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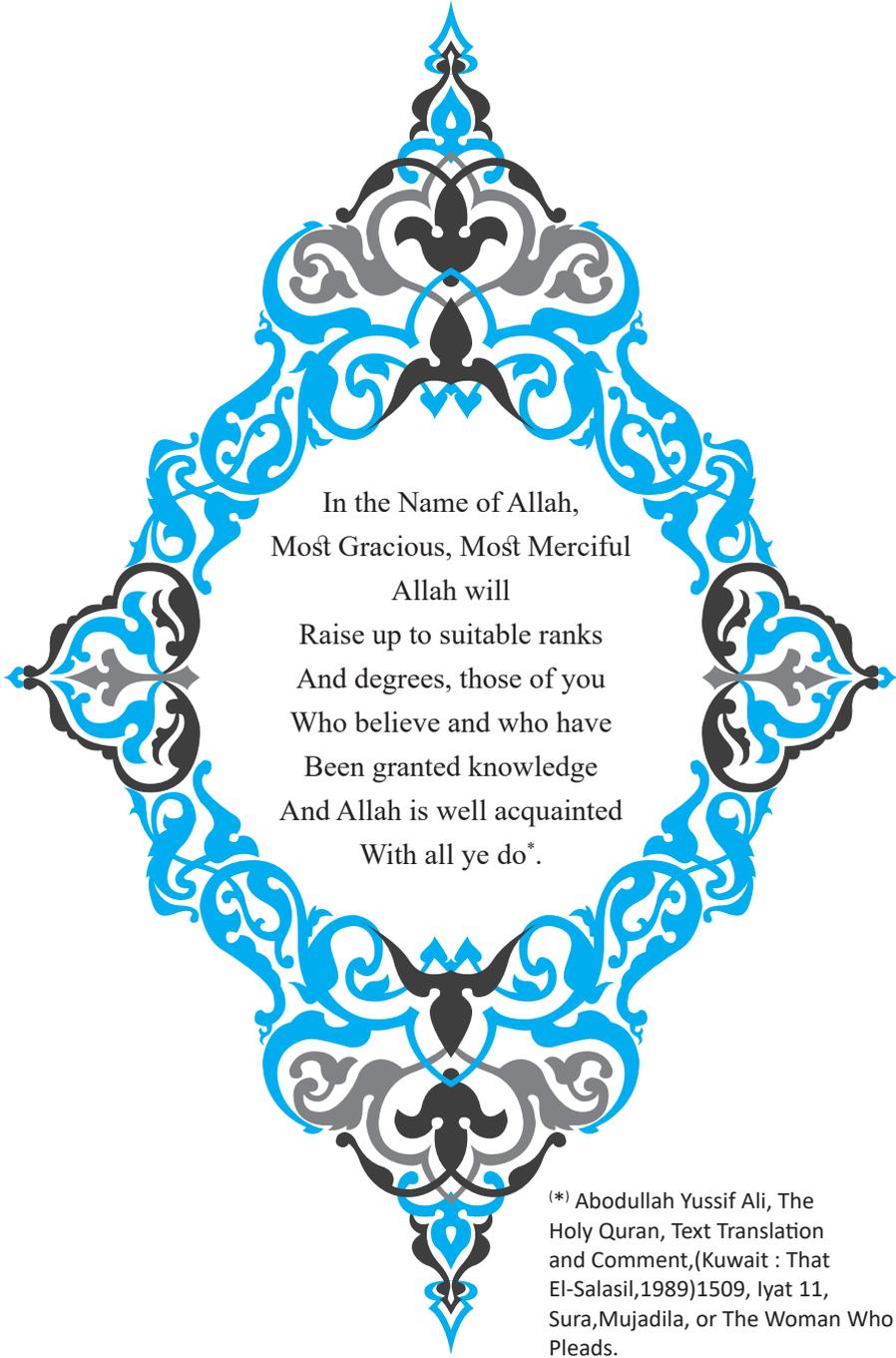
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DARALKAHEEL



In the Name of Allah,
Most Gracious, Most Merciful
Allah will
Raise up to suitable ranks
And degrees, those of you
Who believe and who have
Been granted knowledge
And Allah is well acquainted
With all ye do*.

(*) Abodullah Yussif Ali, The Holy Quran, Text Translation and Comment, (Kuwait : That El-Salasil, 1989) 1509, Iyat 11, Sura, Mujadila, or The Woman Who Pleads.

