

A Content Analysis of Euphemistic Functions In Evro Bahdini Daily Newspaper

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Abstract: The current paper tries to answer the question: What are the most important euphemistic functions in the Bahdini daily newspaper, Evro? In order to reach accurate findings and results, the researcher followed the methodological procedures of Content Analysis (hence CA) by Berelson (1952) and Krippendorff (2003). Following Burrige's (2012) classification of euphemistic functions, the results obtained throughout this paper show that different euphemistic functions within various topic clusters (i.e. politics, economy, death, religion, sports, etc.) manifest different percentages. According to the six functions (totally 4333 in number), they were ranked from high to low percentages, starting from the protective function (29.1%, 1261 occurrences), followed by underhand (21.5%, 933 occurrences), provocative (17.8%, 774 occurrences), cohesive (13.9%, 604 occurrences), uplifting (13.7%, 597 occurrences) and finally ludic (3.7%, 164 occurrences). Regarding the frequencies and percentages of the functions in relation to different topic clusters, the highest percentage among all the euphemistic functions manifested in the Evro daily newspaper was the protective function, which mostly related to politics (49.5%, 625 occurrences), medicine (15.5%, 196 occurrences), sex (5.3%, 67 occurrences) and death (6.7%, 85 occurrences); whereas, the lowest percentage was for the ludic function (0% of 0 occurrences) in the latter three semantic topics. Finally, the use of euphemistic functions in question was measured to test statistical differences between these functions across specified semantic topic clusters, by means of a series of ANOVAs and multiple comparison correlations, that were programmed and output by Excel sheets and SPSS software 17.0.

Keywords: euphemistic functions, content analysis, Bahdini dialect, Evro daily newspaper.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The use of euphemisms is becoming more and more common in today language. According to Hojati (2012: 1), euphemisms are frequently used by members of the society "to soften the impact of concepts with the potential to cause offense and social disapproval". This is because of the fact that words have great force, causing different reactions on one individual or one group (Baladze, 2013: 379). Euphemistic expressions are endemic in every society due to the fact that they are part of language customs. In communication, for better maintaining social relationship and exchanging ideas, people have to resort to a new different style of language, which can make distasteful ideas seem acceptable or even desirable (Baladze, 2013: 380). So, euphemisms are considered effective in the process of talking because they replace offending word forms by other word forms that express similar ideas and attitudes. Euphemistic expressions are used in both the spoken and written languages. Burchfield (1985: 29) argues that euphemisms are important part of every language since "a language without euphemisms would be a defective instrument of communication". Like many other languages, whether spoken or written, English and Kurdish are rich in the use of euphemisms and their negative, unpleasant, offensive counterparts, i.e., dysphemisms and taboos. Focusing on the written means of communication such as texts, it is important to say that the use of euphemistic expressions varies in degree according to different fields of discourse and the subject matters they are used in. According to Al-Azzeh (2010: 4), the tenor of discourse is related to social variables such as age, education, sex, social status, and the like. Here, the degree of formality, as it is seen in various texts, plays an important role in determining the linguistic expressions as euphemized (i.e. euphemistic) or non-euphemized (i.e. dysphemistic).

In the current study, the term euphemism, as a general concept, is not taken into consideration. However, the focus is on the functions and tasks where euphemisms perform. In the "Euphemistic Functions" part below, the researcher followed Burrige's (2012) classification of euphemistic functions.

So, euphemistic expressions used to refer to these drugs are to a degree considered dishonest and deceiving.

In the BD, there are lots of examples that are used to misrepresent ideas related to various domains including war, politics, economics, and so on. For instance, in almost all media the expression *مادی بئ هوشکتر* (drugs) is usually used to misrepresent the use of other drug names like heroin (هیروین), marijuana (مقروانا), cannabis (حاشیش), etc., discussing drug abuse topics. Other examples include doctor-speak words and expressions for patients to soften a difficult diagnosis. Terms like *cluster of cells*, *abnormal growth*, *mass*, *troubling lab results* or *curious shadow on your x-ray* are sometimes used rather than saying the word *cancer* (Sebkova, 2012: 18). Also, a conversation between a Kurdish doctor and a patient with newly diagnosed cancer may include expressions such as *ض نینه* (It is nothing), *ئافده* (It is clean), *ئیلتههابه* (It is inflammatory), etc. to lighten the patient's fear.

The Uplifting Euphemisms

The uplifting type refers to the idea that many euphemisms are simply alternatives for words and expressions speakers prefer not to use on a given occasion. In Burridge's (2012: 69) words, the euphemistic expressions used in this way are basically "to talk up and to inflate". In other words, they are used to promote something by saying good things.

