change their linguistic behaviors in certain situations by choosing acceptable expressions which do not carry harsh or tough words in order to keep peoples’ feelings and faces away from hurting and loosing during communication with each other (Al-Shawi, 2013). Interestingly, Asher (1994, p.1180) emphasizes that euphemism enables the speaker to speak about what is “unspeakable”. Briefly, unlike dysphemism which means “making something sounds worse”, euphemism means “making something sounds better” (Allan & Burrige, 2002, p.1).

Rawson (1981) classified euphemism into two main types, positive and negative. Positive euphemism refers to speakers’ attempts of inflating and magnifying the euphemized items to make them grander and more important as a way of exaggerating. While negative euphemism “deflates and diminishes and are defensive in nature, offsetting the power of tabooed terms”. It reduces negative values which are related to negative topics such as war, poverty, crime, etc. (Radulović, 2012).

Many studies agree that politeness could be a vital factor that motivates speakers to euphemize their expressions when they communicate. Brown & Levinson (2007, p.71) referred that “the social distance” between the speaker and hearer is one of the social factors that affects the use of euphemism, and it depends on the rest of the social factors (such as; gender, age, class, ethnicity, education).

2.2 Theories on Euphemism

Pragmatics looks at using language in an appropriate and polite way with a taken consideration into the meaning in its socio-cultural context. That means, pragmatics aims to study the language usage that is driven and affected by various social factors

within speech communities. In other words, pragmatics here overlaps with sociolinguistics to give more understanding and comprehension of the language usage in its social life (Ekwelibe, 2015). Since this study analyses the role of age and gender in the use of euphemism in IA from a sociopragmatic perspective, therefore, Speech Act Theory, Politeness Theory and Discourse Analysis are explained below in which euphemism is an indirect speech act and a linguistic strategy of politeness.

2.2.1 Speech act theory

The meaning of speech act is that speakers use language not only to compose speech, but to do things and perform actions, such as promising, requesting, ordering, apologizing, greeting, thanking, advising, etc., when specific conditions are met. In other words, these utterances are not only used to be said and judged to be true or false like ‘constatives’, but they have a performative function and social effect. These utterances were described as ‘performatives’ by Austin (1962) who firstly presented the concept of speech act (Hassan, 2014).

In order to be successful and effective, performative utterances require certain conditions which are called “felicity conditions”. These conditions briefly are; first, an existence of a conventional procedure that specifies who must utter particular words and in which circumstances. Second, the procedure must be executed completely by all the parties. Third, the procedure must be conducted by all the participants with particular thoughts, feelings and intentions (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, pp.249-250). If these conditions are met to a speech act, then the act is “happy or felicitous”, but if they are not, then the act is “unhappy or infelicitous”, as mentioned by Austin (1962, p. 18).

The problem with Austin’s conditions of felicity is that there is a consideration only to the intention, circumstances, completeness and correctness of utterances without relating to the propositional content of the utterance. Therefore, Searle (1969) extended these conditions and addressed the rules that are necessary to make a speech act. For example, in order to make an utterance a speech act of promise, it must be governed by the propositional content, preparatory, sincerity, and essential rules/conditions.

Moreover, Austin (1962) analyzed speech acts on three kinds: locutionary acts, illocutionary acts, and perlocutionary acts. Locutionary act refers to the utterances that are used by the speakers. He mentioned that all constatives and performatives are

typically locutions. Illocutionary act (also known as illocutionary force) is the intention of the locution, that means, when a speaker says something, he performs an act. While perlocutionary act is defined as the actual effect that lies on the hearers that motivate them to do something (Hassan, 2014).

Austin (1969) proposed an example that when a speaker utters a sentence like: “Don’t smoke!”, it is not only a performing of a locution act, but it performs an illocutionary act that implements an act of advising or even ordering the hearer to stop smoking. As a result, a perlocutionary act is performed if the hearer leaves smoking as an effect of the illocutionary act (pp.92- 101).

Though most utterances are explicitly performatives which include clear declarations of acts such “I request you pass the salt to me”, there are also different ways in which utterances can be implicitly performed. For the above mentioned example, it is possible for the speaker to say: “Could you pass the salt?” or “Would you pass the salt?”. Both utterances are not understood as questions by the hearer but requests (Björgvinsson, 2011). That means the speaker can perform an utterance directly and indirectly. Those utterances which are performed indirectly are called “Indirect speech acts”. That is, speech act is not performed by only the uttering of strings of words which have literal meanings and carry the speaker’s intention, rather, it might be indirectly performed (Searle, 1999, pp.150-151). It can be concluded in what Wardhaugh & Fuller (2015, p.252) suggest that to be able to understand how a speaker performs a certain speech act, it is necessary to take into consideration understanding his/her intent and “the social context in which the act is performed”.

Then, understanding the intended or implicated meaning of an utterance requires a kind of a systematic agreement between the addressees in which the speaker and hearer cooperate to make their conversation successfully done. That means both of them must have a sense or an attitude of cooperation to avoid misunderstanding and breakdowns in communication. Therefore, Grice (1975, p.45) suggested the notion of Cooperative Principle (CP) and said: “make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged”. CP enables the addressees to make assumptions about the intentional meaning of the speakers through communication. It is divided into four maxims, or principles; “maxim of quantity, maxim of quality, maxim of manner, and

maxim of relation”. The maxim of quantity indicates to the quantity of information that requires speakers to make their contribution neither more nor less informative. The maxim of quality requires speakers to say what is true and with an adequate evidence. The maxim of relation requires speakers to be relevant. Whereas the maxim of manner requires speakers to be clear and brief, and avoid ambiguity or obscurity (Grice, 1975, pp.45-47). In addition, these maxims can be flouted when the speaker chooses to make a specific speech act indirectly by implying the meaning or making what is called “implicatures”. That flouting refers to an absence or ignorance of one or several maxims occur within an utterance. Under the term of implicature, the interpretation of literal form of words is not sufficient for the hearer to understand the meaning but he/she must make efforts to create some inference depending on context (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, p. 254).

2.2.2 Theory of politeness

People use euphemisms to show politeness. Politeness is a universal phenomenon of communication that exists in all languages and cultures as a crucial element in human social interaction in which it allows people to communicate and interact smoothly and appropriately by showing regard and concern to other’s feelings. Speakers find communication difficult to be achieved without politeness. Politeness can be studied in regard to the relationship between language use and society or social context. Therefore, it falls under the field of sociopragmatics (Leech, 2014).

Cruse (2006) supposed that through politeness speakers can reduce “negative effects” and increase “the positive effects” of what is said on the hearers’ feelings (p.131). Similarly, Lakoff (1990, p.34) asserts the role of politeness in facilitating human social interaction through “minimizing” likely conflicts and clashes through communication.

Brown and Levinson’s theory is the famous theory of politeness. It is composed of two parts, the first is about the nature of their theory and how it functions during interaction, and the second includes a list of strategies of politeness. Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory is based on the “face” work of Goffman’s (1955, 1967). They (1987, p.61) define the concept of “face” as the “public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself”. Therefore, a speaker within a society should give efforts to save his/her face and others’ faces (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, p.256). In this vein, in order to be polite,

the speakers tend to be aware and show consideration for the hearers' faces (Yule, 2006). Face is composed of and classified into two aspects, negative face and positive face. These aspects are the basic wants of every member within a society who strive to get satisfaction of their positive and negative face. Therefore, speakers must pay much attention to save the face wants of the hearers (Abdul-Majeed, 2009).

“Negative face is the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. freedom of action and freedom from imposition. Positive face is the positive consistent self-image or personality (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants”. Thus, negative face refers to the speaker's desire to be free from imposition and to be independent without constraints through communication, whereas positive face refers to the speaker's wish to be approved and respected by others (Brown & Levinson, 1987, pp. 61-62).

While they try to save and preserve their faces and others' faces, the speakers may be obliged to make face-threatening acts (FTA) in their everyday communication. FTA concept is defined as “those acts that by their very nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or speaker” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p.65). In other words, FTA threaten the negative or positive face of the hearers. For this purpose, the study of politeness aims to soften such threatening of face that happens in various contexts (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, p.257). In this vein, Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 68) categorize several politeness strategies in which speakers can follow to avoid or minimize committing potential FTA. “They are; (1) bald on-record, (2) positive politeness, (3) negative politeness, and (4) off-record strategies”. These strategies can be summarized in the figure below: (Brown & Levinson, p.69)

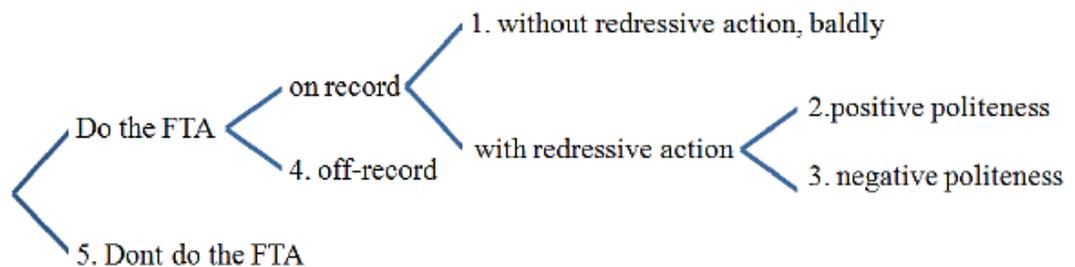


Figure 2.1: Politeness strategies

Source: Aliakbari & Moalemi (2015)

Bald on-record strategy is considered the essential strategy for expressing an act directly. A speaker in this strategy commits the FTA in an efficient way without any efforts to minimize the threat of the hearer's face. Such FTA might be committed without a redressive action (baldly), such as in the use of an imperative form, for example; 'come here now!', or with a redressive action that mitigates the degree of FTA to the hearer by using additions and modifications; adding the word "please" in requesting for example. The redressive actions could be oriented toward maintaining the negative face, by negative politeness strategy, or the positive face, by positive politeness strategy of the hearer (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Boubendir, 2012; Abdul-Majeed, 2009; Said, 2011; Kedveš, 2013).

Generally, positive politeness and negative politeness strategies are employed to avoid face threatening acts and get the hearers' "face wants satisfaction" (Cutting, 2002, p.45). Positive politeness strategy is employed in regard to satisfying the hearer's positive face wants and minimizing face-threatening. Therefore, positive politeness is seen as a strategy that motivates solidarity and familiarity between speakers and hearers. While negative politeness strategy maintains the hearer's negative face wants from being imposed or damaged and preserves his/her freedom of action (Kurniawan, 2015, Kedveš, 2013, Said, 2011).

Unlike the on-record strategy, off-record is the final strategy which is the most indirect way for performing acts and minimizing the FTA that may confront the hearer's face. It means that speakers tend to say something differs from the intended meaning or to say it in general, and, as a result, the hearers start to infer and interpret the real meaning of the utterance (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Brown and Levinson (1987, p.74) propose three factors that influence how speakers can assess the degree of seriousness of certain FTA, they are; the social distance factor that concerns the degree of familiarity and closeness between the speaker and the hearer which could be determined through the influence of some social factors (such as; age and gender), the relative power factor refers to the contrast between the speaker and the hearer in terms of power, the more powerful person has the authority to control the other and thus the degree of politeness becomes higher or lower to each other, and the final factor is the absolute ranking of the FTA that is: "culturally and situationally defined

ranking of impositions by the degree to which they are considered to interfere with an agent's wants of self-determination or of approval" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p.77) (Kurniawan, 2015).

In addition, Redmond (2015) believes that many factors influence the degree of threatening that the speakers make during interaction, such as; the relationship between the interlocutors, the significance of making such threat, the social and cultural norms, and the expectations or the estimated demands which could be determined by the situation. In short, the conceptualization of politeness is culturally and situationally specified in which it might differ from a culture to another and from a situation to another. People of a particular social group or speech community have sufficient knowledge of their language use and the shared norms within their society, therefore, based on the social variables, they specify the forms and strategies of politeness which are accepted and appropriate by all the members.

2.2.3 Discourse analysis

Through studying language in use we may observe the way language is used not only the elements which constitute it. This way of observing is called "discourse analysis". Yule (2006, p.124) defined the term 'discourse' as "language beyond the sentence, and the analysis of discourse is typically concerned with the study of language in text and conversation". Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015, p.403) defined 'discourse analysis as "a term used to describe a wide range of approaches to the study of texts and conversation". Johnstone (2008, p.3) believes that addressing the term 'discourse analysis' instead of "language analysis" gives a sign that we treat the way language appears in use not only "as an abstract system", that is, how people use language to express what they feel and think. Johnstone (2008, p.6) adds that DA on the way meanings could be made by arranged information by using sentences or by "the details" which the person who is in a conversation could give and take, and the way the hearer interprets what has been said. Yule (2006, p. 124) summarized the definition of DA by saying that when "language users successfully interpret what other language users intend to convey. When we carry this investigation further and ask how we make senses of what we read, how we can recognize well-constructed texts as opposed to those that are jumbled or incoherent, how

we understand speakers who communicate more than they say, and how we successfully take part in that complex activity called conversation”.

In the field of pragmatics, it is known that knowing the syntactic and morphological system of a language is insufficient but having knowledge of the way paragraphs and sentences are structured to interpret and be interpreted successfully through social interaction. For example, knowledge of the utterances which create sentences as an act of apology or accepting an invitation (Johnstone, 2008). Therefore, for example, Radulovic (2016, p. 98) suggests that discourse in a research on “concealing euphemisms and public discourse” could be descriptively and critically analyzed. She quoted the expression of Kumaravadivelu (2006, p.70) which described the critical analysis by saying it is “connecting the word with the world, recognizing language as an ideology not just a system”, with “taking into account social, political and cultural aspects of communication” (Radulovic, 2016, p.98).

2.2.4 Language and gender

Gender is one of the factors that constitutes the linguistic variation in social contexts. It is believed that “gender is socially constructed rather than natural” (Cameron, 1998, p.271). Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) stated that the notion of ‘gender’ is culturally established, and societies differ in deciding what is considered masculine or feminine. They (Wardhaugh & Fuller, p. 313) add that “gender identities, like other aspects of identity, may change over time, and vary according to the setting, topic, or interlocutors”.

Albanon (2017), in his study about gender and tag-questions in Iraqi dialect, discussed how men differ from women in the way of using language as women use positive politeness whereas men use negative politeness since the common idea is women tend to be more polite and have softer speech style than men. This difference in language use between men and women relies on the individual’s view of the language functions and purposes. Lakoff (2004, p.84) suggested that “men are expected to know how to swear and how to tell and appreciate the telling of dirty jokes”, whereas women tend to euphemize their speech by using more polite expressions. Lackoff (2004, p.80) proposed that “women are experts at euphemism while men carelessly blurt out whatever they are thinking”. Gao (2008, p.11) emphasized that “women are more polite, indirect and

collaborative in conversation, while men are more impolite, direct and competitive”. Tennen (1990) found that women are less comfortable than men when they speak in public. Holmes (1992) explained that women tend to use standard form of language more than men. Al-Harahsheh (2014) stated that it is preferable for Jordanian women not to utilize the speech style of men since it is considered inappropriate; instead, they have to use style that indicates their femininity.

2.3 Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) & Iraqi Arabic (IA)

Arabic is considered as one of the Semitic languages which constitute a subgroup of the Afro-asiatic family of languages. Speakers of 23 Arab countries conduct Arabic as their official language. The sociolinguistic situation of Arabic language is described by the common phenomenon of diglossia which means the existence of two varieties of the same language side by side (Bassiouny, 2009). According to Wardhaugh & Fuller (2015), diglossia means that there are two distinguished varieties exist within the same speech community; each variety is used for a set of functions and under certain circumstances which are completely different from the other. Those varieties might be called “high (H) and low (L)”. In case of Arabic, Classical Arabic is the H variety, and the colloquial Arabic is the L variety (pp.90-91).

Classical Arabic (CA) is the language of the book of Islam, The Holy Qura’n. It is the language of ancient Arabic poetry and prose. CA is also called Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), the latter is the modernized form of CA. Both CA and MSA are similar in structure but different in style and vocabulary in spite of they both refer to ‘/al-lugha al-fusha/’ and are the H variety of Arabic (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, p.94). MSA is the language of the literal and written form. It is employed in all over the Arab countries to be used in formal occasions such as education, media, conferences, sermons and lectures. Whereas the colloquial Arabic is employed for spoken social communication in everyday life (Alkalesi, 2007).

The researcher notices that MSA is the lingua franca among the Arabs in general, since the existence of the Arabic dialects variety makes many lexical differences among the Arabic countries. For instance, some lexical word in Tunisian Arabic are not understood by the Iraqis, Therefore, when a Tunisian meets an Iraqi, there is a kind of confusion

happens about using some words by both, as a result, they tend to use MSA as a lingua franca to understand each other. For example, the Tunisian word /bar (بار) ('a lot' is not used in IA, as the speakers of IA use /hwai^/ (هوايه) 'a lot'. So, the Tunisian and Iraqi communicators prefer to use /kaθi:r^n/ (كثيراً) as a word from MSA that can be understood easily by both of them.

Ridha (2015) explains that the existence of the diglossic difference between MSA and the colloquial varieties of Arabic might be formed on some linguistic levels; lexically in which there are words exist in MSA but they do not in other varieties, phonologically when some words are exist in MSA and other varieties but differ in the pronunciation, morphologically and syntactically in which there are certain forms and rules exist to a certain variety but do not in MSA or another variety, and finally semantically when given same words in both MSA and a certain variety give different meanings.

Ridha (2015) assumes that Arabic speakers learn MSA in a formal way through educational institutions, such as schools and universities, while they learn the regional or local varieties "naturally" through their social interaction with parents and environment to become their mother tongue. Holes (2004) states that Arabic speakers learn their own spoken dialects before joining the educational institutions. Sometimes, it is possible to those speakers to use both MSA and their Arabic dialect in their speech but it is not easy for most of them to use MSA only. In addition, they use MSA during communicating with people speak other dialects or varieties to facilitate and expand the range of understanding through their communication (Ridha, 2015).

