A Pragmatic Study of Euphemisms in Al-Ahram Newspaper (2003- Present)

Hanaa Abdellah Al-Sayed (*)

Abstract

The present study aims to explore the strategies, functions and styles of euphemisms mentioned in Al-Ahram Newspaper from 2003 to present. The study adopted the models of Warren (1992) and Allan and Burridge (1991) to investigate the strategies of euphemism. Moreover, Burridge’s (2012) categorization and Allan and Burridge's (1991) classification were employed to explore the functions and styles of euphemism, respectively. The results demonstrated that metaphor, which was employed (11) times with a percentage of (20.8%), was ranked first. In contrast, the least frequent strategies were colloquial or common terms, deletion, phonemic replacement and fuzzy words that were utilized only once (1.9%). Protective euphemism was the most frequent; it occurred (16) times with a percentage of (48.5%). Provocative euphemism was the least frequent; it occurred twice (6%). Formal style, which occurred (12) times with a percentage of (25%), was ranked the highest. Casual style, whose frequency was (4) times with a percentage of (14.3%), was ranked the lowest.

Keywords: Euphemism, Protective euphemism, Provocative euphemism, Formal style, Casual style.

(*) Language Instructor, Languages & Translation Center, Faculty of Arts, Sohag University.

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1. Introduction
1.1 Context of the Study
1.1.1 Concept and Significance of Euphemisms

Interlocutors resort to euphemism as a linguistic shelter that protects them from the effrontery of explicit words and events and helps embellish their words. In their daily conversations, people frequently use euphemism because it empowers them to handle both familiar and unfamiliar topics freely. Moreover, it helps them express their ideas when the context of communication does not offer a shared perceptual environment with their recipients, as in the case of news media. In such contexts, euphemistic terms help communicators coordinate their perceptions and actions toward the accomplishment of a shared goal.

Euphemism is a communicative strategy used to frame polite or less offensive language and to save people’s public face in communication. Burchfield (1985) claims that “a language without euphemisms would be a defective instrument of communication” (p. 23). Euphemistic expressions soften the reality of what we communicate to a given reader or listener and express what is socially difficult (Alkire, 2002).

1.1.2 Language of News Media

It is necessary to explore the language of news discourse on conflicting issues to identify the role that language plays in constructing people’s perceptions through the use of certain discursive strategies. Wodak and Meyer (2009) define these discursive strategies as "a more or less intentional plan of practices adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal" (p. 94). Similarly, Reisigl and Wodak (2009) define discursive strategies as intentional plans of discursive practices and tactics employed in discourses to achieve a particular linguistic goal and serve a certain social, political or psychological purpose. More specifically, this goal, as Mautner (2008) defines it, is mainly to manipulate the facts about the reported events to position the recipients into
adopter a certain point of view. Here comes the function of euphemisms adopted in Al-Ahram Newspaper that tends to employ the language as a way to deliver certain messages or ideological orientations.

1.2 Objectives of the Study
The present study aims to:
1. Identify the strategies of euphemisms adopted in Al-Ahram Newspaper from 2003 to present.
2. Investigate the styles of euphemisms mentioned in Al-Ahram Newspaper from 2003 to present.
3. Examine the functions of euphemistic terms stated in Al-Ahram Newspaper from 2003 to present.

1.3 Problem of the Study
There is a gap in exploring the language of Al-Ahram Newspaper. This study aims to bridge the hiatus in the literature by addressing the strategies, functions and styles of euphemisms in the aforementioned source of news media. The study seeks to address the problem by raising the three questions below.

1.4 Questions of the Study
1. What are the strategies of euphemisms adopted in Al-Ahram Newspaper from 2003 to present?
2. What are the functions of euphemistic terms stated in Al-Ahram Newspaper from 2003 to present?
3. What are the styles of euphemisms mentioned in Al-Ahram Newspaper from 2003 to present?

1.5 Scope of the Study
The study explores the strategies, functions and styles of euphemisms that Al-Ahram Newspaper has adopted to soften and manipulate the negative impact of news from 2003 to present. This period was selected because it has witnessed tremendous events, including wars, presidential elections, demonstrations, revolutions and outbreaks of infectious
diseases, such as bird flu, swine flu, COVID-19 and monkeypox.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The significance of the present study stems from the novelty of the topic it addresses, so it presents an academic reference. It also benefits those immersed in studying linguistics, specifically pragmatics, because it sheds light on a theory that has not been immensely addressed in the literature covering local and global news media. To the researcher's knowledge, no study covered the strategies, functions and styles of euphemisms in Al-Ahram Newspaper. Hence, it helps future researchers who tend to conduct studies relevant to the employment of euphemisms in news media, especially the ones that prioritize political, economic, social, health and sports issues.

2. Review of the Literature

2.1 Euphemism Theory

Alhussaini (2007) investigated the nature of euphemisms in English and Arabic. The results showed certain points of similarity and difference between the two languages in terms of using euphemisms. Euphemism in both languages was first used for the same goal and effect since it was used instead of a taboo word or to avoid either fearful, offensive or unpleasant topics. On the other hand, euphemism in Arabic was more comprehensive because it involved different aspects other than what was mentioned in English. Thus, the Arabs used euphemisms for different purposes, such as beautifying and emphasizing speech, explaining things better and capturing the hearers' attention.

Gomaa and Shi (2012) investigated the euphemistic language of death in Egyptian Arabic and Chinese. The results indicated that euphemisms are universal since they exist in every language. Both Egyptian and Chinese native speakers
regarded the topic of death as taboo, so they carefully handled it. The Egyptians and the Chinese employed euphemistic expressions to avoid mentioning the topic of death. However, the Chinese had diverse death euphemisms compared to the Egyptian Arabic ones. Moreover, death euphemisms were structurally employed in both Egyptian Arabic and Chinese in metonymy as a linguistic device and a figure of speech. They also employed conceptual metaphors to substitute the taboo topic of death.

2.2 Euphemism in Media

Mazid (2004) explored the use of euphemism and dysphemism in the war-on-Iraq discourse in a few relevant documents and news reports. A quadrant of euphemizing and dysphemizing was identified. Positive representation of self and negative representation of other were the realizations of the strategic functions of legitimizing and delegitimizing, and these were, in turn, important tools of war propaganda and counter-propaganda.

