**INVESTIGATING EUPHEMISM USAGE BY DIFFERENT SOCIAL GROUPS AMONG SWAHILI SPEAKERS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (LINGUISTICS)**

**DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND LITERARY STUDIES**

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**2023**

# CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certify that they have read and hereby recommend for acceptance by the Open University of Tanzania a dissertation entitled, *Investigating Euphemism Usage by Different Social Groups among Swahili Speakers: A Comparative Analysis*, in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD).



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**14th October 2023**

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**12th October 2023**

Date

# DECLARATION

I, **Lazaro Charles**, declare that the work presented in this dissertation is original. It has never been presented to any other University or Institution. Where other people’s works have been used, references have been provided. It is in this regard that I declare this work as originally mine. It is hereby presented in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Linguistics).

.

Signature

10th October 2023

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# DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my dear parents, Mr. Charles Senkuku and Ms. Hellen Charles, for their words of support during my studies. My dear wife, Suzana Joseph Mbura, and our two children, Ethan and Eglah, deserve special thanks for supporting me throughout my PhD programme. You have always been my greatest supporters.

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However, I am responsible for any shortcomings or errors found in this dissertation.

# ABSTRACT

The previous studies compared euphemism usage by social groups using only one taboo subject. This confined the possibility of drawing reliable conclusions on the general use of these expressions. The current study used 22 taboo subjects to identify euphemisms used by Swahili speakers, strategies employed by Swahili speakers in creating euphemisms, compare euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers, and between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. The study was guided by Brown and Levinson’s Politeness theory. The study used a descriptive design, in which a questionnaire was used to collect data in Unguja Urban District from 384 respondents selected purposefully. The data obtained were analysed qualitatively and quantitatively. The study found that Swahili speakers are conscious of various taboo themes and use a variety of strategies to form euphemisms to talk about those themes decently. The strategies used were metaphors, metonyms, implications, understatement, reversals, abbreviation, slang, and processes like particularization and circumlocution. The study further established that differences in sex and level of education do not influence the use of euphemisms in this speech community. The significant difference observed in a few themes might have occurred by chance. These findings show that all compared groups used euphemisms, as a politeness strategy to tone down rude and undesirable expressions. Since the users of this language, especially the studied groups, use euphemistic expressions at almost identical levels, they can somehow relax when using these expressions to ensure effective communication. Generally, speakers of this language should avoid explicit mention of taboo subjects in order to attain effective communication and politeness.

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

f Frequency

FM Female speakers

GR Graduates

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus

M Male speakers

NGR Non-graduates

P P-value

# CHAPTER ONE

# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Overview

The current study investigated euphemism usage by various social groups among Swahili speakers. This chapter highlights key introductory aspects that provide the overall direction of the whole study. The chapter is organised into the following sections: background to the problem, the statement of the problem, objectives and research questions, hypotheses, the significance of the study, the scope of the study, and the organisation of the dissertation.

## 1.2 Background to the problem

Language use, whether written or spoken, is a complex phenomenon, and to a large extent is influenced by various factors ranging from personal, social, linguistic, cultural, religious, or psychological. As a result, any development in one of these factors will be mirrored in the language. One of the cultural practices that are reflected in the language is the speakers' or writers’ tendency to avoid mentioning directly some words or expressions that are labelled as bad, impolite, and hence offensive, which are generally termed as taboo expressions. The other end contains words/expressions that are perceived as polite and thus considered appropriate to be uttered in public; these are called euphemisms (Gao, 2013; McGlone, Beck, & Pfiester, 2006). These expressions are used to tone down the seriousness, severity, or tragedy of situations (Al-Kharabsheh, 2011; Cecilia & John, 2019). These expressions are generally harmless, helpful, humorous, and necessary in any polite and civilised society (Kusumah, 2019). Taboos and euphemisms are interdependent; if there is no taboo, then there is no need of euphemism.

Advancements in societies and the development of language have greatly contributed to the occurrence of various taboo words in different eras. Using euphemisms is a powerful polite strategy used by communicators at any given time and in any given situation to avoid hurting others’ feelings by being impolite in their speeches (Huang, 2005; Rababah, 2014). This is achieved through some particular linguistic devices that speakers of a given language use to censor their behaviour and their tongue in attempts to maintain the face wants of interlocutors so as to avoid violating the depicted cultural norms only because many verbal exchanges are potential threats to face. Therefore, euphemisms are required as lubricants in communication to alter the face threats that would be caused by the themes that seem to compromise politeness standards had those themes been spoken straightforwardly to the listener (Deng, 2016; Li-na, 2015). The underlying purpose of requiring these expressions is to make speakers and writers communicate harmoniously the thoughts that are considered unpleasant and embarrassing to mention directly in public.

According to Keyes (2010), words were originally used to name exactly the same things and objects they were meant to. Nonetheless, with the development of society, people started to avoid mentioning directly things perceived as bad like evil spirits and superstitions (Arfi, 2015; Mocanu, 2017; Ptashkin & Yakel, 2015; Samoskaite, 2011). The ancient people associated language with disasters, believing that words possessed enormous power and, therefore, mentioning those bad things might mean attracting bad luck (Chunmei, 2019). The first euphemisms were thus used more in religious settings, as they described religious events and were associated with social aspects of people’s lives.

With the passage of time, people moved on to creating euphemisms to talk about other issues related to their social life in areas such as deadly diseases, death, religion, sexuality, and many others. Advancements in the level of education and the progress of society have significantly contributed to seeking polite ways of speaking on nearly every taboo theme. Consequently, in today’s more advanced and globalised society, there is nothing that is unspeakable.

Scholars have developed a rigorous interest in euphemisms and have made great contributions to the study of this language phenomenon. A sizable number of studies on this area have been done on various fields, such as daily conversations, intercultural communication, literature, business affairs, crimes, war, and even media language like newspapers and advertisements (Al-Khasawneh, 2018; Baladze, 2013; Crespo-Fernandez, 2014; Enab, 2019; Kusumah, 2019; Lingga & Rangkuti, 2021; Musfiroh, 2014; Ojebuyi & Salawu, 2018; Rabab‘ah & Al-Qarni, 2012; Ryabova, 2013; Rittenburg, Gladney, & Stephenson, 2016; Uzdu, 2021; Oyeka, 2015; Msuya, 2017; Gathigia, Ndung’u, & Njoroge, 2015). These studies were largely focused on identifying the forms of euphemisms used in certain fields and contexts, identifying the strategies used in creating those euphemisms, identifying the functions of those euphemisms, and identifying the reasons for their use in their contexts of use. These studies show the presence of various forms of euphemisms and various ways of creating these expressions that depend on the context of the field and the reasons for euphemising.

Nonetheless, as the reviewed studies indicate, the comparability of the usage of these expressions across social groups in different languages has generally been understudied. The existing studies compared how males and females use this language aspect (Simkins & Rinck, 1982; Zaiets, 2018; Hysi, 2011; McGlone & Batchelor, 2003; Karimnia & Khodashenas, 2016). In these studies, the comparison was based on only one taboo theme (sex or death). Comparing euphemism usage using one taboo theme narrows the space for coming up with reliable conclusions. Thus, the current study used a variety of taboo themes to determine how different social groups among speakers of this language differ or are similar in their use of euphemisms.

The use of a variety of taboo themes was aimed at establishing more reliable generalizations on the levels of politeness of the compared social groups among speakers of this language. The insignificant difference in the use of euphemisms between the compared groups could imply that the compared groups have the same levels of politeness. This could make them relax a little bit when communicating with people from other social groups on various taboo themes. Contrarily, the significant difference could mean that the compared social groups have different levels of politeness. This could force them to use these expressions carefully in the course of communication to avoid the likely communication breakdown caused by improper use of these expressions.

The taboo themes involved in the present study include pregnant woman, diseases, deaths, bodily emissions, body morphologies, sexuality, and corruption, to name a few. These themes were involved in the study based on the fact that, in an informal study that the researcher conducted, these are the themes that most of the speakers of this language talk about with codes. They are also among the themes that are listed by MacAndrew and Martinez (2001) as the most taboo subjects.

## 1.3 Statement of the problem

One of the limitations of the previous studies that compared euphemism usage by social groups was their reliance on only one taboo theme in making comparisons and generalising the pattern of the use of these expressions between the groups compared (Simkins & Rinck, 1982; Zaiets, 2018; Hysi, 2011; McGlone & Batchelor, 2003; Karimnia & Khodashenas, 2016). This limitation is probably what led these researchers to come to conflicting conclusions: while some researchers found the presence of a significant difference in the use of euphemisms between the compared groups (Hysi, 2011; Simkins & Rinck, 1982; Zaiets, 2018), other researchers found the absence of a significant difference between those groups in their use of these expressions (Al-Khasawneh, 2018; Crawford & Chaffin, 1987; McGlone & Batchelor, 2003; Olimat, 2020; Rabab'ah & Al-Qarni, 2012). The use of only one taboo theme lessens the space for drawing valid conclusions. This motivated the researcher to conduct a study involving a variety of taboo themes to obtain satisfactory evidence as to whether the difference or similarity in the use of euphemisms between different social groups (males vs. females; graduates vs. non-graduates) does not occur by chance. The findings of this study are important as they help in determining the levels of politeness of the social groups targeted in the study, especially considering that the language being studied has international status. This compels its users to know how this strategy of politeness (euphemism) is applied by different social groups in enhancing intercultural communication.

## 1.4 General objective

The main objective of the present study was to investigate euphemism usage by different social groups (males vs. females; graduates vs. non-graduates) among Swahili speakers.

### 1.4.1 Specific objectives

In order to achieve the above general objective, the following specific objectives were addressed.

1. To identify euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers.
2. To identify the strategies that are employed by Swahili speakers in creating euphemisms.
3. To compare euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers.
4. To compare euphemism usage between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers.

## 1.5 Research questions

Based on the above specific objectives, the current study sought to answer the following research questions (for the first and second specific objectives):

1. What euphemisms are used by Swahili speakers?
2. What strategies are employed by Swahili speakers in creating euphemisms?

## 1.6 Research hypotheses

Given the above specific objectives, the following null hypotheses (H0) are stated (for the third and fourth objectives):

1. There is no significant difference in euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers.
2. There is no significant difference in euphemism usage between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers.

Following the above-stated null hypotheses, the following alternative hypotheses (H1/HⱭ) are established:

1. There is a significant difference in euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers.
2. There is a significant difference in euphemism usage between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers.

## 1.7 Significance of the study

The present study is foreseen to be significant in the following ways: Firstly, the current study is expected to give us a general knowledge on how the compared social groups among Swahili speakers use the euphemistic expressions on various taboo subjects in their day-to-day interaction. This knowledge is very crucial as it helps in enhancing effective communication.

Secondly, the findings of the current study are expected to help in strengthening communication, which eventually helps in preventing unnecessary loggerheads. This follows from the fact that conflicts start with arrogance, which the use of euphemism mitigates. This is because euphemism is a great language resource for bolstering harmonious relationships and integration. Euphemising is also understood as idyllic behaviour for mitigating conflictive situations. Thus, this study is anticipated to facilitate polite conversations in avoiding communicative conflicts. This is also emphasised by Mashin et al. (in Pfukwa, 2001), who encourage traditional and modern societies to use stylized communication that is distilled to obviate crises and avoid confrontation.

Thirdly, the current study is anticipated to help strengthen intercultural communication. This is due to the fact that euphemism is a great asset for social harmony and tranquility. It is also known as a powerful discursive tool used to enhance politeness and preserve the self-image (face) of the participants involved in the communicative exchange. Thus, studying euphemism strengthens the acceptable agreement of verbal acceptance in a euphemistic manner to ensure the sustainability of good relationships.

Fourthly, the current study is expected to stimulate more research on euphemisms in Tanzania. This will help to widen understanding of other aspects of this topic that were not the focal points of the current study. This is due to the fact that the reviewed literature does not show the presence of studies directed at researching this linguistic component in this language. This leads to the lack of formal local knowledge of euphemism in this language.

Fifthly, the findings of the current study add new inputs to the theory that underlies this study. In the current study, it has been revealed that, in the context of politeness, the factors identified in the theory selected (social distance, power, and the degree of imposition) are not enough to make someone use certain euphemistic expressions. Knowledge about a specific euphemism is another factor that needs to be taken into consideration. This means that one will use particular euphemisms for the sake of politeness if they know the appropriate expression. Another contribution of this study to the theory is the proof that, despite the criticisms directed at it by some scholars like Chen (2001), Ide (1989), Mao (1994), and Matsumoto (1989), it can still be used in studies related to issues of politeness as we used it in this study. So, other researchers can use this theory based on the direction of their studies.