Versteegh (1997, p. 145) classifies the Arabic dialects into five groups; "The Arabian peninsula dialects, Mesopotamian dialects, Syro-Lebanese dialects, Egyptian dialects, and Maghreb dialects". Moreover, Versteegh (1997, p.156) comments that "during the early decades of the Arab conquests, urban varieties of Arabic sprang up around the military centers founded by the invaders, such as Basra and Kūfa. Later, a second layer of Bedouin dialects of tribes that migrated from the peninsula was laid over this first layer of urban dialects". IA is one of the Mesopotamian dialects. It is used by Iraqi speakers of Arabic (Alsiraih, 2013). As an Arabic country, Iraq has various social minorities and groups, Arabs, Kurds, Yazidis, Mindais, Christians, Turkmans and Armans. Therefore, various languages and varieties are spoken in Iraq, such as; Arabic,

Kurdish and Turkmanian. Like most of the Arabic countries, the linguistic situation in Iraq is diglossic. MSA is the H variety and the colloquial Arabic is the L variety for Iraqi speakers of Arabic. Till the beginning of 1950s, before the migration of Jews from Iraq to Israel, the linguistic situation of Iraq introduced an enchanting mosaic among the Arabic countries in which there were three distinguished Arabic dialects; “Muslim Baghdadi, Christian Baghdadi and Jewish Baghdadi” (Holes, 2007, p.125).

Through his investigation of the linguistic situation of Baghdadi dialects, Blanc (1964) concluded that the linguistic variety in Baghdad was religiously influenced more than regionally in which there were three religious groups; Muslims, Christians and Jews, who lived together in Baghdad, as a result, three communal dialects were spoken; Muslim Baghdadi, Christian Baghdadi and Jewish Baghdadi. Wardhaugh (2006, p.50) discussed the linguistic framework in Baghdad as Muslim, Christian and Jewish people spoke distinct varieties of Arabic. The variety of Muslims was the “lingua franca” among the three groups while Christian and Jewish varieties were used only by the members within each group. Moreover, Versteegh (1997) classifies Iraqi Arabic dialect of Baghdad into two types; “*qaltu* and *gilit (gəlat)*”, which are both derived from the verb “*qultu*” that gives the meaning of “I have said” or “I said” in CA. The *qaltu* dialect is spoken by the non-Muslim groups, Jews and Christians, whereas Muslims speak the dialect of *gilit (gəlat)*(p.156). The Baghdadi dialects of Christians and Jews are considered as descendants of medieval Iraqi Arabic, while the dialect of Muslims is stated as a dialect of a “Bedouin origin”. That means, unlike the *qaltu* dialect of Christians and Jews, the dialect of *gilit (gəlat)* is classified as “a dialect of Bedouin type” (Al-Wer & De Jong, 2009, p. 17).

From another perspective, Jastrow (2007) gives a different classification of those dialects which is based on a religious and geographical perspective. Ridha (2014) explains that classification in which the *qaltu* dialect involves three groups; Tigris group, Euphrates group and Kurdistan group. Tigris group involves: Muslims, Christians, Jews, and Yazidis speakers of Mosul, Muslims speakers of Tikrit, and Jews and Christians speakers of Baghdad and southern Iraq. Euphrates group involves: Muslims and Jews speakers of Ana and Hit. While Kurdistan group involves speakers Sendor, Aqra, Arbil, Kirkuk, Tuz Khurmatu and Khanaqin. On other side, the dialect of *gilit (gəlat)* involves Northern and central Iraq group which consists of rural dialects of northern and central

Iraq, areas of Sunni Iraqis, and Southern Iraq group which consists of rural dialects of southern Iraq and urban Muslim dialects.

There are many differences between the *qaltu* and *gilit (gəlat)* dialects. For example, /q/ reflex, although it is pronounced as /q/ in MSA, Jews and Christians also pronounce it as /q/, while Muslims pronounce it as /g/. More examples, Jews and Christians say /qal/ 'he said'/qahwa/ 'coffee', and Muslims say /gal/ /gahwa/. In the same circle, /k/ reflex is pronounced /k/ in *qaltu* dialect such in "/kan/ 'it was' but /č/ in *gilit (gəlat)* dialect /Čan/" (Blanc, 1964, 26; Holes, 2007, p.128). The researcher also notices that the use of the pronoun /ʌna:/ (أنا) 'I' differs in some regions. For example, in Heet, a town in AlAnbar, the speakers use /ʌna/ (أنا) 'I', in Basra, they use /a:na/ (آنه) 'I', while in Baghdad and Ramadi, the center of AlAnbar, the speakers use /a:ni/ (أني) 'I'.

Another issue a researcher can recognize is the influence of many non-Arabic languages on Iraqi Arabic dialect. Shalawee & Hamzah (2018) investigate the linguistic impact of Turkish language on IA as a result of the historical interaction during the period of Ottoman empire of Turks in Iraq. They (2018) notice that Iraqis use various Turkish suffixes for various purposes. Iraqis add /çi/ in the end of names to refer to occupations; Bençerçi (the mechanic who repairs car punctures), Hadakçi (the gardener), Kebabçi (who makes Kebab), Golçi (Goalkeeper). In addition, the negative suffix of /siz/ that means 'without' in English is used by Iraqis for offending someone, such as; Edebsiz (impolite), Sharafsiz (dishonest), Dinsiz (faithless). (3) The suffix /mu/ at the end of words or phrases as a form of questioning or asserting. (4) The speaker adds /li/ suffix when he refers the origin of someone or something, for example; Osmanli (from Ottoman origin). Moreover, the researchers (2018) mention some Turkish vocabulary in IA, such as; abla (sister), Boş (Empty), Boye (Boya) paint, Buğçe (Bohça) bundle, Cezme (Çizme) boot, Cunte (Çanta) bag, Çây (Çay) tea, Çatal fork, Dondurme (Dondurma) ice cream.

Additionally, Abdullah & Daffer (2006) in their investigation of English loan words of Arabic in the southern part of Iraq found many English words are used by the speakers and give the same meaning of English, such as; /fi:t/ fit, /diktör/ doctor, /fri:zar/ freezer, /ba:jib/ pipe, /gla:s/ glass, /tʌlifon/ telephone, /smint/ cement, /tilivizjion/ television.

2.4 Euphemism in Arabic

The Arabic linguists gave a great significance for the concept of euphemism. Some of them utilized different terms for euphemism and connected it to the term of 'kinaya' which means 'metonymy', while others discussed it under the terms of "/talatuf/, /husn Altarid/ (euphemism, beauty of innuendo), /Almuhasin allafdi/ (verbal beautification), /tawriah/ (equivocation), and /ramz/ (symbol)" (Khadra, B. & Hadjer, O., 2017, p.5). Likewise, Abu-Zalal (2001) asserts that terms such as; /kinaya/, /talatuf/, /tahsi:n Allafd/ and /Altari:d/ are also used to refer to the way of expressions euphemizing.

Al-Barakati (2013) emphasizes that the early Arabic linguists refer to the Arabic term of 'kinaya' (metonymy) to explain and study the concept of euphemism. According to Atya (2004, p.15-17), 'kinaya' is the metaphorical use of language. Al-thalibi (1998) says that /kinaya/ enables the speaker to avoid elaboration of offensive and prohibited expressions which lead to unacceptability from the society. He adds that /kinaya/ is a linguistic tool that allows the speaker to say and express whatever in his/her mind.

Al-Mubarid (1997) says that 'Kinaya' could be used to hide or cover unpleasant or tabooed expressions by using other expressions give the same meaning. He adds that it also can be used for glorification and honorification, for example, saying /abu fula:n/ 'father of someone' is used by the speaker to show respect for the hearer. Al-Atiq (1985) suggests that 'Kinaya' enables the speaker to talk about social or religious tabooed topics freely without making a type of embarrassment or offence.

2.5 Euphemisms Categories in IA

In terms of communication, many linguistic areas Arabic are regarded to be tabooed and should be euphemized by speakers to achieve many purposes. Some euphemisms are used in order to show politeness, avoid embarrassment and insulting, and soften the speech. Relying on observing the common language in the Iraqi society, the researcher selected the most common euphemisms in IA which are used by the speakers regarding death, sexuality, bodily description, health diseases and disabilities, honorification and occupations.

2.5.1 Euphemisms of death

It is common that people around the world use euphemisms for death. Death is a topic that speakers try to avoid communicating about directly because it is shocking and painful for the hearers. So, the speakers strive to employ euphemistic expressions as alternatives to express death indirectly. Death for Allan and Burridge (1991) is a “fear-based taboo” which includes many forms of fear, fear of losing a dear person, fear of body corruption, fear of evil spirits and what happens after death (p.153). Therefore, people attempt to invent indirect and euphemistic expressions to express freely about death. This phenomenon is so clear in Arabic.

Notably, most of the Arabic countries share the same euphemisms of death since the Arabic culture is based on a religious background, especially for Muslims, they take their understanding of death from the Islamic concept which states that death is only a state of passing or transiting toward another life that is ‘the eternal life’. That means Arabic speakers’ culture lies on religious beliefs and values when talking about death. Gounane (2013) in her investigation of taboos and euphemisms in the Algerian society, states that Algerians avoid to use the word /ma:t/ ‘die’ directly, instead, they use more appropriate and soften ones such as; /fu:lan tawafahu Allah/ ‘someone has passed away to God’. In addition, Bani Mofarredj & Al-Haq (2015) report that Jordanians use the term /intakala ila rahmatil-lāhi/ (He transferred to the mercy of Allah) as an indirect expression for death. Almoayidi (2018) in his descriptive study of Hijazi and Southern region dialects of Saudi Arabia refers to the speakers’ use of many figurative euphemisms to deal with the notion of death such as; /rabana aftakaruh/ ‘someone has remembered by God/, /antakalilarahmatillah/ ‘someone has moved to the mercy of God’, and /intakala elajiwār rabih/ ‘someone has moved to be close to his God’.

The researcher notices that Iraqi speakers of Arabic use almost the same terms. They refer to the dead person by saying /almarhu:m/, /almutawafa/ or /alfaki:d/ ‘the decedent’ instead of /almajit/ ‘the dead’. They also avoid to shock the hearers by saying /fu:lan ma:t/, instead, they say, for example, /intakalailarahmatillah/ ‘he moved to the mercy of God’, /intak əmrah/ ‘he gifted you his life’, /allah akhað amanta/ ‘God took His lodgment’, and /fu:lan farak alhayah/ ‘someone left life’.

2.5.2 Euphemisms of honorification

In all languages, people make efforts to build strong social relationships, and increase familiarity and solidarity with each other. Under this aspect, naming and addressing is a strategy people use to show and convey respect and politeness, it is considered as “a euphemistic behavior” that is determined and governed by power and social distance between the speaker and hearer (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p.50). Using addressing terms means identifying and positioning people according to their social roles and positions (Braun, 1998). Obviously, terms of addressing give information about the interlocutors and states the nature of the relationship between them in terms of power and formality. As a matter of honorification which is a common phenomenon that exists widely in human languages, those terms and honorifics can be found in Standard Arabic (SA) and its varieties, including IA, as pronouns, verbs or nouns. They are used according to the context that is governed by two social factors; power and solidarity (Abugharsa, 2014). In details, Matti (2011) explains that Arabic employs some pronouns in order to make honorifics. For instance, instead of using the second singular pronoun /anta/ ‘you’ when addressing a high-position person or in formal occasions, such as a president, the second plural pronoun /antum/ ‘you’ is used. This state of pluralization is not applied only in case of pronouns but also when it comes to using verbs, for example, the plural morpheme /u/ is added to the verb /taṭṭaliū/ ‘have a look at’ to address that person. This is similar to the distinction of *Tu* and *vous* forms in other languages. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015, pp.263-269) explain this distinction in which *Tu* refers to “singular you” that is regarded as the familiar one that is used among people who have a strong sense of familiarity and solidarity to each other, whereas *Vous* is “formal you” which is used to show more politeness to people are not familiar or intimate to each other. The authors (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015) discuss the use of T/V from perspective of power in which people from upper classes use T to address others from lower classes but the later use V to address the former.

Matti (2011) also refers to some of the Arabic honorific titles such as /as-saji:d/ ‘Sir’, /as-sayijda/ ‘Madam’, /Şça:dat/ ‘His/Her excellency’, /fadilat/ ‘His/Her honor’ and /sama:hat/ ‘His/Her eminence’, which proceed the honoree’s name. Those honorific titles are used in both SA and IA to address high-position people such as kings, ministers, religious men. Moreover, to show politeness and respect for old and aged

people, speakers use the honorific titles /hadzi/ for males and /hadzija/ for females, these honorifics literally refer to the people who visited Mecca to perform the pilgrimage, as a pillar of Islam, but are used to address even those aged people who have not performed pilgrimage because it is impolitely to address those people by their names solely (Kadim, 2008).

Like Jordanians, Iraqis consider using teknonyms such as /abu:/ ‘father of’ or /um/ ‘mother of, in addressing married people is a preferable behavior that reflects good manners of the speaker. Furthermore, it also happens to address bachelors with those teknonyms as a way of avoiding addressing them by only their first names, for example, a person whose name is Muhammad is often been addressed /abu: dʒ a:sim/ ‘father of Jassim’. It is clear that most of the Arabic societies employ this way of addressing “to enhance the social atmosphere and effectively marginalizes the formality parameter among interactants” (Farghal & Shaker, 1994).

Interestingly, when men want to refer to their wives in public occasions with strange people, they try to avoid saying their wives’ names, instead, they address them as /ʌhli:/ ‘my family’, /ilbiət/ ‘the house’, /ilmarə/ ‘the woman’, /umildzaha:l/ ‘mother of the sons’, /zauðzati/ ‘my wife’ and /ilmada:m/ ‘Madam’. Accordingly, it is noticed that the choice of honorifics by speakers is affected by social factors, such as age, gender, profession and status (Kadim, 2008).

2.5.3 Euphemisms of sexuality

Sexuality is considered a sensitive topic in Arabic culture. From a religious view, in the Quran, euphemisms connected with sexuality are shown in many verses. For instance, the phrase /la:mastumannisa:ʔa/ which literally means ‘you touched the women’ but here is used as a euphemized expression for the sexual intercourse. In another verse, the phrase /faʔtu:hunna/ literally means ‘come to them’ but in the context is understood as ‘have sex with them’ (Al-Hamad & Salman, 2013). From a social view, the Arabic speakers avoid to use explicit terms to refer to sexual activities. Therefore, they employ many euphemisms to express these activities freely without embarrassing the hearers. For example, when a speaker needs to talk about a sexual intercourse, he uses phrases like /wakaça biha/ ‘had sex with her’, /yanamu maça/ ‘sleeps with’. Furthermore, when

dealing with the subject of raping /utidia alayha dzinsijan/ ‘she has been sexually assaulted’ is used as a euphemism instead of /igtosibat/ ‘she has been raped’, in addition to that, speakers replace the term /ibin zina:/ ‘adultery child’ with /tifl gair □ari:/ or /laqi:t/ ‘bastard’ (Farghal, 2005).

2.5.4 Euphemisms of health disabilities and diseases

In regards to health, in recent world, the term ‘disability’ is replaced by ‘special needs’. A person who has a disability is identified as “having a special needs” not ‘a disable’. This replacement is found in both spoken and written formal and informal languages. Consequently, it can be said that ‘special needs’ is a euphemism for ‘disability’ (Gernsbacher, Raimond, Balinghasay & Boston, 2016). Like English, the term ‘special needs people’ in Arabic is translated as /θawi alihtiagat alkasa/ which is used to substitute the word /moqa:q/ ‘disabled’ as a euphemistic expression. Another euphemism is /basi:r/ or /kafi:f/ ‘sighted’ that replaces the term /açma:/ ‘blind’ while /çinah kari:ma/ ‘his eye is generous’ is said to refer to the person who is one-eyed (Farghal, 2005 & Yousif, 2017).

Fallowfield and Jenkins (2004, p.316) explain that “euphemistic expressions are commonly used in attempt to soften the blow” in health-care field. AlAzzeh (2010) comments about this idea by explaining that euphemisms help doctors to avoid shocking their patients if there are bad news about their health. Cancer is a good example of these bad news. This disease is very common in the Arabic countries in general and Iraq in particular. The term /saratan/ ‘cancer’ itself is fearful for Arabs because this disease is dangerous and reaches to death. Therefore, not only Iraqis, most of Arabs do not talk about cancer openly, they utilize terms like /haθaka almarad/ ‘that disease’, /marad kabi:ð/ ‘malignant disease’ or /marad hami:d/ “benign disease” to refer to it freely (Yousif, 2017).

Additionally, when the Arabic speakers want to describe someone who is mad or crazy, they refer to him as /inda ma ~~çaklah~~ ^{çaklah kuljā/ah} ‘his mental problem mind is not his’, /hada marfo:ç ana alkalam/ ‘he is not punished by God’, /çaklah çla gadah/ ‘his mind fits him’ and /çaqlitah basita/ ‘his mind is simple’ (Al-Azzehm, Al-Ahaydib, Alkhwaiter & Al-Momani, 2017). Also when it comes to occupations and

lower professions, the Arabs try to use the terms /ça:mil nadafa/, /radzul alnadafa/, /monadif al dʒani/ ~~abla~~ /tiyah/ instead of /zabal/ ‘garbage man’ (Farghal, 2005).