Samoškaitė (2011) explored the political euphemisms used in the English newspapers of the 21st century and analyzed their semantic and structural features. The data for the analysis were derived from the online English newspaper The Guardian. The study adopted the qualitative approach because the analysis focused on the description of meanings of euphemisms in certain situations. The methods used in the study were descriptive method and content analysis. The study demonstrated that the articles on political party issues and politicians comprised the vast majority of political euphemisms, suggesting that politicians were strongly inclined to use euphemistic language when giving speeches or discussing various issues within the political parties. On the contrary, articles on civil and public services policy showed the lowest number of political euphemisms, which might imply that politicians tended to address these issues explicitly. Moreover, political euphemisms performed five pragmatic
functions: politeness, taboo, covering up, inducing and tactical. The most frequent structural feature of political euphemisms in terms of formation was compounding. In terms of semantic innovation, most euphemisms were based on metaphorical transfer, whereas the sub-categories of metonymy and hyperbole were not deployed.

2.3 Euphemisms in Political Speeches

Rusman (2000) examined political euphemism in news media. Using the comparative approach, he explored the associative meaning in Indonesian and American English vocabulary. He focused on the pragmatic and lexical perspectives. He also discussed the uses and meanings of euphemisms in terms of denial and refusal. The results demonstrated the utilization of various strategies of euphemisms in news media, including hyperbole, denial, metaphor, acronym and borrowed terms.

Crespo-Fernández (2014) investigated how euphemism was employed by politicians from Norfolk and Suffolk at the word and sentence levels in the regional newspaper Eastern Daily Press, published in Norwich, the United Kingdom. The researcher adopted the frameworks of critical-political discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1993, 1997; Wilson, 2001), politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and cognitive metaphor theory (Lakoff, 1993). The results revealed that euphemism reinforced the “self-promotion” of regional politicians, mostly by understatement, litotes and underspecification. Politicians also deployed euphemism for a variety of purposes, such as sensitivity to audience concerns, avoidance of expressions that can be perceived to marginalize socially disadvantaged groups, polite criticism and mitigation – even concealment – of unsettling topics.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Euphemism as a Sociolinguistic Phenomenon

Interlocutors frequently adopt euphemism because it helps them address taboo subjects, such as sex, personal
appearance or death, as few examples, without offending or upsetting others. Moreover, it maintains the diverse aspects of courtesy, establishes harmonious social interactions, reinforces relationships and maximizes cooperation. Its lack, however, causes dispute, disharmony and distrust (Linfoot-Ham, 2005).

Allan and Burridge (2006) claim that euphemism, as a linguistic and pragmatic phenomenon, plays a prominent role in creating harmonious interaction and saving face in social communication. In communities with different cultural and religious backgrounds, people tend to use varieties of language according to the situations in which they interact (e.g., office, home and university) as well as the degree of formality they perceive (e.g., parents, friends and boss).

According to Williams (1975), "euphemism also refers to a kind of linguistic elevation or a melioration specifically directed toward finding socially acceptable words for concepts that many people cannot easily speak of" (p.14). Larson (1984) indicates that euphemism is adopted to avoid an offensive or socially unacceptable expression. For instance, when using the euphemistic term “pass away” for death, the unpleasant idea of death is not highlighted but indirectly implied.

According to Warren (1992), a euphemism occurs when the interpreter perceives the use of some words or expressions as proof of the speaker's wish to tackle a sensitive topic tactfully and acceptably. She formulates her perspective on euphemism as follows: (1) the referent (e.g., crime, death or sex) is regarded as a sensitive topic, (2) the referring expression (i.e., euphemism) is conceived as less harsh and/or less direct and (3) what defines whether an expression is a euphemism or not in the interpreter's conception that the speaker's selection of a word is based on considerations of tact association with the referent.
3.1.1 Euphemism and X-Phemisms

Allan and Burridge (2006) created the term *X-phemisms* to refer to “the union set of orthophemisms, euphemisms and dysphemisms” (p. 29). They also add that interlocutors frequently use the term euphemism (Greek eu ‘good, well’ and pheme ‘speaking’) (p.29), but they rarely adopt its counterpart dysphemism (Greek dys-‘bad, unfavorable’) (p.29). Allan and Burridge coined a new term *orthophemisms* (Greek ortho-proper, straight and normal) (p. 29) to denote direct and formal expressions that are neither as blunt and/or harsh as dysphemisms nor as sweet-sounding and nice as euphemisms.

Allan and Burridge (2006) state that in interpersonal communication, people might also turn to two in-between concepts—*euphemistic dysphemisms* and *dysphemistic euphemisms*. They are expressions inconsistent with the interlocutors' intentions. More formally, the locution (the form of words) disagrees with the reference and illocutionary point of the utterance (i.e., what the speaker is doing in making the utterance). People resort to *euphemistic dysphemisms* because they “may feel the inner urge to swear, but at the same time may not wish to appear overly coarse in their behaviour” (p. 39). For instance, “Fuck!” is a swear word that signifies disgust, anger or annoyance and is usually perceived as a dysphemism. However, speakers can intentionally change the pronunciation of words when censoring their language. Therefore, “Fudge!” or “Frick!” are phonological remodelings of the word and examples of *euphemistic dysphemisms*.

On the other hand, *dysphemistic euphemisms* refer to lexical units displaying “friendship, solidarity, affection or intimacy despite their dysphemistic locution” (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 46). People may utter them without the intent to humiliate or offend the interlocutor. For example, calling a close friend a “slut” or “bitch” may be used as friendly banter and is an example of a dysphemistic
euphemism (Terry, 2020). Allan and Burridge (2006) state that some locutions are dysphemistic, but the illocutionary point is euphemistic. Calling a good mate an old bastard or silly little dag reflects the employment of dysphemistic euphemism. Other examples are flippant expressions for death like call it quits, croak, cock up one’s toes, buy the farm, bought it, kick the bucket, peg out, conk out and cark it (p.39).