Moreover, the current study is significant methodologically. The main methodological contribution relates to the approach of comparing the use of euphemisms across social groups. The previous studies used only one taboo theme in comparing the use of these expressions by various social groups. The current study used various taboo themes to establish whether there is a significant difference in the use of these expressions by the compared groups. To get a general picture of the usage of these expressions by various social groups, the comparison needs to base on several taboo themes rather than relying on only one. The other methodological contribution concerns with application of one tool of collecting data and still come up with various and substantial data required in addressing various objectives. The current study employed only one tool (a questionnaire), whose data sufficed to address all the stated objectives. This informs us of the possibility of using only one method and getting data that can address several objectives. Additionally, the study used only two groups (males and females), within which other groups were obtained. This technique of deriving various groups from a few groups that are used as respondents in the study saves time during data collection and can be used by other researchers.

Furthermore, this study calls for the integration of euphemisms into the curriculum as a component that is worth teaching in order to create peace, tranquility, and security in society and across societies. Currently, the language curriculum does not teach euphemisms as a separate and independent topic. It is high time that this language phenomenon is taught as an independent topic.

Following the preceding significance, in order to teach this language aspect in our schools, we need to know what matters in its use, understand how it is generally used, and determine the frequency and distribution of its use as a basis for teaching its use better. The current study is expected to help curriculum developers understand how the specified social groups use this language phenomenon. Knowing how these groups use euphemisms will help curriculum developers know the best way to structure the curriculum to meet the politeness needs of each group.

Finally, the present study is expected to create knowledge of euphemism usage in Tanzania that informs the teaching and use of euphemisms in communication. Such knowledge is an invaluable contribution to language teaching to ensure peace and harmony within and across societies.

## 1.8 Scope of the study

Geographically, the current study was conducted in Unguja Urban District, in Unguja West Region, in Zanzibar. This is the place where this language originated (Amidu, 1995; Mwangi, 2010), and it is the area where Kiswahili is spoken as the first language (L1). Since studies require representation so as to enable in-depth investigation of the selected cases for accurate, precise, and appropriate results, this area best suited to be used as a case study. Conducting the study in the place where the target language has its origin and being the place where this language is used as L1 ensured getting enough data, as its speakers were considered to have the substantial and valid stock of data that were required for this particular study.

The social groups that were involved in the current study were those differentiated by sex (male and female) and level of education (graduates vs. non-graduates). These groups were chosen on the grounds that they are the closest individuals that other members of the society frequently interact with in day-to-day communication. The distinction between these social groups is highlighted in chapter two.

The study used a total of 22 taboo themes. These themes include sexual intercourse, male sexual organ, female sexual organ, orgasm, semen, penis erection, sodomy, sexual drive, pregnant woman, and prostitute woman. Others include menstruation, farting, defecation, AIDS, mentally ill person, skinny person, obese person, dead body, burial activity, grave, and corruption. These themes were chosen from an informal study that the researcher did, where it seemed that these are the themes that most people use euphemisms to talk about.

The level of formality of language used in these euphemisms ranges between formal and informal. This is due to the fact that some of the euphemistic expressions are formal and others are informal, depending on the type of taboo theme and the context of the use of these euphemisms.

**1.9 Organisation of the dissertation**

This dissertation is organised into six chapters. We have just seen what is contained in chapter one. Chapter two reviews the literature that was incorporated into the study. The review focuses on the definitions of the key terms of the study, the presentation of various theoretical and empirical studies, the discussion of the theory used, and a synthesis of the reviewed literature, which led to the identification of the research gap.

Chapter three sheds light on the methodological issues. The chapter covers aspects like research design, sources of data, research population, sample size, and sampling techniques. Later, the chapter addresses the reliability of the data and the validity of the tool, as well as the issue of data analysis. The chapter finally highlights the way ethical issues were handled.

Chapter four deals with the presentation and analysis of the findings as they were collected from the field. Chapter five discusses the findings based on the specified research objectives and highlights the implications of the findings. The last chapter draws attention to the summary, conclusions, and the recommendations for action and future research.

# CHAPTER TWO

# LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

# 

## 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of different studies on euphemism in order to understand how this aspect is used in various speech communities so as to develop a research gap and explain the theoretical framework from which the present study is anchored. The chapter is comprised of six sections. The first section presents an overview of the chapter, while the second sheds light on the theoretical literature review, which is followed by the section presenting various empirical studies that have been done on various facets of euphemism. The fourth section presents the theoretical framework that guided the current study, and the fifth section highlights the research gap developed from the reviewed studies. The last section provides a summary of the chapter.

## 2.2 Theoretical literature review

This section presents various literatures related to euphemisms to bring to light relevant existing knowledge on the topic being studied. The section is divided into several subsections.

### ****2.2.1 Definition of key terms****

This part provides definitions of the key terms that are found in the study. The terms which are going to be defined include euphemism, taboo words/expressions, social groups, graduate and non-graduate person.

#### 2.2.1.1 Euphemism

Euphemism is an expression in the form of a word or phrase that enables people to talk about offensive topics or unpleasant things in interaction (Wardhaugh, 2010). Hudson (2000) alternatively defines euphemisms as the extension of ordinary words and phrases to express unpleasant or embarrassing ideas. The indirectness of such expression is presumed to diminish the unpleasantness of the meaning. Wang (2013) views euphemism as not only a common strategy in people’s language use but also a kind of cultural phenomenon. The author adds that, having a great effect on people’s daily communication, euphemisms can make a harsh topic softer and an embarrassing conversation agreeable while adhering to social communicative conventions. Pavlenko (2006) defines euphemism as an expression used to protect the speaker from unwanted emotional arousal. Burridge (2012) views euphemisms as sweet-sounding or inoffensive substitutes for expressions that speakers or writers prefer not to use in performing a certain communicative intention in a given situation. It can thus be said that euphemisms emerge because society needs them to change something with offensive connotations to become inoffensive. Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2014) define euphemisms as words or phrases that replace taboo expressions.

In the present study, euphemism is viewed as an alternative expression that is used in any speech community to talk about an unpleasant situation or topic to avoid loss of face and shame in order to ensure communicative politeness. This definition is drawn by combining the thoughts of the scholars who have already defined this concept by considering two important points: the meaning (an alternative to a taboo expression) and the purpose of use (to save face and sound polite).

#### ****2.2.1.2 Taboo words****

The word taboo derives from the Tongan word "tabu," which emerged towards the end of the 18th century. According to Allan (2019), the word "tabu" in the Polynesian languages simply means "to forbid" or "forbidden" and can be used for any sort of prohibition. In Tongan language specifically, this term was used to denote a person, object, or act which was dangerous and therefore the one that was supposed to be avoided. The term taboo then came to be used in similar traditions elsewhere in the world, particularly where taboos arose from respect for and fear of metaphysical powers. Later, it was extended to a variety of socio-political affairs and generalised to the prohibition of the use or practice of anything, especially an expression or topic considered offensive or unpleasant and therefore avoided or proscribed by social custom. Today, taboo words are among the most important and powerful components of language and are associated with inappropriate language that cannot be used in daily conversations.

#### 2.2.1.3 Social groups

A social group is a collectivity of two or more people who interrelate with one another, share similar attributes, and have a collective sense of unity (“Social Groups”, n.d.). The social groups which were involved in the current study included males and females and, graduates and non-graduates. In this part, the researcher provides the definitions for graduate and non-graduate group. Since the distinction between male and female is easy to make, their definitions are not given.

##### **2.2.1.3.1 Graduate and non-graduate person**

The word “graduate” has two main meanings depending on where it is used. While in some places this word means anyone who has graduated with a diploma, in other places it means anyone who has graduated with a degree (see Collins Dictionary, “graduates”). On the other hand, the word “non-graduate” also has a definition that depends on where the word is used. For the US and Canada, this word means a person without a diploma, while in other places, such as England, this word means a person without a degree (see Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus, 2023, “meaning of non-graduate”). Based on the definitions of these terms and the context of this study, a graduate is viewed as a person who completed a degree or above, and a non-graduate is considered as a person who finished standard seven and who, at least, can read and write. Therefore, the individuals belonging to these two categories, as per the context of this study, are the ones who were involved in giving the data for the study.

### 2.2.2 Classification of euphemisms

Euphemisms have been classified differently by different scholars. Rawson (1981) came up with two perspectives of classifying these expressions. In the first perspective, he distinguishes two types of euphemisms: positive and negative. The former type overestimates euphemised items and makes them pompous. They refer to many fancy occupational titles, such as “help” for servant or “working girl” for whore. The latter type is used to avoid mentioning something that people do not want to deal with directly; for example, “Devil” stands for Satan and “the striped one” for a tiger.

In the second perspective, he classifies euphemisms by focusing on their usage, where he categorises them as conscious and unconscious euphemisms. In terms of conscious euphemisms, their usage shows a great deal of sympathy and togetherness between the speakers. For example, the right choice of words when condoling the loss of someone (where loss refers to death) points out the ingenuity of that person. An example of an unconscious euphemism is a cemetery, which replaced the word graveyard.

Another way of classifying euphemisms came from Qi (2010), who established two types thereof, namely, traditional and stylistic. The former type (also known as negative or narrowing euphemisms; Ji-gang, 2005) concerns with the indirect reference to topics such as death, sex, disease, and body functions since they are considered taboo in society, making people refrain from speaking of them openly. They are used defensively in preventing the power of taboo expressions and eradicating the expressions that people prefer not to deal with straightforwardly. For instance, in some cultures, it is forbidden to pronounce the name of God. This has given rise to euphemisms like “Jeeze,” “Jeepers Creepers,” or “Gee” for “Jesus,” “Jesus Christ” or “Christ,” “goodness” for “God” or “My Gum” for “My God”. In Northeast China, where some animals are feared, the bear is euphemised as “grandfather” and the tiger as the “cat” or “god of the mountain” (Ji-gang, 2005). This type is used as a way to disentangle humans from barbarism and become more civilised beings.

By contrast, stylistic (also called positive) euphemisms are associated with some politer words and expressions, especially when people tend to be indirect in communicating with each other to make other parties feel more comfortable and not hurt them. Some exaggerated and pleasant expressions are employed to ensure social solidarity and cooperation. They include some fancy occupational titles that save the personalities of workers by elevating their job status. Some of those job titles include “exterminating engineers” for rat catchers and “beautician” for hairdressers. Political expressions such as “surgical attack” and “less developed countries” instead of surprise attack and underdeveloped countries, respectively, are some of the other good examples (Qi, 2010).

Lee (2011) introduces two types of euphemisms, namely, the fixed and the contextual. The former type refers to an idiomatic expression in which the communicative purpose is closely associated with the taboo substitution. Lee gives an example of the expression “to have my period,” which can be understood as a substitute for “to menstruate.” On the other hand, the contextual type is elaborated as a type of euphemism that relies on the context to be understood aptly. Lee gives an example of a phrase like “no longer with us,” which needs to be bound to a certain context to be understood correctly.

One of the objectives of this study was to identify euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers. After the presentation of those expressions, they were distinguished into the types proposed by Qi (2010), namely, traditional and stylistic. Qi’s perspective best suited in classifying those euphemisms by considering the fact that this study involved various themes, many of which needed to be mentioned indirectly as they are considered unpleasant to be uttered directly in public, and that other social groups might use euphemisms for humour to ensure solidarity and cooperation among themselves.

### 2.2.3 Strategies of forming euphemisms

There are various strategies (also called ways) through which euphemisms are created. Warren (1992) proposed a model showing how euphemisms are established. Her model is grounded in the idea that novel contextual meanings are constantly created in language. This creation is governed by certain rules, and the acceptability of newly formed meanings depends on factors like the strength of ties between the novel term and its referent, whether the novel term is considered to be of lasting value, or if the novel term is a desirable alternative.