2.6 Related Studies on Euphemism

People around the world use euphemisms differently as a result of cultural differences. Each culture has its euphemisms formed under the effect of certain social factors. Therefore, researchers and investigators always shed lights on the study of euphemism with taking into consideration socio-cultural factors such as age, gender, social class, level of education, religion and occupation. The influence of such factors differs and varies across cultures and societies. In regards to the current research’s concern, age and gender have high levels of importance and are considered main factors which influence how speakers use euphemisms. Consequently, many studies and researches around the world were conducted to investigate the effect of these factors on the use of euphemism. Lynnneng (2015) attempted to study the use of swearing words and euphemisms from a sociolinguistic perspective with focusing on the social variables like age, gender and social class. The researcher prepared three questions to be answered in his study; first, do females euphemize their swearing more than males and which euphemisms are preferred by each?. Second, is there a difference in using euphemisms between the upper and working classes?. Third, is there a difference in the use of euphemisms among age generations?. He listed a group of swearing words and their euphemisms taken from the British National Corpus, and used a corpus-based approach to answer the study’s questions. The results showed that females used euphemisms more than males. In relation to social class and age, the results presented that there is no difference between the social classes in using euphemisms, and that use is obviously related to age as it increases as the speakers become older more than young.

Njoroge (2014) prepared a sociopragmatic case study of the use of euphemism by the speakers of Kikuyu in Kenya concerns four taboos from the social discourse; sexuality , death, diseases and body effluvia. The sample of the study was 40 male and female participants from different ages and were divided into four groups. Quantitative and qualitative methods were used for data collection include questionnaires, interviews and observations. The study concluded that the speakers of Kikuyu try to avoid taboos

figuratively by using replacements to euphemize their expressions, and the use is more relied on the effect of the social factors, age is included.

Mwanambuyu (2011) applied a sociopragmatic study on how the speakers of Silozi use euphemisms and for which areas in their social discourse. The study was done in the Western region of Zambia. The data were collected by interviewing twenty native speakers, administrating a word-sentence completion task to a group of pupils, and observing the language use in various social places. The researcher found out that the users of Silozi use euphemisms in a high level through their communication. Moreover, the level of using euphemisms differ according to the social distance and relationship among the speakers, age in which the elderly use euphemisms more than young, gender, occupation and the variation in power between the speaker and hearer.

Greene (2000) studied the difference in using euphemisms between the speakers of English and Russian in expressing taboos of sexuality and death. The study relied on an opinion survey was answered by English and Russian informants. The total of the informants was eighty-two who were males and females with ages 19- 25 years old. The researcher found out that both males and females slightly share the same attitudes of considering using taboos is offensive.

Habibi & Khairuna (2018) downloaded some songs from YouTube and Google and collected a group of euphemisms were used in the songs which their lyrics written in Minangkabau language by two male and female composers in Indonesia in order to identify the types of euphemisms used in those lyrics of each composer. The results showed that the female composer used euphemisms more than the male composer. This can suggests that gender has its effect even in this type of discourse.

Ghounane (2013) tried to explore the attitudes of Tlemcen's speakers in Algeria toward sexuality and death taboos, and study what euphemisms the speakers use to replace these taboos. For data collection and analysis, the researcher used quantitative and qualitative methods formulating by a questionnaire, interview and observation. The questionnaire was designed to include closed-ended questions that require the informants to answer with 'Yes' or 'No' in order to answer the first question of the study, multiple-choice questions to answer the second questions, and ranking order questions within the multiple-choice questions to answer the third question. In addition, the researcher

prepared a group of open-ended questions. Importantly, all the questions were given in the dialect of Tlecmen. In regard to the interview, the researcher organized a focus group interview that included semi-structured questions. The sample of the study was 110 participants who were randomly selected with paying attention to the differences in age and gender. The results showed that taboos and euphemisms are rooted in the Algerian cultural norms and beliefs in which the participants took care to sexuality and death euphemizing. The results also offered the influence of the participants' age and gender on their choices of euphemisms, in addition to educational level, is positively affected.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, Al-Azzeh (2010) investigated the common euphemisms used by Jordanian speakers to refer to some tabooed topics through their social interaction such as death, sexuality, diseases and mental problems. Moreover, due to the regional and dialectical variation in the Jordanian society, the study also shed lights on the role of some social variables such as age, gender and the variation of dialects on their use. The researcher used a sample which consisted of 300 speakers, males and females, from various ages and distributed a questionnaire to answer the questions of the study. The findings showed that the participants referred to the taboos indirectly by using euphemistic expressions. This indicates that the Jordanians are aware to the use of euphemisms in their social communication. Also, the investigator found that age and gender play a crucial role in how Jordanian speakers euphemize their expressions.

Karimania & Khodashenas (2016) investigated how pragmatically the speakers of Persian use strategies of euphemisms to communicate about death and lying in formal and informal situations. The participants were 60 male and female native Persian speakers who were randomly chosen as college students of English teaching with ages between 22- 30 years old. They were separated into 30 males and 30 females. For the purpose of data collection, a questionnaire was designed and distributed to the participants. It consisted of open-ended questions and the participants were required to give their responses within an hour. The results of the questionnaire showed that the participants used many types of euphemistic strategies to express death and lying. It is also found out that gender had no effect on the using of euphemism strategies.

The study of Alotaibi (2015) attempted to investigate whether Kuwaiti speakers are aware to the use of euphemism in their social communication. Besides, the effect of the social factors, namely age and educational level, on that use. The sample was sixty participants who were chosen randomly and divided into two groups; the first group consisted of (25-40) years old participants, and the second were (50-65). After distributing a questionnaire and filling by the participants, the results showed that those who were (50-65) were more aware to the use of euphemisms than who were (25-40) years old. Also, the educated participants were more aware than who were not educated. The researcher concluded that age and educational level shape the way Kuwaiti speakers use euphemisms.

Alotaibi (2015) mentioned to the study of Storr (1985) who showed the difference in using euphemisms between an old women who was born in 1853 and another was born in 1843. The former, for example, used the phrase “do you want to make yourself comfortable?” while the latter said: “do you want to urinate?” for the same purpose. Storr (1985) concluded that age is a significant factor that influences how and what euphemisms speakers choose.

For the same purpose, Sa’d (2017) investigated the tabooed areas of social interaction “among the Arab community of Iran” and examine what linguistic strategies the speakers apply to refer to these taboos. Depending on observations, the researcher was aware to some social factors, age is included, throughout the process of data collection. The findings revealed that the areas such as death, sexuality, body parts, health, politics and religion are regarded to be tabooed by the speakers and one of the strategies they use to avoid taboos is using euphemisms. The researcher observed also that females avoided taboos more than males; therefore, the study agreed the idea that women are more polite than men.

Mofarrej & Al-Haq (2015) studied the euphemistic expressions which are used by the Jordanian speakers and to what extent age, gender and region are significant in the speakers’ use of euphemisms. The sample of the study consisted of 130 participants with a variation in age and gender. A questionnaire was conducted to be filled by the participants and then the researchers interviewed some Jordanian people to discuss the euphemistic expressions which they use to refer to death. The results showed that the

Jordanian speakers used euphemisms to talk about death in an appropriate way in order to show politeness and sympathy. The researchers added that age, gender and region were not very crucial factors that affect the speakers' use of euphemisms of death due to the 'homogeneous' attitude of sympathy among Jordanians toward death as a 'painful situation'.

Altakhaineh & Rahrouh (2015) prepared a multiple-choice test to examine the role of gender and English proficiency level in the Arab EFL learners' use of euphemism. The sample of the study was 40 participants who were university students. Their average age was between 18- 26. They were randomly selected and separated into four groups according to their gender and level of English proficiency. The multiple-choice test involves 10 euphemisms taken from a English dictionary of euphemism. The findings of the study showed that females used euphemistic expressions more than males, and that claims that gender constitutes an effective factor in the choice of euphemisms. While the level of English proficiency had not a strong effect.

Rabab'ah & Al-Qarni (2012) investigated the strategies of euphemism used in Saudi Arabic and British English. The sample of the study was 300 university students. 150 participants were Saudi males and females, and 150 were English males and females. The instrument of data collection was a questionnaire which was designed by the researchers in Arabic and English. The questionnaire included a number of formal and informal situations concern death, lying and functions of body. The questionnaire was open-ended, therefore, the participants were required to give many answers as possible. The results found out that Saudi and English participants had some similarities and differences in the choice of euphemistic strategies when talking about the mentioned taboos. Also, one of the study findings was that there is no effect of gender on the choice of euphemism in which the males and females used the same euphemisms for most of the areas.

Likewise, Al-Khasawneh (2018) studied the use of euphemism in Saudi Arabic and American English. He selected 145 college students to be the sample of his study and adopted a designed questionnaire to achieve the aim of the study. The results showed that the female participants tended to use euphemism strategies more than males but there is no effect of gender on the choice of the strategy. In contrast, Abi-Esber, Yang, Muranaka & Moustakim (2018) endeavored to explore how and why Lebanese Arabic

speakers who live in Australia utilize linguistic taboos. The study focused on the effect of age on the using of Lebanese Arabic by its speakers. The sample of the study was 56 male and female participants with ages between 18- 60. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were applied; an open-ended questionnaire and interviews. The findings were shocking for the researcher in which the younger participants used indirect expressions more than to the older participants. Moreover, only one old participant used euphemistic expression in comparison to the young participants. Then, the ignorance of using indirect taboos and euphemistic expressions by the old participants reflected that age had no influence on the use of euphemisms.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Presentation

This chapter describes the methodology in order to explore to what extent Iraqi speakers of Arabic use euphemisms when they communicate about topics of death, sexuality, bodily description, professions, healthy diseases and disabilities, and honorifics. It explains the population and sample of the current study, and describes the procedure of data collection and analysis process. For this purpose, a quantitative method was adopted to answer the study's three questions which concentrate on the use of euphemism in IA, and the role of age and gender in that use.

3.2 The Sample

Firstly, according to Dörnyei (2007, p. 96), "the population is the group of people whom the study is about" and "the sample is a subset of the population that is representative of the whole population". Accordingly, the population of the present study was the native IA speakers in Iraq. In order to get a clear understanding of the conceptualization of the use of euphemism in the Iraqi society, the sample consisted of 150 participants chosen randomly from four Iraqi regions, namely, Baghdad (the capital of Iraq), AlAnbar (West of Iraq), Basra (South of Iraq) and Mosul (North of Iraq). Choosing the participants from the mentioned regions was that each region comprises a different variety of IA and conforms a number of linguistic differences among the speakers. In this case, the data collection covered wide areas and gave a more accurate conception of the linguistic situation of using euphemisms in IA. Although, the entire 150 participants were randomly chosen, but at the same time the variation in age and gender was taken into consideration through applying the study.

In regards to age, it is noticed in Iraq that age plays a significant role in affecting the linguistic choices of the speakers of IA. Traditionally, as a social culture for most of the Arabic societies, Iraq is included; people who are in age 40 and above are expected to be more polite and use polite speech as they have a good experience in communicating with

others and are considered more aware to their language than those who are younger. When it comes to the old people who are in their 60s and above, they are regarded as models of politeness and respect to the adults in their societies.

On the basis of this social view, the researcher determined the range of the participants' ages between 20-65 above, and those age-groups were divided into 5 categories; 20-30 (32%), 31-40 (25.3%), 51-60 (13.3%) and 61-above (20.7%). Table (1) shows the distribution of the participants according to age-groups:

Table 3.1: the distribution of participants according to age-groups

Age	Participants	Percentage
20-30	48	32.0
31- 40	38	25.3
41-50	20	13.3
51-60	31	20.7
61- above	13	8.7
Total	150	100

In regards to gender, the participants' gender is also taken into account as a main variable in the current study. The participants are distributed according to their gender as 85 males which made (56.7%) of the total number, and 65 females which made (43.3%) of the total population. Table (2) shows the distribution of the participants according to their gender:

Table 3.2: the distribution of participants according to gender

Gender	Participants	Percentage
Male	85	56.7
Females	65	43.3
Total	150	100

The participants were chosen randomly from all the categories of the Iraqi society without paying attention to their levels of education, occupation, religion or ethnicity. Most of the Baghdadi participants were employees in Al-Iraqia University as they live in different regions in Baghdad, and have different levels of education and occupations. In Basra, the participants were ordinary people, some of them were workers, teachers,

traders and instructors. The Mousli participants were chosen randomly. Some of them were students, teachers, university doctors, workers, and housewives. The participants from AlAnbar were friends, friends of friends and relatives. They were teachers, housewives, professors, university students and employees. No one of the participants was chosen according to his religion or ethnicity.

3.3 Instruments

In order to collect data for the recent study, the researcher adapted a quantitative method. A questionnaire is adapted by the researcher based on the study of Al-Azzeh (2010) and on the study of Ghounane (2013) partially.

The use of a questionnaire for data collection is a common and popular instrument for data collection. As mentioned above, the designed questionnaire for this study is developed by the researcher and partially based on Al-Azzeh's (2010) and Ghounane's (2013) questionnaires. It is interesting to give an example of the questions of questionnaires of each of the mentioned studies, and show how the researcher developed them according to the alternative expressions which are used in IA. In Al-Azzeh's questionnaire, she asked the participants 'which of the following expressions do you use to talk about an fat person?'. The given answers were: /sami:n/ (سمين), /na:sih/ (ناصح), /sahtu mni:ha/ (صحته منيحة), /malja:n/ (مليان), /mrabrub/ (مربرب) and /ʕa:fi/ (عفي). In Ghounane's questionnaire, she asked the participants 'How do you call an old woman?'. She gave them three suggested answers; /ilhaʒa/ (الحجة), /alaʒu:z/ (العجوز) and / ibanija/ (شيبانية).

The researcher used such these questions but changed the suggested answers. In regards to the question of talking about a fat person, the given answers were: /indah zijadah bilwazin/ (عنده زيادة بالوزن), /matru:s/ (متروس), /sami:n/ (سمين) and /dʌbdu:b/ (دبدوب). For the latter question of calling an old woman, the given answers were: /adʒu:z/ (عجوز), /hadʒija/ (حجية), /marə kabi:ra/ (مرة كبيرة) and /gadijana/ (گضيانه). The developing of the answers came to correspond the used vocabulary in IA.

The researcher took the advice of Kothari (2004, p.101) into consideration in which the questionnaire "should be carefully constructed". The questionnaire was entirely written in Arabic. It included closed-ended questions which required the participants to choose

one of given options instead of producing any free writing. Each question was written shortly and simply in terms of wording and formulating that allowed the participants to understand and answer it easily.

The questionnaire started with a brief introduction that introduced the researcher and outlines the aim of the study, informed the participants that they are free to choose the suitable answer, and emphasized the anonymity of their identities. In addition, guided instructions were given to clarify the way the participants would follow to fill the questionnaire individually and honestly. In the bottom of the introduction, the researcher's name and email were included (See Appendix A).

In regards to the design of the questionnaire, it was divided into two parts; the first part was based on multiple-choice items regarding demographic information about the participants such as age, gender, region and level of education which are considered social variables in Iraqi society. The second part included closed-ended questions concerning the most common euphemisms used by IA speakers in their daily interaction about tabooed areas such as death, healthy diseases and disabilities, sexuality, bodily description, professions and honorification. Four or more possible answers were given for each question where the participant could choose the most used one by him. The answers were supposed by the researcher according to his knowledge of the estimated euphemisms used in IA. For example, a given question such as: 'What do you call a person who cannot walk on his feet?' (ماذا تسمي شخص لا يستطيع المشي على قدميه), four possible answers were given, 'Handicapped' (مُعاق), 'special needs person' (من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة), 'paralyzed' (مشلول), and 'disabled' (عاجز). At all, the questionnaire was designed to be in 4 pages with estimation that the participant needed for less than a 20 minutes to fill the questionnaire.

3.4 Procedure

Firstly, the researcher suggested that it is insufficient for collecting valid data by distributing the questionnaire in only one or two selected regions in Iraq. Therefore, the decision didn't take a long time to be taken to give more effort and time to the process of distributing the questionnaire in many other regions and cities, namely, Al-Anbar, Baghdad, Basra and Mousl. The operation was easy to be done in Al-Anbar since it is the place of residence of the researcher but the difficulty aroused in reaching to the other

cities due to the long distances and the risky situation in security. Thus, asking for help was needed by the researcher to his friends who live in the target cities. Each of them received the questionnaire copies by hand except that who was in Mousl in which an online copy was sent to him by email and he printed the copies to be given to the participants there. The researcher gave each of his friends the necessary instructions which should be followed through the process of data collection and administering the questionnaire.

In Baghdad, the copies of questionnaire were taken and distributed by the researcher's close friend who gave much consideration to make the process of distributing organized and according the researcher's instructions. He was an instructor in Al-Iraqi University in Baghdad. Therefore, he had a good knowledge of how a questionnaire should be distributed. As well as, he could help the participants who did not understand how the questionnaire should be filled. Later, he collected the copies and sent them back to the researcher.

In Basra, one of the mayors of the city devoted his time and effort to help in distributing the copies of questionnaire to the people whom he knew. Those people were ordinary people working in various jobs and have different levels of education. Some of them were teachers, workers, traders and instructors. Later, the mayor collected the copies and sent them back to the researcher's assistant in Baghdad, and then they were sent to the researcher again.

In Mousl, the researcher's friend and his family devoted their effort to distribute the copies to their relatives, colleagues in work and neighbors. They asked the participants to fill the questionnaire as much as they could. Then they collected the copies and sent them back to the researcher. In AlAnbar, the copies were distributed and collected by the researcher himself.

At all, almost 162 copies of the questionnaire were distributed to the participants who were asked to fill and complete the questionnaire within maximum three days to give them the chance to give their responses freely on their time. Later, 150 copies were given back to the researcher and his assistants.

3.5 Data Analysis

The data were collected by using a questionnaire that involved 19 questions concerning euphemisms used by native speakers of IA. The collected data were encoded and analyzed through a descriptive analysis using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) software. Descriptive analysis is defined by Elo and Kyngas (2008) as a method that can be used inductively or deductively with either quantitative or qualitative data.