3.1.2 Euphemism and Doublespeak

Lutz (1989) argues that doublespeak is a language that helps us see the bad as good and converts the negative to positive and the unpleasant to eye-capturing or at least tolerable. Vande Kopple (2007) argues that studying doublespeak helps learners best identify and avoid the language that insults our intelligence, corrupts public discourse and weakens our unity.

Lutz (1989) classifies doublespeak as follows:

1. Jargon: Language used by the participants of a well-defined group, such as lawyers, accountants, doctors, engineers, educators or mechanics, to communicate rapidly, obviously and competently. Like euphemism, jargon can be used appropriately and inappropriately, i.e., to deceive according to the consequences the person seeks or the situation.

2. Gobbledygook (bureaucratese): Long sophisticated words used in long convoluted sentences to confuse the audience and conceal the real issue of the discourse.

3. Inflated language: Puffed-up, important sounding words used to give commonplace things and events an elevated glowing appearance. Such language makes the normal seem abnormal and gives value to unimportant persons, situations or things. It also does not cause much misleading. For instance, car mechanics may be called automotive internists and black-and-white television sets are described as having non-multicolor capability (p. 2).
3. Euphemism: An inoffensive or positive word or phrase that softens painful reality and makes the topic less frightening or threatening.

3.1.3 Types of Euphemism
Samoškaitė (2011, pp. 13-15) states that euphemism is used in six semantic fields:

1. Professional euphemisms: They are used to make low-paying or indecent jobs, especially those comprising more physical than mental work, more prestigious. For example, *road sweeper or dustman* are transformed into *cleaning operative* and *hairdresser* turns into *beautician*. Loan words also euphemize some professions; for example, in Egypt, "سمسار" (broker) is called "تشوكش", "بواب" (janitor) is converted to "حلاق السيدات", "سيكيورتي" (hairstylist/hairdresser) is called "كفاير" and "سائق" (driver) changes to "شكيفر".

2. Disease euphemisms: They are utilized to minimize the harshness of some illnesses, whether physical, mental or psychological. Allan and Burridge (2006) add that the abbreviations PLWA or PLA (person living with AIDS) and PWArCs (person with AIDS-related complex) replaced PWA (person with AIDS) (p. 218). Also, the euphemisms *died after a prolonged illness* or *a long battle against illness* are still prevalent for someone who has died from cancer (p. 220). In Egyptian Arabic, we say "المرض الوحش" (the bad disease) instead of "سرطان" (cancer) (Enab, 2020, p. 23).

3. Death euphemisms: As death is a horrible topic in multiple communities, people tend to avoid mentioning it directly and attempt to tone down the way it is expressed. It has numerous softer-sounding expressions, such as *breath one’s last, fall asleep and he worked until he breathed his last* (Samoškaitė, 2011, p. 14).

4. Sex euphemisms: They are employed to avoid directly addressing sex and related acts; for example,
willing woman replaces loose woman, gay boy replaces male homosexual and lost girl substitutes prostitute (Samoškaitė, 2011, p. 14). In Arabic, some people use the term مشلى شاذ instead of شاذ يمارس الحب to refer to a homosexual person. Also, the expression (making love) is sometimes used to refer to having sex less offensively (Enab, 2020, p. 25), and the terms "فتاة الشوارع" (street girl) replaces "عاهرة" (prostitute).

5. Crime euphemisms: In the field of crime, family substitutes Mafia, the candy man replaces drug pusher and hero of the underground substitutes pickpocket (Samoškaitė, 2011, p.14). The term (the godfather) is sometimes used in Arabic to refer to the head of the gang (Enab, 2020, p. 25).

6. Political euphemisms: Since the function of euphemisms is to reduce the unpleasantness of a term or a notion, it is normal that the government's announcements adopt them to understate and conceal facts. For example, aggression is transformed into police action and student strike is substituted by student unrest (Murphy, 2000). In Arabic, for example, the term "تطهير عرقي" (ethnic cleansing) is used as a substitute for "إبادة جماعية" (genocide) (Enab, 2020, p. 26).

3.2 Strategies of Euphemism
3.2.1 Warren's (1992) Model

Warren (1992) claims that an utterance turns to a euphemism when the hearer conceives that the speaker adopts polite and tactful words or expressions to address a sensitive issue. She proposes three prerequisites for that definition: i. The topic of conversation is a sensitive one or denotes an unpleasant thing (e.g., death, health, crime, politics and sex), ii. The stated utterance has to be indirect or less offensive than other alternatives, and iii. The listener finds that the speaker is
obliged to use that statement due to embarrassment or offensiveness of the issue.

Figure (1): Classification of euphemisms (Warren, 1992, p.134)

Warren's (1992) model involves four devices for euphemism formation: Word formation devices, phonemic modification, loan words and semantic innovation.

i. Word formation devices
   - Compounding: Two or more inoffensive words are combined to form a euphemism for a taboo; for instance, “comfort station” for “lavatory” (Warren, 1992, p. 6), and “hand job” for “masturbation” (Samoškaitė, 2011, p. 15).
   - Derivation: It is formed by modifying a loan word and adding a prefix or a suffix from the native language to its base, as in “celibacy”, which is modified from Latin “caelibatus” (life without love/sex) (Rabab’ah & Al-Qarni, 2012, p. 732).
   - Blends: Warren did not provide examples for the use of “blends” in formal innovation of euphemisms. In psycholinguistics, the term ‘blend’ is used when “two
words are amalgamated into one” (Aitchison, 1994, p. 91).
- Acronyms: They are pronounced like words rather than a list of letters, such as AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome).
- Onomatopoeia: Mimicking the sound of a taboo word, e.g., “piss” for “urinate,” the sound of urine hitting the toilet is adopted to refer to urination.
- Phonemic modification: "The form of an offensive word is modified or altered according to certain rules" (Warren, 1992, p.133). It involves four subcategories:
  - Back slang: Words are reversed to avoid explicit mention, e.g., 'enob' (bone) (Rawson, 1981, p.88) and 'epar' (rape) (Warren, 1992, p.133).
  - Rhyming slang: Uttering an inoffensive word that phonetically rhymes with a dispreferred or taboo word, such as “kitt” for “shit” and “grundies” for “undies (i.e., underpants) (Hassanein, 2013, p. 138)
  - Phonemic replacement: Replacing a sound of the offensive term, e.g., divil and divel (devil); Gad, Gosh and Golly (God) and shoot (shit). Rawson (1981) terms it "a euphemistic mispronunciation" (p. 254).
  - Abbreviation: Compared to acronyms, abbreviations do not form proper words, so they are pronounced as strings of letters. For example, “S.O.B” for “son-of-a-bitch” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 235).