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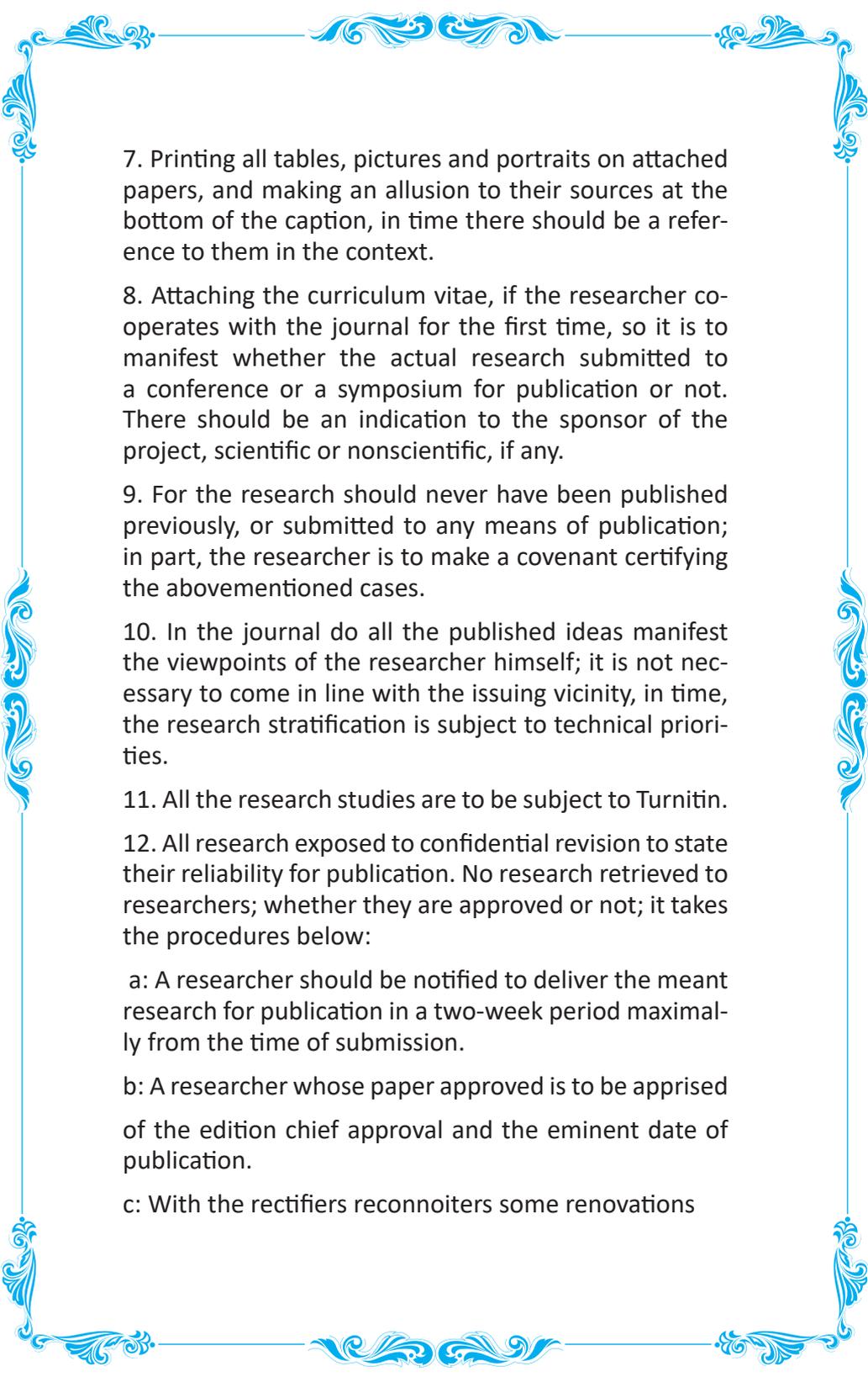
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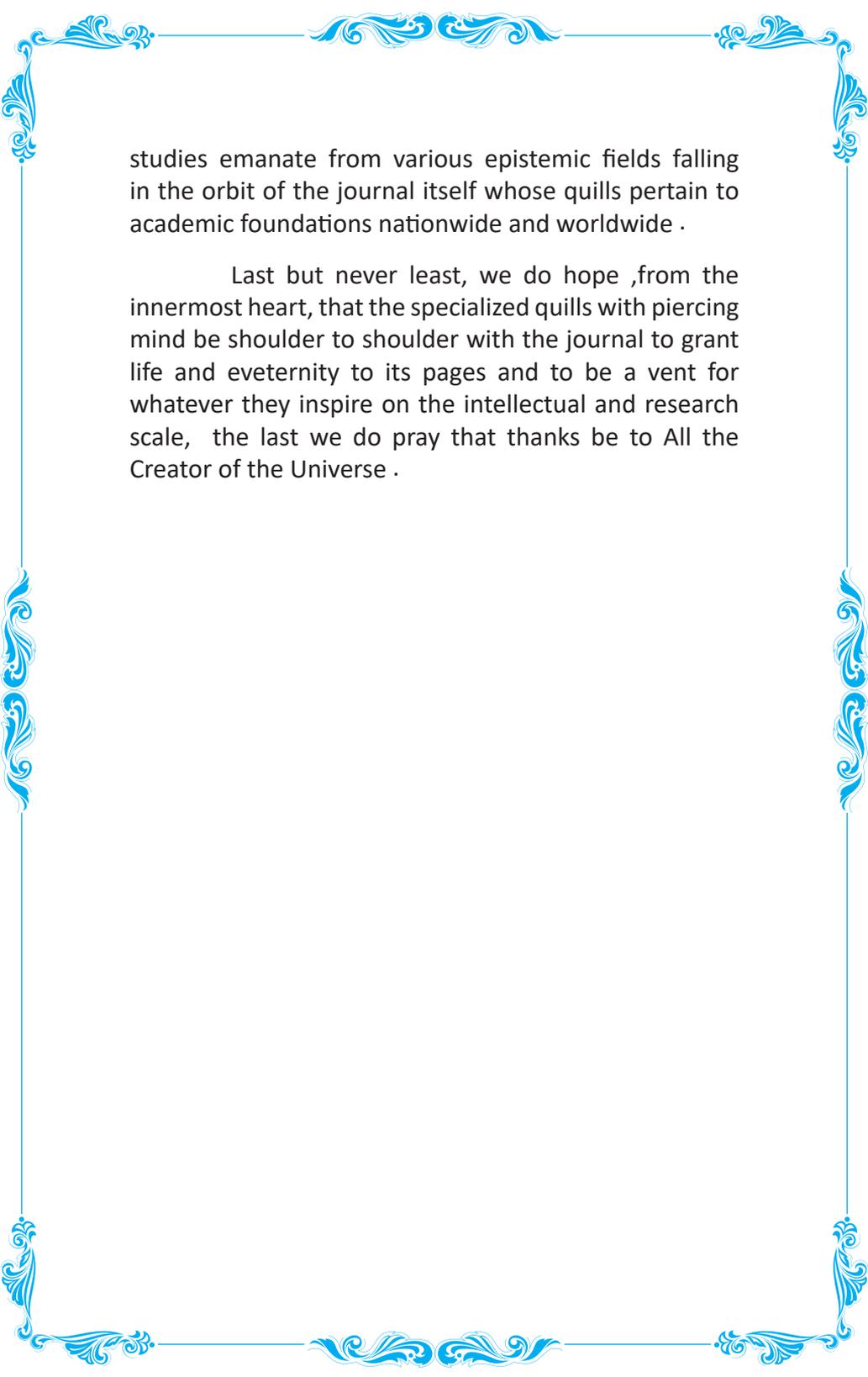
In the Name of the High

... Edition word ...

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studies emanate from various epistemic fields falling in the orbit of the journal itself whose quills pertain to academic foundations nationwide and worldwide .

Last but never least, we do hope ,from the innermost heart, that the specialized quills with piercing mind be shoulder to shoulder with the journal to grant life and eveternity to its pages and to be a vent for whatever they inspire on the intellectual and research scale, the last we do pray that thanks be to All the Creator of the Universe .



Immaculate Imams : Role and Legacy Retrospection



**A PRAGMATIC STUDY OF EU-
PHEMISM IN SHAKESPEARE'S
Measure For Measure**

(دراسة تداولية لاسلوب التلطف
في مسرحية الصاع بالصاع لويليم
شكسبير)

PROF.Dr. RIYADH TARIQ KADHIM AL-AMEEDI
BA in English Language and Literature , Col-
lege of Education , University of Qadesiya .

Researcher: MUHAMMAD HUSSEIN

الباحث محمد حسين حمزة
(بكالوريوس لغة انكليزية من كلية التربية بجامعة
القادسية)

muhammadme59@yahoo.com
riyadh2016.hum@gmail.com

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ملخص البحث

التلطف ظاهرة لغوية شائعة تستعمل لغرض استبدال كلمة او عبارة مباشرة، او مهينة، او مزعجة، او محرمة بكلمة غير مباشرة، او غير مؤذية، او لطيفة، او مقبولة لغرض حفظ ماء وجه المتكلم والمستمع، او اي طرف ثالث من اي ضرر، او احراج.

ظاهرة التلطف تقوم بالعديد من الوظائف: اذ تستعمل لتلطيف الموضوعات المحرمة (الجنس والدين والموت والمرض والحمل والغائط). كذلك تستعمل لتضليل الناس (وهي شائعة في المواقف السياسية). فضلا عن ذلك توظف لاطهار الادب والفكاهة وتقوية الاواصر والاحترام. هذه الوظائف وغيرها استعملت في مسرحية شكسبير العين بالعين.