In her model, Warren proposes four devices for euphemism formation, which include word formation devices, phonemic modification, loan words, and semantic innovation. These devices are described in the following parts:

1)    Word formation devices. Warren gives five ways to form euphemisms using this strategy. Examples of each of these include:

i) Compounding: It involves the combination of two individually innocuous words to form a euphemism for an unacceptable or unpleasant term, for example, “hand job” for masturbation.

ii) Derivation: It involves the creation of words by the modification of a root/word without the addition of other roots; for example, “fellatio” for oral sex, the modification of the Latin term “fellare,” which means to suck.

iii) Blending: It is a way of forming euphemisms by merging the roots or edge affixes of two words to form new words.

iv) Acronyms: This is the process of forming euphemisms by taking the initial letters of a taboo phrase, for instance, “SNAFU” (Situation Normal All Fucked Up), a military euphemism for a catastrophic event.

v) Onomatopoeia: This is the strategy of forming a euphemism by mimicking the sound made by the object or action; for instance, the word “bonk,” which is used for sexual intercourse, where the sound of “things” hitting together during the sexual act is used to refer to the act itself.

2)    Phonemic modification. This is another device proposed by Warren in which the form of an offensive word is modified or altered. There are several strategies involved in this device, such as:

i) Back slang: The strategy of reversing words to avoid direct mention of the perceived offensive word. For instance, “enob” from bone/erect penis, and “epar” for rape.

ii) Rhyming slang: It is a spoken informal way of forming euphemisms by using a word or phrase that rhymes with a normal (taboo) word; for instance, the use of “Bristol cities” for titties or “Bristols” for breasts.

iii) Phonemic replacement: In this strategy, one sound of an offensive term is replaced; for example, the use of “shoot” for shit. Rawson (1981) terms this strategy as a euphemistic mispronunciation.

iv) Abbreviation: In this device, only the first letter of an offensive word is spoken, for instance “eff” [f] as in “eff off!” for fuck (off).

3)    Loan words. In this strategy, an offensive word is replaced with a word from another language.

4) Semantic innovation. In this strategy, a novel sense for some established word or word combination is created. Warren proposes seven categories of semantic innovation, which include the following:

i) Particularisation: It involves using a general term that is required to be particularised within the context to make sense. For instance, the term “satisfaction” is used for orgasm and “innocent” for virginal, both of which are contextually dependent for the reader/listener to get the intended meaning.

ii) Implication: This device requires several steps to reach the intended meaning. For instance, the word “loose” implies “unattached”, which leads to the interpretation of sexually easy/available.

iii) Metaphor: It involves the use of colourful metaphorical euphemisms to avoid mentioning offensive terms. For instance, in avoiding mentioning menstruation in public, expressions related to redness are used. Examples of this include “the cavalry has come,” a reference to the red coats of the British cavalry; “it’s a red letter day;” and “flying the red flag” (see Allan & Burridge, 1991). Other metaphorical euphemisms include “globes,” “brown eyes,” and “melons” for breasts (Rawson, 1981), and “riding” for sex.

iv) Metonymy: It is also known as general-for-specific as a word referring to a general reference is used to refer to a specific reference. For instance, the general expression “it” is used for sex, and the contextually dependent “thing” is used to refer to male/female sexual organs.

v) Reversal or irony: The use of one’s meaning by using an expression that normally means the opposite. For instance, “huge”means (contextually) “unusually small,” “blessed” for damned, or “enviable disease” for syphilis.

vi) Understatement (also litotes): The use of a form that contains an expression of lesser strength than what would be expected. Examples include the word “sleep” to mean die, “deed” to mean the act of murder/rape.

vii)  Overstatement (also hyperbole): Instances where the conventional meaning of a word fits the favoured contextual referent, provided the degree to which some feature of meaning applies is attenuated. They include expressions like “fight to glory” to mean death or “visual engineer” to mean window cleaner.

Apart from Warren’s model of how euphemisms are created, Burridge (2012) came up with several processes of forming euphemisms. He identifies the ways (strategies) like irony, hyperbole, metaphor, acronyms, ellipsis, circumlocution, blending, reduplication, affixation, rhyming, and borrowing (internally and externally).

One of the objectives of this study was to identify the strategies that Swahili speakers use in forming euphemisms. The identification and categorisation of the strategies that were used by Swahili speakers in forming euphemisms were based on the model proposed by Warren (1992) and the categorisation proposed by Burridge (2012).

### 2.2.4 Functions of euphemisms

Euphemisms serve several functions, which include refraining from taboo expressions, face saving, and maintaining bonds in social groups. Burridge (2012) specifies six functions of euphemisms. These functions are described as follows:

#### 2.2.4.1 The protective euphemism

According to Burridge, this is the primary function of euphemisms. These include euphemisms used to shield and avoid offensive expressions such as those mentioning private parts, bodily functions, sex, anger, dishonesty, drunkenness, madness, disease, death, dangerous animals, fear, and God. This is also supported by other scholars like Linfoot-Ham (2005), Wardhaugh (2006), and Bowers and Pleydell-Pearce (2011), who opine that the main function of euphemism is to protect the interlocutors from a probable offence against each other caused by talking about a taboo topic or by mentioning a subject matter to which one of the interlocutors may be sensitive.

#### 2.2.4.2 The underhand euphemisms

These are the ones that are used to mystify and misrepresent. As Burridge (2012) puts it, the euphemistic terms of language varieties such as military, political, and medical jargons provide additional dimensions of guile and secrecy to the disguise. In this sense, euphemism is used not so much to conceal offence but to deliberately disguise a topic and deceive. Burridge gives examples of this doublespeak where death is turned into a substantive negative patient care outcome, a diagnostic misadventure of the highest magnitude, or a terminal episode; dying is termed as terminal living, and killing is termed as the unlawful or arbitrary deprivation of life. Dishonest euphemisms are also common in domains associated with activities in conflict within the more established sectors of society.

#### 2.2.4.3 The uplifting euphemism

Different from many euphemisms which are simply replacements for expressions speakers prefer not to use on a given occasion, the uplifting euphemisms are used as a peculiar language to a trade, profession, or some other groups. Burridge (2012) gives an example of the jargon of the funeral industry as being excessively euphemistic simply because it deals with death.

#### 2.2.4.4 The provocative euphemism

These are euphemisms that are used to reveal and inspire. With provocative euphemisms, there is more involved than straightforward politeness and the maintenance of face. However, even the more mainstream euphemisms that function as face-saving devices often do more than cover up detestable reality; euphemisms for death invoke different points of view such as death as a journey (pass away), or the consolation of death as the beginning of new life (go to a better place). The representation they offer is one of consolation. The aim of provocative euphemisms is not to disguise or conceal unpleasant realities, but rather to help remove the stigma of negative social stereotypes by compelling its audience to go beyond the simple content of the message and challenge prejudices embodied in language.

#### 2.2.4.5 The cohesive euphemisms

These are euphemisms that are used to show solidarity and help define a certain social group. In this sense, euphemisms work as in-group trademarks, where, to outsiders, these euphemisms may seem silly and perplexing. Burridge (2012) asserts that even those on the inside are sometimes unaware of the reasons that might have led to their establishment. Depending on the context, many of the cohesive euphemisms are used among people who have a common work-related or recreational interest, where their function is to reinforce and display group identity, especially when directed against outsiders.

Occasionally, these euphemisms are simply used to identify activities, events, and objects that have become habitual for those involved, and like slang and jargon more generally, this is the preferred language by virtue of it serving as a clique or in-group recognition device.

#### 2.2.4.6 The ludic euphemism

These are euphemisms created for fun and entertainment**.** They are part of our everyday verbal play, and the manipulation of language that speakers display is extremely inventive at times, where ordinary speakers take ordinary sounds and letters, words and phrases, and put them to extraordinary uses in the expressions they construct.

In addition to the functions outlined by Burridge, Arif’s (2016) study unfolded that, in modern life, people use euphemisms to sound more persuasive instead of simply sounding polite. People search for milder substitutions to express their opinions whenever they feel their words might sound vague, abrupt, or offensive as a way of persuading others.

In the study which was conducted by Fitriani, Syarif and Wahyuni (2019) regarding the functions of euphemism, these researchers found 5 functions thereof which included doublespeak, shield to avoid taboo and offense, an uplifting tool, showing solidarity or defining certain group, and entertaining.

Therefore, it is correct to establish that people from different speech communities and different socio-political backgrounds use euphemisms for different reasons, the major one being to tone down harsh/unpleasant speech, but also to disguise and entertain, especially in a social group to which one belongs. This information is vital to this study as it enlightens and broadens the understanding of the role euphemisms play in language. Thus, euphemisms do more than just bypassing taboo expressions.

### 2.2.5 Cons and pros of using euphemisms

The use of euphemisms has both advantages and disadvantages. On the advantageous side, which is the main reason for their use, these expressions enable communicators to talk about unpleasant and fearful things like the death of someone in a kind, comforting, and sensitive way. They are also used as a way of avoiding embarrassment or offence when talking about anything related to biological functions and body structures (Breggen, 2013). Thus, these expressions help speakers increase the complexity of their speech (Keyes, 2010).

Euphemisms also help to soften the reality of painful experiences and emotions by replacing words that are considered too blunt, harsh, painful, or offensive (Breggen, 2013). Moreover, euphemisms help to protect speakers from undesired emotional arousal (Pavlenko, 2006). In general, the use of euphemisms in public speaking helps speakers avoid mentioning inappropriate words when speaking about distasteful topics. These expressions are also used to achieve the humour effect (Burridge, 2012; Rawson, 2007; Uzdu, 2021).

However, the use of such expressions may have some disadvantages. For instance, according to Heerema (2020), using euphemisms when speaking to children about topics like death is usually not recommended. This is because the use of such indirect language often causes confusion in children. Heerema adds that euphemisms involving terms such as “sleep” or “rest” for death might cause children to misunderstand and become fearful of going to bed at night. Likewise, an expression such as “We lost someone last night” could prevent the child from understanding that the person died and instead make them go and look for the said person, believing that he/she is literally lost.

Additionally, using euphemisms to people with mild cognitive impairment or any other type of dementia might cause problems in understanding the indirect language very well. Earlier research has established that in dementia, the ability to understand a proverb requires the ability to think abstractly, which often becomes impaired as dementia persists (Yamaguchi, Maki, & Yamaguchi, 2011). Euphemisms and proverbs have one thing in common: they convey information with subtleties that a person living with dementia might not fully comprehend. This can prevent them from understanding what is said by using euphemisms.

The use of euphemisms can be further problematic when people decide to use deceiving words best known as doublespeak. Doublespeak(also called doubletalk) is any language that deliberately disguises, distorts, or reverses the meaning of words, resulting in a communication bypass (Hasegawa, 2003; Hasegawa, 2005; Herman, 1992; Lutz, 1987, 1988, 1990, 2000, 2002; Moore, 1991). Such language is very common in bureaucratic communication, such as in governmental, military, and corporate institutions, where it can serve to cast a person or an organisation in a less unfavourable light than plain language would do. Other doublespeaks are common in politics, advertising, education, science, and business, making the use of doublespeak a normal real-world phenomenon (Gibson, 1975; Herman, 1992; Lutz, 1988, 1990, 2000; Moore, 1991; Pulley, 1994). This has led some to hypothesise that the core function of euphemism is to deceive and manipulate the behaviour of others in a self-serving way (Dawkins & Krebs, 1978; Krebs & Dawkins, 1984; Scott-Phillips, 2006). However, the evidence seems to point to deception as being an additional function of euphemism (Oesch, 2016).

Doublespeak may be in the form of blunt euphemisms like “downsizing” for firing of many employees or deliberately ambiguous phrases like “wet work” for assassination (Al-Qadi, 2009). What distinguishes doublespeak from other euphemisms is its deliberate usage by governmental, military, or corporate institutions to mislead or deceive, while euphemism implies and attempts to soften something harsh.

Elaboration of the advantages and disadvantages of using euphemisms is important in this study as it makes us understand both sides of this aspect. Probably not many would have imagined of the destructive side of using this component of language. By using evidence fetched from different sources, it is now clear that the use of this language aspect has both advantages and disadvantages. But if one were to weigh the pros and cons of using these expressions, the former would outweigh the latter. Having brought this truth to light, it is left to language users to decide the right way to use these expressions.