iii. Loan words: Borrowing words from other languages to function as euphemisms. For example, the Latin word “perspire” instead of “sweat” and the French word “mot” for the female sexual organ (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 95).

iv. Semantic innovation: In this case, a "novel sense for some established words or word combination is created" (Warren, 1992, p. 133). It involves the seven following categories:
  - Particularization: It occurs when a general term is utilized in a particular context to denote an offensive
word or expression. For example, “clean” for “sexually
disease-free” (Hassanein, 2013, p. 139) or “satisfaction”
for “orgasm” and “innocent” for “virginal” (Linfoot-

- Implication: Warren (1992) warns against the possible
misconception of this sort of euphemism, although it is
common in numerous instances of semantic innovation.
In this case, several steps are required to understand the
intended meaning of the implied word, e.g., “sleeper” for
someone who sleeps around for sex (Hassanein, 2013, p.
140); "loose", which implies "unattached" and results in
the interpretation "sexually easy/available"(Linfoot-

- Metaphor: "A figure of speech in which a term that
ordinarily designates an object or idea is used to
designate a dissimilar object or idea to suggest
comparison or analogy" (The American Heritage
Dictionary, n.d.). It also denotes describing one thing in
terms of another based on a supposed similarity.
Cameron (2008) argues that the three components of
metaphor are the tenor, the vehicle and the ground. The
tenor is the person or thing being described; the vehicle
is the image used for description. In the line" of this
great hive, the city" (Abraham Cowley), the tenor is the
city, the vehicle is the beehive, and the ground is that
both are busy and congested. A multitude of colorful
metaphorical euphemisms surround menstruation,
centering around 'red', e.g., "the cavalry has come"- a
reference to the red coats of the British cavalry, 'it's a
red-letter day' and 'flying the red flag,' (Allan &
Burridge, 1991, p. 82).

- Metonymy (General-for-specific): Referring to
something with something closely linked, e.g., "crown"
for "authority", “person” for “penis”, and “I will go to
the bathroom” for “go to urinate/excrete” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, pp. 17-18).

- Reversal (irony): The use of antonyms ironically or spontaneously to mean the opposite of a taboo or offensive word, e.g., “blessed” for “damned” and "enviable disease" for "syphilis" (Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p.232).

- Understatement (litotes): A figure of speech in which a positive is stated by negating its opposite, e.g., no small victory, not a bad idea, not unhappy. The euphemistic substitutes that reflect understatement are “general-for-specific” euphemisms, expressing only part of the truth (Allan & Burridge, 1991). Bakhtiar (2012) reports that physical and personality characteristics are also stylistically changed by employing understatement. For example, with little hair, without sight, with heavy ears, with good condition, and short-handed replace bald, blind, deaf, rich and poor (p.11).

- Overstatement (Hyperbole): "Upgrading a desirable feature of the referent” (Crespo-Fernández, 2014, p. 10). Instances include "flight to glory" (death) and those falling under Rawson's (1981, p.11) "basic rule of bureaucracies: the longer the title, the lower the rank"; for example, "visual engineer" (window cleaner) and "personal assistant to the secretary" (cook) (Rawson, 1981, p. 11).

3.2.2 Allan and Burridge's (1991) Model

In addition to Warren's (1992) classification, Allan and Burridge (1991) add the following strategies:

- Jargon (Learned Words): Using technical terminology to refer to a taboo word. For example, using “feces” instead of “shit” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 20).

- Colloquial or Common Terms: Utilizing colloquial terms rather than formal ones, such as using “period” for “menstruate” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 20).
- **Flippancies**: Being less serious to seem funny, such as “kicked the bucket” for “die.”

- **Idioms**: Idioms are expressions whose meanings cannot be inferred from the meaning of their parts (Mohammed & Majeed, 2018). They suppose that euphemisms and idioms share some common aspects. Similar to idioms, the type of lexical relation of euphemisms becomes synonymous. For instance, the expressions *at rest* and *at peace*, which show a more formal polite social image of the dead person, are synonymous to *dead*.

- **Clipping**: Burridge (2012) defines it as "shortening"; for example, the end-clipping of *geriatric* to produce *geri* (p.75). According to Allan and Burridge (1991), it denotes removing a part of the word as in “Jeez” for “Jesus” or “bra” for “brassiere” (p. 16).

- **Circumlocution**: To say something in a roundabout way, such as “little girl’s room” for “toilet” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 16).

- **Part-for-whole (synecdoche)**: Using a part of something to refer to the whole of it. For example, “spend a penny” for “go to the lavatory” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 18).

- **Associative engineering**: It demonstrates the change in the meaning of words and phrases. In addition, meanings can be categorized into denotative and connotative. Leech (1974) argues that denotation is the direct literal meaning of a word, phrase, or sentence, as distinct from its connotation, which is the additional, suggested meaning and the implied or associated idea.

### 3.3 Functions of Euphemism

Burridge (2012) proposes (6) functions of euphemism, as follows: To shield and to avoid offense (the protective euphemism), to mystify and to misrepresent (the underhand euphemism), to talk up and to inflate (the uplifting euphemism), to reveal and to inspire (the provocative euphemism), to show solidarity and to help define the gang
(the cohesive euphemism) and to have fun and to entertain (the ludic euphemism).

3.4. Styles of Euphemism

The addresser has to prioritize the style of language they use to render communication effective and purposeful. To make an utterance, the speaker chooses specific forms to respond to the degree of formality, informality and familiarity appropriate for the utterance in the context (Allan & Burridge, 1991). Joos (1967) defines five levels of formality: Frozen, formal, consultative, casual and intimate. Intimate style is less formal than casual, casual is less formal than consultative, and so forth. Accordingly, the five levels are listed as follows: Frozen > formal > consultative > casual > intimate. Style differs based on the addressee and the addresser, whether we speak or write, the place we exist in and the time the utterance occurs, the topic we address and our feeling towards the entire situation. The style changes according to the modification of the aforementioned aspects. Any given utterance involves several stylistic choices, i.e., lexical choices, grammar, pronunciation and paralinguistic features, such as gesture and facial expression.