In the BD, for example, it is not promoting if an employee of a recycling company discusses about recycling on TV or radio program, using a word like *طلیش* (rubbish). Instead, more polite words and expressions such as *زبل* (trash), *خاشاک* (garbage) or *زبل و خاشاک* (trash and garbage) are used. The vehicle that is used to collect trash is mostly called *سەیارا بەڵگەیی* (municipality car), which consists of two loan words from Arabic. Such expressions are found in English: *sanitation engineer/worker* and *waste-reduction manager* are promoting euphemisms that replace *garbage man* or *trash worker* (Ryabova, 2013: 39). Whether in English or Kurdish, these examples are a kind of socialized euphemisms used to name non-prestigious professions and jobs for the purpose of heightening their status.

The Provocative Euphemisms

These euphemisms are very common in satirical life situations. People, especially writers, who want to criticize the country in general, the government they belong to, governmental institutions or organizations, or political parties, exploit euphemistic expressions to publically expound taboo topics. Hence, Burridge (2012: 70) states that such euphemisms are deliberately provoking in order "to reveal and to inspire". Many euphemistic expressions in different cultures are deliberately used to mainly function as a source of consolation and comfort. For example, *to steal* may be exchanged by other alternatives including *to borrow*, *to take* or *to get*, masking the real nature of stealing. According to Trudgill (1995: 81), the words *girl* and *lady* are euphemistic and used instead of *woman*, which has sexual implications. Such words can be found in the BD too. For instance, *ئافرەت* (woman) is more acceptable than *ئەز/ئەز* (woman); hence, there is the title *ئیکتێتیا ئافرەتێن کوردستانی* (Kurdistan Women Union) but not *ئیکتێتیا ئەزێن کوردستانی* (Kurdistan Women Union). This shows that *ئەز/ئەز* (woman) as a lexical item decreases the social role of women while *ئافرەت* (woman) rejects the notion of a male-dominated society.

As a political correctness by the government and a source of consolation for the common people, the Kurdish media recently invented the word *بەندیار* as a term used to refer to illegal employees who receive illegal salaries from the government. Also, within topics of ethnic groups and religions that exist in Kurdistan Region, we hear *کوردێن رەسەن* (original Kurds) to refer to *ئەزێدی* (Yezidi). The words *ئاشوری* (Assyrian), *کلدانی* (Chaldean) and *مەسیحی* (Christian) are used to comfortably denote the more general word *فەلە* (Christian). In death vocabulary, the expression *بو خۆ رەحەت بوو* (He/she relaxed for himself/herself) is less painful than to say *مەر* (died).

According to Veisbergs (2000: 774), who adds another device for forming the provocative euphemisms, the technique of using negative prefixes in many languages is followed for the purpose of softening the effect of words and expressions. For example, *visually impaired* means *blind* and *less developed* means *laid-off*. There are lots of examples that are more formal, polite and euphemistic when in negative form: *نەزان* (without knowledge) is used for *ئاھل* (illiterate), *بە زراپ* (without courage) for *ترسناک* (coward), *بە رەفۆشت* (impolite) for *شیشتی* (disobedient), and so on.

The Cohesive Euphemisms

People in a society feel they belong to one social community where they share both euphemistic and tabooed words and expressions as a sign of social cohesion. Burridge (2012: 70) claims that euphemisms are cohesive when they "show solidarity". This means that in special cases especially within certain groups of people (e.g. a gathering in a café, doctors and nurses in a hospital, lawyers in a court, teachers in a university, etc.), euphemisms in this way increase group identity and solidarity relation (Throne 1997: 194). For example, in the BD, it is very common between hospital staff to say *ECU* (Emergency Care Unit) instead of *ئینعاش* (to

revive the patient), which is a borrowed word from Arabic. Here, the use of ECU makes fearful and unpleasant emotions lost in social conventions among the hospital staff. Further, within some specific groups of people, the expression شمش و بيش ليددنت (literary translated as “wasting in six and five”), which is actually a slang, is sometimes used instead of مفر اختن (expending).³ However, the former expression is used in informal situations.

The Ludic Euphemisms

Many words and expressions are sometimes euphemistically used to amuse, that is, “to have fun and to entertain” (Burrige, 2012: 71). The speakers of language, from their childhood up to adulthood, usually play with sounds, letters, words and phrases in order to have fun. Ayto (1998: 238) mentions some examples such as *killing*, *hysterical*, *hoot* and *belly laugh* that are used as funny euphemisms for laughing loudly and deeply. Such expressions are found in the BD too. Instead of saying نقر كتيم (I laughed), one may say نقر مرم (I died), نقر تقيم (I exploded), نقر فتسيم (I suffocated), بو من ناظي (Bring me water), and the like, to show his/her loud and deep laugh. For a silly person, in English the expression *He will not invent a gun powder* is used. It is worth noting that such expressions are culturally specific, that is, they are linguistically and thematically different from one culture to another. For instance, the sentence نقر نثيت ميسا ذخو ككشكت (He/she cannot even get flies away from him/her), which includes different words from the lexical items *inventing a gun powder*, is ironically used to refer to an idle, sluggish and inactive person.

V. METHODOLOGY:

The methodology that is used through the whole paper is a quantitative approach that was processed statistically. The content analysis (hence, CA) method by Berelson (1952) and Krippendorff (2003) was used to find, interpret and analyze the data extracted from sample texts.