The frequencies and percentages were calculated in terms of age and gender. Age category included 5 groups entitled, G1 (20-30), G2 (31-40), G3 (41-50), G4 (51-60) and G5 (61- above). Gender category was identified as 'males' and 'females'. The difference among the percentages of each group was compared with each other and it was decided whether there is a meaningful difference.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The current study has aimed to investigate the use of euphemism in IA and the role of age and gender in such use. To achieve this aim, the current study tried to answer the following questions:

- 1- To what extent do Iraqi speakers of Arabic use euphemistic expressions when communicating about topics referring to death, diseases and disabilities, occupations, sexuality, bodily description and honorifics?
- 2- How does age-differentiation influence the use of euphemism by Iraqi speakers of Arabic?
- 3- How does gender-differentiation influence the use of euphemism by Iraqi speakers of Arabic?

The study employed a quantitative method to address the above questions by distributing a developed questionnaire to 150 IA native speakers in four regions in Iraq. The data was collected and analyzed and the findings were presented descriptively through this chapter.

4.1 Findings

4.1.1 Findings related to death

As regards to death, as can be seen in Table (4.1), item 1 'how do you tell your friend that his uncle has died?' (ما هو التعبير الذي تستخدمه لتصف وفاة شخص ما), 34 (23.1%) males participants and 20 (13.6%) females preferred the expression 'He moved to the mercy of God' (انتقل إلى رحمة الله), 20 (13.6%) males and 16 (10.9%) females preferred 'he was deceased by God' (توفاه الله), while 15 (10.2) males and 16 (10.9%) females preferred 'died' (مات), 'he gave you his life' (انطاك عمره) was preferred by 12 (8.2%) males and 5 (3.4%) females, one (0.7%) male and 3 (2%) females preferred 'his fate had come' (اجا), and lastly one female (0.7%) and one male (0.7%) preferred 'he left life' (فارق الحياة).

We notice that both males and females highly preferred the euphemism ‘He moved to the mercy of God’ (انتقل إلى رحمة الله) to talk about someone who has died. This indicates that gender had no effect. This finding is similar to the finding of Al-Azzeh (2010) in which most of the Jordanian males and females try to euphemize their expression when talking about the action of dying.

As regards to age, G1 (12 (8.2%), G2 (6 (4.1%), G3 (5 (3.4%), G4 (4 (2.7%) and G5 (4 (2.7%) preferred the term ‘died’ (مات) whereas the term ‘he was deceased by God’ (توفاه الله) was preferred by G1 (9 (6.1%), G2 (12 (8.2%), G3 (4 (2.7%), G4 (9 (6.1%) and G5 (2 (1.4%). ‘He moved to the mercy of God’ (انتقل إلى رحمة الله) was preferred by G1 (15 (10.2%), G2 (10 (6.8%), G3 (9 (6.1%), G4 (13 (8.8%) and G5 (7 (4.8%). ‘He gave you his life’ (انطاك عمره) was preferred by G1 (7 (4.8%), G2 (6 (4.1%), G3 (1 (0.7%) and G4 (3 (2%). ‘His fate had come’ (اجا أجله) was preferred by G1 (2 (1.4%) and G2 (2 (1.4%). ‘He left life’ (فارق الحياة) was preferred by G2 (1 (0.7%) and G4 (1 (0.7%). It is seen that all the groups preferred mostly to use the euphemism ‘He moved to the mercy of God’ (انتقل إلى رحمة الله). This indicates that age had no effect here. This finding is similar to the finding of Al-Azzeh’s (2010) finding.

Table 4.1: Frequencies and percentages of Item 1

Expression		مات /māt/ died		توفاه الله /tawafahullah/ he was deceased by God		انتقل إلى رحمة الله /intaqala ila rahmatillah/ he moved to the mercy of God		انطاك عمره /intak ʕumra/ he gave you his life		الله أخذ أماتته /alah akad ʕmantah/ God took His own		اجا أجله /Īga ʔgalah/ his fate had come		فارق الحياة /Fāraq ʔlhaijah/ he left life	
		F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
Gender	Male	15	10.2	20	13.6	34	23.1	12	8.2	2	1.4	1	0.7	1	0.7
	Female	16	10.9	16	10.9	20	13.6	5	3.4	1	0.7	3	2	1	0.7
	Total	31	21.1	36	24	54	36	17	11.3	3	2	4	2.7	2	1.3
Age	Age-Groups	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
	(G1) 20-30	12	8.2	9	6.1	15	10.2	7	4.8	1	0.7	2	1.4	0	0
	(G2) 31-40	6	4.1	12	8.2	10	6.8	6	4.1	0	0	2	1.4	1	0.7
	(G3) 41-50	5	3.4	4	2.7	9	6.1	1	0.7	1	0.7	0	0	0	0
	(G4) 51-61	4	2.7	9	6.1	13	8.8	3	2	1	0.7	0	0	1	0.7
	(G5) 60- above	4	2.7	2	1.4	7	4.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	31	21.1	36	24	54	36	17	11.3	3	2	4	2.7	2	1.3	

Total	147 (98%)
Missing	3 (2%)

F= Frequency, P= Percentage

Table (4.2), Item 2 ‘How do you talk about a died person?’ (ما هي الصفة التي تستخدمها لتحدث) (عن شخص ميت), shows that ‘the late’ (المرحوم) was preferred by 61 (41.2%) males and 46 (31.1%) females, 12 (8.1%) males and 7 (4.7%) females preferred ‘the deceased’ (المتوفى), ‘the dead’ (الميت) was preferred by 8 (5.4%) males and 7 (4.7%) females, ‘the graved’ (المقبر) was preferred by 2 (1.4%) males and 2 (1.4%) females, and ‘the missed’ (الفقيد) was preferred by 2 (1.4%) males and one (0.7%) female. It is seen here that both males and females highly preferred the euphemism ‘the late’ (المرحوم) and gender had no effect.

The term ‘the late’ (المرحوم) was preferred by G1 (32 (21.6%), G2 (24 (16.2%), G3 (18 (12.2%), G4 (23 (15.5%) and G5 (10 (6.8%). ‘The deceased’ (المتوفى) was preferred by G1 (5 (3.4%), G2 (7 (4.7%), G4 (5 (3.4%) and G5 (2 (1.4%). ‘The dead’ (الميت) was preferred by G1 (6 (4.1%), G2 (4 (2.7%), G3 (1 (0.7%), G4 (3 (2%), and G5 (1 (0.7%). ‘The graved’ (المقبر) was preferred by G1 (1 (0.7%), G2 (2 (1.4%) and G3 (1 (0.7%). ‘The missed’ (الفقيد) was preferred by G1 (2 (1.4%), G2 (1 (0.7%) and G3 (1 (0.7%). It is noticed that all the groups tended to use euphemism ‘the late’ (المرحوم) more than the other expressions. This indicates that age did not affect the use of euphemism when naming a died person.

Table 4.2: Frequencies and percentages of Item 2

Expression		المرحوم /ʔlmarhūm/ the late		المتوفى /ʔlmutawafā/ the deceased		الميت /ʔlmayt/ the dead		المقبر /ʔlmaqbur/ the graved		الفقيد /ʔlfaqīd/ the missed	
		F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
Gender	Male	61	41.2	12	8.1	8	5.4	2	1.4	2	1.4
	Female	46	31.1	7	4.7	7	4.7	2	1.4	1	0.7
	Total	107	71.3	19	12.7	15	10	4	2.7	3	2
Age	Age-Groups	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
	(G1) 20-30	32	21.6	5	3.4	6	4.1	1	0.7	2	1.4
	(G2) 31-40	24	16.2	7	4.7	4	2.7	2	1.4	1	0.7
	(G3) 41-50	18	12.2	0	0	1	0.7	1	0.7	1	0.7
	(G4) 51-61	23	15.5	5	3.4	3	2	0	0	0	0
	(G5) 60- above	10	6.8	2	1.4	1	0.7	0	0	0	0
Total	107	71.3	19	12.7	15	10	4	2.7	4	2.7	

Total	148 (98.7%)
Missing	2 (1.3%)

The responses given to Item 3, ‘What do you call the assembly for offering and receiving condolences?’ (ماذا تسمي مناسبة الموت), revealed that the term ‘fatiha’ (فاتحة) was mostly preferred by 44 (29.7%) males and 34 (23%) females, ‘consolation’ (عزاء) was

preferred by 24 (16.2%) males and 14 (9.5%) females. While the term ‘misfortune’ (مصيبة) was preferred by 5 (3.4%) males and 3 (2%) females, ‘death state’ (حالة موت) was preferred 2 (1.4%) males and 3 (2%) females, and ‘demise’ (وفاة) was preferred by 10 (6.8%) males and 9 (6.1%) females. The term ‘fatiha’ (فاتحة) was preferred by G1 (26 (17.6%), G2 (19 (12.8%) G3 (14 (9.5%), G4 (13 (8.8%) and G5 (6 (4.1%). The term ‘consolation’ (عزاء) was preferred by G1 (10 (6.8%), G2 (8 (5.4%), G3 (3 (2%), G4 (11 (7.4%) and G5 (6 (4.1%). ‘Misfortune’ (مصيبة) was preferred by G1 (2 (1.4%), G2 (2 (1.4%), G3 (1 (0.7%) and G4 (3 (2%). ‘Death state’ (حالة موت) was preferred by G1 (3 (2%), G2 (1 (0.7%) and G4 (1 (0.7%).

Table 4.3: Frequencies and percentages of Item 3

Expression		فاتحة /Fātha/		عزاء /ʕazāʔ/ condolence		مصيبة /Musība/ misfortune		وفاة /Wafāt/ demise		حالة موت /Hālit mawt/ death state	
Gender		F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
	Male	44	29.7	24	16.2	5	3.4	10	6.8	2	1.4
	Female	34	23	14	9.5	3	2	9	6.1	3	2
Total		78	52	38	25.3	8	5.3	19	12.7	5	3.3
Age	Age-Groups	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
	(G1) 20-30	26	17.6	10	6.8	2	1.4	5	3.4	3	2
	(G2) 31-40	19	12.8	8	5.4	2	1.4	8	5.4	1	0.7
	(G3) 41-50	14	9.5	3	2	1	0.7	2	1.4	0	0
	(G4) 51-61	13	8.8	11	7.4	3	2	3	2	1	0.7
	(G6) 60- above	6	4.1	6	4.1	0	0	1	0.7	0	0
Total		78	52	38	25.3	8	5.3	19	12.7	5	3.3

Total	148 (98.7%)
Missing	2 (1.3%)

The findings of death agree with the findings of AlAzzeh (2010) in which the topic of death is the most euphemized one by the speakers, and gender does not influence the choice of euphemism towards death, but the findings differ in which age has no influence.

4.1.2 Findings related to sexuality

In relation to sexuality, Item 4, ‘How do you talk about a man who has a sexual affair with a woman not his wife’ (كيف تتحدث عن شخص يجامع امرأة غير زوجته) was given 4 responses. The term ‘he fornicates with her’ (يزني بيها) was preferred by 22 (15.2%) males and 32 (22.1%) females, ‘he has an illegal relationship with her’ (عنده علاقة غير شرعية وياها) was preferred by 33 (22.8%) males and 10 (6.9%) females, ‘he sleeps with

her' (ينام وياها) was preferred by 18 (12.4%) males and 12 (8.3%) females, 'he commits disgrace with her' (يرتكب الفاحشة وياها) was preferred by 7 (4.8%) males and 5 (3.4%) females, and 'he meets her privately' (يختلي بيها) was preferred by 4 (2.8) males and 2 (1.4%) females. The finding showed that most of the male participants used the expression 'he fornicates with her' (يزني بيها) while females preferred mostly the euphemism 'he has an illegal relationship with her' (عنده علاقة غير شرعية وياها). This indicates that gender had an effect.

In relation to age, it is seen that G1 (18 (12.4%)), G2 (12 (8.3%)), G3 (6 (4.1%)) and G5 (5 (4.1%)) highly preferred 'he has an illegal relationship with her' (عنده علاقة غير شرعية وياها), G1 (14 (9.7%)), G2 (9 (6.2%)), G3 (4 (2.8%)), G4 (14 (9.7%)) and G5 (2 (1.4%)) preferred 'he fornicates with her' (يزني بيها). G1 (11 (7.6%)), G2 (11 (7.6%)), G3 (6 (4.1%)) and G5 (2 (1.4%)) preferred 'he sleeps with her' (ينام وياها). G1 (11 (7.6%)), G2 (11 (7.6%)), G3 (6 (4.1%)) and G5 (2 (1.4%)). G1 (1 (0.7%)), G2 (3 (2.1%)), G3 (4 (2.8%)), G4 (2 (1.4%)) and G5 (2 (1.4%)) preferred 'he commits disgrace with her' (يرتكب الفاحشة وياها). G1 (1 (0.7%)), G2 (1 (0.7%)), G4 (3 (2.1%)) and G5 (1 (0.7%)) preferred 'he meets her privately' (يختلي بيها).

Table 4.4: Frequencies and percentages of Item 4

Expression		عنده علاقة غير شرعية وياها /ʕindah ʕilaka ǧair ʕarʕja/ He has an illegal relationship		يزني بيها /ji:azni bi:ha/ he fornicates with her		ينام وياها /janamu wija:ha/ he sleeps with her		يرتكب الفاحشة وياها /jartakib ʔalfahiʕa/ he commits disgrace with her		يختلي بيها /jiixtali/ he meets her privately	
		F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
Gender	Male	22	15.2	33	22.8	18	12.4	7	4.8	4	2.8
	Female	32	22.1	10	6.9	12	8.3	5	3.4	2	1.4
	Total	54	36	43	28.7	30	20	12	8	6	4
Age	Age-Groups	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
	(G1) 20-30	18	12.4	14	9.7	11	7.6	1	0.7	1	0.7
	(G2) 31-40	12	8.3	9	6.2	11	7.6	3	2.1	1	0.7
	(G3) 41-50	6	4.1	4	2.8	6	4.1	4	2.8	0	0
	(G4) 51-61	12	8.3	14	9.7	0	0	2	1.4	3	2.1
	(G5) 60- above	5	4.1	2	1.4	2	1.4	2	1.4	1	0.7
Total		54	36	43	28.7	30	20	12	8	6	4

Total	145 (96.7%)
Missing	5 (3.3%)

For Item 5, 'How do you talk about a child who was delivered by adultery?' (كيف تتحدث عن الطفل الذي يولد من الزنا), 26 (17.4%) males and 30 (20.1%) females preferred the term 'bastard' (ابن حرام), 19 (12.8%) males and 20 (13.4%) females preferred 'illegitimate

son' (ابن غير شرعي), 22 (14.8%) males and 8 (5.4%) females preferred 'foundling' (لقيط), and 17 (11.4%) males and 6 (4%) females preferred 'son from adultery' (ابن زنا). From the finding above, it appears that both females and males highly preferred to use a direct expression 'bastard' (ابن حرام) to talk about a child was delivered by adultery. This shows that gender had no effect.

The expression 'bastard' (ابن حرام) was highly preferred by G1 (18 (12.1%)), G2 (11 (7.4%)), G3 (10 (6.7%)), G4 (13 (8.7%)) and G5 (4 (2.7%)) whereas 'illegitimate son' (ابن غير شرعي) was preferred by G1 (14 (9.4%)), G2 (8 (5.4%)), G3 (8 (5.4%)), G4 (6 (4%)) and G5 (3 (2%)). 'Foundling' (لقيط) was preferred by G1 (7 (4.7%)), G2 (13 (8.7%)), G3 (1 (0.7%)), G4 (5 (3.4%)) and G5 (4 (2.7%)) while 'son from adultery' (ابن زنا) was preferred by G1 (9 (6%)), G2 (4 (2.7%)), G3 (1 (0.7%)), G4 (7 (4.7%)) and G5 (2 (1.3%)).

Table 4.5: Frequencies and percentages of Item 5

Expression		ابن حرام /ibin hara:m/ bastard		ابن غير شرعي /ibin gayr šar'ī/ illegitimate son		لقيط /laqīt/ foundling		ابن زنا /ibin zinā/ adultery son	
		F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
Gender									
	Male	26	17.4	19	12.8	22	14.8	17	11.4
	Female	30	20.1	20	13.4	8	5.4	6	4
Age	Age-Groups	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
	(G1) 20-30	18	12.1	14	9.4	7	4.7	9	6
	(G2) 31-40	11	7.4	8	5.4	13	8.7	4	2.7
	(G3) 41-50	10	6.7	8	5.4	1	0.7	1	0.7
	(G4) 51-61	13	8.7	6	4	5	3.4	7	4.7
	(G5) 60- above	4	2.7	3	2	4	2.7	2	1.3
Total		56	37.3	39	26	30	20	23	15.3

Total	149 (99.3%)
Missing	1 (0.7%)

For Item 6, 'What do you call a porn movie?' (ماذا تسمي الفيلم الجنسي), 27 (18.2%) males and 14 (9.5%) females preferred 'porn movie' (فلم إباحي), 15 (10.1%) males and 21 (14.2%) females preferred 'immoral movie' (فلم غير أخلاقي), 21 (14.2%) males and 6 (4.1%) females preferred 'sexy movie' (فلم سكسي), 14 (9.5%) males and 11 (7.4%) females preferred 'sexual movie', and 7 (4.7%) males and 12 (8.1%) females preferred 'silly movie' (فلم سخيف). It is shown here that males highly preferred not to euphemize their expression by preferring 'porn movie' (فلم إباحي) and 'sexy movie' (فلم سكسي) while

the females preferred the euphemism ‘immoral movie’ (فلم غير أخلاقي) more than the other expressions. This gives a signal that gender had an effect.