4. Methodology

4.1 Type of Research

This is a qualitative-quantitative study. It adopts the quantitative approach to show the relevant numbers and percentages, which help present detailed results. Moreover, the findings, represented in the form of numbers or percentages, support the interpretation of the highest and the lowest frequency of the euphemistic terms stated in the two sources of news media. The collected data are analyzed quantitatively. Then, a qualitative analysis is carried out to interpret and support the statistical analysis.

4.2 Data Description

Al-Ahram was founded in Alexandria, Egypt, in 1875 by two Lebanese Melkite Christian brothers, Beshara
Takla and Saleem Takla. It began as a weekly newspaper published every Saturday. Its first issue was released on 5 August 1876. The paper was relaunched as a daily newspaper in January 1881. It is the most widely circulating Egyptian daily newspaper and the second oldest after Al-Waqa‘i‘ al-Masriya (The Egyptian Events, founded in 1828). It is owned and run by the Egyptian government and is considered a newspaper of record for Egypt.

4.3 Analysis

This is a qualitative-quantitative study. The following steps are adopted in analyzing data: (1) categorizing data according to the models of Warren (1992), Allan and Burridge (1991), Linfoot-Ham (2005), Huang (2005), Burridge (2012) and Crespo-Fernández (2014) of the strategies of euphemism; Burridge’s (2012) categorization of the functions of euphemism and Allan and Burridge’s (1991) classification of the styles of euphemism, (2) interpreting the data obtained from each category according to euphemism theories and (3) drawing conclusion based on the analysis.

4.6 Models/Tools

The study starts with the models of Warren (1992) and Allan and Burridge (1991) to investigate the strategies of euphemism. The study also adopts the models of Linfoot-Ham (2005), Huang (2005), Burridge (2012) and Crespo-Fernández (2014). Moreover, Burridge’s (2012) categorization and Allan and Burridge’s (1991) classification are employed to explore the functions and styles of euphemism in the aforementioned news media.

5. Analysis

5.1 Euphemism in the Political Discourse

بعد فحص (111) حالة إدعاء تغييب واختفاء قسرى، أكد اللواء أبو بكر عبد الكريم مساعد وزير الداخلية لقطاع الإعلام والعلاقات أن الحالات بينها هابرون من أحكام ومتهمون في قضايا عنف.
By investigating (111) cases of absence and enforced disappearance claims, Major General Abu Bakr Abdel Karim, Assistant Minister of Interior for Media and Relations Sector, asserted that few cases are fugitive from justice and involved in violence cases. (My translation)

Euphemistic Term (enforced disappearance) اختفاء قسري

Euphemism Transfer (kidnapping) اختطاف

The writer employs "اختفاء قسري" (enforced disappearance) as a synonym for "اختطاف" (kidnapping) as he/she replaces the taboo word with another which has an identical or a nearly identical meaning but less offensive. In reality, the mild, implicit and euphemistic expressions, such as "اختفاء قسري" (enforced disappearance), embrace public outrage, minimize the families' anxiety and refute the charges against the officials, who may be accused of kidnapping and detaining them in a hidden place.

The example above reflects underhand euphemism, which helps mystify and disguise facts related to serious political issues, such as detainment and kidnapping. The writer attempts to minimize the attack against the officials who abuse power and refuse to acknowledge the person's fate and whereabouts, with the intent of placing the victim outside the protection of the law. Moreover, the aforementioned example is classified as a protective euphemism as the writer avoids the term "اختطاف" (kidnapping) because it may hurt people and maximize the state of resentment and furiousness against the statesmen.

The above-mentioned example signifies formal style because the writer addresses a serious political issue related to the destiny of some persons. It is one-way participation where neither consultation nor argument occurs because any issue related to politics, laws, regulations or constitutions has to be formally addressed.

5.2 Euphemisms in the Social Discourse

21
Nasr: The focus on educational projects, infrastructure and **most needy sects**
(My translation)

The Egyptian community's development is reflected in the way Al-Ahram employs its language. Thus, one of the motives for Al-Ahram is to show that its language is civilized and sophisticated. Some mild, implicit and euphemistic expressions are employed when an unpleasant issue is addressed to reduce its negative impact. It seems that the writer replaces "الأكثر فشلاً (the poorest) with "الأكثر إحتياجًا (most needy) to reduce the degree of unpleasant effect of the term on the readers. In communication with others, euphemisms can help people form a positive atmosphere, establish harmonious social relationships and fulfill communication goals. The adopted strategy is "fuzzy words" (الأكثر إحتياجًا (most needy) and is achieved using vague terms which have a flexible meaning and can be interpreted in different ways. Using euphemism and by virtue of indirectness, Al-Ahram attempts to hold correspondence between words and face considerations without affronting the reader's face.

This example symbolizes a protective euphemism that seeks to avoid creating offense and disrespect among the poor ones who are sensitive to any term characterizing their status. The writer also adopts "الأكثر إحتياجًا (most needy) instead of "الأكثر فشلاً (the poorest) to establish a rapport and show interest in the feelings of the reader who prefers pleasant and euphemistic terms. This expression also asserts the officials' concern for the demands and rights of the poor people throughout Egypt. Furthermore, it illustrates the necessity to
defend the human rights of those citizens who have been marginalized throughout our history. In terms of style of euphemism, it is informal or causal because it does not address a political issue or an article in the constitution.