The most frequently used technique in analyzing written documents is the CA method (Robson, 2002: 349). The CA, which is becoming one of “the fastest-growing methods” in quantitative research, is a text interpretation method for summarizing any form of content by counting various aspects of the content (Luke et al, 2011: 77). The CA is broadly a strict and systematic set of procedures for the rigorous analysis, examination and verification of the contents of written data (Flick 1998: 192 and Mayring 2004: 266). Here, many researchers defined the CA according to different views. Berelson (1952: 18) defined the CA as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”.⁴ This means that the CA is a research method for “defining, measuring, and analyzing both the substance and meaning of texts” (Beck and Manuel, 2008). Focusing on the validity and reliability of the sample, Krippendorff (2003: 18) defines the CA as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use”. The same idea was presented by Weber (1990: 9) saying that the CA is “a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text”.

In simple, the CA is a scientific research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts especially those that appear in newspapers.⁵ This method mainly provides the researcher with new insights about understanding, assessing and measuring particular linguistic phenomena. According to Berelson (1952: 11) and Riffe et al. (2014: 30), though the CA methodological tool is time consuming, it offers several advantages as listed below:

- It looks directly at communication via texts, providing valuable linguistic, social and cultural insights over time.
- It can allow for both quantitative and qualitative operations to assess, analyze and understand texts.
- It describes the characteristics of any content especially that of newspapers, making inferences about causes and effects of such content.

All in all, the objective of the CA is “to convert recorded raw phenomena into data”, which can be treated in essentially a scientific manner so that a body of knowledge is built up (Prasad, 2015: 9).

VI. THE CA OF EUPHEMISTIC FUNCTIONS:

As organized by Chadwick et al (1984: 248-259), Krippendorff (2003: 83-87), Neuendorf and Skalski (2010: 12-13) and Denscombe (2010: 281-282), the process of the CA goes through six logical and relatively ordered stages: (1) unitizing, (2) sampling, (3) categorizing, (4) coding, (5) inferring and (6) narrating.⁶ In the light of analyzing the data taken from the *Evro* daily newspaper⁷, the researcher did a CA according to the above mentioned stages:

1. Unitizing: Selecting Content for Analysis

According to Krippendorff (2003: 83), *unitizing* is simply “the systematic distinguishing of segments of texts”. This can be achieved by “making a clear statement of the research question or objective” (Prasad, 2015: 9). Therefore, the selection of topic should be one that can be answered by analyzing the appropriate

communication content. The content (i.e. words, phrases, sentences) selected for the purpose of the current study covers the most important euphemistic functions performed by euphemistic words and expressions in *Evro* newspaper.

2. Sampling

A sample is “a subset of units from the entire population being studied” (Riffe et al, 2014: 71). The usual goal of sampling, the smaller group of units actually measured, is to represent the population, the larger group of units about which inferences are to be made (Utts and Heckard, 2007: 72-73). In doing a textual CA for the *Evro* daily newspaper, some issues of this newspaper were randomly selected starting from January to December, 2016, to represent the whole population.

The researcher followed what is called *stratified constructed week sampling*, which is created by randomly selecting an issue for each day of the week (Riffe et al., 2014: 85). That is, one constructed week (CW) is created by selecting the Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday issues from successive weeks in one month, and the Wednesday, Thursday and Friday issues from successive weeks in the following month. In this case, one CW is formed for a seven-day operation daily newspaper. The researcher in the current study used six CWs to work as a sampling frame. In case of *Evro*, one CW consists of five issues and the total number of issues selected was 30 in number because it has five-day operation circulation starting from Sunday until Thursday. This means that the total number of all issues selected from exactly a one-year population of 239 issues from the newspaper was 30 issues.⁸ The sample size percentage is shown in the following formula:

$$\% \text{ of sample size} = \frac{\text{No. of issues in the sample}}{\text{No. of issues in the population}} \times 100$$

Hence, according to the above formula, the sample size percentage can be linearly calculated as: $30/239 \times 100 = 12.5\%$. Such percentage is high enough to conduct a CA for the target population. In other words, 12.5% is a percentage that makes the sample size valid and acceptable for processing the CA in quantitative research studies (Neuendorf and Skalski, 2010: 13).

The CW sampling method has long been used by many researchers because of the traditional importance of daily newspapers as journalism mass media. Luke et al (2011: 78) claims that the use of CW method is very useful because it actually “accounts for cyclic variation of news content”. According to Riffe et al (2014: 84), these researchers have “concentrated on efficiency of sampling for inference to a typical level of content”. In their book titled *Analyzing Media Messages*, Riffe et al (2014: 85), with the assistance of five coders, presented the nature of efficient stratified sampling methods for inferring to content in a table, claiming that two CWs can well represent one year population of a daily newspaper and nine CWs for five years. The efficiency of selecting two CWs for representing a year’s content was used by Stempel (2003: 212) and Weaver (2009: 34-35) long before when they studied the front-page articles of a six-day operation newspaper in England and the front-page stories of several newspapers in the USA respectively. Luke et al. (2011), with the assistance of three coders, examined sampling in daily newspapers for health stories concluding that it would take six CWs, rather than two, to find a representative sample of health stories in one-year period. Even within these six CWs, these researchers randomly selected two issues of newspapers from each CW for extracting and recording examples of the phenomenon under investigation. This means, the total number of CWs selected was six for counting data and finding frequencies while the total number of CWs for recording examples was two.