The term ‘porn movie’ (فلم إباحي) was preferred by G1 (14 (9.5%)), G2 (12 (8.1%)), G3 (5 (3.4%)), G4 (8 (5.4%)) and G5 (2 (1.4%)) while ‘immoral movie’ (فلم غير أخلاقي) was preferred by G1 (11 (7.4%)), G2 (8 (5.4%)), G3 (3 (2%)), G4 (11 (7.4%)) and G5 (3 (2%)). ‘Sexy movie’ (فلم سكسي) was preferred by G1 (11 (7.4%)), G2 (8 (5.4%)), G3 (3 (2%)), G4 (2 (1.4%)) and G5 (3 (2%)). ‘Sexual movie’ (فلم جنسي) was preferred by G1 (6 (4.7%)), G2 (3 (2%)), G3 (7 (4.7%)), G4 (7 (4.7%)) and G5 (2 (1.4%)). The term ‘silly movie’ (فلم سخيف) was preferred by G1 (5 (3.4%)), G2 (6 (4.1%)), G3 (2 (1.4%)), G4 (3 (2%)) and G5 (3 (2%)).

Table 4.6: Frequencies and percentages of Item 6

Expression		فلم إباحي		فلم غير أخلاقي		فلم سكسي		فلم جنسي		فلم سخيف	
		/film ibāhī/ porn movie		/film gayr ḡxīlāqī/ immoral movie		/film siksī/ sexy movie		/film ginsī/ sexual movie		/film saxīf/ silly movie	
Gender		<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
	<i>Male</i>	27	18.2	15	10.1	21	14.2	14	9.5	7	4.7
	<i>Female</i>	14	9.5	21	14.2	6	4.1	11	7.4	12	8.1
<i>Total</i>		41	27.3	36	24	27	18	25	16.7	19	12.7
Age	<i>Age-Groups</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
	(G1) 20-30	14	9.5	11	7.4	11	7.4	6	4.1	5	3.4
	(G2) 31-40	12	8.1	8	5.4	8	5.4	3	2	6	4.1
	(G3) 41-50	5	3.4	3	2	3	2	7	4.7	2	1.4
	(G4) 51-61	8	5.4	11	7.4	2	1.4	7	4.7	3	2
	(G5) 60- above	2	1.4	3	2	3	2	2	1.4	3	2
<i>Total</i>		41	27.3	36	24	27	18	25	16.7	19	12.7

Total	148 (98.7%)
Missing	2 (1.3%)

4.1.3 Findings related to healthy disabilities

The responses given to Item 7, ‘How do you describe someone who cannot walk on his feet?’ (ماذا تسمي شخص لا يستطيع المشي على قدميه), revealed that 31 (20.8%) males and 25 (16.8%) females preferred the term ‘Handicapped’ (مُعاق), 24 (16.1%) males and 12 (16.1%) females preferred to use the euphemism ‘special needs person’ (من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة), 20 (13.4%) males and 10 (6.7%) females preferred ‘paralyzed’ (مشلول), and 10 (6.7%) males and 17 (11.4%) females preferred ‘disabled’ (عاجز). It is seen that both most of the males and females highly preferred not to

euphemize their expression by calling ‘handicapped’ to talk about a person who is unable to walk on his feet. This shows that gender had no effect to a high extent.

The term ‘handicapped’ (معاق) was preferred by G1 (15 (10.1%), G2 (8 (5.4%), G3 (9 (6%), G4 (16 (10.7%), and G5 (8 (5.4%). The term ‘special needs person’ (من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة) was preferred by G1 (10 (6.7%), G2 (12 (8.1%), G3 (3 (2%), G4 (6 (4%), and G5 (5 (3.4%). ‘paralyzed’ (مشلول) was preferred by G1 (11 (7.4%), G2 (8 (5.4%), G3 (5 (3.4%), G4 (6 (4%) and G5 (0 (0%). While ‘disabled’ (عاجز) was preferred by G1 (11 (7.4%), G2 (10 (6.7%), G3 (3 (2%) and G4 (3 (2%). It is clear that those who are from G1, G3, G4 and G5 used a direct expression ‘handicapped’ (معاق) more than the other euphemisms while most of those from G2 preferred to euphemize their expression by using the euphemism ‘special needs person’ (من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة). This shows that age had an effect on how speakers describe a person who cannot walk.

Table 4.7: The frequencies and percentages of Item 7

Expression		مُعاق /mu:ʕaɣ/ handicapped		من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة /θawi: ihtijadzʒat alkaʕa/ Special needs person		مشلول /məʃu:l/ paralyzed		عاجز /ʕa:dʒiz/ Disabled	
		<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Gender									
	<i>Male</i>	31	20.8	24	16.1	20	13.4	10	6.7
	<i>Female</i>	25	16.8	12	8.1	10	6.7	17	11.4
<i>Total</i>		56	37.6	36	24	30	20	27	18
Age	<i>Age-Groups</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
	(G1) 20-30	15	10.1	10	6.7	11	7.4	11	7.4
	(G2) 31-40	8	5.4	12	8.1	8	5.4	10	6.7
	(G3) 41-50	9	6	3	2	5	3.4	3	2
	(G4) 51-61	16	10.7	6	4	6	4	3	2
	(G5) 60- above	8	5.4	5	3.4	0	0	0	0
<i>Total</i>		56	37.6	36	24	30	20	27	18

Total	149 (99.3%)
Missing	1 (0.7%)

Item 8, ‘how do you describe someone who cannot see by his two eyes?’ (ماذا تسمى) (الشخص الذي لا يستطيع النظر بعينه الاثنيتين), showed that 25 (17%) males and 39 (26.5%) females preferred ‘blind’ (أعمى), 25 (17%) males and 6 (4.1%) females preferred ‘kafi:f’ (كفيف), 22 (15%) males and 4 (2.7%) females preferred ‘sighted’ (بصير), and 13 (8.8%) males and 13 (8.8%) females preferred ‘he cannot see’ (ما يشوف). It is seen that 25 (17%) males preferred a direct expression ‘blind’ (أعمى) and other 25 (17%) preferred the euphemism ‘kafi:f’ (كفيف), while most of the females (39 (26.5%) preferred not to

euphemize their expression by preferring ‘blind’ (أعمى) more than the other expressions. This shows that males use euphemisms more than females when talking about someone who cannot see by his two eyes. Accordingly, gender had a huge effect.

In relation to age, ‘blind’ (أعمى) was preferred by G1 (23(15.6%), G2 (11 (7.5%), G3 (11 (7.5%), G4 (14 (9.5%) and (5 (3.4%). ‘Kafi:f’ (كفيف) was preferred by G1 (12 (8.2%), G2 (8 (5.4%), G3 (3 (2%), G4 (5 (3.4%), and G5 (3 (2%). ‘Sighted’ (بصير) was preferred by G1 (3 (2%), G2 (9 (6.1%), G3 (3 (2%), G4 (8 (5.4%), and G5 (4 (2.7%). ‘He cannot see’ (ما يشوف) was preferred by G1 (9 (6.1%), G2 (9 (6.1%), G3 (2 (1.4%), G4 (4 (2.7%), and G5 (2 (1.4%).

Table 4.8: Frequencies and percentages of Item 8

Expression		أعمى /ʔaʕmā/ blind		كفيف /kaffif/		بصير /basīr/ sighted		ما يشوف /mā-jišūf/ he does not see	
		F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
Gender									
	Male	25	17	25	17	22	15	13	8.8
	Female	39	26.5	6	4.1	4	2.7	13	8.8
Total		64	42.5	31	20.7	26	17.3	26	17.3
Age	Age-Groups	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
	(G1) 20-30	23	15.6	12	8.2	3	2	9	6.1
	(G2) 31-40	11	7.5	8	5.4	9	6.1	9	6.1
	(G3) 41-50	11	7.5	3	2	3	2	2	1.4
	(G4) 51-61	14	9.5	5	3.4	8	5.4	4	2.7
	(G5) 60- above	5	3.4	3	2	3	2	2	1.4
Total		64	42.5	31	20.7	26	17.3	26	17.3

Total	147 (98%)
Missing	3 (2%)

The responses were given to Item 9 ‘How do you describe someone who can see by one eye?’ (ماذا تسمى الشخص الذي يرى بعين واحدة), showed that 39 (26.9%) males and 17 (11.7%) females preferred the term ‘he has a generous eye’ (عينه كريمة), 27 (18.6%) males and 28 (19.3%) females preferred ‘one-eyed’ (أعور), 11 (7.6%) and 9 (6.2%) females preferred ‘has one eye’ (تك عين), and 7 (4.8%) males and 7 (4.8%) females preferred ‘hatched eye’ (عينه مفقوسة). Here, most of the males preferred the euphemism ‘he has a generous eye’ (عينه كريمة) while most of the females (28 (19.3%) preferred ‘one-eyed’ (أعور) to talk about a person who can see by one eye. This indicates that males try to euphemize their expressions more than females when talking about this subject.

The term ‘he has a generous eye’ (عينه كريمة) was preferred by G1 (11 (7.6%), G2 (15 (10.3%), G3 (5 (3.4%), G4 (18 (12.4%), and G5 (7 (4.8%). ‘One-eyed’ (أعور) was preferred by G1 (17 (11.7%), G2 (14 (9.7%), G3 (11 (7.6%), G4 (9 (6.2%), and G5 (4 (2.8%). ‘One-eyed’ (تك عين) was preferred by G1 (10 (6.9%), G2 (4 (2.8%), G3 (3 (2.1%), and G4 (3 (2.1%). Thus, most of the participants from G1 and G3 preferred to use a direct expression ‘one-eyed’ (أعور) whereas most of those from G2, G4 and G5 used the euphemism ‘he has a generous eye’ (عينه كريمة). This shows age had an effect.

Table 4.9: Frequencies and percentages of Item 9

Expression		عينه كريمة /ʕaynah karīma/ his eye is generous		أعور /ʔaʕwar/ one-eyed		تك عين /tak-ʕīn/ he has one eye		مفقوسة عينه /ʕaynah mafqōsa/ his eye is hatched		
Gender		<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	
		<i>Male</i>	39	26.9	27	18.6	11	7.6	7	4.8
		<i>Female</i>	17	11.7	28	19.3	9	6.2	7	4.8
<i>Total</i>		56	37.3	55	36.7	20	13.3	14	9.3	
Age	<i>Age-Groups</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	
	(G1) 20-30	11	7.6	17	11.7	10	6.9	7	4.8	
	(G2) 31-40	15	10.3	14	9.7	4	2.8	4	2.8	
	(G3) 41-50	5	3.4	11	7.6	3	2.1	1	0.7	
	(G4) 51-61	18	12.4	9	6.2	3	2.1	0	0	
	(G5) 60- above	7	4.8	4	2.8	0	0	2	1.4	
<i>Total</i>		56	37.3	55	36.7	20	13.3	14	9.3	

Total	145 (96.7%)
Missing	5 (3.3%)

For Item 10, ‘How do you describe someone who cannot hear?’ (ماذا تسمي الشخص الذي لا يسمع), 42 (28.6%) males and 39 (26.5%) females preferred ‘deaf’ (أطرش), 25 (17%) males and 16 (10.9%) females preferred ‘deaf’ (أصم), 13 (8.8%) males and 7 (4.8%) females preferred ‘has hearing problems’ (عنده مشاكل سمعية), and 4 (2.7%) males and one (0.7%) females preferred ‘his ears are closed’ (أذانه مقللة). That means that the most of the males (42 (28.6%) and females (39 (26.5%) used ‘deaf’ (أطرش) as a direct expression to describe someone who cannot hear. Thus, gender had no effect.

In relation to age, ‘deaf’ (أطرش) was preferred by G1 (27 (18.4%), G2 (17 (11.6%), G3 (13 (8.8%), G4 (18 (12.2%), and G5 (6 (4.1%). The term ‘deaf’ (أصم) was preferred by G1 (11 (7.5%), G2 (13 (8.8%), G3 (4 (2.7%), G4 (11 (7.5%), and G5 (2 (1.4%). ‘he has hearing problems’ (عنده مشاكل عقلية) was preferred by G1 (4 (2.7%), G2 (7 (4.8%), G3 (2

(0%), G4 (2 (1.4%)), and G5 (4 (2.7%)). ‘his ears are closed’ (أذانه مغلقة) was preferred by G1 (4 (2.7%) and G5 (1 (0.7%)). That means age had no effect on the use of euphemism in this case in which all the groups ranked the term ‘deaf’ (أطرش) firstly.

Table 4.10: Frequencies and percentages of Item 10

Expression		أطرش /ʔatraš/ deaf		أصم /ʔasam/ deaf		عنده مشاكل سمعية /ʕindah mašakil samʕja/ he has hearing problems		مغلقة أذانه /ʔiðānah muqafila/ his ears are closed	
		F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
Gender									
	Male	42	28.6	25	17	13	8.8	4	2.7
	Female	39	26.5	16	10.9	7	4.8	1	0.7
Total		81	54	41	27.3	20	13.3	5	3.3
Age	Age-Groups	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
	(G1) 20-30	27	18.4	11	7.5	4	2.7	4	2.7
	(G2) 31-40	17	11.6	13	8.8	7	4.8	0	0
	(G3) 41-50	13	8.8	4	2.7	3	2	0	0
	(G4) 51-61	18	12.2	11	7.5	2	1.4	0	0
	(G5) 60- above	6	4.1	2	1.4	4	2.7	1	0.7
Total		81	54	41	27.3	20	13.3	5	3.3

Total	147 (98%)
Missing	3 (2%)

The responses given to Item 13, ‘How do you describe someone who is crazy?’ (كيف (تصف شخص مجنون), showed that the most preferred term for 43 (29.1%) males and 27 (18.2%) females was ‘crazy’ (مخبل). While 16 (10.8%) males and 17 (11.5%) females preferred ‘has mental problems’ (عنده مشاكل عقلية), 18 (12.2%) males and 10 (6.8%) females preferred ‘the pen is raised from him’ (مرفوع عنه القلم), and 8 (6.1%) males and 9 (5.4%) females preferred ‘his mind is not with him’ (عقله مو عنده). It is seen that the most used term by both the males (43 (29.1%) and females (27 (18.2%) was ‘mad’ (مخبل). Accordingly, gender had no effect on how speakers call a crazy person. This finding is similar to Al-Azzeh’s (2010) finding.

The term ‘crazy’ (مخبل) was mostly preferred by G1 (18.9%), G2 (14 (9.5%), G3 (11 (7.4%), G4 (14 (9.5%), and G5 (3 (2%)). ‘Has mental problems’ (عنده مشاكل عقلية) was preferred by G1 (10 (6.8%), G2 (11 (7.4%), G3 (6 (4.1%), G4 (4 (2.7%), and G5 (2 (1.4%). ‘The pen is raised from him’ (مرفوع عنه القلم) was preferred by G2 (8 (5.4%), G3 (2 (1.4%), G4 (11 (7.4%), and G5 (7 (4.7%). While ‘his mind is not with him’ (عقله مو عنده) was preferred by G1 (8 (5.4%), G2 (5 (3.4%), G3 (2 (0.7%), G4 (2 (1.4%), and G5 (1 (0.7%). We find that G1, G2, G3 and G4 mostly preferred the term ‘mad’ (مخبل) while

G5 preferred the euphemism ‘the pen is raised from him’ (مرفوع عنه القلم). Here, age had affected their use of euphemism.

Table 4.11: Frequencies and percentages of Item 11

Expression		مخبل /mxabal/ crazy		عنده مشاكل عقلية /ʕindah maʕakil ʕaqlija/ he has mental problems		مرفوع عنه القلم /mafūʕ ʕanah ʔalqalam/ the pen is raised from him		عقله مو عنده /ʔaqlitah mu ʕinda/ his mind is not with him	
		<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Gender	<i>Male</i>	43	29.1	16	10.8	18	12.2	8	6.1
	<i>Female</i>	27	18.2	17	11.5	10	6.8	9	5.4
	<i>Total</i>	70	46.7	33	22	28	18.7	17	11.3
Age	<i>Age-Groups</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
	(G1) 20-30	28	18.9	10	6.8	0	0	8	5.4
	(G2) 31-40	14	9.5	11	7.4	8	5.4	5	3.4
	(G3) 41-50	11	7.4	6	4.1	2	1.4	1	0.7
	(G4) 51-61	14	9.5	4	2.7	11	7.4	2	1.4
	(G5) 60- above	3	2	2	1.4	7	4.7	1	0.7
<i>Total</i>		70	46.7	33	22	28	18.7	17	11.3
Total		148 (98.7%)							
Missing		2 (1.3%)							

4.1.4 Findings related to healthy diseases

Item 12, ‘Which expression you use to talk about cancer?’ (ما هي العبارة التي تطلقها للتعبير عن) (مرض السرطان), presented that the term ‘malignant disease’ (مرض خبيث) was preferred by 32 (21.5%) males and 27 (18.1%) females, ‘that disease’ (هذا المرض) was preferred by 15 (10.1%) males and 22 (14.8%) females, 24 (16.1%) males and 9 (6%) females preferred ‘cancer’ (سرطان), 11 (7.4%) males and 7 (4.7%) preferred ‘not good disease’ (مرض مو زين), and ‘deadly disease’ (مرض مميت) was preferred by 2 (1.3%) males. Thus, the euphemism ‘malignant disease’ (مرض خبيث) had the most preferred response by both the males (32 (21.5%) and females (27 (18.1%) while the term ‘cancer’ (سرطان) was preferred by the males more than the females. This indicates that females try to euphemize their expression more than males to talk about cancer. Here, gender had an effect. This finding is similar to the finding of Al-Azzeh (2010).