### 2.2.6 Euphemism and taboo

Euphemism (a polite expression) is used to make taboo (an impolite expression) and harsh issues milder and more acceptable. Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2003) argue that this use dates back to the ancient Athenians, who used to call filthy things with auspicious and milder terms, so that they called the prison a chamber and harlots were called companions. In other words, taboo words stimulate the formation and use of euphemistic words to alter the adversity that would be caused by the direct use of the former expressions. There are several features differentiating these two linguistic phenomena. Thompson (1999) came up with the distinguishing features of these two aspects, where euphemisms, on the one hand, have the following features:

(1) A euphemism is an alternative form to an expression that has acquired negative connotations; (2) a euphemism is a synonym for an expression of lower status; (3) euphemisms are shields people use to protect themselves or their audience from shock, embarrassment, or emotional distress; (4) euphemistic expressions are used in a polite sexually mixed company to avoid the unpleasant terms from all sex groups; (5) these expressions are used in a polite company to evade typical speech of lower levels of society; (6) moreover, they are sustainable provided that they preserve good connotations, and (7) these expressions mirror the level of education of their users. The more euphemistic expressions one uses, the more educated she/he is considered to be.

Taboo words, on the other hand, have the following characteristic features:

(1) They have bad connotations; (2) taboos are treacherous to the individual and one’s society; they can lead to death or illness. They are subject to the social and constitutionalised imposition of censorship; (3) they are the outcome of restrictions on the individual's behaviour and are used in a social, psychological, or religious context; (4) they are the sources of shock, embarrassment, and discomfort; (5) they come in the form of swearwords and curses. Their use causes emotional tensions and psychological discomfort; (6) these words lessen the status of the expression they refer to; (7) De-Klerk (1992) elaborates that taboo expressions change over time. A taboo word has to be prosecuted and must be perceived in some way as a source of danger to an individual or society; (8) these words reflect an in-group social relationship. Swan (2005) posits that using taboos identifies the group membership one belongs to, and (9) taboo words are highly associated with males and less educated people than vice versa.

Since the central theme of the present study is about the usage of euphemisms (the expressions which replace taboo words) between social groups, it was important to highlight the differences between the two aspects (euphemism and taboo) to make the line separating these two sociolinguistic aspects understood.

### 2.2.7 Euphemisms and language change

Nordquist (2019) refers to language change as a linguistic phenomenon that involves permanent alterations in the features and use of a language over time. Any language is capable of acquiring new words, dropping some from its vocabulary, and even changing the meanings of some words (Aitchison, 1972; Aitchison, 2001; Anagbogu, Mbah, & Eme, 2001; Fromkin, Rodman, & Hyams, 2007; McManis, Stollenwerk, & Zheng-Sheng, 1987; Olaoye, 2008; Wardhaugh, 2006; Yule, 1996).  Euphemisms are one of the powerful forces and they are very important for the study of language change. They provide an emotive prompt for word addition, word loss, phonological distortion, and semantic shift (Burridge, 2012). These expressions are created through different methods, which include semantic shifts of existing words, circumlocution, and phonological modification, among others. In the process of formation, sounds mutate in odd places, making them change unexpectedly.

Aboriginal Australian provides a good example of the effects of bypassing taboo (euphemisation process) on vocabulary. In several traditional Australian Aboriginal communities, any kind of vocabulary item, including grammatical words, can be banned if it is the same as, or phonetically similar to the name of a recently deceased person. The alternative vocabulary is created using synonyms from the language’s collection (or from an auxiliary stock of respect language), semantic shifts of existing words, compounding, circumlocution, borrowing from a neighbouring language, and in some cases a hand-sign or gesture (Burridge, 2012). Some other languages have unique vocabulary items that are used in place of forbidden words. For instance, in some Kimberley languages in the north of Western Australia, people whose personal names have been tabooed are addressed as “nyapurr” to mean “no name” (Burridge, 2012).

In some dialects of the Western, when a man named “Ngayunya” died, these languages replaced the pronoun “ngayu” “I/me” with “nganku”. Consequently, this term was itself taboo and was replaced by either English “mi” or by “ngayu”, a term borrowed back into the language from dialects where it had no taboo connotation (Dixon, 1980). This indicates that the taboo on a word may die away after some years have elapsed, making it come back into use as non-taboo. This recycling process is one of the few ways in which a former item with a taboo connotation can itself turn into a euphemism. Alpher and Nash (1999) elaborate that, where the history is clear, such cases of death-tabooing have constantly proved to be temporary. The taboo on a word may end after some months or some years have passed, allowing the word to be reused as a normal expression. According to Burridge (2012), the introduction of euphemisms as replacements for taboos is an important force triggering language change through word loss; meaning shift of terms already in the language (through metaphor, general-for-specific, internal borrowing, and so on); deliberate modification of existing terms, and external borrowing.

Thus, euphemistic expressions can be said to play multiple roles linguistically. Apart from the roles highlighted in sections 2.2.4.1 to 2.2.4.6, the use of these expressions also contributes to the development of new vocabularies in a given language through various processes, as has been elaborated in this section. The understanding of this role is vital in this study as it broadens the knowledge of other linguistic functions euphemisms play in language.

## 2.3 Empirical studies on euphemism

This part sets out to present several studies that have been done on euphemisms. These studies are going to be presented thematically. Those studies that share certain themes form their own independent section.

### 2.3.1 Euphemisms and intercultural communication

Apart from being a social and linguistic phenomenon, euphemism is also a cultural aspect. Thus, the choice and use of euphemisms vary from one speech community to another based on cultural disparities or similarities. These variations (or similarities) are observed in the overall use of language.

Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni (2012) investigated euphemistic strategies used in Saudi Arabic and British English and found that both languages showed some similarities and differences that were generally ascribed to cultural and religious beliefs and values. The strategies of euphemism found in the Saudi responses were part-for-whole, overstatement, understatement, deletion, metaphors, general-for-specific, loaned words, and jargons. The British participants employed understatement, deletion, loaned words and jargons, metaphors, and general-for-specific. This shows that Saudi Arabic had more ways of expressing euphemisms than English. Furthermore, the study showed that both Saudis and Britons resorted to taboos when handling death and lying but avoided them when discussing bodily functions. This is proof that euphemistic language, like language in general, is influenced by its users’ cultural and religious beliefs, norms, and lifestyles. This necessitates increasing foreign language learners’ understanding of euphemism so as to simplify intercultural communication.

Later on, Al-Khasawneh (2018) conducted a similar study, although this time he compared the euphemistic strategies used in Saudi Arabic and American English (instead of British English). The study unearthed various strategies used by the participants, like deletion, synonyms, metaphor, understatement, part-for-whole, overstatement, and jargon. In this study, the Saudi participants seemed to use fewer strategies than in the previous study. The most commonly used strategies by the Saudis were part-for-whole, understatement, and general-for-specific. On the other side, the study found that American participants tended to use general-for-specific and synonyms more frequently than the other strategies. By comparing the two societies in their general use of euphemisms, the findings established that Saudi Arabics tended to use euphemistic strategies more than the Americans. The findings of these studies add more knowledge about the use of euphemisms by societies that differ culturally and geographically and suggest that, even in contexts where societies differ culturally, they may still share some linguistic properties.

Jdetawy (2019) conducted a study to contrast the euphemistic language that Arabic language speakers and English language speakers resort to use when certain taboo topics and concepts are engaged in communication. The findings of the study showed that, although Arabic and English are linguistically, geographically, and culturally different, there were some similarities and differences between the two languages in terms of the use of euphemisms. The similarity was displayed in subjects such as death, while the difference between the two languages was shown in the case of sexual intercourse, where the Arabic euphemisms tended to be more polite and covert than those that were used by English speakers. In general, both languages used euphemisms as a communicative tool and metaphorical means of enabling social interaction by replacing taboo words and various socially undesirable topics with the ones considered more suitable and more pleasant. These findings differ slightly from the ones observed in the studies conducted by Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni (2012) and Al-Khasawneh (2018), where it was established that, even in the context where societies are culturally diverse, there are instances where their use of euphemistic expressions is indifferent. This cross-cultural similarity shown in the use of euphemisms plays a fundamental role in the learning of the second language, as the learners may be able to effortlessly learn those euphemistic features that are shared by both languages.

Intercultural use of euphemisms does not only end with verbal communication. In their study, Ndhlovu and Botha (2017) investigated the governing initial norms, namely explicitness and euphemism in English source texts and Ndebele translations, focusing mainly on how these norms influenced the strategies chosen by the Ndebele translators in the translation of taboo terms. The researchers collected public opinions on the translation of taboo words in HIV texts in Ndebele. The findings of their study showed that a large portion of the interviewed participants disfavoured the use of direct terms in the texts they were given to read, giving opinions that the use of direct terms infringes their culture. Ndhlovu and Botha’s study further revealed that most Ndebele translators chose to use translation strategies that promoted the target norm of euphemism which included cultural substitution, using a general word, using a neutral or less expressive word, and paraphrasing. Their study further established that only a small portion of translators opted for the source norm of directness.

Ndhlovu and Botha’s findings parallel the findings that were obtained in Muhammed’s (2020) study, where he found that, due to cultural differences, the student translators faced difficulties in translating English euphemisms into Arabic, making them use literal translation, which resulted in mistakes and the loss of meaning of the original text, along with the loss of the aesthetic values of the source text. Similar findings were obtained in Anita, Nababan, Santosa, and Wibowo’s (2019) study when investigating the translation of sexual euphemistic expressions from English to Indonesian in the novel titled "Desperate Duchesses" written by Eloisa James. Their study revealed that the sexual euphemistic expressions found in the particular novel were translated using Indonesian euphemisms, Indonesian dysphemisms, literal meaning, and description. The results of these studies serve as a reminder that translators need to observe the socio-cultural norms of the receptor language in order to come up with translated texts that can be read comfortably by members of the receptor language. One of those socio-cultural norms that needs to be taken into account is the use of decent and less offensive language in a given speech community.

These various studies on euphemisms are presented in order to show what has so far been researched on the topic under investigation and to show the worthiness of what was researched.

### 2.3.2 Euphemisms and media

Language is used as raw material in producing news on radio, television, newspapers, and magazines. The mass media has risen as a powerful tool in influencing society and thus functions as a social control. The strength of media can be seen in the skills of journalists in using suitable language to pass on information, opinions, and entertainment to the audience. The proper use of euphemisms is one of the basic skills journalists have to demonstrate in each of their writings.

There is usually a tendency to intentionally shift meaning, which is done by journalists to respect the party being reported and attract the attention of the reader(Al-Gharrawi, 2017). The journalists achieve this by using finer word forms (Chaer, 2010).

In the view of euphemisms usage, Allan and Burridge (1991) identified 16 forms of forming euphemisms, namely, abbreviations, acronym, clipping, circumlocutions, colloquial figurative expressions, flippancy, general-for-specific, hyperbole, jargon metaphor, omission, one-for-one substitution, part-of-whole euphemisms, re-modeling, and understatement.

From the reviewed literature, numerous similar studies that used the perspective of Allan and Burridge in categorising euphemistic forms that are found in media were found. One of those studies was carried out by Simamora (2012), who found 7 forms of euphemism in the Sinar Indonesia Baru newspaper, which included figurative expressions, flippancy, circumlocution, abbreviations, one-for-one substitution, hyperbole, and metaphor. Nearly the same findings were obtained by Fitriani, Syarif, and Wahyuni (2019) when researching the forms of euphemisms that were used in the Indonesia Lawyers Club TV One show, where they found nine ways of forming euphemisms, namely, metaphor, hyperbole, circumlocution, initialism, jargon, figurative expression, understatement, colloquial, and hyponym. In the latter study, however, four other ways of forming euphemisms are observed, which include the use of colloquial, hyponyms, understatement, and jargon, all of which are not available in the former study. The basis for this difference could be the fact that, while the former study involved euphemisms that were written by newspaper journalists, the data in the latter study were collected from guests who were invited to a TV show. Hence, it seems the invited guests strived to use as many strategies of forming euphemisms as they could.

Winita and Ermanto (2018) investigated the use of euphemism and its background in the headlines of Haluan's February 2018 edition. The study revealed seven ways of forming euphemisms: figurative expressions, flippancy, circumlocutions, abbreviations, one-for-one substitution, hyperbole, and jargon. In their study, Winita and Ermanto found eight motivations for the use of euphemisms in the headlines of this newspaper, which included avoiding the use of some words that can cause panic and fear; being non-offensive, insulting, or demeaning to others; decreasing or not mentioning something hurtful or tragic; appearing diplomatic or rhetorical; replacing taboo, vulgar, prohibited, and negative words; keeping a secret; respecting others; and giving criticism politely.