تحاول الرسالة الحالية تحقيق الاهداف التالية: (١) ايجاد نظرية تحليلية تداولية لظاهرة التلطف في مسرحية العين بالعين، (٢) تحديد نوعية التعابير الملتطفة التي تستعمل في مسرحية العين بالعين، (٣) توضيح اهمية السياق في فهم التعابير الملتطفة في المسرحية المذكورة، (٤) معرفه السبب او الاسباب التي جعلت الشخصيات تنتهك مبدأ التعاون وقوانين الحوار، (٥) بيان كيفية انعكاس موضوعات المسرحية (الجنس والدين والموت والمرض والحمل والغائط) من خلال استعمال التلطف، وقد اقترحت الدراسة الفرضيات التالية:

١. فهم التلطف في المسرحية يعتمد السياق بصورة كبيرة.
 ٢. تستعمل الشخصيات في المسرحية التلطف بصورة مقصودة.
 ٣. غالبا ما يؤدي التلطف اكثر من وظيفة في الجملة الواحدة.
 ٤. موضوعات الجنس والحمل شكلت اهتمام كبيرا في مسرحية العين بالعين عن بقية الموضوعات (المرض والدين والموت والغائط).
- وان استقصاء المسرحيتين اثبت صحة الفرضيات أعلاه.

Abstract

Euphemism is a common language phenomenon used to replace a direct, offensive, annoying, and prohibited word or expression with a roundabout, inoffensive, pleasant, and acceptable one so as to save both the speaker's and hearer's face or third party from any loss.

Euphemism serves many functions; it may be used to soften the taboos (sex, religion, death, disease, pregnancy, and excrement), to deceive people (this is common in political situations), to show politeness, humour, solidarity and respect. In Shakespeare's Measure for Measure, these functions and many others are taken into account.

This study attempts to achieve the following aims: (i) finding a model of pragmatic analysis of euphemism for Measure for Measure, (ii) identifying what euphemistic expressions used in this play, (iii) illustrating how context helps understand the euphemistic expressions in the play, (iv) knowing the reason(s) behind characters' infringement of Grice's Cooperative Principle's conversational maxims and (v) showing how the subjects of Measure for Measure such as sex, religion, death, disease, pregnancy, and excrement are mirrored through the employment of euphemism. The following hypotheses have been suggested:

(1) the interpretation of euphemism in Measure for Measure greatly relies on context, (2) the characters of the play use euphemism deliberately, (3) often euphemism serves more than one function in one utterance and (4) the subjects of sex and pregnancy are granted great interest in Measure for Measure than others (disease, religion, death, excrement).

The conclusions of the research validate the above hypotheses



1. Introduction

Euphemism is a crucial tool which is used by most people, especially by writers, religious men, journalists, politicians and others to serve many functions.

Rawson (1981:1) defines euphemism as “mild, agreeable, or roundabout words used in place of coarse, painful, or offensive ones”. Diebold (1961:289) points out that euphemism is “the means by which a disagreeable, offensive, or fear-instilling matter is designated with an indirect or softer term”, e.g., the words ‘mad’, ‘elderly people’, ‘die’, and ‘sexual intercourse’ are euphemized as ‘underdeveloped’, ‘senior citizens’, ‘pass away’, and ‘sleep’ respectively.

It is not easy to recognize the implicated meaning of euphemistic expressions without context which plays a vital role in this area. There is a close interaction between Politeness and Grice’s Cooperative Principle’s maxims of conversation (quantity, quality, relevance and manner). To use euphemism, one has to violate at least one of the maxims which gives rise to conversational implicature. Thus, euphemism as a pragmatic mechanism reflects the organic interlock between Politeness and conversational maxims. Thus, one has to infer depending on context asking: Why do people use different expressions having the same meaning? or Why do they choose some and leave others? i.e., Why do they use euphemism?

In his play, *Measure for Measure*, Shakespeare uses euphemism to serve many functions. It is used to euphemize the taboos (sex, religion, death, illness, pregnancy, and excrement). *Measure for Measure* covers most of the functions of euphemism, e.g., “common houses” and “the thing” are used to euphemize ‘brothels’ and ‘syphilis’ respectively to show politeness, protect face and hide taboos.



The following questions represent the problem of the study:

1. How can context contribute to reveal the euphemistic expressions?
2. What is the purpose of euphemism in Shakespeare's Measure for Measure?
3. In what situations are euphemistic expressions used?

The research aims at: (1) finding a model of pragmatic analysis of euphemism for the play: Measure for Measure, (2) identifying what euphemistic expressions used in this play, (3) illustrating the impact of context on the encoding of the euphemistic references in Measure for Measure, (4) investigating why some characters in Measure for Measure flout Grice's Cooperative Principle's conversational maxims, and (5) showing how the themes of the play such as sex, pregnancy, death, disease, religion, and excrement are reflected through the use of euphemism.

It is hypothesized that: (1) it is difficult to identify the hidden meaning of euphemisms without context in Measure for Measure, (2) euphemism is not an unconscious choice, (3) often euphemism serves more than one function in one utterance and (4) The topics of sex and pregnancy are given higher attention in Measure for Measure than others (death, religion, disease, excrement).

The following procedures are followed in the study: (1) surveying the relevant literature on euphemism, its features, classifications, functions and formation, (2) presenting a theoretical account of context, conversational implicature, Cooperative Principle, conversational maxims, politeness, and face as far as euphemism is concerned in order to make some use of them to adopt a model of analysis, (3) using the model developed by this study to investigate certain euphemistic texts pragmatically in the play: Measure for Measure.



2. Euphemism

1.1 The Concept of Euphemism

Euphemism is a kind, agreeable, or indirect word used in place of an impolite, unpleasant, or offensive one (Rawson 1981:4; Leech, 1983:45; Cuddon, 1998: 292; Abrams, 1999:83; Cruse, 2006: 57; Fromkin et al., 2011: 473). Similarly, Hughes (2006:151) points out that “euphemism refers to the use of deliberately indirect, conventionally imprecise, or socially comfortable ways of referring to taboo, embarrassing, or unpleasant topics”.

Allan and Burrige (1991:11), (cited in Jamet, 2012: 3), see euphemism in terms of face effects, as a phenomenon closely related to the norms of politeness and style. They define euphemism as follows: “A euphemism is used as an alternative to a dispreferred expression, in order to avoid possible loss of face: either one’s own or, by giving offense, that of the audience, or of some third party”. Thus euphemism is from this perspective, basically a pragmatic phenomenon, an approach adopted by many writers looking at euphemism in discursive frame, subject to the social conventions of the pragmatic context surrounding the participants in the dialogue (Crespo, 2006:14).

Euphemism has some characteristics that make it distinct from other phenomena. Most people resort to euphemism in the entire world in order not to break the social norms of each country. It is also vague and ambiguous which is very hard to comprehend its intended meaning. Moreover, it is indirect in a sense that the taboo topics are expressed indirectly to avoid any threat to face. Lastly, it is short-lived in a way that some euphemisms lose the sense they acquire when appeared first, yet some others remain longer.

2.2 Taboo and Euphemism

A taboo action should not be acted nor referred to, and a taboo word should never be said (Hughes, 2006:462), but using euphe-



mism is the polite thing to do with taboo (Burrigde, 2004:201).

Taboo subjects include sex, death, excretion, bodily functions, religious matters and others (Wardhaugh, 2006: 239).

1. Sex and Euphemism

The subject of sex, being a major interest in human life and one that is likely to arouse shyness, is a vital source of euphemism for Western people of most ages of life. Indeed, sex is reflected in the extremely high degree of synonymy in the English vocabulary for genitalia and copulation (Enright, 2005:55; Crespo, 2008:96).