The term ‘malignant disease’ (مرض خبيث) was preferred by G1(20 (13.4%), G2 (16 (10.7%), G3 (7 (4.7%), G4 (13 (8.7%), and G5 (3 (2%). ‘That disease’ (هذا المرض) was preferred by G1 (9 (6%), G2 (8 (5.4%), G3 (6 (4%), G4 (9 (6%), and G5 (5 (3.4%). ‘Cancer’ (سرطان) was preferred by G1 (16 (10.7%), G2 (4 (2.7%), G3 (5 (3.4%), G4 (5 (3.4%), and G5 (3 (2%). ‘Not good disease’ (مرض مو زين) was preferred by G1 (2

(1.3%), G2 (9 (6%), G3 (2 (1.3%), G4 (3 (2%) and G5 (2 (1.3%). ‘Deadly disease’ (مرض مميت) was preferred by G1 (1 (0.7%) and G2 (1 (0.7%). The euphemism ‘malignant disease’ (مرض خبيث) was preferred mostly by G1, G2, G3 and G4 while G5 preferred ‘that disease’ (هذا المرض). It is concluded that all the groups preferred to euphemize their expressions through talking about cancer. This reflects that age had no effect. This finding does not correspond the finding of Al-Azzeh (2010).

Table 4.12: Frequencies and percentages of Item 12

Expression		مرض خبيث /marad xabiθ/ malignant disease		هذا المرض /haðak ʔlmarad/ that disease		سرطان /Saratān/ cancer		مرض مو زين /marad-mo-zīn/ unwell disease		مرض مميت /marad mumīt/ deadly disease	
		F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
Gender	Male	32	21.5	15	10.1	24	16.1	11	7.4	2	1.3
	Female	27	18.1	22	14.8	9	6	7	4.7	0	0
	Total	59	39.6	37	24.7	33	22	18	12	2	1.3
Age	Age-Groups	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
	(G1) 20-30	20	13.4	9	6	16	10.7	2	1.3	1	0.7
	(G2) 31-40	16	10.7	8	5.4	4	2.7	9	6	1	0.7
	(G3) 41-50	7	4.7	6	4	5	3.4	2	1.3	0	0
	(G4) 51-61	13	8.7	9	6	5	3.4	3	2	0	0
	(G5) 60- above	3	2	5	3.4	3	2	2	1.3	0	0
Total		59	39.6	37	24.7	33	22	18	12	2	1.3

Total	149 (99.3%)
Missing	1 (0.7%)

4.1.5 Findings related to professions

The responses given to Item 13, ‘What do you call someone who cleans streets and collects garbage?’ (ماذا تسمى الشخص الذي يقوم بتنظيف الشوارع وإزالة النفايات), revealed that 51 (34.2%) males and 37 (24.8%) females preferred the term ‘cleanliness worker’ (عامل نظافة), 15 (10.1%) males and 15 (10.1%) females preferred the term ‘dustman’ (زبال), 12 (8.1%) males and 11 (7.4%) females preferred ‘municipality employee’ (موظف بلدية), whereas 6 (4%) males and 2 (1.3%) females preferred ‘garbage collector’ (جامع الأوساخ). It is seen that most of the males (51 (34.2%) and females (37 (24.8%) mostly preferred the euphemism ‘cleanliness worker’ (عامل نظافة). This indicates that gender had no effect on the use of euphemism when calling someone who cleans the streets and collects garbage.

The term ‘cleanliness worker’ (عامل نظافة) was preferred by G1 (26 (17.4%), G2 (19 (12.8%), G3 (14 (9.4%), G4 (21 (14.1%), and G5 (8 (5.4%). ‘Dustman’ (زبال) was preferred by G1 (7 (4.7%), G2 (10 (6.7%), G3 (4 (2.7%), G4 (6 (4%), and G5 (3 (2%). ‘Municipality employee’ (موظف بلدية) was preferred by G1 (10 (6.7%), G2 (7 (4.7%), G3 (1 (0.7%), G4 (4 (2.7%), and G5 (1 (0.7%). ‘Garbage collector’ (جامع الأوساخ) was preferred by G1 (5 (3.4%), G2 (1 (0.7%), G3 (1 (0.7%) and G5 (1 (0.7%). Obviously, all the age groups preferred mostly the euphemism ‘cleanliness worker’ (عامل نظافة). This indicates that age had no effect on the use of euphemism when talking about someone who works in streets cleaning.

Table 4.13: Frequencies and percentages of Item 13

Expression		عامل نظافة /ʕamil nadāfa/ cleanliness worker		زبال /zabāl/ dustman		موظف بلدية /muadaf baladjia/ municipality employee		جامع الأوساخ /gamiʕ ʔawsāx/ garbage collector	
		<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Gender	M/F								
	Male	51	34.2	15	10.1	12	8.1	6	4
	Female	37	24.8	15	10.1	11	7.4	2	1.3
Total		88	58.7	30	20	23	15.3	8	5.3
Age	Age-Groups	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
	(G1) 20-30	26	17.4	7	4.7	10	6.7	5	3.4
	(G2) 31-40	19	12.8	10	6.7	7	4.7	1	0.7
	(G3) 41-50	14	9.4	4	2.7	1	0.7	1	0.7
	(G4) 51-61	21	14.1	6	4	4	2.7	0	0
	(G5) 60- above	8	5.4	3	2	1	0.7	1	0.7
Total		88	58.7	30	20	23	15.3	8	5.3
Total		149 (99.3%)							
Missing		1 (0.7%)							

The participants’ responses to Item 14, ‘What do you call who carries stuffs in markets?’ (ماذا تسمي الشخص الذي ينقل الأغراض في الأسواق), showed that 40 (26.7%) males and 29 (19.3%) females preferred the term ‘porter’ (حمال), 21 (14%) males and 15 (10%) females preferred ‘worker’ (عامل), 8 (5.3%) males and 8 (5.3%) females preferred ‘on God’s door’ (على باب الله), while 16 (10.7%) males and 5 (3.3%) females preferred ‘earner’ (كاسب). It is showed that most of the males participants (40 (26.7%) and females (29 (19.3%) preferred not to euphemize their expressions and preferred the term ‘porter’ (حمال) more than the other euphemisms. That means gender had no effect on their choice.

The term ‘porter’ (حمال) was preferred by G1 (15 (10%), G2 (18 (12%), G3 (13 (8.7%), G4 (17 (11.3%), and G5 (6 (4%). ‘Worker’ (عامل) was preferred by G1 (20 (13.3%), G2 (8 (5.3%), G3 (2 (1.3%), G4 (4 (2.7%) and G5 (2 (1.3%). ‘On God’s door’ (على باب الله) was preferred by G1 (6 (4%), G2 (6 (4%), G3 (3 (2%), G4 (6 (4%), and G5 (2 (2%). ‘Earner’ (كاسب) was preferred by G1 (7 (4.7%), G2 (6 (4%), G3 (2 (1.3%), G4 (4 (2.7%), and G5 (2 (1.3%).

It is seen that G1 preferred mostly the euphemism ‘worker’ (عامل) while the rest of groups preferred the term ‘porter’ (حمال). This shows that age played a role in the use of euphemism when talking about the profession of a person carries stuffs in markets.

Table 4.14: Frequencies and percentages of Item 14

Expression		حمال /hammāl/ porter		عامل /ʕāmil/ worker		على باب الله /ʔalā bāb ʔallah/ on God’s door		كاسب /kāsiḅ/ earner	
		<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Gender									
	Male	40	26.7	21	14	8	5.3	16	10.7
	Female	29	19.3	15	10	16	10.7	5	3.3
Total		69	46	36	24	24	16	21	14
Age	Age-Groups	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
	(G1) 20-30	15	10	20	13.3	6	4	7	4.7
	(G2) 31-40	18	12	8	5.3	6	4	6	4
	(G3) 41-50	13	8.7	2	1.3	3	2	2	1.3
	(G4) 51-61	17	11.3	4	2.7	6	4	4	2.7
	(G5) 60- above	6	4	2	1.3	3	2	2	1.3
Total		69	46	36	24	24	16	21	14
Total		150 (100%)							
Missing		0 (0%)							

Fore Item 15, ‘How do you describe someone who asks people for money’ (ماذا تسمي) (الشخص الذي يطلب المال من الناس), the term ‘beggar’ (مجدي) was preferred by 26 (17.3%) males and 17 (11.3%) females, ‘poor’ (فقير) was preferred by 17 (11.3%) males and 16 (10.7%) females, ‘needy’ (محتاج) was preferred by 17 (11.3%) males and 15 (10%) females, ‘seeker for alms’ (شاحوذ) was preferred by 13 (8.7%) males and 10 (6.7%) females, whereas ‘prissy’ (متعفف) was preferred by 12 (8%) males and 7 (4.7%) females. This finding shows that the most preferred term for the males (26 (17.3%) and females (17 (11.3%) was the term ‘beggar’ which not a euphemized expression. Also the term ‘poor’ (فقير) was also preferred by both males and females. This indicates there is no

difference in the use of euphemism for this subject between males and females. That means gender had no effect.

The term ‘beggar’ (مجدّي) was preferred by G1 (12 (8%), G2 (10 (6.7%), G3 (8 (5.3%), G4 (9 (6%), and G5 (4 (2.7%). ‘Poor’ (فقير) was preferred by G1 (17 (11.3%), G2 (7 (4.7%), G3 (2 (1.3%), G4 (2 (1.3%) and G5 (4 (2.7%). ‘Needy’ (محتاج) was preferred by G1 (7 (4.7%), G2 (10 (6.7%), G3 (5 (3.3%), G4 (6 (4%), and G5 (4 (2.7%). ‘Seeker’ (شاحوذ) was preferred by G1 (8 (5.3%), G2 (5 (3.3%), G3 (1 (0.7%) and G4 (9 (6%). Clearly, G1 preferred mostly the term ‘poor’ (فقير), G2 preferred mostly ‘beggar’ (مجدّي) and ‘needy’ (محتاج), G3 preferred ‘beggar’ (مجدّي), G4 preferred ‘beggar’ (مجدّي) and ‘seeker’ (شاحوذ), and G5 preferred ‘beggar’ (مجدّي) and ‘needy’ (محتاج). This suggests that age had an effect on the use of euphemism on naming a person who asks people for money.

Table 4.15: Frequencies and percentages of Item 15

Expression		مجدّي /Mgadī/ beggar		فقير /faqīr/ poor		محتاج /Muhtāg/ needy		شاحوذ /Šāhūd/ beggar		متعفف /mutʔafif/ prissy	
		F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
Gender											
	Male	26	17.3	17	11.3	17	11.3	13	8.7	12	8
	Female	17	11.3	16	10.7	15	10	10	6.7	7	4.7
Total		43	28.7	33	22	32	21.3	23	15.3	19	12.7
Age	Age-Groups	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
	(G1) 20-30	12	8	17	11.3	7	4.7	8	5.3	4	2.7
	(G2) 31-40	10	6.7	7	4.7	10	6.7	5	3.3	6	4
	(G3) 41-50	8	5.3	2	1.3	5	3.3	1	0.7	4	2.7
	(G4) 51-61	9	6	4	2.7	6	4	9	6	3	2
	(G5) 60- above	4	2.7	3	2	4	2.7	0	0	2	1.3
Total		43	28.7	33	22	32	21.3	23	15.3	19	12.7

Total	150 (100%)
Missing	0 (0%)

4.1.6 Findings related to bodily description

As it is seen in Table (4.16), responses given for Item 16, ‘How do you describe a fat person?’ (ماذا تسمي الشخص السمين), showed that the term ‘fat’ (سمين) was preferred by 54 (36%) males and 34 (22.7%) females, ‘filled’ (شخص متروس) was preferred by 18 (12%) males and 7 (4.7%) females, ‘he has extra weight’ (عنده زيادة بالوزن) was preferred by 8 (5.3%) males and 12 (8%) females, and ‘bear’ (دبّوب) was preferred by 5 (3.3%)

males and 12 (8%) females. It is seen that the most preferred expression by the males (54 (36%) and females (34 (22.7%) was ‘fat’ (سمين). This shows that both males and females preferred not to euphemize their expressions when they want to describe someone who is fat. Thus, gender had no effect.

The term ‘fat’ was preferred by G1 (30 (20%), G2 (20 (13.3%), G3 (15 (10%), G4 (16 (10.7%) and G5 (7 (4.7%). ‘Filled person’ (شخص متروس) was preferred by G1 (3 (2%), G2 (10 (6.7%), G3 (1 (0.7%), G4 (6 (4%), and G5 (5 (3.3%). ‘He has extra weight’ (عنده زيادة بالوزن) was preferred by G1 (7 (4.7%), G2 (7 (4.7%), G3 (2 (1.3%) and G4 (4 (2.7%). ‘bear’ (دبوب) was preferred by G1 (8 (5.3%), G2 (1 (0.7%), G3 (2 (1.3%), G4 (5 (3.3%) and G5 (1 (0.7%). The finding presents that all the age groups preferred mostly the term ‘fat’ (سمين). This indicates that IA speakers not always use euphemisms to describe a fat person. Here, age had no effect.

Table 4.16: Frequencies and percentages of Item 16

Expression		سمين /Samīn/ fat		متروس /Matrūs/ filled		عنده زيادة بالوزن /ʔindah zjiāda bilwazin/ he has extra weight		دبوب /Dabdüb/ bear	
		F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
Gender	Male	54	36	18	12	8	5.3	5	3.3
	Female	34	22.7	7	4.7	12	8	12	8
	Total	88	58.7	25	16.7	20	13.3	17	11.3
Age	Age-Groups	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P
	(G1) 20-30	30	20	3	2	7	4.7	8	5.3
	(G2) 31-40	20	13.3	10	6.7	7	4.7	1	0.7
	(G3) 41-50	15	10	1	0.7	2	1.3	2	1.3
	(G4) 51-61	16	10.7	6	4	4	2.7	5	3.3
	(G5) 60- above	7	4.7	5	3.3	0	0	1	0.7
Total		88	58.7	25	16.7	20	13.3	17	11.3
Total		150 (100%)							
Missing		0 (0%)							

For Item 17, ‘How do you describe a short person?’ (ماذا تسمي الشخص قصير القامة), the term ‘short’ (قصير) was preferred by 45 (30.2%) males and 42 (28.2%) females, ‘medium-sized’ (مربع) was preferred by 16 (10.7%) males and 7 (4.7%) females, ‘dwarf’ (قزم) was preferred by 17 (11.4%) males and 5 (3.4%) females, and ‘not tall’ (مو طويل) was preferred by 6 (4%) males and 11 (7.4%) females. Here, we see that most the males (45 (30.2%) and females (42 (28.2%) preferred the term ‘short’ (قصير) to describe someone short without euphemizing their expression. In this case, gender had no effect on the use of euphemism.

The term ‘short’ (قصير) was preferred by G1 (25 (16.8%), G2 (20 (13.4%), G3 (13 (8.7%), G4 (22 (14.8%), and G5 (7 (4.7%). ‘medium-sized’ (مربع) was preferred by G1 (2 (1.3%), G2 (11 (7.4%), G3 (4 (2.7%), G4 (4 (2.7%) and G5 (2 (1.3%). The term ‘dwarf’ (قزم) was preferred by G1 (12 (8.1%), G2 (5 (3.4%), G3 (2 (1.3%) and G4 (3 (2%). ‘Not tall’ (مو طويل) was preferred by G1 (9 (6%), G2 (1 (0.7%), G3 (1 (0.7%), G4 (2 (1.3%) and G5 (4 (2.7%). This states that all groups preferred mostly the term ‘short’ (قصير) and not to use euphemisms. This shows that age had no effect on the use of euphemism in describing a short person.

Table 4.17: Frequencies and percentages of Item 17

Expression		قصير /Kasīr/ short		مربع /marbū? medium-sized		قزم /Qizim/ dwarf		مو طويل /mu-tuwīl/ not tall	
		<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Gender	<i>Male</i>	45	30.2	16	10.7	17	11.4	6	4
	<i>Female</i>	42	28.2	7	4.7	5	3.4	11	7.4
	<i>Total</i>	87	58	23	15.3	22	14.7	17	11.3
Age	<i>Age-Groups</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
	(G1) 20-30	25	16.8	2	1.3	12	8.1	9	6
	(G2) 31-40	20	13.4	11	7.4	5	3.4	1	0.7
	(G3) 41-50	13	8.7	4	2.7	2	1.3	1	0.7
	(G4) 51-61	22	14.8	4	2.7	3	2	2	1.3
	(G5) 60- above	7	4.7	2	1.3	0	0	4	2.7
<i>Total</i>		87	58	23	15.3	22	14.7	17	11.3
Total		149 (99.3%)							
Missing		1 (0.7%)							

4.1.7 Findings related to honorifics

Table (4.18) revealed the responses to Item 18, ‘How do you address an old man?’ (أي من هذه الألقاب تستخدم لتصف رجل مسن), 40 (26.7%) males and 33 (22%) females preferred the term ‘pilgrim’ (حجي), 30 (20%) males and 19 (12.7%) females preferred ‘white-headed man’ (شايب), 40 (26.7%) males and 33 (22%) females preferred ‘old man’ (رجل كبير), and 30 (20%) males and 19 (12.7%) females preferred ‘exhausted man’ (كضيان). It is seen that most of the males (40 (26.7%) and females (33 (22%) preferred the euphemisms ‘pilgrim’ (حجي) and ‘old man’ (زلمة كبير) more than the other expressions. This indicates that gender had no effect. This finding is similar to the finding of Ghounane (2013).

The term ‘pilgrim’ (حجّي) was preferred by G1 (24 (16%), G2 (19 (12.7%), G3 (9 (6%), G4 (16 (10.7%), and G5 (5 (3.3%). ‘White-headed man’ (شايب) was preferred by G1 (19 (12.7%), G2 (9 (6%), G3 (9 (6%), G4 (8 (5.3%) and G5 (4 (2.7%). ‘Old man’ (رجل كبير) was preferred by G1 (24 (16%), G2 (19 (12.7%), G3 (9 (6%), G4 (16 (10.7%) and G5 (5 (3.3%). ‘Exhausted man’ (كضيان) was preferred by G1 (19 (12.7%), G2 (9 (6%), G3 (9 (6%), G4 (8 (5.3%) and G5 (4 (2.7%). Most of the participants from all the groups preferred the two euphemisms ‘pilgrim’ (حجّي) and ‘old man’ (زلمة كبير) to call an old man. This indicates that age had no effect.