Similar to Winita and Ermanto’s study was the study conducted by Kurniawati (2011), who investigated the motives behind the use of euphemisms in Spiegel Online, where he found the same reasons that were observed in Winita and Ermanto’s study. The same findings were obtained in Sariah’s (2017) study on the motives that triggered the use of euphemism in Tempo newspaper, where seven reasons for the use of euphemism were found, which included: avoiding the use of some words that can cause panic and fear; being non-offensive, insulting, or demeaning to others; appearing diplomatic or rhetorical; replacing taboo, vulgar, prohibited, and negative words; keeping a secret; respecting others; and criticising others politely. Taking into account that the current study is based on the use of euphemisms by different social groups, it was essential to understand the reasons that stir journalists to use euphemisms in their daily writings.

In the study which was conducted by Al-Gharrawi (2017) in examining the cognitive basics of euphemisation in the British Mass Media, it was found that conceptual metaphor was most frequently used than any other cognitive mechanism because people tend to receive it more frequently than the other ones. Furthermore, politics seemed to be the most euphemised semantic category in comparison to others. A similar study was carried out by Ong’onda (2018), who examined metaphorical euphemisms of death appearing in Kenyan newspapers using the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor. His study revealed that the social and cultural perceptions that society has towards death greatly influenced the language used in the writing of obituaries.

Hojati (2012) conducted a study that focused on eliciting and qualitatively examining a number of highly used euphemisms in English-speaking media (BBC World News, Al-Jazeera English, and France 24 English). The results showed that, of all the topics euphemised, poverty and military-related euphemism ranked high in the news bulletins. Contrarily, euphemisms related to the economy, disability, death, and sex were less frequently used.

In 2015, Shemshurenko and Shafigullina conducted a study on politically correct euphemisms in mass media (based on American and Turkish online periodicals from the beginning of the 21st century) where online newspapers and magazines such as Newsweek, The Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor, The New York Times, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Yurt Gazetesi, and Vatan Gazetesi were studied. The findings of this study demonstrated that euphemisms were widely used in describing, mitigating, and masking the negative associations in the areas of interethnic relations and international conflicts, the social status of the financially disadvantaged and vulnerable population such as people with mental and physical disabilities, low-income citizens, and elderly people. Comparatively, the modern American online periodicals seemed to feature a wider use of politically correct lexemes than Turkish online newspapers and magazines.

As these studies have shown, the issue of euphemising is observed in every part of life where language is used. In the media, it is another important place where the use of euphemisms is mandatory due to the diverse nature of its consumers. As these studies reveal, journalists are always keen to ensure that they and the people they deal with use language that is acceptable to all social strata.

### 2.3.3 Euphemism usage by different social groups

Different social groups use euphemisms variously depending on the topic under discussion and the relationship the members of those groups have, their geographical background, and their level of education, among other factors. In the study which was conducted by Mofarrej and Al-Haq (2015) on the euphemistic expressions of death used in Jordanian society which involved two social variables (age and gender) and one geographical variable (region) it was revealed that, on the one hand, there were certain expressions which were more frequently used than others among participants irrespective of their age, gender or region. On the other hand, the findings indicated that the social variables affected the use of these expressions only in certain situations. For instance, the study revealed that participants of the study above 30-year-old used more euphemised expressions than those who were 30 years old or under. In addition, males and females used different expressions only when trying to reduce the bitter effects of someone's death. The results also demonstrated that Bedouin (urban area) participants used different expressions from those which were used by rural participants when referring to the condoling house. From this study we find mixed results where, in some situations, the use of euphemisms by different age and sex groups looked the same while in some other situations, the use was different. This invoked the need for more studies in different speech communities to find out what is happening in other parts of the world.

Parallel to Mofarrej and Al-Haq’s study is the study that was conducted by Fitriani, Syarif and Wahyuni (2019), which studied how men and women used euphemisms in the Indonesia Lawyers Club TV One show. One of the objectives of this study was to determine the strategies males and females used in forming euphemisms in that show. The study showed that men highly used euphemisms in the form of understatement while women mostly preferred to use jargon.  Drissi (2020) conducted a similar study that involved 30 Algerian PhD students (15 males and 15 females) to investigate the strategies used in forming euphemisms by these students. The findings of this study indicated the use of different strategies amongst both genders where females noticeably outnumbered their male counterparts as far as euphemistic strategies were concerned. Females used five different strategies, which included understatement, metaphor, implication, loan words, and onomatopoeia. On the other hand, men used limited euphemistic strategies, where implication, understatement, and metaphor were the dominant strategies, especially in formal situations.

When comparing formality in the use of euphemisms between males and females, Drissi’s study found that both males and females tried to increase euphemistic strategies in formal situations compared to informal ones. This gender-based study explained the semantic change as far as euphemism was concerned and offered a clear understanding of the preferences of each gender in using euphemistic strategies depending on the degree of formality.

Rosadi, Tiarina, and Rosa (2013) researched euphemisms used by males and females in Minangkabaunese. The study established that the two groups used similar types of euphemisms. However, there were slight differences in the strategies these two groups used in forming those expressions. Male speakers formed euphemisms using reduplication, a strategy that was not used by female speakers.

Habibi and Khairuna (2018) studied euphemisms used by males and females in Minangkabau songs. The main aim of this study was to specify the different euphemisms employed in the lyrics of male and female song composers of this language. This study revealed that female composers used metaphor, hyperbole, circumlocution, and understatement, while male composers only employed hyperbole in their lyrics.

Nilwati and Ardi (2012) researched euphemisms used by male and female Kerninciness speakers. The results of this study showed that female speakers used more euphemisms than male speakers. The males’ language was more direct than it was for females. This indicates that female speakers were more aware and more sensitive to the use of euphemisms than were male speakers. These findings contradict the findings obtained in Kapron-King and Xu’s (2021) study who conducted a diachronic evaluation of gender asymmetry in euphemism. Their evaluation involved four large diachronic text corpora of English to support or nullify the hypothesis that women use euphemisms more than men. The findings of their study revealed that, in a broad range of settings engaging both forms of language, speaking and writing, and with a varying range of formality, women do not use euphemisms in a significantly higher proportion than men.

Brandt (2014) conducted a sociolinguistic study on the euphemisms that are preferred by Manenberg’s youths and adults when talking about HIV and AIDS. The researcher randomly selected 20 respondents (10 males and 10 females) whose age ranges were 18 and 65. The results of this study indicated that there is a difference in the use of euphemisms related to HIV/AIDS messages that is influenced by age and sex differences.

Alotaibi (2015) researched the awareness of euphemism by Kuwait speakers of Arabic. The study specifically investigated whether an individual’s age and level of education influence their comprehension of the euphemisms they use in their day-to-day interactions. This study revealed that age and level of education influenced their use of euphemistic expressions, in which case the educated respondents (holders of university degrees) avoided offensive expressions and considered them inappropriate to use in conversation. Concerning the age difference, the findings indicated that the older participants (those aged 50–65) used more euphemisms than those aged 25–40. Most elders suggested that taboo words should not be used.

Generally, based on these studies, differences or similarities in the social variables in the use of euphemisms are reflected in different linguistic situations because the language patterns of these groups are influenced by their surroundings, status, education, and other social aspects, which are then reflected in their linguistic style. As the findings of these studies reveal, there are mixed results, with one side showing instances where the use of euphemisms by the different social groups is the same and the other side establishing that the use of euphemisms by these social groups is different depending on the given social context. The present study sought to establish if there is any significant difference or similarity in the use of this aspect of language in different social contexts by Swahili social groups differentiated by sex and level of education. The comparison in the use of these expressions was done using various taboo themes, different from the previous studies, most of which used only one taboo theme.

### 2.3.4 Euphemisms and politeness/face-saving

Verbal politeness is the situation of using honorific language represented through certain linguistic forms of a particular language (Fukada & Asato, 2004; Yoshimura & MacWhinney, 2011). Verbal politeness needs to be considered in order to maintain the relationship between the use of certain linguistic forms in communicative interactions and the norms of social behaviour (Crespo-Fernández, 2005; Fraser, 1990; Held, 1992; Watts, Sachiko, & Konrad, 1992). Euphemism is a special linguistic phenomenon fundamentally linked to the standards of politeness, and it is a social norm expected to be observed in interpersonal communication. Euphemistic use is closely attached to politeness, using the notion of face proposed by Goffmann (1967) and developed by Brown and Levinson (1987).

In his study, Crespo-Fernández (2005) established that euphemism is not only used as a strictly lexical process to tone down certain concepts perceived as unfit for normal linguistic usage, but it is also used as a more comprehensive phenomenon with a basic discursive dimension. Thus, euphemism is considered a very vital discursive tool used to enhance politeness, preserve the public self-image of the participants in communicative exchanges, and therefore facilitate harmonious interpersonal relationships.

Crespo-Fernández’ findings parallel the ones obtained in McGlone and Batchelor’s (2003) work, where it was observed that the use of euphemisms was more motivated by the act of face-saving than for personal comfort. In addition to the findings from these two studies, Aboh (2015) found that euphemism was also used as a linguistic modality that was used for politeness reasons by discourse participants.

However, the study that was done by Bowers and Playdell-Pearce (2011) came up with opposing results, where it was established that people tended to feel uncomfortable with certain words. In this view, certain words would result in higher levels of stress than neutral words, and thus euphemisms produced significantly less stress for the negative phrases even though the levels were still higher than with neutral terms. The probable reason which made these studies to produce opposing findings could be the difference in the kinds of unpleasant phrases used and geographical settings involved in the studies.

Additionally, Cecilia and John’s (2019) study established that the use of euphemisms is motivated by issues related to taboos and is mainly used to avoid spoiling both the speaker’s and the hearer’s faces. On the other side, these expressions function as a stylistic marker so that their use is not linked to taboo topics; rather, they are used as a means of expressing one’s thoughts according to the context of use.

The present study is guided by the Politeness theory proposed by Brown and Levinson. It is crucial to understand how other scholars view the relationship between euphemisms and politeness. As these studies have shown, to a great extent, many people use euphemisms as a politeness strategy in order to save their faces and the hearers’. Nonetheless, as Bowers and Playdell-Pearce (2011) observed, some people use these expressions as a way of lessening the level of stress which would be caused by the use of taboo expressions. For these people, the use of unpleasant words causes stress; thus, they use euphemisms to get rid of their stresses. As part of this study, people need to understand that the use of euphemisms is not only confined to seeking politeness in communication but is also associated with other stylistic uses (where euphemisms are used as stylistic markers).

## 2.4 Theoretical framework

The linguistic aspect of euphemism has been studied in various ways, using different theoretical frameworks. Some of the most notable theories that have been used in studying this phenomenon include the Socio-semiotic theory by Halliday (1978), the Conceptual Metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the Speech Act theory by Austin (1962), which was then developed by Searle (1979), and the Relevance theory, which was found and developed by Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995). However, in an attempt to investigate euphemism usage by different social groups among Swahili speakers, the current study employed Politeness theory, which was developed by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987). This theory was chosen on the grounds that euphemisms, alongside other aspects, are one of the forms of politeness that are used as communicative strategies to mask some speech realities that are found to be unpleasant to some extent, irrespective of the social group one belongs to. Since this study aimed to find out the politeness levels of different social groups in their use of euphemisms, this theory seemed more appropriate.

Brown and Levinson’s (1978) theory principally focused on how politeness is expressed to protect participants’ faces in communicative interactions. It emerged as an extension of Goffman’s (1955, 1967) work. Goffman was the first to introduce the concept of face and stated its significance and inevitability in any particular social communication. According to her, the face is an image of self, delineated in terms of approved social attributes. Brown and Levinson (1978) came to narrow down the notion of face introduced by Goffman into two categories: positive face and negative face. According to them, face is something that is emotionally invested, and it can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly maintained in any social interactions.

The extension of the idea of face by Brown and Levinson (1987) resulted in politeness. They viewed politeness as a notion with two characteristics, namely, positive and negative. They referred to positive politeness as what can be communicated to gratify the needs of a positive face, while negative politeness, on the other side, works in two ways: first, it can be expressed to save the communicator’s face positively or negatively, and second, it can be expressed to satisfy the requirements of a negative face by showing respect to the addressee, bearing in mind that his rights must be respected and not imposed on. In this view, for communicators to maintain their faces, they need to cooperate in any social interaction to maintain everyone’s face (see also Wijayanto, Laila, Prasetyarini, & Susiati, 2013).

Consequently, Brown and Levinson (1987) introduced the strategies of politeness to protect the communicator’s face when involved in any social communication. They claimed that their strategies may be universally used to allow speakers to take account of the social factors involved in maintaining others’ faces through their use of speech acts.