Here sex includes three areas: sexual acts such as 'make out', 'do it', and 'have it away with' (Hughes, 2006: 152), the parts of the body associated with sex like 'penis' (tool), 'cunt' (pussy) and 'breast' (vital statistic) (Rawson, 1981:227; Enright, 2005:66-7), and prostitutions, e.g., 'working girls'(whores) Rawson, 1981:1) and 'fancy house' (whorehouse) (ibid: 99).

2. Pregnancy and Euphemism

The word 'pregnant' was avoided in a polite company (Algeo and Pyles, 2010:215). For demonstration, in Victorian era people prefer to mention 'she is in an interesting condition' to 'pregnant' (Hughes, 2006:481). Besides, euphemistic terms for an illegitimate child are 'catch colt' (Hendrickson, 2008:158), and 'little newcomer' which reflect an unwillingness to talk plainly about pregnancy and birth (Rawson, 1981:35).

3. Death and Euphemism

In all societies and almost all languages, death is the most sensible and awful topic people attempt to avoid mentioning (Crespo, 2006:126; Aubed, 2011:80; Gomaa and Shi, 2012:1) or as suggested by Allan and Burrigde (2006:222), it is "a fear-based taboo".

For clarification, 'better country', 'count' (Holder, 2002: 26-86), 'answer the call' and 'at rest' are euphemisms for 'death' (Enright, 2005:30-1).

4. Disease and Euphemism

In most societies, references to diseases are censored; they are spoken of euphemistically. It might be because they are imagined to result from the actions of a fearful spirit or person, or in consequence of their rapport with death, or just because of their intrinsic offensiveness (Allan and Burridge, 2006:234). To illustrate, 'Venereal disease or Infection' is euphemized as 'catch a packet' and 'catch the boat up' (Holder, 2002: 57).

5. Religion and Euphemism

Religious euphemism is spoken of as a matter of showing prestige to religion (Abu Hammad, 2007: 10). It is forbidden to mention the name of God which is deemed taboo in many religions, especially Christianity. The Old Testament injunction against taking the Lord's name in vain (the Third Commandment) has continued to be considered as a serious religious and moral violation (Hughes, 2006:201). To exemplify, religious oaths such as 'begorra', 'by Gum', and 'by George' are acceptable substitutions for 'by God' (Enright, 2005: 19).

6. Excrement and Euphemism

Public allusion to excretion of all kinds (urination, defecation, and vomiting), and places where the major forms of excretion occur (i.e. lavatories), arouses anxiety and timidity in many people (Enright, 2005:75). For clarification, most people wish to say 'Excuse me a moment' or 'I have to go to the loo' instead of 'I have a piss' (Allan and Burridge, 2006:62).

There are many functions of euphemisms: they are used to preserve both the speaker's and hearer's face. They also work to dampen, cover and soften the taboo expressions which threat

people because of their unpleasant and embarrassed connotations. In addition, they are powerful tools of politicians who attempt to give an attractive image of their face in order to show that they are good, but they mislead the public. They also reinforce the relationships between people when diminishing anything causes melancholy, shyness or fear to others. They are also very laughable that everyone laughs at them.

2.3 Strategies for Formation of Euphemism

The many different linguistic strategies used in the creation of euphemisms fall into three main mechanisms¹: Analogy (generalization of forms to new situations), Distortion (modification of forms) and Borrowing (incorporation of forms from elsewhere), (Burridge, 2012:72).

1. Analogy: It includes the following processes:

A. Metaphor

Metaphor is defined as “a word or expression that in literal usage denotes one kind of thing is applied to a distinctly different kind of thing, without asserting a comparison” (Abrams, 1999:97). The expressions such as ‘life is journey’, and ‘go to other side’ are metaphors for ‘death’ (Duda, 2011:316-7).

B. Whole-for-Part and Part-for-Whole Euphemisms

Whole-for-part (or general-for-specific) euphemisms such as the legal term ‘person’ for ‘penis’ and part-for-whole euphemisms are found in ‘spend a penny’ for ‘go to the lavatory’(Allan and Burridge, 1992:35; Allan, 2012:12). Many of the general-for-specific euphemisms involve the sort of linguistic restraint that is usually termed as ‘understatement’ (Burridge, 2012:74), e.g., ‘deed’ for ‘act of murder’ (or whatever).



C. Hyperbole

Hyperbole is “a rhetorical device employed by language users to say or write things that make something sound much more impressive than it really is, i.e., to exaggerate” (Thawabteh, 2012:149), e.g., flight to glory meaning ‘death’, or villa in a premier location by the bay referring to a ‘dilapidated artisan’s cottage’ (Allan and Burridge, 1989:4).

2. Distortion: it includes the following strategies:

A. Clipping

Clippings are “reductions of longer forms” (Crystal, 2008:1), e.g., ‘bra’ is end-clipped of brassiere (Allan, 2012:10).

B. Acronym and Alphabetism

Both acronyms and alphabetisms are formed from the initial letters of phrases but acronyms differ from alphabetisms by “being pronounced like words rather than a list of letters” (Allan, 2012:10). Consequently, ‘snafu’ is acronym for situation normal; alphabetism, like ‘S.O.B.’ for ‘son-of-a-bitch’ (Allan and Burridge, 1992:33).

C. Omission

Omission is a strategy used for euphemizing in English whereby words thought to be distasteful are dropped (Thawabteh, 2012:153). For instance, ‘d—n’ (damn), ‘w—e’ or ‘wh—re’ (whore) and ‘Gracious!’ (Gracious God!), (Allan, 2012:10-11).

D. Circumlocution

Circumlocutions (or long-windedness) “involve the breaking down of neutral or taboo terms to their atomic concepts [...], thus mitigating the force of the unfavourable or bad connotations of the terms in question” (Thawabteh, 2012:154). Circumlocutions like little girl’s room for ‘toilet’, or categorical inaccuracy for ‘lie’, or



the person I am wont to refer to by the perpendicular pronoun for 'lime' (Allan and Burrige, 1992:33).

E. Remodelling

Remodelling keeps a greater or lesser degree of phonetic or orthographic similarity among the original and the new form. To evade profanity – careless disrespect for the deity or other religious terms (blasphemy maligns or mocks the deity), the word God is remodelled in euphemistic expletives such as the oaths Gad! Gog! Cod! (Allan, 2012:7).

F. Affixation

Affixation is an addition of some kind of prefix/suffix/infix; to demonstrate, 'oldie' and 'oldster' (modelled on youngster) (Burrige, 2012:76).

G. Blending

Blending, according to Bussmann (1996:137), is defined as a "combining of two expressions into a single new one". For illustration, 'zoomer' is used to designate the aging baby boomer (Burrige, 2012:76).

H. Reduplication

Reduplication "is a process of repetition whereby the form of a prefix/suffix reflects certain phonological characteristics of the root" (Crystal, 2008:407), e.g., 'jeepers creepers' for 'Jesus Christ' (Burrige, 2012:76).

I. Alliteration

Alliteration is "a type of rhyme scheme which is based on similarities between consonants" (Simpson, 2004:16), such as 'den-tured dandy' and brown bread 'dead' (Burrige, 2012:76).



3. Borrowing

Euphemisms can be formed by many ways. This can include a type of internal borrowing from sub-varieties such as jargon and slang within the same language. E.g., 'senesce' (to age), and 'caducity' (old age) (Burridge, 2012:77).