Table 4.18: Frequencies and percentages of Item 18

Expression		حجّي		شايب		زلمة كبير		كضيان	
		/hadḡī/ pilgrim		/Šājib/ white-headed man		/zlima kabīr/ old man		/gadijān/ exhausted	
Gender		<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
	Male	40	26.7	30	20	40	26.7	30	20
	Female	33	22	19	12.7	33	22	19	12.7
<i>Total</i>		73	48.7	49	32.7	25	16.7	3	2
Age	<i>Age-groups</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
	(G1) 20-30	24	16	19	12.7	24	16	19	12.7
	(G2) 31-40	19	12.7	9	6	19	12.7	9	6
	(G3) 41-50	9	6	9	6	9	6	9	6
	(G4) 51-61	16	10.7	8	5.3	16	10.7	8	5.3
	(G5) 60- above	5	3.3	4	2.7	5	3.3	4	2.7
<i>Total</i>		73	48.7	49	32.7	25	16.7	3	2
Total		150 (100%)							
Missing		0 (0%)							

The responses given to Item 19, ‘How do you address an old woman?’ (أي من هذه الألقاب) showed that the term ‘pilgrim’ (حجّية) was preferred by 41 (27.3%) males and 34 (22.7%) females, while 29 (19.3%) males and 15 (10%) females preferred ‘aged woman’ (عجوز), 14 (9.3%) males and 13 (8.7%) females preferred ‘old woman’ (مرّة كبيرة), whereas one (0.7%) male and 3 (2%) females preferred ‘exhausted’ (كضيانة). This indicates that the preferred euphemism for the males and females was ‘pilgrim’ (حجّية). Thus, gender had no effect. This finding is similar to the finding of Ghounane (2013).

The term ‘pilgrim’ (حجّية) was preferred by G1 (24 (16%), G2 (21 (14%), G3 (9 (6%), G4 (15 (10%) and G5 (6 (4%). ‘Aged woman’ (عجوز) was preferred by G1 (15 (10%),

G2 (8 (5.3%), G3 (6 (4%), G4 (11 (7.3%) and G5 (4 (2.7%). ‘Old woman’ (مرة كبيرة) was preferred by G1 (8 (5.3%), G2 (8 (5.3%), G3 (4 (2.7%), G4 (4 (2.7%) and G5 (3 (2%). ‘Exhausted’ (كضيانة) was preferred once (0.7%) for G1, G2, G3 and G4. We see that most of the participants preferred mostly the euphemism ‘pilgrim’ (حجبة). Thus, age had no effect.

Table 4.19: Frequencies and percentages of Item 19

Expression		حجبة /hidzjia/ pilgrim		عجوز /ʕagūz/ aged woman		مرة كبيرة /mara kabīra/ old woman		كضيانة /gadijāna/ exhausted	
		<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Gender									
	<i>Male</i>	41	27.3	29	19.3	14	9.3	1	0.7
	<i>Female</i>	34	22.7	15	10	13	8.7	3	2
<i>Total</i>		75	50	44	29.3	27	18	4	2.7
Age	<i>Age-Groups</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
	(G1) 20-30	24	16	15	10	8	5.3	1	0.7
	(G2) 31-40	21	14	8	5.3	8	5.3	1	0.7
	(G3) 41-50	9	6	6	4	4	2.7	1	0.7
	(G4) 51-61	15	10	11	7.3	4	2.7	1	0.7
	(G5) 60- above	6	4	4	2.7	3	2	0	0
<i>Total</i>		75	50	44	29.3	27	18	4	2.7
Total		150 (100%)							
Missing		0 (0%)							

4.2 Discussions

4.2.1 Euphemisms and gender

The idea that gender influences the way people speak had been adapted by many researchers. Lakoff (1975) tried to prove that women choose polite expressions in their talking more than men. Fitriani, Syarif & Wahyuni (2019) stated that gender affects the linguistic choices and influences the use of euphemism. Similarly, Zaiets (2018) investigated the use of euphemism by both males and females and found that males were less aware to use euphemistic expressions than women. Saad (2017) agreed the notion that women are more polite than men and concluded his study by claiming that women euphemize their expressions more than men. Such those researches motivated the researcher to put a hypothesis for the current research that gender would have an effect on how IA speakers use euphemisms through communication. Generally, the findings of this study proved a point of view that gender does not always influence the use of euphemism by the speakers.

In the current study, the findings in relation to death in Item 1, Item 2 and Item 3 claimed the same view of Mofarrej and Al-Haq (2015) as they stated that gender is not very crucial factor that affects the speaker's use of euphemisms of death. In the three mentioned items, it is noticed that both males and females highly chose euphemisms to talk about death. These findings reflect the social view towards death in which IA speakers avoid to use the terms of death directly because the subject of death is hated, and using indirect expressions through talking about it is a social norm in IA. It was noticed that some euphemisms have religious or emotional connotations that influence the choice of euphemisms by the speakers. Religious factors could be considered as they motivate the speakers to use more indirect and polite expressions. This is clearly appeared in how most of the participants preferred to use the euphemism 'He moved to the mercy of God' (انتقل إلى رحمة الله) and 'the late' (المرحوم) which have a religious connotation. The Iraqi society is religious and affected by the principles of religions. Therefore, the impact of religions is shown in the use of language by its people as they

believe that there is God and there is a life after death, so they think that when a person dies, they ask God to be merciful with him/her.

The effect of gender had its power on the choice of euphemisms through talking about sexuality. The finding in Item 3 showed that most of males used the expression 'he fornicated with her' (يزني بيها) while females preferred mostly the euphemism 'he has an illegal relationship with her' (عنده علاقة غير شرعية وياها) when they were asked to talk about a person who has a sexual relationship with a woman not his wife. This effect did not work when they were asked about a child who was delivered by adultery, in which most of males and females did not use euphemisms to describe the child. In addition, when the participants were asked to name the sexual movie, the answers of the females were more euphemized than the answers of males. Most of the females preferred the euphemism 'immoral movie' while males preferred 'porn movie' and 'sexy movie'. The variation in the use of euphemism concerning the topics of sexuality shows that gender influences that use. These findings support the view of Ghounane (2013) who found that gender influences the use of euphemism towards sexuality.

Socially, the topic of sexuality in Iraq is so sensitive and is not talked freely and directly. This topic is embarrassing for females more than males because of religious and social teachings that invite females to show shyness and politeness in their characters. Therefore, it agrees with the findings how females avoided talking about sexuality directly.

In relation to healthy disabilities, it is shown that the participants mostly did not euphemize their expressions when talking about disabled people. Accordingly, gender played very little in choosing the preferred expression. Items 7, 8 and 9 revealed the unexpected variation in euphemizing. In Item 7, most of males and females preferred using the euphemism 'handicapped' (مشلول) to describe a person who cannot walk on his feet. Item 8 showed that females avoided using euphemisms by preferring the direct expression 'blind' (أعمى), whereas males mostly preferred the same expression and the euphemism 'sighted' (بصير) in similar frequencies. In Item 9, males also preferred to euphemize their expression, when talking about who can see by only one eye, by choosing 'he has a generous eye' (عينه كريمة). Whereas most of females chose a direct expression 'one-eyed' (أعور). Seeing one-eyed people is so rare in societies, but because of wars this state increased within the soldiers, for example, and even for children who

had been delivered and could see by one eye. In Iraq, it is impolite to call someone who sees by one eye as 'one-eyed'.

Item 10 showed that most of males and females preferred not to euphemize their expressions by calling 'deaf' (أطرش) to a person cannot hear. Item 11 showed the same result of Item 10 in which most of males and females preferred the direct expression 'mad' (مخبل) to call a person who has a mental problems. That shows that gender has a role in affecting the use of euphemism when talking about healthy disabilities.

In regards to diseases, it is revealed from Item 12 that both males and females try to avoid talking about cancer directly. The majority preferred the euphemism 'malignant disease' (مرض خبيث) to talk about cancer. This supports the suggestion that Arabic people in general do not talk about cancer openly (Yousif, 2017). The avoidance of direct expression of cancer is related to the fear of this disease as a deadly one. In Iraq, this disease has been spread to a high level because of the danger of the nuclear weapons which were used in the war of 1990, and also the low rate of medical care in Iraq. Thus, people are afraid even from saying the disease's name. Here, it is possible to say that gender has no effect on the use of euphemism in talking about healthy topics in IA.

When it comes to professions, Item 13 showed that most of males and females tried to use the euphemism 'cleanliness worker' (عامل نظافة) to call who clean streets and collect garbage. This reflects the social view towards the worker and collector of garbage as he has an important role in keeping their cities clean. It could be said that the Iraqis show much respect and appreciate this kind of professions. This appreciation comes from the fact that this profession is considered a low job in society, and actually the workers of this job are uneducated and poor. Therefore, the society tries to enhance and appreciate them.

In contrast, most of the participants did not euphemize their expression when talking about a person who carries stuffs and goods in markets by choosing the expression 'porter' (حمال) in Item 14. This also happened with calling a person who asks people for money, as most of them preferred not to euphemize their expression by choosing 'beggar' (مجدي) in Item 15. The use of direct expressions reflects the social view towards the beggars. The society does not give excuses to those who prefer not to work hard to get money. So, these people are lazy and, especially after the war of 2003, the numbers

of beggars increased. As a result, it became not easy to believe the beggars when they ask them for money. Hence, it is seen that gender had not highly influenced the use of euphemism.

The majority of males and females in the study did not preferred the euphemistic expressions when they talk about body description. In Item 16 they preferred mostly the direct expression 'fat' (سمين) to describe a person who has over-weight, and in Item 17 the expression 'short' (قصير) was mostly preferred by both males and females. This gives a signal that gender has no effect in this area of communication. This finding was shocking for the researcher because he observed that people in Iraq consider this type of description an insulting and embarrassing for the short or fat person. This is due to one of the beauty standards in Iraq is not to be short or fat. Therefore, when calling someone 'fat' or 'short', it could be direct expressions that make the hearer unpleasant.

Lastly, in Items 18 and 19, it was revealed that most of the males and females in all the age-groups preferred to use 'hazi' (حجية) to call an old man, and 'hazjia' (حجبية) to call an old woman. What is important to be said here is the word 'hazi' literally means the one who visited Makkah to perform pilgrimage as an Islamic term, but in IA it does not matter if that old man or woman had visited Makkah or not. It is said to call him/her naturally as a way of showing respect and politeness to him/her. This is what Kadim (2008) suggested that IA speakers use honorifics to show politeness and respect for old and aged people. The findings of the current study showed that both males and females mostly preferred to use honorifics to call an old man or woman with no effect of gender.

4.2.2 Euphemism and age

In Items 1, 2 and 3 which are related to death, it is revealed that most of males and females euphemized their expression when talking about death. The euphemisms 'he moved to the mercy of God' (انتقل إلى رحمة الله), 'the late' (المرحوم) and 'fatiha' (فاتحة) were mostly preferred. This shows that age has no effect on the use of euphemisms toward death. This suggests that death in IA is a "fear-based taboo" that pushes speakers to express indirectly when dealing with the topic of death (Allan & Burrige, 1991, p.153). This agrees what Storr (1985) concluded that the use of euphemism is influenced by generations.

In contrast, the findings on sexuality presented that age influences the use of euphemisms. It is offered that most of the age groups preferred mostly the euphemism 'he has an illegal relationship with her' (عنده علاقة غير شرعية وياها) except G4 in which using direct expression 'he fornicates with her' (يزني بيها) was preferred when they talk about a person who has a sexual relationship with a woman not his wife by choosing the euphemism 'he has an illegal relationship with her' (عنده علاقة غير شرعية معها). In Item 5, G1, G3, G4 and G5 used the term 'bastard' (ابن حرام) more than the other expressions, whereas G2 preferred mostly the euphemism 'foundling' (لقيط) when the participants were asked to call a child that was delivered by adultery. In Item 6, it is noticed that the participants in G1 and G2 preferred the expression 'porn movie' (فلم إباحي) while those from G3 preferred the expression 'sexual movie', G4 and G5 preferred the euphemism 'immoral movie' (فلم غير أخلاقي) when they describe a sexual movie.

The participants did not use euphemism when they talked about someone who cannot see by his two eyes. This is clear when all the age groups preferred not to use the given euphemisms, instead, they preferred 'blind' (أعمى). Where it is offered that participants in G1 and G3 preferred to use direct expressions more than the given euphemisms, and those in G2, G4 and G5 used the euphemism 'he has a generous eye' (عينه كريمة) to talk about a person can see only by one eye. All groups did not euphemize the expression when they talk about a person cannot hear, by choosing 'deaf' (أطرش). While participants in G5 chose the euphemism 'the pen is raised from him' (القلم مرفوع عنه) to talk about a person has mental problems; in contrast, the other groups chose the expression 'mad' (مخبل).

Based on the findings of using euphemism to diseases, the participants in all the groups avoid to talk about cancer directly, instead, they preferred 'malignant disease' (مرض خبيث). When they were asked to talk about a person who has healthy problems, all the age-groups used mostly a direct expression 'sick' (مريض).

In relation to professions, the participants tended to choose a euphemistic expression to call a person who cleans the streets and collects garbage as they chose the euphemism 'a cleanliness worker' (عامل نظافة). This goes side by side with Al-Azzeh's (2010) conclusion that people try to show respect and appreciation to unpleasant occupations.

Also, in Item 14, the majority of the participants used the expressions ‘worker’ (عامل) and ‘porter’ (حمل) to talk about a person works in markets.

It is represented in the findings that most of the participants in all the age-groups preferred not to euphemize their expression when they describe a short or fat person, in which the direct adjectives ‘short’ (قصير) and ‘fat’ (سمين) were highly preferred. Whereas the participants from all the age-groups mostly preferred to use honorifics to call an old man or woman by using ‘pilgrim’ (حجي) and ‘pilgrim’ (حجبة). That means age has no effect in this area of communication.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 Overview

This study investigated the use of euphemism in IA and the role of age and gender as social factors in influencing this use. In this sense, this study determined the following three questions:

- 1- To what extent do Iraqi speakers of Arabic use euphemistic expressions when communicating about topics referring to death, diseases, disabilities, occupations, sexuality and honorifics?
- 2- How does age-differentiation influence the use of euphemism by Iraqi speakers of Arabic?
- 3- How does gender-differentiation influence the use of euphemisms by Iraqi speakers of Arabic?

In this quantitative method research, 150 native speakers of IA from four regions in Iraq participated in answering a questionnaire developed by the researcher, as they were given 19 questions with 4 to 5 possible answers (See Appendix A). Data were collected and analyzed by using the common computer software SPSS. This chapter presents a summary of the findings and results of the study. After that, an explanation comes to shed lights on the pedagogical and sociolinguistic implications of the study. At last, suggestions for further researcher are characterized.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

Depending on the findings, generally, the study concluded that the IA speakers believe that there are many topics considered tabooed and should not be expressed directly. This belief differs among the speakers according to the effects of cultural, contextual and situational factors. Those topics are death, sexuality, healthy disabilities, diseases, professions and honorification. This gives an overview that IA speakers try to show politeness and respect in their speech.

The findings in relation to death showed that most of the participants preferred the euphemisms 'He moved to the mercy of God' (انتقل إلى رحمة الله) to talk about someone

who had died, 'the late' (المرحوم) to describe a died person, and 'fatiha' (فاتحة) to name the occasion of death. Accordingly, it is shown that IA speakers consider death as a tabooed topic and should be euphemized. Most of the males and females in all their ages preferred to use euphemistic expressions and avoided talking about death directly. That means gender and age are not necessary meaningful factors on how IA speakers view death. Those findings reflect the social view towards death in which IA speakers avoid using the terms of death directly because the subject of death is hated, and used indirect expressions through talking about it is a social norm in IA.

In relation to sexuality, more than half of the participants tended to euphemize their expressions when talking about a person who has a sexual relationship with a woman not his wife, but most of them avoided using euphemism when talking about a child was delivered by adultery. This means, IA speakers are aware to the sensitivity of sexuality as a topic that should be euphemized.

Also, most of the males did not choose euphemisms the way the females did. It is a clear statement that gender affects the use of euphemism in this topic. Age influences the use of euphemism but not in the same line of what was expected that elderly people use euphemisms more than young. This view is not applied here, in which it is shown that in responses to the items concerning sexuality, young people also use euphemism not only elderly.

Moreover, most of the participants preferred not to euphemize their expression when talking about a person who cannot walk on his feet. Most of them also preferred to use 'blind' (أعمى) as a direct expression to call a person who cannot see by his two eyes. While most of them euphemized their expressions by preferring the euphemism 'he has a generous eye' (عينه كريمة) to talk about a person who can see by only one eye. Again, more than half of the participants preferred the term 'deaf' (أطرش) to talk about a person who cannot hear, and preferred to use a direct expression 'mad' (مخبل) to describe a person who is crazy. This indicates that IA speakers do not use euphemism mostly to talk about healthy disabilities. As well as, we see that most males and females in different age-groups did not use euphemism to an extent that shows their awareness to the use of euphemism in talking about disabilities.

Again, from the findings for using euphemism for diseases, most of the participants did not use euphemism to describe the healthy status of someone by preferring the term 'sick' (مريض). Moreover, most of the participants tended to euphemize their expression when talking about cancer by preferring the euphemism 'malignant disease' (مرض خبيث) instead of using direct expressions. Here, gender and age had no effect on that use. This is due to the fear of cancer which is a common disease in Iraq. This fear of cancer pushes people to avoid mentioning its name directly because they know this disease is a deadly one.

In relation to professions, the findings showed that the most of the participants preferred to use euphemism to name a person who cleans the streets, most of them did not use euphemism to name a person who carries stuffs and goods in markets, and the term 'beggar' (مجدي) was preferred to name a person who asks people for money. We notice that speakers of IA use euphemisms for certain professions only. Age and gender are not constantly considered crucial factors that influences the way the speakers use to talk about professions.