5. 3 Euphemisms in the Economic Discourse

Moving the prices of diesel and the three types of gasoline
Fuel Automatic Pricing Committee, which is concerned with the follow-up and implementation of the mechanisms of adjusting fuel automatic pricing quarterly, decided at its meeting after last June to recommend adjusting the present prices in the local market from July to September 2022. The sale price of the three types of gasoline was adjusted at nine o'clock. (My translation)

Euphemistic Term (moving the prices)
تحرك أسعار

Euphemistic Transfer (raising the prices)
رفع أسعار

To overcome numerous economic challenges, the government has to find an optimal mechanism. For example, it raises the prices to build the country and ensure a decent life for citizens who need to get their services done. It also adopts this strategy to make the economic wheel more vibrant. The writer knows that this issue may bother many Egyptians, particularly the low-paid and poor ones. Hence, he/she presents the aforementioned pieces of news euphemistically and
indirectly using the metaphor "تحريك أسعار" (moving the prices) rather than "رفع أسعار" (raising the prices), the tenor is "أسعار" (prices), the vehicle is "كرسي/منضدة" (chair/table), and the ground is the repercussions due to the change of prices or chair/table location. He/she does not seek to aggravate the situation in the Egyptian community, especially at this period, because all people are complaining about the hard circumstances they undergo due to inflation and the increase of interest rate. The term "تعديل الأسعار" (adjusting the prices) also exhibits particularization strategy since changing or modifying the prices denotes increasing them, especially during that period which witnesses the Russo-Ukraine war and its subsequent economic crises.

The example above reflects underhand euphemism, which helps accomplish the goal of the government while reducing the feeling of responsibility for the Egyptians’ suffering and deprivation of several requirements because raising the prices of fuel results in increasing the prices of all things they cannot do without in their life. It also represents protective euphemism because it creates less resentment and annoyance compared to the term "رفع الأسعار" (raising the prices). The writer also conveys new information, so people will not get surprised by the new prices of the commodities they buy. In terms of style, it symbolizes the formal style that the governments usually adopt to inform the citizens about the updates throughout the county.

5. 4 Euphemisms in Health Discourse

Advisor to the President concerning Hala Zayed's health: Malaise and her state is getting better
Taj El-Din said, this Tuesday, that Dr. Hala Zayed experienced malaise. Then, she was transferred to the hospital, and her state is getting better now. She will be discharged soon. We wish her a speedy recovery. (My translation)

Euphemistic Term (malaise) أزمة صحية (health crisis)

Euphemistic Transfer أزمة صحية (health crisis)

Taj El-Din best knows that the Minister's health occupies the public opinion in Egypt, especially during this serious period which witnesses the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. To reassure all citizens, he adopts the strategy of "understatement" أزمة صحية (malaise) rather than "أزمة صحية" (health crisis), which causes more anxiety and tension. He euphemistically selects his words in order not to aggravate the situation of the Minister, especially after being involved in a corruption case. If he uses the second term, many people will contend that she is attempting to escape punishment. Thus, they will call for her immediate dismissal and the appointment of a new Minister of Health and Population. However, the first term reflects her stable state. Using the expressions "things are getting better now" and "she will be discharged soon", he asserts that her case is not serious.

The danger of underhand euphemisms lies in the denial of reality because of sanitized semantics that alters perception. The above-mentioned example is connected with political censorship that protects the state’s interests and capabilities, so the advisor deploys underhand euphemism to disguise the truth that may terrify the Egyptians during this critical period. Although underhand euphemisms are particularly conspicuous in the military lexicon for the distressing truths that have to be veiled, they occur everywhere the truth is painful or inconvenient. He also informs and reassures people about the minister’s health status after being exposed to malaise.
In terms of style, the advisor to the President deploys a formal style because it is consistent with the language of political statements. It is also the most appropriate style because it establishes multiple gaps that make people feel inferior to the speaker.

5. 5 Euphemisms in Sports Discourse

The General Assembly of Al-Ahly Club, held at the club’s headquarter in Al-Gazera Club today, witnessed the club’s members standing for a minute of silence for the martyrs of Port Said massacre. (My translation)

Euphemistic Term (martyrs)

Euphemistic Transfer (victims)

On 1st February 2012, a massive riot occurred at Port Said Stadium in Port Said, Egypt, following an Egyptian Premier League football match between Al-Masry and Al-Ahly. Seventy-four people were killed, and more than five hundred were injured after Al-Masry fans had thrown bottles and fireworks at Al-Ahly players, who ran to their locker rooms under police protection.

The writer says, "دقيقة حداد على أرواح الشهداء" (a minute of silence for the martyrs' souls) to describe the members' mourning by standing silently for a minute. He/she comments on a particular act that caused several casualties using the “overstatement” strategy. Of course, he/she means "الضحايا" (victims) of this act, but he/she uses the expression "أرواح" "الشهداء" (souls of martyrs) to reinforce the bravery and patriotism of those who lose their life to participate in any activity related to their county.
Using the aforementioned expression, the writer accomplishes two objectives: First, he/she honors those who are victimized by the riot by calling them martyrs; second, he/she alleviates the grief of the victims' families who hope that their children will enjoy sublime stature in the hereafter. Moreover, he/she uses the term "الشهداء" (martyrs) to denounce and condemn this horrible attack that converted a football match into a battlefield. In reality, this outrageous act is unacceptable because it negatively influences not only sports but also other sectors in any country.

The expression above is categorized as protective euphemism because the writer uses the term “martyrs” which neither hurts feelings nor creates affront, especially among the ones who lost their children in such brutal acts. It also makes them feel that they are still alive and enjoy the whole pleasure. It illustrates underhand euphemism, which shows the officials' irresponsibility and negligence at that time. The writer adopts it to maintain their negative face, as well.

As martyrdom is associated with wars and battles, the expression above denotes the frozen style, which is usually adopted in political issues. The writer does not use the term "ضحايا" (victims) because it is related to all disastrous issues in our life, such as accidents, fires, assaults and frauds.

6. Results and Discussion
6.1 Strategies of Euphemisms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Compounding</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blends</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronyms</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onomatopoeia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back slang</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhyming slang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic Replacement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan words</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table (1) illustrates that the strategies of euphemisms associated with word formation, phonemic modification, loan words and semantic innovation occur (53) times. Some strategies are not used because they are inappropriate for the sophisticated and formal style of writing that distinguishes Al-Ahram Newspaper from other newspapers that tend to deploy slang, contractions, colloquialism, ellipsis, diminutive or swearing. Out of (34) strategies, only (16) are deployed with different frequencies and percentages.