On the other hand, using words borrowed from other languages to serve as euphemisms is characteristic of many languages (Burridge, 2004: 216). Rawson (1981:8) asserts that "Foreign languages sound finer", e.g., a Latin is almost evenly likeable as a source of euphemisms, exclusively for the body's sexual and other functions, such as 'copulation', 'fellatio' and 'urination'.



3. Context, Implicature and Politeness

3.1 Context

Yule (1996: 128) defines context as “the physical environment in which a word is used.” Furthermore, Widdowson (2004:41) states that context is a dynamic concept that enables the communicators in the communication process to interact, and that makes the linguistic expressions of their interaction comprehensible.

3.1.1 Types of Context

The following kinds of context are classified according to Cutting's (2002:8) model of context².

1. Situational Context

Situational context refers to the immediate physical co-presence, the situation where the communication is taking place at the moment of speaking (ibid: 4).

2. Co-text

The second type is co-text, also known as linguistic context. Yule (2006:114) illustrates that “the co-text of a word is the set of other words used in the same phrase or sentence. The surrounding co-text has a strong effect on what we think the word probably means”. According to Cutting (2002), co-text includes some understanding concepts: grammatical cohesion and lexical one. Grammatical cohesion is subdivided into three categories: reference, substitution, and ellipsis. Lexical cohesion is also subdivided into four kinds: repetition, synonyms, superordinate, and general words.

What is important to the present study is reference (the act of employing referring expressions to refer to referents in the context) which contains two types: exophora and endophora. Exophoric reference means “when there is no previous mention of the referent in the text” while endophoric one means when “the pronouns refer

to items within the same text.” (ibid: 9). In addition, there are two kinds of endophora: anaphora refers to pronouns which tie back to something that goes before in the preceding text and cataphora which is the opposite of anaphora (ibid: 10).

3. Background Knowledge Context

Cutting (ibid:5) remarks that background knowledge context can be either interpersonal knowledge, specific and possible private knowledge about the history of the speakers themselves or cultural general knowledge that most people carry with them in their minds about the fields of life.

3.1.2 Context and X-phemism³

Euphemisms and dysphemisms are greatly reliant on context (Allan and Burrige, 2006: 32; Chamizo, 2009:437).

Burrige (2012:66) points out that there can be no such thing as ‘Everyman’s euphemism’ or ‘Everyman’s dysphemism’. Allan and Burrige (2006: 104) argue that inoffensiveness or offensiveness is never an inherent quality of a word, and the selection between alternative expressions will always depend on context. In this sense, a contextually consistent conceptualization considerably contributes to the comprehension of euphemisms and dysphemisms (Crespo, 2008:107).

3.2 Conversational Implicature

Paul Grice has made one of the most crucial contributions to pragmatics. He (1975) coins the theory of conversational implicature which is seen by Levinson (1983:167) as a special type of pragmatic inference which cannot be believed of as semantic (i.e. as pertaining to the meanings of words, phrases and sentences) because they are dependent directly on certain contextual assumptions concerning the cooperativeness of communicators in a conversation, rather than being constructed into the linguistic structure of the sentences that give rise to them.

There are two main types of conversational implicature: generalized conversational implicature (When no special background knowledge of the context of utterance is required in order to make the necessary inferences and particularized conversational implicatures which require such specific contexts (Grice, 1989:37; Yule, 1996:40).

Grice (1975; 1989) presents the Cooperative Principle and a group of conversational maxims. Verschueren and Ostman (2009:102-3) point out that Grice's theory is based on the belief that human beings are inherently "rational and cooperative": That statement is instantiated in the Cooperative Principle: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice, 1989:26).

In addition to the Cooperative Principle, Grice proposes a set of more specific maxims and sub-maxims that speakers are expected to follow in an interaction:

1. The Maxim of Quantity: Be informative: A. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the purposes of the exchange) and B. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
2. The Maxim of Quality: Be truthful: A. Do not say what you believe to be false and B. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
3. The Maxim of Relation (sometimes called 'relevance'): Be relevant.
4. The Maxim of Manner: Be perspicuous: A. Avoid obscurity of expression, B. Avoid ambiguity, C. Be brief and D. Be orderly.

(Grice, 1989: 26-7)

Grice (ibid: 28) adds that there are other maxims (aesthetic,

social, or moral in character) that are also normally adhered to by participants in talk exchanges. Furthermore, they may engender the conversational implicature giving 'be polite' as an example, but he does not take a step further explaining these maxims and giving its principles, opening the door to a long discussion among linguists.

3.3 Violation of Conversational Maxims

When speakers appear not to preserve the maxims but assume hearers to appreciate the implicit meaning, they are flouting Grice's maxims (Cutting, 2002:37). So though some maxim is broken at the level of what is said, the hearer is permitted to assume that maxim, or at least the overall Cooperative Principle, is obeyed at the level of what is implicated (Grice, 1989:33).

The speaker who flouts the maxim of quantity seems to be more or less informative (ibid.) while the speaker who infringes the maxim of quality says something that evidently does not stand for what s/he thinks (Cutting, 2002:37). If the speakers break the maxim of relation, they expect that the hearers will be able to imagine what the utterance does not say, and make the association between their utterances and the previous one(s) (ibid.). Finally, those who flout the maxim of manner, appearing obscure, are frequently attempting to ignore a third party (ibid.).

3.4 Politeness and Euphemism

Politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon is defined as a means to display awareness of another person's face (Yule, 1996:60). Leech (1983:81) states that politeness means to minimize the expression of beliefs which are unfavourable to the hearer and simultaneously maximize the expression of beliefs which are favourable to the hearer. By the same token, Lakoff (1973), (cited in Fraser, 1990:223), understands that politeness is the avoidance of offence.

"Euphemism and politeness are mutually dependent phenomena in the sense that the need to be polite determines euphemistic

use in a considerable way” (Crespo, 2005: 80). The indirectness given by euphemism, in turn, contributes to evade offence and insure politeness in its double dimension: “positive (oriented towards the public self-image and social prestige of the participants) and negative (related to the interlocutor’s freedom of action and freedom from imposition in the communicative encounter)”, (ibid.).

3.5 Face Theory and Euphemism

The Face Theory proposed by Erving Goffman (1967), is an important element in the analysis of conversation. He (1967: 5) writes: “the term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact”.

Adapting Goffman’s notion of face, Brown and Levinson (1987), (cited in Geyer, 2008:16), define it as “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself”. It refers to that emotional and social sense of self that everyone has and assumes everyone else to recognize (Yule, 1996:60). Face⁴ is two-dimensional: “positive face (identified with the individual’s desire to be positively regarded in social context) and negative face (concerned with the participant’s desire to be autonomous and free from imposition”

Crespo (2005:83) points out that euphemism acts on each of these two levels of face: first, it reacts to the speaker’s need to smooth potential social clashes which may change the interlocutor’s prestige; second, it supposes a way to diminish a threat to the interlocutor’s self-sufficiency. Hence, face is so closely associated with euphemism.

In sum, euphemistic use is closely linked to politeness by means of the notion of face proposed by Goffman (1967) and developed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Mitigation meaningfully contributes to lessen conflict and hostility in interpersonal interaction. Doing so, euphemistic strategies enable a space safe from collision in which the interlocutor does not feel any threat towards his public self-im-



age, at least in an obvious way. Therefore, euphemism, politeness and face are so mutually dependent that there exists a reflexivity between them (Crespo, 2005:78-84).