The reason why six CWs were used for the purpose of analysis is due to two important factors: the level of confidence and margin of error, which is “a measure of how much the sample may differ from the population at a certain level of confidence” (Riffe et al, 2014: 141). As a fact of statistical calculations, the margin of error depends on the sample size: the bigger the sample size the smaller the margin of error (Utts and Heckard, 2007: 75-76). For social science purposes (the analysis of euphemistic functions in *Evro* in the current study), the conventional level of confidence is almost always at 95%. The following equation, taken from Utts and Heckard (2007: 76) calculates the margin of error between the sampling frame and one-year population of the sample content under investigation:

$$\text{Margin of Error} = \frac{1}{\sqrt{n}}$$

where n represents the sample size. For example, with a sample of 30 randomly chosen issues of the whole population (exactly 239 issues), we will usually get an estimate that is accurate to within $1/\sqrt{30} = 1/5.47 = 0.18 = 18\%$ of the truth. This indicates that the amount by which the sample proportion differs from the true population proportion is equal or less than this quantity (i.e. 18%) in at least 95% of the entire sample. The following table shows the six CWs and exact dates of *Evro*’s sample size:

Table (1): The CWs and Exact Dates of Evro Daily Newspaper Sample Size

	CW 1					CW 2					CW 3					CW 4					CW 5					CW 6				
Evro	Sun	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Sun	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Sun	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Sun	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Sun	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Sun	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs
Date	Jan 3	Jan 18	Feb 2	Feb 17	Feb 25	Mar 6	Mar 28	April	April	April	May 8	May 23	Jun 7	Jun 15	Jun 23	Jul 3	Jul 11	Jul 27	Aug 17	Aug 25	Sept 4	Sept 19	Oct 4	Oct 12	Oct 27	Nov 6	Nov 14	Nov 29	Dec 14	Dec 29

3. Categorizing: Reducing

Before beginning any analysis, the researcher prepared well for conducting the CA process. First, one issue from each newspaper was randomly taken in order to read and review the content material of the population. It was seen that euphemisms manifest different communicative functions, though they are overlapped. Further, before starting the coding process, the researcher prepared the following to serve the “need for efficient representations, especially of large volumes of data” (Krippendorff, 2003: 84):

- Pre-defined research questions,
- Important terms and concepts related to euphemistic functions,
- An Excel coding sheet to record frequencies of euphemistic functions (see Appendix II.), and
- SPSS software, version 17, for analyzing the data into statistical descriptions.

Here, in the categorizing stage, developing a category system to classify the body of text is the heart of processing any CA.

4. Coding: Recording

Coding is considered the most important stage in the CA. One reason for this analytical component is the need “to create durable records of phenomena” (Krippendorff, 2003: 84). In the process of coding, the researcher recommended recruiting five coders to analyze and code the data because coding is time-consuming. So, the total number of coders was six including the researcher himself. After all the issues of each CW were prepared, the coders were given rules and instructions for how to process coding. After training them for totally three hours, as approximated by Lynch and Peer (2002: 3), every coder was given three things:

- Two newspaper issues of one CW,
- The coding sheet, and
- One month as maximum period of time for coding one CW.

In doing the coding process, the coders read down the content material and fell out the coding sheet, looking for one content unit, that is, euphemistic functions. Hence, for the purpose of the current study, the trained coders recorded all the material according to the six CWs (i.e. CW1, CW2, CW3, CW4, CW5 and CW6). Further, coding was based on the frequency of items (i.e. euphemisms under certain topic clusters relevant to the newspaper topics). The content was coded by reading through the text and manually writing down item occurrences on the previously prepared coding sheet. According to Cohen et al (2007: 480), it is recommended that the coder should go through the data systematically, typically line by line, and writes “a descriptive code by the side of each piece of datum”. He gave the following example as a coded text where PROB and MIXABL codes represent *problem-solving* and *mixed ability* respectfully:

Text	Code
- The students will undertake problem-solving in science.	PROB
- I prefer to teach mixed ability classes.	MIXABL

For the purpose of study, the researcher developed a coding scheme of abbreviations together with their equivalent numbers to understand immediately the issue that they denote. These codes, as shown in Appendix III, include euphemistic function units (hence F) starting from 1 to 6 and topic clusters from 1 to 8 (as C). As stated by Denscombe (2010: 282), these codes are usually written on the text first, then they are entered via some excel sheets to show the occurrences, frequencies and total number of all items coded (see Appendix II).