Brown and Levinson proposed three social factors that speakers should consider when interacting with each other to ensure politeness in the course of communication. These include: (1) power; (2) social distance; and (3) the degree of imposition. They define power as the social status of both the speaker and the hearer. They also define "social distance" as the social factors that indicate the degree to which interlocutors are familiar with each other. Adding to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) ideas, Kida (2011) elaborates that social distance can be expressed by using other linguistic forms to mean respect, deference (esteem), and politeness. On the other hand, Brown and Levinson use the term "degree of imposition" to mean the rank that an addresser enjoys and his ability to impose his ideas and desires on others. In supporting Brown and Levinson’s idea, Martinez-Flor (2007) claimed that the degree of imposition is related to how the speaker can impose his intention on the hearer.

Even with its detailed features and its wide use in numerous studies (Agbaglo, 2017; Chen, 2010; Eshghinejad & Moin, 2016; Gu, 1990; Haugh, 2005; Hernandez, 1999; Kitamura, 2000; Rattananukool, 2015; Rop, 2015), Brown and Levinson's theory of Politeness did not escape criticism. One of the criticisms was posed in light of their claims about the universality of politeness and face. These scholars presume that the disparity of cultures has no effect on the face and that cultural difference governs only the evaluation of whether a certain speech act is positive or negative.

One of the critics was Matsumoto (1989), who argued that for Brown and Levinson (1987) to generalise their theory, they should consider non-Western cultures, as their theory appears to focus merely on expressing politeness in Western societies and cultures. In agreeing with Matsumoto’s criticism, Ide (1989) posited that Brown and Levinson’s Politeness theory might not be sufficient and relevant for a culture such as Japanese as the Japanese use politeness strategies differently from the Westerners. The same criticism came from Mao (1994) who argued whether the strategies of politeness and face could be applicable in other cultures other than Western.

Another criticism came from Chen (2001), who argued that Brown and Levinson might not have taken into consideration the need to save one’s face. Chen’s concern was that Brown and Levinson’s theory neglected the idea of self-politeness because it highly focused on how the speaker loses his face to save the addressee’s face. The point Chen is making is that in the process of saving the addressee’s face, the addresser may lose their own.

Consequently, due to dissatisfaction with some aspects of this theory, other theories and frameworks emerged in an attempt to examine the pragmatic aspects of cultural settings other than Western. One of those frameworks was introduced by Leech (2005) which he named Grand Strategy of Politeness framework which focused on the East-West cultural settings. However, even Leech’s framework might not be sufficient and relevant to all cultural settings since ethnic cultures are not homogeneous and static. Thus, it is correct to assert that no single theory is sufficient to explain politeness issues across all cultures. Each theory has weak and strong sides, which may make it appropriate for one culture but not another. Therefore, it is necessary to choose a theory that is appropriate to a particular culture.

Even with criticisms posed on Brown and Levinson’s theory, there are some strong points that can fit in backing up studies related to politeness even in non-Western cultures like Tanzania. The key tenet of this theory that backed up the current study is the consideration of face (minimising the hearers’ negative face and maximising their positive face) during interlocution in order to maintain politeness. Thus, in the current study, euphemisms are presented and analysed as both face-saving and linguistic politeness strategies used in communicative interaction to avoid face-threat and face-loss and hence maintain face. This theory had a great contribution in the data collection stage. Recognising that the direct use of sensitive words could have a negative impact on communication and thus tarnish the image of respondents, great care was taken to ensure that the faces of respondents are protected. Thus, the expressions used in the questionnaire were polite to ensure they did not offend the respondents. This theory was also used in the data analysis to determine the main purpose of using euphemisms in this community based on the forms of euphemisms that the speakers of this language use. For that reason, it was hypothesised that Swahili speakers use euphemisms to save their communicators' faces and their own. Generally, this theory applies to the whole idea of using euphemisms in any society, including the one that was studied. The main basis of euphemising is to protect the faces of the communicators, which is among the aspects of politeness.

## 2.5 Research gap

As the reviewed literature reveals, euphemisms have been studied extensively in different speech communities in different social situations. Most of these studies have been largely focused on addressing types of euphemisms used, strategies employed to form euphemistic expressions, the functions played by these expressions, the rate the euphemisms were utilised, the rationale for euphemising, and comparing or contrasting euphemisms usage between languages (Aboh, 2015;  Al-Khasawneh, 2018; Arif, 2016; Cecilia & John, 2019; Crespo-Fernández, 2005; Enab, 2019; Fitriani, Syarif, & Wahyuni, 2019; Gathigia, Ndung’u, & Njoroge, 2015; Jdetawy, 2019; Kusumah, 2019; Mofarrej & Al-Haq, 2015; Msuya, 2017; Ndhlovu & Botha, 2017; Ong’onda, 2018).

As the reviewed literature demonstrates, only a few studies have been done on comparing euphemism usage between social groups, focusing on groups differentiated by sex, age, and level of education. Even those studies that were devoted to comparing the use of these expressions by those groups, the focus was put on one of the three taboo themes: sexuality, death, or HIV/AIDS. Other taboo themes were not involved in comparison. Comparing euphemism usage based on only one taboo subject might not reflect the real situation regarding the homogeneity or heterogeneity in the use of these expressions by different social groups that form a certain speech community, as it diminishes the possibility of coming up with reliable conclusions. This ultimately confines the room for knowing the level of politeness across social groups from the angle of euphemism usage, which is a key politeness strategy. Thus, the present study compared euphemism usage using sizable taboo themes to determine whether there is a significant difference in using these expressions by different social groups among Swahili speakers. The results of the present study are anticipated to give people a comprehensive understanding of the levels of politeness among the compared social groups. Informing language users on the level of politeness of different social groups is essential to the whole aspect of communication, as it helps communicators to be careful when discussing various sensitive themes to ensure communication takes place harmoniously. This consequently enhances effective communication as it eliminates the potential misunderstanding that is triggered by miscommunication emanating from applying expressions that are not in line with a specific social group.

## 2.6 Summary

This chapter focused on surveying various studies that dealt with the subject under investigation. Key issues presented here include definitions of key terms related to the subject that was being investigated; the theoretical and empirical literature; the theoretical framework used; and the research gap. All these aspects are important in the study, as they help to show the direction of the study by showing what others have done and what has not yet been done to justify what the current study was doing. The next chapter deals with methodological issues in order to bring to light how the present study was carried out.

# CHAPTER THREE

# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

## 3.1 Introduction

This chapter elaborates on the methodologies and techniques that were employed in the present study, from the processes of data collection through data analysis. More specifically, the chapter presents the research design that guided the study and the justification for the choice of such a design. It also presents the target population of the study and the sample size that was involved in the study. Additionally, the chapter describes the sampling technique that was used to get the respondents who were involved in the study and specifies the area where the current study was conducted. This chapter also discusses the approaches that were used in the process of data collection and analysis. Other aspects that are discussed in this chapter are the reliability and validity of the research instrument that was used in data collection. The last section of this chapter specifies the ethical issues that were considered in the study.

**3.2 Research design**

Robson (2002) identifies three forms of research design: exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory. Out of these three, the current study employed a descriptive design. One of the methods of collecting data in a descriptive design is through the survey method, in which several questions are asked to the respondents through surveys or questionnaires (Borg & Gall, 1989). Once data are gathered, they are then described quantitatively, qualitatively, or by both (a mixed approach) to make sense of them. In the present study, the data were described using a mixed approach. Mixed approach is understood as the type of research in which the researcher collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches in their study (Creswell, 2012; Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2008; Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007; Teddie & Tashakkori, 2009).

One of the ways of analysing data in descriptive research is by comparing them. The main objective of this study was to compare euphemism usage by different social groups among Swahili speakers in different social contexts to determine if one’s sex and level of education significantly influence the use of euphemisms. In order to establish whether there is a correlation between the specified variables and the use of euphemisms, statistical methods were employed in analysing the findings. After getting the statistical figures, descriptions were given to the patterns that emerged during the analysis. The findings were interpreted based on the real-world situations found after analysis to address the stated research problem and prove or disprove the formulated hypotheses.

## 3.3 The area of study

The current study was conducted in Unguja Urban District, which is found in Unguja West Region of Zanzibar. This district is made up of 56 administrative wards, which are famously known as shehias. The study focused on 23 shehias, which are Amani, Kilimahewa Juu, Mlandege, Kwamtipura, Miembeni, Mwembeladu, Rahaleo, Kilimahewa Bondeni, Kwa Wazee, Mikunguni, and Magomeni. Others include Mlandege, Mitiulaya, Madema, Mapinduzi, Maruhubi, Kwahani, Kidongo Chekundu, Banko, Mboriborini, Makadara, Matarumbeta, and Chumbuni. The choice of these shehias was based on random sampling. Before sampling these shehias, the researcher set aside ten shehias that were in the city centre. These were set aside because they were thought to be areas with a high mixture of speakers from different social and cultural backgrounds, something that could interfere with the availability of appropriate data. After setting aside these ten shehias, the remaining 46 shehias were divided in half, 23 of which were sampled randomly. The sampling procedures involved writing down the names of all 46 shehias, each on its own piece of paper, which were later rolled up and put in a box. The researcher picked randomly 23 pieces of paper which represented the number of shehias involved in the study. The choice of this district was based on the fact that coastal areas are the source of Swahili, and more specifically, the then-dialect of Kiunguja was upgraded as the standard dialect in Tanzania. Thus, being the epicenter of this language, and being the area where Swahili is spoken as the first language (L1), respondents from this area were expected to come up with the valid data that are free from the influence of other languages.

## 3.4 The study population

Burns and Grove (1993) define a research population as all elements (individuals, objects, and events) that meet the sample qualities for a given study. The study population for the present study consisted of all males and females aged 18 years and older who live in the specified study area. The population of this age category was thought to have an understanding of the correct use of language, especially the use of euphemisms in different contexts. Also, the study included graduates (individuals holding bachelor’s degrees or above) and non-graduates (for the sake of this study, these are individuals who ended in standard seven and who can read and write). These individuals are part of the social groups specified in the preceding chapter. However, the population size that was involved in the present study was not known.

## 3.5 Sample size

In circumstances where the population size is not known, statisticians have come up with an alternative formula for calculating sample size. Almeda, Capistrano, and Sarte (2010) came up with a formula that enables the calculation of sample size in situations where the population size is unknown, and this formula is used when the margin of error is 5%. This formula is given here under:

Where,

n= sample size

e= margin of error (0.05)

Thus, the sample size of the respondents was;

Thus, the overall sample size that was involved in the present study was 384 individuals.

The structure of the respondents was as follows: Firstly, there was a balance between males and females, where 192 were males and the remaining 192 were females out of 384 respondents. Secondly, there was a balance in the number of respondents based on education, where out of 384 respondents, 192 were graduates (96 males and 96 females) and the other 192 were non-graduates (96 males and 96 females). This demographic structure is summarised in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Demographic structure of the respondents

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Sex | Education | | Total |
| Graduates | Non-graduates |
| Males | 96 | 96 | 192 |
| Females | 96 | 96 | 192 |
| Total | 192 | 192 | 384 |

## 3.6 Sampling technique of the respondents

The present study employed a purposive (also called judgmental) sampling technique. Tongco (2007) defines the purposive sampling technique as one that involves the intentional choice of an informant due to the qualities that particular informant possesses. In this form of technique, the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find respondents who can and are ready to provide the information based on the knowledge or experience they possess (Bernard, 2002; Lewis & Sheppard, 2006). The potential informants are members of the target community who are considered to know the culture of their community and are both able and willing to share their knowledge (Campbell, 1955; Seidler, 1974; Tremblay, 1957).

This sampling technique is, in some way, representative of the population of interest without sampling at random. Considering that the area involved in this study was large and the data were to be collected from individuals who possess specific characteristics (specific sex and specific levels of education), this technique was deemed convenient as it enabled the researcher to focus only on particular individuals from a selected population who were willing to fill out the prepared questionnaire. Being the non-resident of the area, the researcher was assisted by local leaders (ward councilors/shehas and street chairpersons) to get those individuals. This technique was selected as it ensured collection of the required data sufficiently.