4. Data Analysis

4.1 Data

The data of analysis are Shakespeare's play: Measure for Measure. It has been chosen for analysis as it provides enough material for analysis. The analysis is limited merely to (12) texts out of (56) ones of Measure for Measure for two reasons: first, they cover the main themes of Measure for Measure and second, they are selected to avoid redundancy because all types and functions of euphemism discussed in the chosen texts are also found in the excluded ones which will be presented in appendix (see p. 31).

4.2 Model of Analysis

In view of what has been surveyed previously, the models of analysis adopted for the purpose of investigating euphemism will be selective. They are: Burridge's (2012) model for formation of euphemism which covers all the possible euphemisms in Measure for Measure, Grice's (1989) Cooperative Principle's conversational maxims and conversational implicature and Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness and face because there is an interaction between them; politeness and face are over Cooperative Principle, and finally, Cutting's (2002) model of context is chosen for it is comprehensive. They will be applied to the play: Measure for Measure.

4.3 Measure for Measure: Data Analysis

Sex

Metaphor

Text (1)

Escalus: How would you live, Pompey? by being a bawd? What do you think of the trade, Pompey? is it a lawful trade?

Clown: If the law would allow it, sir.

(Parker, 2005, Act II, Sc. i, p. 35)⁵



Context

Situational context: The addresser is Escalus whereas the addressee is Clown (Pompey). They are talking about the prostitution in Vienna. Background context: Escalus asks Pompey, Mistress Overdone's servant, about his opinion of sex in Vienna and whether legal or not. Pompey tells him that he will do so if the rule permits it.

Implicature

From Gricean point of view, Escalus visibly violates the maxims of quality as he states something which is false and manner by being obscure when uttering "What do you think of the trade". The addressee and the audience believe that Escalus is cooperative and will attempt to work out what is intended by his utterance. Taking context into account, he conversationally means Pompey's opinion of prostitution. Escalus euphemizes his utterance by the use of metaphorical, polite and indirect expression, depicting prostitution as a kind of jobs, to show respect, politeness and decrease any threat to positive face of the addresser and the addressee and the audience as well. So, face is maintained through the process of metaphor despite the apparent flouting of cooperation.

Whole- for-part

Text (2)

Isabella: [Kneeling.] Most bounteous sir,
 Look, if it please you, on this man condemn'd,
 As if my brother liv'd: I partly think
 A due sincerity govern'd his deeds
 Till he did look on me; since it is so,
 Let him not die. My brother had but justice,
 In that he did the thing for which he died: For Angelo...

(Act III, Sc. i, p. 66)



Context

Situational context: The addresser is Isabella and the addressee is the Duke. Lucio and Mariana are also on the stage. Angelo is sentenced to death. Background context: After the Duke reveals his identity and Angelo's plan is discovered, Angelo is to face the same destiny as Claudio. Mariana motivates Isabella to beg the Duke to change his mind. Isabella, thinking that her brother dies, asks the Duke to free Angelo because he does not do what her brother does with Juliet. Co-text: The expression "he" refers anaphorically to Claudio. The expression "him" refers cataphorically to Angelo.

Implicature

In terms of Grice, Isabella ostensibly flouts the maxim of manner as she states something obscure when uttering "...he did the thing...". In spite of the obvious non-observance of the maxim, the addressee and the audience assume that Isabella is still cooperative and will endeavor to work out what is meant by her utterance. Giving context, Isabella conversationally implicates Claudio had sexual intercourse with Juliet. She euphemizes her utterance by using the whole-for-part strategy to show politeness and minimize any threat to face. Consequently, using kind and vague utterance serves to protect face from any offence.

Part-for-general

Text (3)

Lucio: Do not believe it. Fewness and truth, 'tis thus:

Your brother and his lover have embraced:

As those that feed grow full: as blossoming time,

That from the seedness the bare fallow brings

To teeming foison; even so her plenteous womb

Expresseth his full tilth and husbandry.

(Act I, Sc. v, p. 22)



Context

Situational context: The addresser is Lucio whereas the addressee is Isabella. He tells her about her brother deed. Background context: After Claudio being put in prison because of his deed with Juliet, Lucio comes to Isabella to ask her help to save her brother. He adds that she becomes pregnant because of the deed. Co-text: The expressions “Your brother and his lover” refer exophorically to Claudio and Juliet respectively.

Implicature

Pragmatically speaking, Lucio literally breaks the maxim of quantity as he states something which is less than required when uttering “Your brother and his lover have embraced”. The addressee and the audience presume Lucio is cooperative and will try to infer what is intended by his utterance. Considering context, Lucio implicates that they have sexual intercourse. He euphemizes his utterance, by the process of part-for-whole, in which ‘embracing’ is part of the sexual process which is the whole. In fact, he sidesteps the plain mention of the direct, taboo and impolite expression because of the embarrassment it causes to face while the roundabout, pleasant and polite one serves to show politeness and minimize any threat to face. Thus, face is kept from any loss through the way of euphemizing.

Understatement

Text (4)

Lucio: ...it is certain that when he makes water, his urine is congealed ice; that I know to be true. And he is a motion ungenerative; that’s infallible.

(Act III, Sc. ii, p. 77)



Context

Situational context: The addresser is Lucio and the addressee is the Duke, as a friar. Lucio talks about Angelo. Background context: Lucio talks to the Duke about Angelo who takes the place of the Duke. Lucio tells him that Angelo is made of no parents, but "a sea-maid spawned him; ...he was begot between two stock-fishes." Co-text: The referring expressions "he", and "his" refer exophorically to the same referent Angelo.

Implicature

Pragmatically, Lucio literally flouts the maxim of quantity (less than required) when uttering "he is a motion ungenerative". Depending on context, the addressee and the audience may arrive at an implicature in this way: he has no ability of breeding. Lucio euphemizes his utterance by the use of understatement strategy in order to soften it, show humour and minimize any threat to face. Thus, face is maintained from any loss despite the ostensible non-observance of the maxim.

Omission

Text (5)

Clown: Yonder man is carried to prison.

Bawd: Well: what has he done?

Clown: A woman. (Act I, Sc. ii, p. 13)

Context

Situational context: The addresser is Clown (Pompey) and the addressee is Bawd. Claudio is taken to prison. Background context: Bawd asks Pompey: why is Claudio taken to prison? What does he do? Co-text: The referring expressions "Yonder man" and "he" refer exophorically to the same referent Claudio whereas a woman refers exophorically to the referent Juliet.



Implicature

According to Grice's theory, Bawd superficially breaches the maxims of quantity as he states something less than required and manner by being not clear when giving incomplete utterance "a woman". Yet, he expects from the addressee and the audience to get the point and complete it by themselves. Taking context into account, he means Claudio has sexual intercourse with a woman. Here, he uses an elliptical utterance to show politeness, avoid the embarrassment and diminish any threat to positive face. Consequently, the purpose of euphemizing the utterance through the process of omission is to preserve face from any loss.

Reduplication

Text (6)

Lucio: I pray she may; as well for the encouragement of the like, which else would stand under grievous imposition, as for the enjoying of thy life, who I would be sorry should be thus foolishly lost at a game of tick-tack.

(Act I, Sc. iii, p. 17)

Context

Situational context: The addresser is Lucio whereas the addressee is Claudio. Lucio is going to see his sister, Isabella. Background context: Claudio asks Lucio to go to Isabella and tell her about his terrible sin in order to request Angelo's pardon to free him. Lucio hopes she can save his life from being "lost at a game of tick-tack." Co-text: The expressions "she" and "her" refer exophorically to the same referent Isabella.