During the coding process, an important methodological issue was taken into consideration: checking reliability of coding. Reliability in quantitative research is essentially “a synonym for dependability, consistency and replicability over time, over instruments and over groups of respondents” (Cohen et al, 2007: 146). Coders must be reliable, i.e. they must apply the categories and look for data in the same way. According to Landis and

Koch (1977: 161) and Prasad (2015: 14), it is desirable to have, even in a small-scale study, more than one coder to independently code the units and to check what is called the interrater reliability.⁹ It is statistically measured by Cronbach alpha coefficient calculated by SPSS at the click of a button. The interpretation of alpha statistically ranges from 0.0 to 1.0. A more complete list of how alpha might be interpreted is given in the following table (Cohen et al, 2007: 506):

Table 2: Interpretation of Cronbach alpha

	Low	Minimal	Reliable	Highly Reliable	Very Highly Reliable
Alpha	< 0.60	0.60-0.69	0.70-0.79	0.80-0.90	> 0.90

The researcher checked reliability by calculating the coded data of only one CW taken from the sample. According to the alpha scale, the inter-item correlations showed reliable and valid results across all the coders. Cohen et al. (2007: 148) insist that reliability must make the methodological tools, data and findings “controllable, predictable, consistent and replicable”. The following table shows stability and consistency of test material:

Table 3: Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	No. of Coders
.993	6

The correlation coefficient is .993 as shown in the above table, representing the reliability and validity of model assumptions. In other words, the coding process is very highly reliable according to the alpha scale. Obviously, there were no such differences between the coders.

5. Inferring: Analyzing

The inferring or analyzing stage “bridges the gap between descriptive accounts of texts and what they mean, refer to, entail, provoke or cause” (Krippendorff, 2003: 85). This is a crucial step where the data are interpreted and analyzed after the validity of sample size (12.5%) and interrater reliability of coding (.993) were manifested. Analysis was achieved according to the following procedure:

- Finding statistical descriptions for all the euphemistic functions that appear in various topic clusters in the sampling frame of *Evro* daily newspaper.
- Presenting the data statistically via tables and charts. As Denscombe (2010: 260) explained, though it is not such a difficult task, drawing tables and charts are very necessary in the final steps of any CA because they “present enough information without drowning the reader with information overload”.

It was suggested that a frequencies procedure to be run at the very beginning of analysis on euphemistic functions. Such a procedure was helpful to “see the distribution of some variables__ the minimum, maximum, mean, median, standard deviation”, etc. (Lynch and Peer, 2002: 29).

6. Narrating: Drawing Results and Conclusions

Once the coding and analytical procedures are done, the researcher examines the data and attempts to draw whatever conclusions and generalizations are possible. Simply, findings and conclusions are interpreted and reported, depending on accurate analytical measurements. According to Riffe et al (2014: 51), “measurement failure creates unreliable and invalid data that lead to inaccurate conclusions”. Here, in doing a CA for written texts, establishing adequate interrater reliability is a key part of assessing measurement success.

VII. HYPOTHESIS:

Following quantitative and qualitative statistical methods, the following research hypothesis was tested by applying different research tools to answer the research question mentioned in part (2) above. At this point, this hypothesis was stated at the level of 0.05, determining whether or not it was supported by the results:

There are statistical differences between the functions euphemisms perform in topic clusters covered by the Bahdini daily newspaper, *Evro*.

The above hypothesis was proposed to show that euphemistic words and expressions in Bahdini literary texts show different functions. This is because of the fact that euphemisms present divergence of social orientation of euphemisms in the Kurdish texts, where different social and cultural aspects meet. That is why; while hypothesizing that these functions are not performed equally in all topic clusters, the data extracted from the sampling frame will be tested, coming to the right prediction.

VIII. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION:

As mentioned above, the data extracted from the sample, which depend on the CA procedures, are statistically interpreted and analyzed by using SPSS software and Excel sheets.

Frequencies And Percentages Of Euphemistic Functions:

The frequency of using the euphemistic functions is presented in different topic clusters in Figure (1) below:

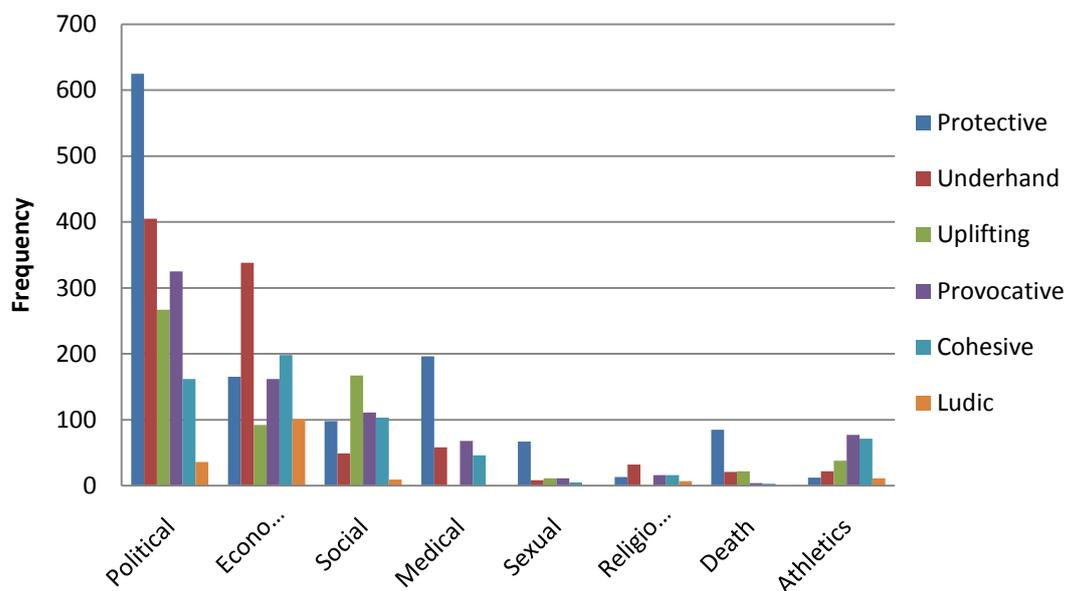


Figure 1: Frequency of Using Euphemistic Functions at in Topic Clusters

As mentioned by Burrige (2012: 67), the protective function is basically performed to avoid offense. Hence, the topics that were found unpleasant, impolite, or fearful were mostly related to politics (49.5%, 625 occurrences), medicine (15.5%, 196 occurrences), sex (5.3%, 67 occurrences) and death (6.7%, 85 occurrences). That is why; these topics presented the highest percentages for the protective function in order for the text to show higher degrees of politeness and euphemizing. In the same time, euphemisms related to the latter three topic clusters (i.e. medicine, sex and death) performed the lowest percentage of ludic function, which was 0% of 0 occurrences. Such topics are considered serious and they cannot be written in a ludic, funny or sarcastic way. The following figure presents the approximate percentages of the six euphemistic functions performed in the sample:

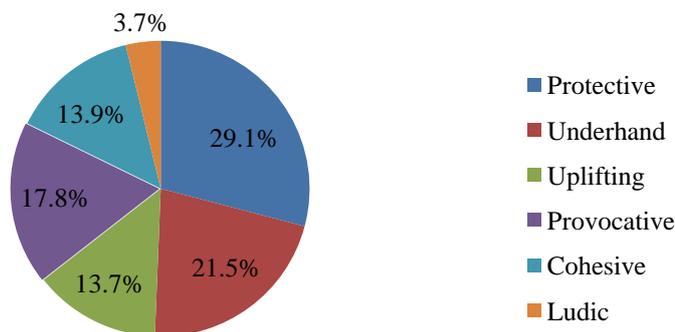


Figure 2: Percentages of Using Euphemistic Functions in the Sample

In general, from the total of 4333 euphemistic words extracted and coded across different topic clusters from the sampling frame, i.e. *Evro* daily newspaper, the highest percentage (29.1%, 1261 occurrences) among all the other functions was measured for the protective function. In contrast, euphemisms that performed the ludic function had the lowest percentage (3.7%, 164 occurrences). It can be said that only 3.7% of all the written material from the *Evro* daily newspaper is considered ludic. With regard to the percentage of the other functions,

they are measured from high to low ranking, starting from underhand (21.5%, 933 occurrences) followed by provocative (17.8%, 774 occurrences), cohesive (13.9%, 604 occurrences) and uplifting (13.7%, 597 occurrences). These frequencies show that *Evro* texts contain a remarkable amount of euphemisms that perform protective and underhand functions. This is due to the reason that, in formal, academic written discourse, writers do their best to censor themselves from being impolite, unrespectable, offensive, and not academic.

Among all six functions, examples such as *نيسرايلا دووى* (the second Israel), *كيشين سنورى* (border problems), *خاندەكا كوردستانى* (Kurdistan trench), *شترى خاندەكان* (trench wars), *فراكسيونا زفر* (the yellow Fraxion), among hundreds of others, are considered political euphemisms used to hide other ideas in form of double speak. In other words, they are indirectly used to refer to concepts like *Kurdistan*, *Kurdistan borders*, *Article 140 in the Iraqi Constitution* and *PDK* respectively. In the following example, the doer of the action name, which is Turkey Government, is protected of being mentioned due to policies between the Turkish and Kurdish governments:

- *دەرطەهێ ئیبراهیم خلیل بو ماوەكى درێژ هاتیووترن* (The Ibrahim Khalil Gate has been closed for a long period of time.)

The above example performs both the protective and underhand functions in the same time. Also, the expression *ئاشكەفتى موزى* (salary disposal) is used for showing persuasive political purposes.