Metaphor, which is employed (11) times with a percentage of (20.8%), is ranked first. However, overstatement (hyperbole), jargon (learned words) and metonymy (general-for-specific), which occur (5) times with a percentage of (9.4%), are ranked second. The third dominant strategies are implication, understatement (litotes), synonyms and
circumlocution, as they appear (4) times with a percentage of (7.5%). The fourth rank is dedicated to rhyming slang, loan words and particularization that are deployed equivalently, twice with a percentage of (3.8%). The least frequent strategies are colloquial or common terms, deletion, phonemic replacement and fuzzy words that are utilized only once, with a percentage of (1.9%).

On the other hand, other strategies are not adopted in Al-Ahram. For example, abbreviations and acronyms are frequently used in foreign newspapers, while Al-Ahram does not use them because of their inappropriateness for the Arabic language. Although acronyms and abbreviations may reduce the effect of offensive terms, especially diseases, because they shorten them, they are not used by Al-Ahram, whose language is always eloquent and formal. Their employment may cause a sort of ambiguity and confusion among the ones who are not acquainted with them.

The development of the Egyptian community is reflected in the refined language of news media. For example, Al-Ahram seldom employs colloquial or common terms, which may influence its rank locally and globally. One of the motives for Al-Ahram is to show that its language is civilized and sophisticated. Thus, the appropriate strategies are utilized to manifest the mild, implicit and euphemistic expressions when an unpleasant issue is addressed because this helps reduce its negative impact and conceal the affronting connotation of the term.

Strategies associated with semantic innovation, such as particularization, implication, metaphor, metonymy (general-for-specific), understatement (litotes) and overstatement (hyperbole), are the most frequent because a novel sense of the offensive word is created to save the speaker and recipient’s face. Media language is how the meaning of media text is conveyed to the audience. One of the ways media language works is to convey meaning through signs and symbols
A Pragmatic Study of Euphemisms in Al-Ahram Newspaper (2003- Present)

suggested by the way an event is reflected. Signs and symbols in media texts are polysemic, which means they are open to many interpretations. The different possible meanings in media texts depend on two things: The first is the way the signs and symbols in the text are read, and the second is the cultural background of the person reading the text.

6.2 Functions of Euphemisms

Table (2): Frequency of the functions of euphemisms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The protective euphemism</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The underhand euphemism</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The uplifting euphemism</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The provocative euphemism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The cohesive euphemism</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The ludic euphemism</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total/ Percentage</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure (2): Frequency of the functions of euphemisms

Table (2) demonstrates the discrepancy in the functions of euphemism in Al-Ahram Newspaper. Some functions are noticeable, while others are absent. Out of (6) functions, only four are apparent with different frequencies and percentages. The frequency of protective, underhand, uplifting and provocative euphemisms is (33) times, whereas ludic and cohesive euphemisms are not included in the twenty pieces of news covered in Al-Ahram. Protective euphemism is the most frequent in the Al-Ahram Newspaper; it occurs (16) times with a percentage of (48.5%), which suggests that the writers or speakers do their utmost to avoid offense and minimize the impact of flippant words. This also asserts their keenness to create a positive feeling among the readers while reading the news and address the alienation and disaffection from the local or global issues at present and in the past.

The second highest frequency is dedicated to underhand euphemism, which occurs (11) times with a percentage of (33.3%). It is ranked second because it enormously helps misrepresent, deceive and reassure the citizens that things are
going well, so there is no reason for anxiety or discomfort. Its occurrence is above the third since it is indispensable when addressing political, economic or social issues. The officials always resort to it, especially when covering political or economic issues that cause annoyance and resentment among several people because it helps them feel irresponsible for people's suffering or problems.

Compared to protective and underhand euphemisms, the frequency of uplifting and provocative euphemisms reflects an insignificant proportion. To explain, uplifting euphemism, which appears (4) times with a percentage of (12.1%), comes in the third position. Although its occurrence is low, it has a role in giving a prestigious and favorable sense because the expressions that symbolize it always add a special asset to what is covered. Provocative euphemism is the least frequent; it occurs twice with a tiny proportion (6%). This result emphasizes the perspective that the style of writing in Al-Ahram is civilized, eloquent, sophisticated and refined. Thus, it eschews the expressions that excite and provoke people directly or indirectly. Although it sometimes aims to disguise and hide the unpleasant reality, it contradicts the other provoking newspapers since it does not force its audience to exceed the simple content of the message and challenge prejudices embedded in the language.

On the other hand, the aforementioned examples never signify cohesive or ludic euphemism because the first shows solidarity among the persons who serve at the same affiliation as well as manifest and reinforce group identity, especially against outsiders. It usually emerges among the hospital staff who have to manage multiple diseases and death cases every day. Hence, they tend to camouflage the bitter reality and seriousness of the patient's case. Ludic euphemism is not also involved because the issues addressed, such as wars,
demonstrations, defeat and diseases, do not require expressions that create fun and entertain the readers.

6.3 Styles of Euphemisms

Table (3): Frequency of the styles of euphemisms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Style</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Frozen style</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Formal style</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Consultative style</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Casual style</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Intimate style</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total/ Percentage</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure (3): Frequency of the styles of euphemisms

Table (3) manifests the different frequencies of the styles of euphemistic terms in Al-Ahram newspaper. This discrepancy is associated with the context because the style of political, health and economic discourse is frequently frozen or formal, whereas that of social or sports discourse tends to be casual or intimate. Four styles out of five appear in the above-mentioned examples, while the consultative style is unnoticeable. Formal style, which occurs (12) times with a percentage of (25%), is ranked the highest. This result is attributed to the fact that the majority of political, economic and health issues tremendously adopt the formal style due to its appropriateness for one-way participation and the context that excludes slang, contractions, swearing or ellipsis. The second position is dedicated to frozen style, which appears (7) times with a percentage of (25%). This asserts that formal and frozen styles are the most remarkable in the different issues covered in Al-Ahram Newspaper. The percentage of the first is less than half, while that of the second is equivalent to the quarter.