Implicature

From Gricean perspective, Lucio obviously infringes the maxims of quality (do not say what you believe to be false) and manner (avoid obscurity of expression) when uttering "...a game of tick-tack". To depend on context, the addressee and the audience may



arrive at an implicature in this way: Claudio will be executed because of sexual intercourse. Lucio depicts what happens between Claudio and Juliet as 'a sexual play' shunning any apparent allusion to these impolite and unfavourable expressions to show politeness and lessen any threat to face. So, the way of euphemizing through the strategy of reduplication serves to maintain face from any damage despite the visible violation of the maxims.

Pregnancy

Circumlocution

Text (7)

Isabella: I am now going to resolve him; I had rather my brother die by the law than my son should be unlawfully born. But, O, how much is the good Duke deceived in Angelo! If ever he return, and I can speak to him, I will open my lips in vain, or discover his government.

(Act III, Sc. i, p. 70)

Context

Situational context: The addresser is Isabella and the addressee is the Duke, as a friar. Isabella talks about Angelo's offer to sleep with her to free her brother, Claudio. Background context: The Duke praises Isabella's chastity promising her to "wonder at Angelo" about this condition. Isabella condemns Angelo giving priority to her virtue over her brother's life. She adds that she will reveal everything to the Duke. Co-text: The expressions "him" and "my brother" refer exophorically to the Duke and Claudio respectively.

Implicature

In Grice's terms, Isabella apparently infringes the maxim of manner as she states something not brief when uttering "my son should be unlawfully born". Despite the overt non-observance of the cooperation, she is still cooperative at an invisible level. Taking context into consideration, she conversationally implicates that

she does not want a bastard through sleeping with Angelo. Isabella euphemizes her utterance shunning any superficial reference to the offensive and touchy expressions and using instead the satisfying and acceptable ones so that she may show politeness, respect, and lessen any threat to face. Thus, face is preserved from any loss.

Death

Metaphor

Text (8)

Barnardine: Friar, not I; I have been drinking hard all night, and I will have more time to prepare me, or they shall beat out my brains with billets...

Duke: O, Sir, you must; and therefore I beseech you,

Look forward on the journey you shall go.

(Act VI, Sc. iii, p. 100)

Context

Situational context: Whereas the addresser is the Duke, as a friar, the addressee is Barnardine, a prisoner. Abhorson and Clown are also on the stage. They are talking about the day of Barnardine's execution. Background context: Seemingly the Duke comes to Barnardine to comfort and pray for him, but he tells the Duke that he is not ready to die, begging to postpone the day. In fact, the Duke wants Barnardine's head to feign Claudio's and thus Claudio is saved and Barnardine takes his penalty.

Implicature

According to Gricean's maxims, the Duke visibly violates the maxim of quality (do not say what you believe to be false) when uttering "...the journey you shall go". Considering context, he implicates that Barnardine is to die. Indeed, the Duke, as a friar, tries to make him accept the idea of death depicting it as a journey from

one place to another. Here, the process of euphemizing shows politeness and reduces any threat to positive face. Thus, the way of euphemizing serves to save face from any threat, despite the ostensible flouting of the maxim.

Circumlocution

Text (9)

Angelo: Say you so? then I shall pose you quickly.

Which had you rather,--that the most just law

Now took your brother's life; or, to redeem him,

Give up your body to such sweet uncleanness...

(Act II, Sc. iv, p. 53)

Context

Situational context: The addresser is Angelo whereas the addressee is Isabella. Angelo suggests her way out to save her brother's life. Background context: He takes a chance and starts to blackmail her after begging him to pardon her brother. He asks her to sleep with her to free her brother or else her brother will be condemned according to the law. Co-text: The expressions "him" and "your brother" refer euphemistically to the same referent Claudio.

Implicature

According to Grice's viewpoint, the Duke plainly does not follow the maxim of manner (be brief) when uttering "... law Now took your brother's life". Given context, the addressee and the audience think that Angelo is cooperative and will try to engender an implicature in this way: Claudio will be executed if she does not sleep with him. He softens his utterance by using pleasant expressions to show politeness and decrease any threat to face. Thus, through circumlocution strategy, face is preserved from any offence.

Disease



Metaphor

Whole- for-part

Text (10)

Clown: Why, very well: I telling you then, if you be remember'd, that such a one and such a one were past cure of the thing you wot of, unless they kept very good diet, as I told you,--

(Act II, Sc. ii, p. 30)

Context

Situational context: While the addresser is Clown (Pompey), the addressee is Froth. Escalus and Angelo are also on the stage. They are talking about sexual relationships and prostitutions in Vienna. Background knowledge: Pompey tries to make Froth remember what he advised him before when telling him to keep on diet if he wants to be free from any disease.

Implicature

From Gricean view, Pompey plainly violates the maxim of manner as he states something obscure "...the thing you wot of...". Despite the apparent non-adherence of the maxim, the addressee and the audience suppose that Angelo is still cooperative and will attempt to work out what is intended by his utterance. Taking context into account, he means venereal disease or syphilis. He euphemizes his utterance through the use of whole-for-part strategy in which the expression "the thing" is considered polite and tolerable instead of the taboo and sensitive one, 'syphilis'. Thus, Pompey shows politeness and saves face from any loss.



Religion

Remodeling

Text (11)

Claudio: ...hear me, Isabel.

Isabella: O fie, fie, fie!

Thy sin's not accidental, but a trade:

Mercy to thee would prove itself a bawd:

'Tis best that thou diest quickly. (Act III, Sc. i, p. 68)

Context

Situational context: The addresser is Isabella while the addressee is Claudio. Claudio offers his sister to sleep with Angelo to redeem him. Background context: Isabella gets angry at Claudio when asking her to obey Angelo's suggestion. Isabella starts swearing accusing her brother of prostitution wishing his death soon.

Implicature

From Gricean viewpoint, Isabella superficially breaks the maxim of manner as she utters something obscure "O fie, fie, fie!". The addressee and the audience think that she is still cooperative and will endeavor to reach the intended meaning of her utterance. Taking context into account, she means by my faith. She avoids mentioning the oath directly and uses instead a remodelled expression in order to avoid blasphemy, show respect and politeness and also lessen any threat to face. Thus, face is saved from any loss through the use of the remodelling strategy.

Urination



Circumlocution

Text (12)

Lucio: Some report a sea-maid spawned him; some, that he was begot between two stock-fishes.--But it is certain that when he makes water, his urine is congealed ice; that I know to be true. And he is a motion ungenerative; that's infallible.

(Act III, Sc. ii, p. 77)

Implicature

According to Grice's maxims, Lucio literally flouts the maxim of manner (be brief) when uttering "...he makes water". The addressee and the audience expect that Angelo is still cooperative and will try to work out what is meant by his utterance. The context, (see text 4, p.17), taken into consideration, he intends that when Angelo pisses, his urine frozen. Lucio shuns any explicit reference to the embarrassed and offensive term and uses instead the acceptable and kind one so as to tease his utterance, show humour and weaken any threat to positive face. So, the way of euphemizing by the use of circumlocution strategy serves to maintain face from any loss.