Lots of instances of euphemistic words and expressions are used to show the underhand function, that is, to deliberately mention topics in an indirect way. This is what writers exactly do. An interesting use of the underhand function appears in the examples including *داعش* (ISIS), *ريكخراوا تيرووستى* (a terrorist organization), *توركومانين شوفيني* (chauvinistic Turkmen), etc. They are purposively used by writers to belittle these concepts in view of readers. Many examples are used ironically to lessen the impact on public opinion of various topics. For instance, the sentences *فەقيرى ب خيەر بهيت!* (Poverty is welcomed!) and *ئەترى قەدرە مە بوزى يە؟* (What is our fate used for?) are ironically used to show a pessimistic view of life topics and concepts. Other examples such as *كارين خراب* (bad deeds), *دولتمەند* (rich), *رجيم* (weight loss), *كوردوفوبيا* (Kurd phobia), etc., are indirectly used to work as euphemisms in order to understate unpleasant realities. Simply, writers try their best to speak around a given word, implying it without saying it (Fernandez, 2014: 10).

Many euphemisms extracted and coded from the data also presented the uplifting function, i.e., by upgrading a desirable feature of the referent. This device manifests in the phrases *ئەفسانەتيا داعش* (ISIS myth), and words like *ميرخاس* (brave), *شەهەزەرا* (smart), *دزوار* (tough) among lots of others. Further, most of euphemistic acronyms presented in military, politics and health topics to talk up and inflate things and people. For instance, an abbreviation like *د.* (Dr.) is highly noticed in the *Evro* sample to politely show the academic rank of personalities.

There are many examples of underspecification that are used as euphemisms performing the provocative function. Instances include *دوژمن* (enemy) to refer to *عەرەب و تورك و فارس* (Arabs, Turks and Persians), *فیتتە* (seduction) to mean *كوشتن و رەفانەدان و لاتیان* (killing and kidnapping citizens), *خیزانەكا ساخلم* (a healthy family) to stand for *هەتەزىنى* (marriage), and so on. These examples inspire the readers with further concepts.

The results showed that within various topic clusters (i.e. politics, economy, religion, sports, etc.), many of the idiomatic euphemisms were used to show a kind of solidarity and intimacy between writers and readers as one social group: *ئشت راست* (confident), *دەهەمەن ئیس* (whore), *ریك و ئیک* (organized), *دەست و دار* (condition), *هونەرى حەفتى* (confident), etc. These examples, performing a cohesive function, are more euphemistic when used in complete sentences. The expression *خیانەتە 100 سالە* (the 100-year betrayal) is cohesively understood by the Kurdish people only, not Arabs or Turks. Within the field of economics, the word *قەيران* (economic crisis) is a metonym euphemism used to perform the cohesive function among the Kurdish speech community, referring to *قەيرانا نابورى ل كوردستانى* (economic crisis in Kurdistan). Also, the latter example is usually used sarcastically among the members of the same community to have fun and to entertain.

Correlations Between Euphemistic Functions In Topic Clusters:

In conducting a CA for the target sample and with accordance to the distribution of frequencies, means, minimum and maximum of all the euphemistic functions across the topic clusters, the data were analyzed by means of a series ANOVAs and multiple comparison correlations, that were programmed and output by SPSS software. The following table shows statistical descriptives of the functions across the topics:

Table 4: Statistical Descriptives of Euphemistic Functions across Topic Clusters

Euphemistic Functions	No. of Topics	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		

Protective	8	157.62	199.68	70.60	-9.31-	324.56	12.00	625.00
Underhand	8	116.62	159.12	56.25	-16.40-	249.65	8.00	405.00
Uplifting	8	74.62	96.46	34.10	-6.02-	155.27	.00	267.00
Provocative	8	96.75	107.07	37.85	7.23	186.26	4.00	325.00
Cohesive	8	75.50	73.58	26.01	13.98	137.01	3.00	198.00
Ludic	8	20.50	34.61	12.23	-8.43-	49.43	.00	101.00
Total	48	90.27	124.87	18.02	54.01	126.53	.00	625.00

Demonstrating a series of multiple ANOVA comparisons, the results were shown as Sig. = 0.375, $\alpha > 0.05$. This means that the mean difference was not significant at the 0.05 level between and within all the topic clusters and euphemistic functions. This is very clear in Table 5 below:

Table 5: Level of significance and mean difference of Euphemistic Functions across Topic Clusters

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	84832.354	5	16966.471	1.100	.375
Within Groups	648047.125	42	15429.693		
Total	732879.479	47			

According to the statistical descriptives and sig. differences of the data extracted from the sample, the results obtained were not in agreement with the hypothesis mentioned above.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

In contrary to the hypothesis proposed in the present study, the results showed that there was no statistical difference (Sig. = 0.375, $\alpha > 0.05$) at the level of 0.05 in performing each euphemistic function in relation to the other functions within and across various topic clusters in the sample of Evro daily newspaper, 2016. This indicates that the topic clusters specified do not present statistical differences between all the euphemistic functions though they show different percentages across the topic clusters.