It was also found that that most of the participants in did not give efforts to use euphemism when talking about bodily description, in which the majority preferred the term 'fat' (سمين) to call a fat person and 'short' (قصير). It can be said here that speakers of IA do not use euphemisms for this topic, instead, they use directness with no consideration to age and gender.

It is clear that speakers of IA do not use euphemisms to call the country president in which most of the participants did not preferred using honorifics. The researcher suggests that the Iraqis hate politics and politicians due to the absence of trust between the people and the politicians. Therefore, the speakers of IA do not show much respect to their political leaders. Moreover, it appears that most of Iraqis do not say their wives'/husbands' names when talking to strangers, instead, they use honorifics. This is due to the tradition that the wife does not mention her husband's name without an honorific and the husband does not mention his wife's name in front of strangers as a kind of privacy and respect. Lastly, the findings showed that most of the participants used the honorifics 'hadzi' (حجي) and 'hadzija' (حجية) to call an old man or woman. According to the researcher's view, the Iraqis show respect and consideration to the old

people and consider that as a part of their culture. What can be said about this category is age and gender can influence the use of honorifics.

Above all, it is suggested that the findings of the current study agree with Zaiets (2018) in which females, more than males, use more polite ways and euphemisms to talk about tabooed topics through their social communication in certain situations and topics but this preference is not important in other ones. That gives an outcome that gender-differentiation can be considered an effective social factor but to certain limits. In contrast, age-differentiation is not a meaningful factor in determining how people use euphemisms because the findings did not give a clear image about the effectiveness of age-differentiation since the young people tended to use indirect expressions as same as elderly or more. Therefore, saying that elderly people use polite expressions more than young is not persuasive to that much for the researcher.

Generally speaking, the study provided insights into how people could manage their social interactions successfully using their linguistic strategies and cultural knowledge. This suggests that language is not only a tool for communication but also an instrument of action (Björgvinsson, 2011).

As a linguistic strategy, the use of euphemisms reflects cultural and religious values of the society. People can manage linguistic taboos successfully in their interactions with each other by using their linguistic skills and depending on their cultural backgrounds. Even the Islamic and Arabic principles advocate the speakers to mitigate their speech concerning the tabooed topics, it is revealed that the IA speakers use euphemisms in their social interactions, but at the same time they are in need to raise their awareness and reinforce their use in order to enhance their communication actively and build harmonious social relationships.

It was hypothesized in the beginning of the study that age may play an important role in how people use language but, based on the findings of the present study, that suggestion was not effective. Age is not always a very considerable factor that influences the use of language. Apparently, it considers effective and influencing in a certain society but it does not in another. That belongs to the values and beliefs of each society in which the view towards life affairs differ according to the age of speakers. This does not mean that the speaker's experiences of life determine how he/she uses language because

sometimes it is possible to find an old man talking in an impolite way, while a young man could communicate more politely. Thus, it depends on how cultural values and beliefs constitute and determine the acceptable or appropriate linguistic ways for the society.

In relation to gender, it was always viewed as an effective social factor in all the linguistic categories of communication. The findings of the current study supported this view with a little difference. It's a linguistic phenomenon in all languages that gender influences the use of language by the speakers. Generally, women are expected to talk more politely than men. This expectation was proved in the findings but the difference was within the mentioned generalization. Sometimes men become more polite than women, and other times both of them seem less polite. This goes across the generalized notion in terms of politeness. That means using euphemisms is not always related to women more than men. Again, the influence of cultural and contextual values gets in the circle to affect the speaker's choices of language. Though gender has its effect on the linguistic preferences of the speakers, this notion is not applied to all the language categories. Death (for example) was concluded in the findings that most of the participants, males and females, preferred to euphemize their expressions. There was no privilege for females or males. Thus, gender is an effective social factor but for certain topics not for all.

5.3 Implications of the Study

Sociolinguistics studies languages in relation to societies. It investigates how the social structure and factors constitute the language used by its users. Sociolinguistics fled the traditional view of language that it could be studied only linguistically; instead, it expanded the study of language to be studied in relation to societies. Sociolinguistics studies the way a speaker uses based on many factors. Age, gender, social status, level of education, region and religion are all considered social factors which affect the use of language. The study of sociolinguistics gives us answers to why there is a linguistic variation in male/female lexical usage for example, why old people tend to use expressions differ from those are used by young, and why the linguistic choices of the educated people differ from those are chosen by the ordinary people. This carries a

message that using language is not only a tool for communication but it is a tool that identifies humans' identities and characters.

It is believed that knowing language is not enough for a language learner to be competent in this language; moreover, having an adequate knowledge of this language allows the learner to know how to use the language appropriately in its social contexts. This knowledge includes knowing the cultural and social backgrounds for the society in which the language is used. This point leads us to a fact that the cultural and social knowledge of a language is significant in EFL to the level that it could be said that the learners can master the language and allow them to use it appropriately. The appropriateness means that the learners become aware to when and how they use language according to the contexts and situations, not only knowing its vocabulary and structures.

Through the process of teaching, paying attention to the learner's attitude is necessary because when the learner has a positive attitude to the language or the teacher of the language, this can facilitate the process of learning. In reverse, if the learner's attitude toward the language or the teacher of the language is negative, this can make it difficult. Therefore, the researcher agrees the view of Bayyurt (2013, p.69) that "curriculum and instruction can be arranged to promote positive attitudes toward the foreign language to be learned and nationalities associated with the language".

Broadly speaking, sociolinguistics may assist to present a clear image of the relationship between the language and the educational institutes, schools for example. It helps to improve the significant components of education, for example; curriculums which open the doors for the linguistic diversity for all learners. Moreover, understanding the cultural and contextual backgrounds can help to improve and create various teaching methods.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Research

Sociolinguistics is an interesting field of study, but when it links with Pragmatics, it becomes more interesting because a sociopragmatic study gives a close understanding to the way the social factors work with the topics of Pragmatics. As it is in the present study, using of euphemism was studied under the effect of age and gender in IA. The

study may open the door for more researchers to study the use of euphemism at various categories and investigate the effect of other social factors in how speakers use indirect expressions to show politeness and respect, and keep the hearers' face through their daily communication in IA. It is suggested to expand the number of participants in future researches, and interestingly cover a number of Iraqi cities and regions. Moreover, the participants could have been chosen more carefully. For instance, if their religious and personal traits were different and not kept constant. Hence, it can be recommended that rigorous sampling could be beneficial for the new researches.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Arabic Version of the Questionnaire

Appendix B: The English Version of the Questionnaire

APPENDIX A: The Arabic Version of the Questionnaire

عزيزي المشارك:

يعتبر هذا الاستبيان هو أداة لجمع المعلومات لدراسة ظاهرة التلطف في التعبير عند متحدثي اللغة العربية في العراق ودور العمر والجنس في استخدام العبارات التلطيفية أثناء التواصل الاجتماعي اليومي. علماً أن هذه الدراسة تعتبر جزءاً من متطلبات نيل شهادة الماجستير في علم اللغة الاجتماعي/ قسم اللغة والأدب الانكليزي/ جامعة اسطنبول آيدن في تركيا. وتجدر الإشارة إلى أن الدراسة الحالية اعتمدت في جانبها التطبيقي على دراستي (العزة، 2010) و(غنون، 2013).

يؤكد الباحث أن هذه الدراسة تُقام لغرض أكاديمي وعلمي بحت، وأن البيانات والمعلومات التي سوف ترد في الاستبيان ستبقى سرية ولن تُسبب أي ضرر للمشارك، لهذا يُرجى التفضل بالإجابة على الأسئلة الواردة بشكل دقيق وموضوعي من خلال وضع علامة (✓) أمام الإجابة المناسبة.

مع الشكر والاحترام

الباحث
قدامة كامل صكر

القسم الأول: معلومات شخصية			
العمر:	<input type="checkbox"/> 30-20	<input type="checkbox"/> 40-31	<input type="checkbox"/> 50-41
	<input type="checkbox"/> 60-51	<input type="checkbox"/> 61- فما فوق	
الجنس:	<input type="checkbox"/> ذكر	<input type="checkbox"/> أنثى	
المحافظة:	<input type="checkbox"/> بغداد <input type="checkbox"/> الأنبار	<input type="checkbox"/> الموصل	<input type="checkbox"/> البصرة

القسم الثاني: المحظورات اللغوية وعبارات تلطيفها:

تعتبر اللغة العربية لغة غنية بالعبارات التلطيفية التي تتيح للمتكلم إمكانية التحدث والتعبير عن مواضع تعتبر محظورة أو حساسة لغوياً أو من غير اللائق التحدث عنها بشكل مباشر خلال التواصل الاجتماعي في الحياة اليومية، ولهذا، كونك متكلم للغة العربية في العراق، يُرجى قراءة الأسئلة التالية بتمعن واختيار العبارة التي تستخدمها للتعبير عن المواقف التالية:

1- ما هي العبارة التي تستخدمها لتعبر عن وفاة شخص ما؟	مات
	توفاه الله
	انتقل إلى رحمة الله
	انطاك عمره
	الله أخذ أمانته
	اجا أجله
	فارق الحياة
2- ما هي الصفة التي تستخدمها لتتحدث عن شخص ميت؟	الميت
	المرحوم
	المتوفى
	المقبور
	الفقيد
3- ماذا تسمى مناسبة الموت؟	حالة موت

فاتحة	
عزاء	
مصيبة	
وفاة	
4- كيف تتحدث عن شخص يُجامع امرأة غير زوجته؟	
عنده علاقة غير شرعية وياها	
يزني بيها	
ينام وياها	
يختلي بيها	
يرتكب الفاحشة وياها	
5- كيف تتحدث عن الطفل الذي يولد من الزنا؟	
ابن حرام	
لُقِيط	
ابن غير شرعي	
ابن زنا	
6- ماذا تسمى "الفيلم الجنسي"؟	
فلم إباحي	
فلم غير أخلاقي	
فلم جنسي	
فلم سخيف	
فلم سكسي	
7- ماذا تسمى شخص لا يستطيع المشي على قدميه؟	
مُعاق	
عاجز	
من ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة	
مشلول	
8- ماذا تسمى الشخص الذي لا يستطيع النظر بعينه الاثنتين:	
أعمى	
كفيف	
بصير	
ما يشوف	
9- ماذا تسمى الشخص الذي يرى بعين واحدة؟	
عينه مفكوسة	
أعور	
عينه كريمة	
تلك عين	
10- ماذا تسمى الشخص الذي لا يسمع؟	
أطرش	
أصم	
أذانه مقفلة	
عنده مشاكل سمعية	
11- كيف تصف شخص مجنون؟	
مخبل	
عنده مشاكل عقلية	
عقله مو عنده	
مرفوع عنه القلم	
12- ما هي العبارة التي تطلقها للتعبير عن مرض السرطان؟	
مرض خبيث	
هذاك المرض	
مرض موزين	
سرطان	

مرض مميت	
13- ماذا تسمى الشخص الذي يقوم بتنظيف الشوارع وإزالة النفايات؟	
زبال	
موظف بلدية	
عامل نظافة	
جامع الأوساخ	
14- ماذا تسمى الشخص الذي ينقل الأغراض في الأسواق؟	
حمل	
على باب الله	
كاسب	
عامل	
15- ماذا تسمى الشخص الذي يطلب المال من الناس في الشارع؟	
شاحوذ	
فقير	
محتاج	
متعفف	
مجدي	
16- ماذا تسمى الشخص السمين؟	
عنده زيادة بالوزن	
متروس	
سمين	
دبدوب	
17- ماذا تسمى الشخص قصير القامة؟	
مربوع	
قصير	
قزم	
مو طويل	
18- أي من هذه الألقاب تستخدم لتصف رجل مسن؟	
شايب	
حجي	
زلمة كبير	
كضيان	
19- أي من هذه الألقاب تستخدم لتصف امرأة مسنة؟	
عجوز	
حجية	
مرة الكبيرة	
كضيانة	

APPENDIX B: The English Version of the Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Dear participant,

The researcher highly appreciates the time and effort you will give to fill and answer the items of this questionnaire. The current survey aims to collect data and information for a conducted study to investigate the role of age and gender in the use of euphemism in Iraqi Arabic. The study is carried out in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the master degree of English language and literature at Istanbul Aydin University in Turkey. It relied partially on the applied studies of (Al-Azzeh, 2010) and (Ghounane, 2013).

The researcher expects your greatly assistance in filling the questionnaire individually and honestly to help him to achieve the aims of the study. Please be sure that your participation will be confidential and all the information will be utilized only for academic purposes. Thank you.

The researcher

Part one: Demographic information

Age	<input type="checkbox"/> 20- 25	<input type="checkbox"/> 26- 35	<input type="checkbox"/> 36- 45	<input type="checkbox"/> 46- 55
	<input type="checkbox"/> 56- 65	<input type="checkbox"/> 65 above		
Gender	<input type="checkbox"/> Male		<input type="checkbox"/> Female	
Residence place	<input type="checkbox"/> Baghdad	<input type="checkbox"/> Mosul	<input type="checkbox"/> AlAnbar	<input type="checkbox"/> Diyala
	<input type="checkbox"/> Basra	<input type="checkbox"/> Salahudien		

Part two: Taboos and their euphemisms:

Arabic is a rich language in euphemisms that enable the speaker to talk and express freely about tabooed, sensitive and unacceptable categories in their daily interaction. Therefore, as a native speaker of Iraqi Arabic, please read the following statements and choose the suitable expression you use in the following situations:

1- how do you tell your friend that his uncle has died:	
	/māt/ died
	/tawafahullah/ he was deceased by God
	/intak ſumra/ he gave you his life
	/Īga ʔgalah/ his fate had come
	/Fāraq ʔlhayah/ he left life
	/intaqala ila rahmatillah/ he moved to the mercy of God
2- how do you to talk about a died person:	
	/ʔlmayt/ the dead
	/ʔlmarhūm/ the late
	/ʔlmutawafā/ the deceased
	/ʔlmaqbur/ the graved
	/ʔlfaqīd/ the missed
3- What do you call the assembly for offering and receiving condolences?	
	/Fātha/

	/Wafāt/ demise
	/ʕazāʔ/ condolence
	/Musība/ misfortune
	/Hālit mawt/ death state
4- How do you talk about a man who has a sexual affair with a woman?	
	/ʕindah ʕilaka ġair ʕarʕja/ he has an illegal relationship
	/ji:azni bi:ha/ he fornicates with her
	/janamu wija:ha/ he sleeps with her
	/jiaxtali/ he meets her privately
	/jartakib ʔalfahiša/ he commits disgrace with her
5- What do you call a child who was delivered by adultery?	
	/ibin hara:m/ bastard
	/laqīt/ founding
	/ibin ġayr ʕarʕi/ illegitimate son
	/ibin zinā/ adultery son
6- What do you call a porn movie:	
	/film ibāhī/ porn movie
	/film ġayr ʔxlāqī/ immoral movie
	/film ġinsī/ sexual movie
	/film saxīf/ silly movie
	/film siksī/ sexy movie
7- how do you describe someone who cannot walk on his feet:	
	/muʕāq/ handicapped
	/ʕāġiz/ disabled
	/ðawī ʔihtjāġāt xāsah/ special needs person
	/Mašlūl/ paralyzed
8- how do you describe someone who cannot see by his two eyes	
	/ʔaʕmā/ blind
	/basīr/ sighted
	/kafīf/
	/mā-jišūf/ he does not see
9- how do you describe someone who can see by one eye?	
	/ʔaʕwar/ one-eyed
	/tak-ʕīn/ he has one eye
	/ʕaynah karīma/ his eye is generous
	/ʕaynah mafqōsa/ his eye is hatched
10- how do you describe someone who cannot hear	
	/ʔatraš/ deaf
	/ʔasam/ deaf
	/ʔiðānah muqafila/ his ears are closed
	/ʕindah mašakil samʕja/ he has hearing problems
11- how do you describe someone who is crazy?	
	/mxabal/ crazy
	/ʕindah mašakil ʕaqlija/ he has mental problems
	/marfūʕ ʕanah ʔalqalam/ the pen is raised from him
	/ʔaqlitah mu ʕinda/ his mind is not with him
12- Which expression do you use to talk about cancer?	
	/Saratān/ cancer
	/marad xabiṪ/ malignant disease
	/marad-mo-zīn/ unwell disease
	/marad mumīt/ deadly disease

	/haḏak ʔlmarad/ that disease
13- What do you call someone who cleans streets and collects garbage?	
	/zabāl/ dustman
	/ʕamil nadāfa/ cleanliness worker
	/muadaf baladjia/ municipality employee
	/gamiʕ ʔawsāx/ garbage collector
14- What do you call a person who carries stuff in markets?	
	/hammāl/ porter
	/ʔalā bāb ʔallah/ on God's door
	/kāsib/ earner
	/ʕāmil/ worker
15- How do you describe someone who asks people for money?	
	/faqīr/ poor
	/Šāhūḏ/ beggar
	/Mgadī/ beggar
	/Muhtāg/ needy
	/mutʔafif/ prissy
16- How do you describe a fat person?	
	/ʔindah zjiāda bilwazin/ he has extra weight
	/Matrūs/ filled
	/Samīn/ fat
	/Dabdūb/ bear
17- How do you describe a short person?	
	/marbūʔ/ medium-sized
	/Kasīr/ short
	/Qizim/ dwarf
	/mu-tuwīl/ not tall
18- How do you address an old man?	
	/Šājib/ white-headed man
	/hadzī/ pilgrim
	/zlima kabīr/ old man
	/gadijān/ exhausted
19- How do you address an old woman?	
	/hidzjia/ pilgrim
	/ʕagūz/ aged woman
	/mara kabīra/ old woman
	/gadijāna/ exhausted

RESUME



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