The following table also includes the others not mentioned in the analysis because they are similar to the included ones.

The Euphemisms Used in Measure for Measure

	Strat- egy	Sex	Death	Religion	Dis- ease	Preg- nancy	Ex- cre- ment	To- tal	
Anal- ogy	Meta- phor	18	2	1	2	2	0	25	39
	Whole- for- Part	6	0	0	1	1	0	8	
	Part- for- Whole	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	
	Un- der- state- ment	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	
	Hy- per- bole	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	



D i s - tortion	Clip- ping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
	Acro- nym and Al- pha- be- tism	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Omis- sion	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	
	Cir- cum- locu- tion	0	2	0	0	10	1	13	
	Re- mod- elling	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
	Af- fixa- tion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Blend- ing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Re- dupli- cation	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	Al- litera- tion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	



Bor- row- ing	In- ter- nal Bor- row- ing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Ex- ter- nal Bor- row- ing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	31	5	3	3	13	1	56		

Measure for Measure has analogy in the first place focusing on two main strategies: metaphor and whole-for-part. Distortion comes in the second place with the emphasis on circumlocution. Furthermore, no euphemistic reference to Latin in this play seems odd for Shakespeare is very famous for borrowing from foreign languages (<http://en.wikipedia.org>).

It can be seen that Shakespeare focuses on the subjects of sex and pregnancy more than others. This is due to its nature as a comedy play which sheds light on the illegal sexual relationships. Death, religion and disease are given little attention while there is only one example of euphemisms of excrement (for more information, see appendix p. 31).



5. Conclusions

The study arrives at the following conclusions:

1. It is found, through analyzing euphemism pragmatically, that context plays a crucial part in the interpretation of the meanings of euphemisms. Without context, the addressee(s) and the audience can very hardly comprehend what is intended by the addresser's utterance. Indeed, euphemism causes a problem in communication because of its ambiguity which may lead to multilayered meanings. However, when the role of context comes, the dilemma will largely be solved. Thus, this validates hypothesis (1) of the study.
2. When using euphemism, the characters in Measure for Measure are aware of what they say. They always attempt to shun the offensive and direct expressions to show politeness, respect, tease an expression, and diminish any threat to their own face and the addressee(s) and the audience one's as well. Even when they utilize the unpleasant and direct expressions, they do so humourously. Consequently, euphemism is not random, but a deliberate option. This validates the second hypothesis of the study.
3. It is concluded that the characters in Measure for Measure usually employ euphemism to serve more than one function in one utterance. It can be used to show politeness, respect, humour, and minimize any threat to face. Accordingly, this validates the third hypothesis of the study.
4. It is found, through studying the texts of Measure for Measure, that the topics of sex and pregnancy are given great attention. There are thirty one euphemistic expressions about sex and thirteen about pregnancy. Both of them constitute forty four out of fifty six (78.57%). This is due to its nature as a comedy play which sheds light on the illegal sexual relationships. Consequently, this validates the fourth



hypothesis of the study.

5. Metaphor is the main source for formation of euphemism in Measure for Measure. There are thirty one metaphorical euphemistic expressions out of fifty six euphemistic ones (55.35%).

6. Euphemism, politeness and face are mutually dependent phenomena in the sense that if one wants to be polite, s/he has to use euphemism.

7. Positive face of the addressers themselves and the addressees and the audience as well is kept from any loss despite the apparent non-adherence of the Cooperative Principle and Grice's maxims.



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Appendix- The Euphemistic Expressions Used in Measure for Measure

i) Analogy

1. Metaphor

A. Sex

“Groping for trouts in a peculiar river” (copulation), p. 13.

“dart of love” (penis), p. 18.

“the treasures of your body” (cunt), p. 55.

“yielding up thy body” (copulation), p. 58.

“appetite” (lust), p. 58.

“effusion” (semen), p. 62.

“loins” (penis), p. 62.

“yield him my virginity” (copulation), p. 66.

“my mother play’d my father fair” (copulated), p.68.

“promise of satisfaction” (copulation), p. 72.

“this downright way of creation” (copulation), p. 77.

“feeling of the Sport” (sex), p. 77.

“for filling a bottle with a tun-dish” (copulation), p. 79.

“eat mutton on Fridays” (copulation), p. 79.

“medlar” (whore), p. 106.

“deflower’d maid!” (copulate), p. 107.

“her gracious fortune” (cunt), p. 115.

“fleshmonger” (pimp), p. 127.



B. Pregnancy

"plenteous womb Expresseth his full tilth and husbandry" (pregnant), p. 22.

"near her hour" (pregnant), p.38.

C. Death

"you are to depart" (die), p. 100.

"the journey you shall go" (death), p. 103.

D. Religion

"heaven forgive him" (God), p. 27.

E. Disease

"the velvet" (syphilis), p. 10.

"A French crown" (venereal scab or syphilis), (Bucknill, 1860: 72), p. 11.

2. Whole-for-Part

A. Sex

"common houses" (brothels), p. 27.

"love" (copulation)), p. 57.

"I abhor to name" (copulation), p. 66.

"sin" (adultery), p. 68.

"the encounter" (sexual intercourse), p. 72.

"lie" (copulate), p. 83.

B. Pregnancy

"Did you such a thing" (make her pregnant), p. 106

C. Disease

“the thing” (syphilis), p. 30.

3. Part -for- Whole

A. Sex

“embraced” (copulated), p.22.

“bum” (ass), p. 34.

“touches” (copulation), p. 73.

4. Understatement

A. Sex

“ungenerative” (impotent), p. 77.

“deed” (adultery), p. 132.

C. Death

“sleep” (death), p. 62.

5. Hyperbole

ii) Distortion

1. Clipping

2. Acronym and Alphabetism

3. Omission

A. Sex

“A woman” (copulates her), p. 13.

A. Religion

“Bless you” (God), p. 73.

4. Circumlocution

A. Pregnancy

“getting Madam Julietta with child” (pregnant), p. 12.

“maid with child” (pregnant), p. 13.

“got his friend with child” (pregnant), p. 21.

“came in great with child” (pregnant), p.29.

“I say, with child” (pregnant), p.29.

“She is with child” (pregnant), p.48.

“unlawfully born” (illegitimate child), p. 70.

“with child by him” (pregnant), p.80.

“getting a wench with child” (pregnant), p. 106.

“begot with child” (pregnant), p. 135.

B. death

“took your brother’s life” (kill), p. 53.

“released him” (kill), p. 103.

C. Excrement

“makes water” (piss), p. 77.

5. Remodelling

A. Religion

“O fie, fie, fie!” (By my faith), p. 47.

6. Affixation

7. Blending

8. Reduplication

A. sex

“tick-tack” (sexual intercourse), p. 17.



9. Alliteration

iii) Borrowing

1. Internal borrowing
2. External borrowing

1 Burridge's (2012) model for formation of euphemism is adopted in the practical part.

2 Cutting's (2002) model of context is adopted in the practical part.

3 X-phemisms refer to a small set of dysphemisms, orthophemisms, and euphemisms (Allan and Burridge, 2006:31).

4 Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion of face is adopted in the practical part.

5 Parker, Philip M. (ed.) (2005). William Shakespeare: Measure for Measure. San Diego: ICON Group International, Inc. All other Shakespeare's Measure for Measure's quotations in the study are taken from this source. Thus, act, scene and page numbers will be parenthetically cited.