## 3.7 Data collection methods

The data for the present study were collected using a questionnaire. A questionnaire is a document containing a series of questions asked to individuals to obtain useful factual information and prompt opinion about a given topic for analysis (Babbie, 1990; Roopa & Rani, 2012). It is a vital instrument by which statements can be made about specific groups, individuals, or entire populations. The study adopted a questionnaire written in Swahili to gather the required data for the study (see Appendix I). Some of the euphemisms used to make this questionnaire were derived from the researcher himself, since the researcher has adequate knowledge of this language. Other euphemisms the researcher found in various publications where euphemisms were used to talk about different taboo themes. A questionnaire made the work easy for the respondents to quickly tick the euphemisms they prefer to use for the specified taboo themes. Since this method was sufficient for collecting the data needed for this study, no other methods were used.

The questionnaire was structured into two parts. In the first part, the respondents were asked to supply their demographic information, which included age, sex, level of education, place of residence, and the date they responded to the questionnaire. These details were very important as they were used in comparing how these groups (identified by sex and level of education) use euphemisms in various sensitive/taboo themes. The second part of the questionnaire was designed to determine the euphemistic expressions that the specified Swahili social groups regularly use in their day-to-day interactions on various taboo themes. This part was constructed with two main columns (A and B). Column A consisted of a list of euphemisms that are used to talk about a certain taboo theme. Column B was divided into four columns consisting of different groups of people, and the respondent was supposed to match the kind of euphemism they use (from column A) when communicating with a specified person in group B by ticking in a slot available for the specific person (that is, when they interact with age mates, same-sex individuals, their seniors, and their juniors). The respondents were also allowed to supply other euphemisms they use for the same theme when communicating with specified individuals in case such euphemisms were not on the list in the questionnaire. The responses from the respondents were written down for analysis and discussion.

## 3.8 Reliability and validity of the research instrument

### 3.8.1 Reliability

Reliability is the degree to which when measurements are repeated by different people on a different occasion, under different condition, supposedly with different instruments measuring the skill or construct supply consistent results (Blumberg, Cooper, & Schindler, 2005; Drost, 2011). Reliability measures the constancy, accuracy, repeatability, and credibility of research (Chakrabartty, 2013). It also measures the adequacy and accuracy of procedures and tools applied in conducting scientific research (Bajpai & Bajpai, 2014). There are different ways of measuring the reliability of research instruments. The current study employed the test-retest method. Test-retest is a method of measuring reliability by administering the same construct to the same sample at two different points in time (Drost, 2011; Graziano & Raulin, 2006). Thus, in order to ensure that the instrument used provides reliable data, the researcher carried out a pilot study before the real one in order to determine the reliability of the tool used in this study. The pilot study gave the researcher nearly the same results he got in the real study.

### 3.8.2 Validity

According to Drost (2011), validity is the extent to which a measure effectively represents the underlying construct that it is supposed to measure. In research, validity assesses the degree to which the instrument measures what it is designed to measure (Robson, 2011). It is done so as to try to explain the reality of research findings (Zohrabi, 2013). Validity is classified into four types (Creswell, 2005; Middleton, 2020; Pallant, 2011), which include construct validity, face validity, content validity, and criterion-related validity. Of these four types, the researcher used content validity.

Content validity, according to Bollen (1989), is a form of validity where the concept is made clear and the analyst judges whether the measures entirely represent the domain. It is a type of validity that ensures different elements, skills, and behaviours are measured effectively and sufficiently (Devillis, 2006; Messick, 1995). Thus, in order to ensure that the instrument provides valid findings, the researcher designed a research instrument that sufficiently addressed the subject under investigation. The researcher tested the validity of the instrument during the pilot study and got the expected results.

## 3.9 Data analysis

The data in the current study were analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Qualitative analysis involves analysing qualitative data, largely depending on the researcher’s analytic and integrative skills and personal understanding of the social context where the data were collected. The current study fetched from Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2007), and Dawson’s (2009) classifications of qualitative analysis, relying much on classical content analysis and taxonomical analysis. This kind of analysis was employed for the first and second objectives. In such a case, the data obtained were used to determine the forms of euphemisms used by Swahili speakers on various taboo themes and their ways of formation. For the case of ways or strategies of forming these expressions, the researcher relied on the strategies that were proposed by Warren (1992) and Burridge (2012).

Quantitative analysis, on the other hand, involves evaluating measurable and verifiable data. This kind of analysis usually involves some statistical mechanisms that enable assessing or analysing quantitative data (Creswell, 2007). The main aim of this kind of analysis is to quantify a hypothesised situation. James and Simister (2020) identify two types of quantitative data analysis, which include descriptive statistics and inferential statistics. The former type involves the use of statistical functions like frequency distribution and the management of graphs. The latter type is carried out using statistical functions such as the t-test and chi-square. The present study used the t-test in testing the hypotheses that were stated in chapter one. The test was done for the data addressing the third and fourth specific objectives.

The quantitative analysis began by sorting the responses, which were provided by male and female respondents. After separating the responses into these two groups, that is, males and females, the data contained in their responses were typed and entered into the MAXQDA 2022. This software helped in determining the frequencies of use for each euphemism in each taboo theme.

The sorting of the responses continued, and this time it involved the responses that were given by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. After the separation, these responses were again recorded and entered into the same software for data management. Like in the preceding elaboration, these data were fed into the software to obtain the frequencies at which these expressions were used by a particular group within a specific taboo theme. After obtaining the frequencies of using these expressions from the compared groups, the process of testing the stated null hypotheses began. The hypotheses were tested using a t-test. The t-test was performed using Excel's statistical functions.

## 3.10 Ethical considerations when conducting research

In all matters of academic writing, researchers are called to behave well in conducting and disseminating their research results (Blumberg, Cooper, & Schindler, 2005). The established rules, norms, and guidelines that define the researchers’ good conduct are what make research ethics (Akaranga & Makau, 2016). These rules and guidelines are essential in daily research practices and require that researchers protect the dignity of their subjects and publish well the information that is researched (Fouka & Mantzorou, 2011). Bryman and Bell (2007) specifically identify ten points representing the most key guidelines related to ethical considerations in dissertation writing, which include: (1) to protect research participants from any harm; (2) to respect the dignity of research participants; (3) to ensure full consent of the participants before the study; (4) to ensure the protection of the privacy of research participants; and (5) to ensure a satisfactory level of confidentiality of the research data. Others include (6) ensuring the anonymity of individuals and organisations participating in the research; (7) avoiding any deception or exaggeration about the aims and objectives of the research; (8) declaring any forms of affiliations, sources of funding, and any possible conflicts of interest; (9) communicating the type of information related to the research with honesty and transparency; and (10) avoiding misleading information and biased presentation of the findings.

Based on the above-highlighted guidelines and given the nature of the investigated subject, the researcher observed the following: ensured full consent of the participants before the study; ensured protection of the privacy of research participants; ensured a high level of confidentiality of the research data. Others included ensuring the anonymity of individuals who participated in the research; avoiding any deception or exaggeration about the aims and objectives of the research (the researcher had to submit the original proposal to the authorities of Zanzibar concerned with research matters, that is, the Principal Secretary, Second Vice President’s Office, Policy, Coordination, and House of Representative); communicating any type of information related to the research with honesty and transparency; and avoiding misleading information and biased presentation of the findings.

In line with these guidelines, the researcher sought permission from the Open University of Tanzania before going to the field to collect data. The researcher also sought permission in Zanzibar to collect data in their areas. All these were done to ensure that the study is done to high standards of professionalism.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

# DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

## 4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, much was written about the procedures and techniques that were employed from the data collection stage through data analysis. The next step after collecting data is the presentation and analysis of those data to get meaning out of them. This chapter, therefore, is focused on presenting and analysing the data as they were collected from the field to make sense of them. The presentation of the findings reflects the research objectives that were specified in chapter one (in section 1.4.1). In total, four specific objectives were identified. The first objective aimed to identify euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers; the second objective aimed to identify the strategies that are employed by Swahili speakers in forming euphemisms; the third objective focused on comparing euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers; and the last objective sought to compare euphemism usage between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. The presentation and analysis of the findings for the first and second specific objectives are primarily done qualitatively with some statistical data in the form of frequencies and percentages (for the first objective). The data for the third and fourth objectives are presented and analysed quantitatively, where inferential statistics are used. The presentation and analysis of the findings are done in the subsequent sections.

## 4.2 Euphemisms used by Swahili speakers

This part focuses on presenting and analysing euphemistic expressions that are employed by Swahili speakers when communicating on various themes with taboo connotations. The euphemisms are presented semantically (thematically), where various euphemisms that are used for a certain taboo theme are specified. The data presented here were taken from 384 respondents, of whom 192 (50%) were male and the remaining 192 (50%) were female. These respondents were given a questionnaire containing a variety of taboo themes with their corresponding euphemisms, from which they were supposed to tick the euphemism(s) they preferred to use for a certain sensitive theme. The presentation of these findings goes hand in hand with the elaboration of whether the euphemisms preferred to be used in a given taboo theme fall under the traditional or stylistic category, the two types of euphemisms proposed by Qi (2010). As reported in other studies, the categorisation of whether a euphemistic expression falls under the traditional or stylistic type is largely dependent on subjective criteria based on knowledge of what these two types mean (see section 2.2.2) and the knowledge of a given language. The taboo themes and their euphemisms are presented in the following sections.

### 4.2.1 Sexual euphemisms used by Swahili speakers

Kusumah (2019) defines sexual euphemisms as those expressions that are used to evade talking directly about sexual activity, the state of the body during the sexual act, and even the clothing that is in direct contact with the sexual body parts. Sexual-related topics are among the most euphemised topics in every era and culture. Speakers belonging to different speech communities are obsessed with finding great pleasure in understanding and making references to various physically intimate acts. Consequently, most of the sexual euphemisms are significantly creative and amusing. The following subsections present euphemisms thatare employed by

Swahili speakers when talking about various aspects related to sex.

#### 4.2.1.1 Sexual intercourse euphemisms

Sexual intercourse is one of those sensitive topics that people fear talking about in almost all cultures (Baldo, Aggleton, & Slutkin, 1993). The subject is seen as socially and morally insensible (Ihtiyorjon & Sangcheol, 2021). This has made it the hub of many euphemistic expressions. Swahili is one of those communities where the act of copulation is spoken of with various roundabout expressions as a way of keeping the faces of those who are engaged in the communication. In this subsection, the euphemisms that Swahili speakers resort to use when discussing the act of mating between male and female are presented and analysed. Consider the findings presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Euphemisms used for sexual intercourse

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Kujamiiana* | to socialise | 351 | 91.4 |
| *Kutafunana* | to eat one another | 273 | 71.1 |
| *Kulalana* | to sleep over one another | 169 | 44 |
| *Kufanyana* | to do one another | 147 | 38.3 |
| *Kufanya tendo la ndoa* | to do marital act | 376 | 97.9 |
| *Kupata haki ya ndoa* | to get marital right | 368 | 95.8 |
| *Kula mzigo* | to eat a thing/luggage | 191 | 49.7 |
| *Kupata unyumba* | to get marital right | 351 | 91.4 |
| *Kulala* | to sleep | 367 | 95.6 |
| *Kukunana* | to scratch one another | 135 | 35.2 |
| *Kula tunda* | to eat a fruit | 305 | 79.4 |
| *Kula uroda* | to eat something delicious | 315 | 82.0 |
| *Kukutana kimwili* | to meet bodily | 367 | 95.6 |
| *Kufanya mapenzi* | to make love | 378 | 98.4 |
| *Kukamuana* | to squeeze one another | 142 | 37.0 |
| *Kutifuana* | to wrestle one another | 234 | 61.0 |
| *Kutafuta watoto* | searching for children | 314 | 81.8 |
| *Kupasuana* | to pierce each other | 201 | 52.3 |
| *Kudonoana* | pecking each other | 231 | 60.2 |
| *Kuingiliana* | to enter one another | 370 | 96.4 |

As Table 4.1 indicates, Swahili speakers use a sizable list of euphemisms to refer to sexual intercourse decently. Due to its sensitivity, it is one of those taboo themes that are highly euphemised. While a few of these expressions are understood easily without considering their context of use (e.g., kufanya tendo la ndoa; kupata haki ya ndoa; kupata unyumba and kufanya mapenzi), a majority of these expressions depend on the context for them to be understood, even by a mature person. The reason that some of these expressions are easily understood out of context is their close, direct association with the act they are referring to. Other expressions may even be confusing. For instance, the expression “kutafuta watoto” can be understood as the process of searching for the lost children. Most of these euphemisms describe the referred act in a reciprocity manner due to the fact that this action, to a large extent, is done voluntarily between people who have agreed with each other. However, these expressions are used in contexts where politeness is required. In situations where speakers are familiar with each other, they even dare to use the explicit term for this act.