Intimate style comes in the third position because it occurs (5) times with a small proportion (17.9%). Casual style, whose frequency is (4) times with a percentage of (14.3%), is ranked fourth. However, no example involves consultative style because it requires two-way participation and the situation in which the utterances are adopted is less formal. It also
necessitates a dialogue or conversation that comprises two or more participants, while the issues addressed only comprise one speaker or writer. Moreover, intimate and casual styles are the least frequent because they usually arise in situations that demand informal in-group language to show solidarity or rapport among friends, relatives and acquaintances.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Summarizing the Main Results

The present study demonstrated that the strategies of euphemisms associated with word formation, phonemic modification, loan words and semantic innovation occurred (53) times. Some strategies were not noticeable because of their inappropriateness for the sophisticated and formal style of writing that distinguishes Al-Ahram Newspaper from other newspapers that tend to deploy slang, contractions, colloquialism, ellipsis, diminutive or swearing. Out of (34) strategies, only (16) were deployed.

Strategies associated with semantic innovation, such as particularization, implication, metaphor, metonymy (general-for-specific), understatement (litotes) and overstatement (hyperbole), were tremendously deployed because they help create a novel sense of the offensive word, which saves the speaker and recipient’s face. To clarify, metaphor, which appeared (11) times with a percentage of (20.8%), was ranked first. However, overstatement (hyperbole) and metonymy (general-for-specific), which occurred (5) times with a percentage of (9.4%), were ranked second. The least frequent strategies were colloquial or common terms, deletion, phonemic replacement and fuzzy words that were utilized only once, with a percentage of (1.9%). Metaphor was the most remarkable because metaphorical concepts can be extended beyond the usual literal methods of thinking and talking into the range of what is called figurative, poetic, colorful and imaginative concepts and language. Hence, if ideas are objects, people can dress them up in fancy clothes, juggle them, line
them up nice and neat, …etc. Hence, when we say that a concept is structured by a metaphor, we mean that it is partially structured and that it can be extended in some ways but not others (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). This clarifies that metaphor allows the speakers to discuss a complex social problem, a sensitive issue or offensive information in an acceptable method. Metaphor is associated with a set of “conceptual mappings that frame our thinking, reasoning, and understanding” (Gibbs, 2002, p.24).

In terms of the functions, the frequency of protective, underhand, uplifting and provocative euphemisms was (33) times, whereas ludic and cohesive euphemisms did not appear. Protective euphemism was the most frequent in Al-Ahram Newspaper; it occurred (16) times with a percentage of (48.5%), which suggests that its writers or speakers do their utmost to avoid offense and minimize the impact of flippant words and to create positive feelings among the readers while reading the news. Its high frequency is related to the fact asserted by Burridge (2012) that we create protective euphemism when we experience the tricky problem of how to address in different contexts things that for one reason or another we would not prefer to explicitly address in the prevailing context. Underhand euphemism, which occurred (11) times with a percentage of (33.3%), was ranked the second, because it helps the speaker or writer misrepresent, deceive and reassure the recipient that things are going well. Uplifting and provocative euphemisms came in the third and fourth positions, respectively. Protective euphemism appeared in the economic, political, social and health discourse, but it was unnoticeable in sports discourse. Underhand euphemism did not occur in social discourse, but it emerged in economic, political, health and sports discourse. The reason behind this might be the fact that social discourse tremendously requires the utilization of expressions that help avoid offense and save
the interlocutors' face, while underhand euphemism is mainly adopted to deceive, divert responsibility and create confusion.

In addition, the style of political, economic and health discourse was frozen or formal, whereas that of social or sports discourse tended to be casual or intimate. Formal and frozen styles were the most remarkable in the different issues covered in Al-Ahram Newspaper. Formal style, which occurred (12) times with a percentage of (25%), was ranked the highest. The second position was dedicated to frozen style, which appeared (7) times with a percentage of (25%). The issues addressed only comprised one speaker or writer, so the consultative style was not utilized.

This result is consistent with Astuti (2014) and Rusman (2000) that showed the noticeable employment of metaphor, circumlocution, technical jargon, hyperbole, metonymy, and synecdoche. Similarly, this study demonstrated the frequency of frozen, formal, casual and intimate styles. However, the result is inconsistent with that of Astuti regarding the function of euphemisms that were adopted to inform, convince, evaluate, order, promise and modalize rather than to shield and avoid offense, mystify, inflate and provoke.

7.2 Limitations of the Study

This study only covered the euphemistic expressions adopted in political, economic, social, health and sports discourse in Al-Ahram Newspaper. More precisely, discourse related to accidents, profane acts, crimes and body parts was not addressed. The study also did not address all types of euphemisms, such as those associated with religions and racial issues, because numerous problems may arise in case of misinterpretation. Although the study highlighted the strategies, functions and styles of euphemisms in different pieces of news that cover diverse events, it did not consider the ideological classification of euphemism (positive or negative). It also did not tackle the association between euphemism and paralinguistic features, i.e., hand gestures, facial expressions,
eye movements, body language, as well as tone and pitch of voice.

7.3 Suggestions for Future Research

Another study is required to address strategies, functions and styles of euphemisms mentioned in other local and global news media, such as Al-Akhbar, Youm7, Reuters, BBC, the Guardian and the Times. A contrastive study also can be carried out to identify which one adopts euphemisms more and why. This study also can be broadened to cover dysphemisms and orthophemisms in addition to euphemisms to help clarify the major differences between them. A study on the adoption of euphemisms, dysphemisms and orthophemisms in local and global news media during the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic has to be conducted since this issue has witnessed the emergence of various x-phemetic expressions that help comfort and warn the public, describe the virus, present unpleasant messages, describe facts and updates and clarify safety instructions.

Furthermore, a study that covers the euphemistic expressions that the parliamentary and presidential candidates adopt in their election campaigns or television interviews to obtain people's support is required. The study also recommends addressing the association between euphemisms and paralinguistic features, i.e., hand gestures, facial expressions, eye movements, body language, as well as tone and pitch of voice, because this area is still untrodden. Moreover, other aspects of euphemisms, such as ideological classification, can be explored.

An additional study is substantially required to investigate the impact of various variables, such as gender, age, social background and educational level, on the utilization of euphemisms, particularly in the educational and professional discourse. It would be worthwhile to broaden the scope of the present study to include the euphemistic expressions that local and global news media adopt in the educational discourse. In
addition, it is recommended to adopt the multimodal pragmatic approach rather than the pragmatic approach in exploring euphemisms because it is claimed that few studies address multimodality.

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