Regarding the frequencies and percentages of the euphemistic functions across different topic clusters and according to the results obtained, the highest percentage among all the euphemistic functions manifested in the Evro daily newspaper was the protective function, which mostly related to politics (49.5%, 625 occurrences), medicine (15.5%, 196 occurrences), sex (5.3%, 67 occurrences) and death (6.7%, 85 occurrences). This shows that the texts where this function was performed showed higher degrees of politeness and euphemizing. However, euphemisms related to serious topics (i.e. medicine, sex and death) performed the lowest percentage of ludic function, which was 0% of 0 occurrences.

According to the six functions (totally 4333 in number), they were ranked from high to low percentages, starting from the protective function (29.1%, 1261 occurrences), followed by underhand (21.5%, 933 occurrences), provocative (17.8%, 774 occurrences), cohesive (13.9%, 604 occurrences), uplifting (13.7%, 597 occurrences) and finally ludic (3.7%, 164 occurrences). It can be concluded that in academic texts, writers usually censor themselves from being impolite, unrespectable, offensive, and not academic.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix I: List of Kurdish Letters with Examples from English Pronunciation

Kurdish Letter	English Pronunciation (Bald letters represent the Kurdish letter)	Kurdish Letter	English Pronunciation (Bald letters represent the Kurdish letter)
ا	Car	ظ	Villa
ب	Brother	ق	Quran
پ	Play	ك	Key
ت	Ten	ط	Good
ج	Bridge	ل	Play
ض	Church	ل	Model
ح	Hussein	م	Modern
خ	Loch	ن	New
د	Day	ه	High
ر	Pray	ة	Rag
ز	Zoo	و	Shot
ذ	Pleasure	و	Pot
س	Save	ی	Sea
ش	Shine	ی	Pet
ف	Foot		

Note: This order of the alphabet was recently proposed by Kurdish Academy in Erbil, 2016, as the new standard.

Appendix II: Coding Sheet for Recording Euphemistic Functions

Topic Clusters			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
			Political	Economical	Social	Medical	Sexual	Religious	Death	Athletics	
Types of Euphemisms according to Functions	1	Protective									
	2	Underhand									
	3	Uplifting									
	4	Provocative									
	5	Cohesive									
	6	Ludic									

Appendix III: Names of Units and Their Equivalent Representing Codes Used in the Coding Process

Functions of Euphemisms	Unit	Protective	Underhand	Uplifting	Provocative	Cohesive	Ludic
	Code	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6

Topic Clusters	Unit	Political	Economical	Social	Medical	Sexual	Religious	Death	Athletics
	Code	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8

Note: F = Function, C = Cluster

ENDNOTES

- [1] For more details about euphemistic functions, see Burrige, Kate (2012) "Euphemism and Language Change: The Sixth and Seventh Ages." In *Lexis 7: "Euphemism as a Word-Formation Process"*. Allan, Keith. et al. (Ed.), p. 65-92. Available from <https://lexis.revues.org/340/>. [Accessed: May 2016].
- [2] The majority of the Kurdish community in Kurdistan Region is Muslims and it is a general assumption that Muslims do not drink alcohol. This is due to two main reasons: (1) religiously the consumption of any intoxicants specifically alcoholic beverages is generally forbidden in the Qur'an and (2) culturally almost all the Kurds look at the concept of drunkenness and the person who drinks as of low social status.
- [3] The expression شەش و بیس (six and five) is a tile rule in the game of dominos. It is sometimes euphemistic and sometimes else dysphemistic depending on the context. Another expression taken from the same game is دو شەش (double six). It is fully slang that is used among dominos players. It is usually used in کوری دوو شەشی (son of a double six) to refer to a person whose mother is a bitch. So, دوو شەش here means *bitch*.

- [4] Berelson's original definition of the CA is an example of the first kind. For detailed explanations on the CA as a research tool, see Berelson, Bernard (1952) *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Hafner.
- [5] Krippendorff (1967: 9-10) used the term "Quantitative Newspaper Analysis", claiming that it was used by journalists "to substantiate evaluative judgments concerning press performance". Such a term is not used in the current study because it had no scientific generalizations and that is why it is now considered old-fashioned.
- [6] Krippendorff (2003: 29-39) claims that the CA is like a methodological framework where there are six general requirements for doing any content analysis: (1) a body of text, (2) research questions, (3) context, (4) analytical constructs, (5) inferences and (6) validating evidences.
- [7] Evro is a five-day operation daily newspaper issued in Duhok City. It was issued for the first time in 2003 as a weekly newspaper; however, it became daily in 2009. The newspaper, which is considered the mouthpiece of families, covers various topic clusters including politics, health, science, economy, culture, society, sports, etc. Evro was selected for the current research sampling because it has the largest circulation (2500-2700 issues per day) among the rest of journals and periodicals in Badinan area (Bedel, Naji, personal interview, March 2, 2017).
- [8] According to *Evro* sample, being a five-day operation newspaper, 126 issues, which do not have publications at all, were excluded due to off days and holidays.
- [9] For more details about reliability and validity in both quantitative and qualitative research analyses, refer to Cohen et al (2007: 146-150).

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