The most frequently used of these euphemisms include kufanya mapenzi (98.4%), kufanya tendo la ndoa (97.9%), kuingiliana (96.4%), kupata haki ya ndoa (95.8%), kukutana kimwili (95.6%), kujamiiana (91.4%), and kupata unyumba (91.4%). On the other end, the less frequently used expressions include kukamuana (37%), kukunana (35.2%), kufanyana (38.3%), kulalana (44%), and kula mzigo (49.7%). The remaining expressions were moderately used by these speakers. The expressions showing high frequencies of use are the most preferred in formal settings. Those euphemisms showing low frequencies of use are those that are less formal and that are probably not very familiar to some groups in this society. It does not surprise that there is no expression with 100% of use from these respondents since, when it comes to sexual intercourse, everyone has their own way of referring to it nicely since it is one of the most impolite themes to talk about in public.

The kinds of euphemisms used by these speakers focused on concealing the embarrassment that would be caused by mentioning the sexual act directly. This implies that all of the euphemistic expressions these speakers used for this topic fall under the traditional or negative category of euphemisms.

#### 4.2.1.2 Euphemisms used for male sexual organ

Sexual euphemisms do not involve only sexual activity; they also involve sexual body parts (genitalia). These parts are highly associated with taboo connotations, and they have given rise to various euphemisms. In the Swahili-speaking community, it is restricted to talk straightforwardly about the male sexual organ in public, especially in formal settings. Thus, to talk about this organ decently, users of this language have created various euphemisms. This section presents the euphemistic expressions associated with a male sexual organ that are favourably used by Swahili speakers. Consider the data presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Euphemisms used for male sexual organ

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Dudu* | worm-like object | 120 | 31.3 |
| *Jogoo* | cork | 355 | 92.4 |
| *Mhogo wa Jang’ombe* | cassava | 230 | 59.9 |
| *Muwa* | sugarcane | 299 | 77.9 |
| *Uume* | manhood | 384 | 100 |
| *Kiboko* | whip | 319 | 83.1 |
| *Ukuni* | firewood | 244 | 63.5 |
| *Mtaimbo* | shaft | 368 | 95.8 |
| *Mpini* | hoe/axe handle | 240 | 62.5 |
| *Mkongojo* | walking staff | 298 | 77.6 |

Most of the euphemisms employed by Swahili speakers to refer to the male sexual organ reflect the structure and function of the referred organ. The expressions dudu, mhogo wa Jang’ombe (a kind of cassava that used to be grown in a place called Jang’ombe), muwa, ukuni, mpini, and mkongojo are associated with the structure of the object being referred to. The expression jogoo is associated with the activeness of this organ, which is a very important feature of manhood. One will boast of being a "complete" man if his sexual organ is functioning effectively. The expression kiboko is associated with both the structure and the function of the organ. Concerning the function, kiboko (a whip) is used to strike things and even human beings. In the context of sex, this organ "strikes/beats" a female sexual organ during sexual act. Thus, the expression kiboko is derived both structurally and functionally. This also applies to the expression mtaimbo (shaft), which is used to break stones in nearly the same way that the male sexual organ does to the female sexual organ. The most formal expression of all for the male sexual organ is uume which refers to an organ distinguishing a man from a woman. This expression is used in the most formal settings, unlike other expressions whose use may be dictated by the immediate social context (that is, based on who one is interacting with).

Frequency-wise, a few of these expressions were most frequently used, such as uume (100%), mtaimbo (95.8%), and jogoo (92.4%). These expressions were most frequently used not only because of their formality (particularly the expression "uume") but also because they are highly familiar to these speakers. Only one expression, dudu, was less frequently used (31.3%), while the remaining expressions were more or less used. The probable reason they have a low percentage of preference is their formality (they are less formal expressions) and the proportion of social strata that prefer using them (mainly youth).

Regarding the types of euphemisms, just like in the preceding section, all euphemisms used for male sexual organs belong to the traditional type, meaning that Swahili speakers use these expressions (for the particular organ) to avoid the shame that would be caused by talking about this organ with the explicit term. These expressions are thus aimed at showing civility in the use of language.

#### 4.2.1.3 Euphemisms used for female sexual organ

The female sexual organ is another aspect that is generally considered taboo and therefore avoided to be mentioned explicitly in public. As is the case with the male sexual organ, the female sexual organ is not entertained to be spoken plainly in many communities, including in the Swahili-speaking community. Consequently, it has resulted in the formation of various euphemistic expressions as a way of avoiding mentioning it (this organ) directly in public. In this part, euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers when talking about this organ are presented and analysed. Reflect on the findings presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Euphemisms used for female sexual organ

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Uke* | womanhood | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Utamu* | sweetness | 157 | 40.9 |
| *Tunda* | fruit | 222 | 57.8 |
| *Mzigo* | luggage | 148 | 38.5 |
| *‘K’* | short form for female sexual organ | 26 | 6.8 |
| *Chini* | down | 171 | 44.5 |

The female sexual organ is euphemised with various expressions that have various degrees of formality. The expression "uke" is the most formal of all and depicts an organ distinguishing a woman from a man (the opposite of "*uume*"). It is an expression that is used in professional settings like hospitals, legal, and religious settings. Although many people are very hesitant to talk about the female sexual organ, a majority of Swahili speakers feel relieved when they use this expression instead of using a more direct term. The use of other expressions appearing here depends on the relationship between interlocutors. To understand them, one needs to understand the context in which they are used. The shortened form of the female sexual organ, "K," is mostly preferred by youth, especially males.

It is only one of these expressions (uke) that was most frequently preferred by the involved respondents (99.7%). The reason it scored this percentage of use is its level of formality (it is the most formal), making it a favourite expression for a large portion of the population among speakers of this language. Four of these expressions were less frequently used by these speakers. Among them are "K" (6.8%), mzigo (38.5%), utamu (40.9%), and chini (44.5%). The expression "K" scored this percentage of use since it is mostly used by youth (especially males) than other social strata like elders. Only one expression, "tunda," was fairly used by these speakers (57.8%).

In the context of the types of euphemisms used, it is evident that only traditional types of these expressions were used by these speakers, indicating that these speakers use euphemistic expressions for female sexual organs as a concealing strategy rather than for funny, entertaining, and uplifting strategies.

#### 4.2.1.4 Euphemisms used for sodomy

Merriam-Webster (2022) defines sodomy as anal or oral copulation with a member of the same or opposite sex. This act is considered a crime against nature by many societies. Although this term also means copulation with an animal, in the current study, attention is only paid to anal copulation. This act is highly forbidden in the Swahili-speaking community, making people talk about it using roundabout expressions. Table 4.4 presents euphemisms that are applied by Swahili speakers when talking about this dreadful practice.

Table 4.4: Euphemisms used to refer to sodomy

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Kulawitiwa* | buggery | 382 | 99.5 |
| *Kufanyiwa ufirauni* | cruelty/sexual harassment | 349 | 90.9 |
| *Kuingiliwa kinyume na maumbile* | to be entered contrary to nature | 364 | 94.8 |
| *Kunajisiwa* | to be defiled | 370 | 96.4 |

Euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers to talk about sodomy are those that refer to this act as a barbaric one. They all denote that this act does not need to be entertained. The two expressions kulawitiwa and kunajisiwa rank highly in terms of formality of use. They are expressions that can be used in all formal settings. The remaining two expressions are less formal, though they are used by all social groups depending on the social setting in which one is engaged in communication. None of these expressions decorates the taboo theme they are euphemising as the act itself is perceived as being of great offense.

As the data in Table 4.4 indicate, all of the euphemistic expressions used for this particular taboo theme have high frequencies of use. The probable reason is that this theme has few linguistic alternatives referring to it, making them much more familiar to the speakers of this language. Only one of these expressions, "kulawitiwa," was close to 100% in use, and this one is enough to tell why this expression is the most

formal of all.

Concerning the types of euphemisms these speakers resorted to, the findings reveal that all expressions belong to the traditional type, suggesting that these speakers use these expressions for politeness purposes rather than for self-uplift and entertainment.

#### 4.2.1.5 Euphemisms used for semen

Human semen is a protein-rich body fluid produced by the male reproductive organs (Gupta & Kumar, 2017). This fluid is forced to come out of this organ through the urinary tract. The decision to put this theme under the aspect of sex was prompted by the fact that, on many occasions, the production of this fluid is triggered sexually. Since the production of semen is associated with sexual activities, it is considered taboo among the Swahili-speaking community. This has made it to be evaded to be discussed openly using the direct term. Thus, several euphemisms have been formed as a way of avoiding talking about it in straight language. This section presents and analyses euphemisms used by Swahili speakers when they talk about semen. Consider the data presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Euphemisms used to talk about semen

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Mbegu (za kiume)* | (male) seeds | 381 | 99.2 |
| *Watoto* | children | 242 | 63.0 |
| *Mkojo mweupe* | white urine | 139 | 36.2 |
| *Mkojo mzito* | heavy urine | 124 | 32.3 |
| *Mkojo wa mtu mzima* | adult’s urine | 186 | 48.4 |
| *Wazungu* | whitemen | 146 | 38.0 |
| *Maji ya uzima* | water of life | 219 | 57.0 |
| *Maji ya baraka* | water of blessing | 212 | 55.2 |

The findings contained in Table 4.5 reveal that Swahili speakers use a variety of euphemisms to refer to semen. Only one euphemism (mbegu za kiume) used here has a close association with the referred theme, while other euphemisms’ associations with the referent are farfetched. One needs to be familiar with the context to understand the meaning of the euphemisms that have no close association with the theme to which they are referring. The only property that makes most of them have some association with the referent is their watery nature, which is the property of semen. The most formal euphemism is mbegu za kiume which can be used in most formal settings such as hospitals and legal settings. The less formal euphemistic expressions are mostly used by youths. Except for the expression mbegu (za kiume) which can be understood outside the context, other expressions are context-dependent for their meanings to be comprehended.

The most frequently used of these expressions is mbegu za kiume, with 99.2% of use from these respondents. This rate of use is triggered by the formality of this expression. Four of these expressions were less frequently preferred, and they include mkojo mzito (32.3%), mkojo mweupe (36.2%), wazungu (38.0%), and mkojo wa mtu mzima (48.4%). These expressions are mostly favoured by youths. This makes them have a low frequency of use since they are mostly preferred by a small proportion of the population. The three remaining expressions, maji ya baraka, maji ya uzima, and watoto were somewhat utilised by these speakers, suggesting that they are probably not familiar to a majority of them or that their level of formality makes them less favoured among them.

Regarding the types of euphemisms used by these speakers, the findings reveal that all of the expressions found here belong to the traditional type, showing that speakers of this language use euphemisms for this theme more for politeness than for other reasons like amusing and entertaining.

#### 4.2.1.6 Euphemisms used for orgasm

Orgasm refers to the moment of greatest pleasure and excitement in a sexual act (Cambridge English Dictionary, 2022). This moment is perceived as the climax of a journey (of copulation). Based on the action that leads to its occurrence (coitus), this act is considered taboo in many communities, including among Swahili speakers. This has motivated the formation of various euphemistic expressions to talk about this moment in "diplomatic" language. Table 4.6 presents the euphemistic expressions that are used by Swahili speakers to refer to orgasm.

Table 4.6: Euphemisms used for orgasm

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Kufika kileleni* | getting to the peak | 374 | 97.4 |
| *Kukojoa* | urinating | 243 | 63.3 |
| *Kurusha maji* | throwing water | 176 | 45.8 |
| *Kumaliza safari* | finishing the journey | 374 | 97.4 |
| *Kuridhika* | to get satisfied | 177 | 46.1 |
| *Kutoa wazungu* | to produce white men | 187 | 48.7 |
| *Kutoa oili* | to give out oil | 117 | 30.5 |

Some of the euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers for orgasm reflect the nature of the process itself. The expressions kufika kileleni and kumaliza safari indicate that a certain process was going on and something brought it to a halt. Orgasm is a sign of sexual satisfaction, and no wonder the expression kuridhika is used by Swahili speakers for this situation. The expressions kurusha maji and kukojoa are a reflection of what happens during orgasm (forcing semen out through the urinary tract). The expression "kutoa wazungu" has no close association with the process euphemised. Perhaps the association is built around the colour (white) of the fluid that is forced out. Likewise, the expression "kutoa oili" is perhaps associated with the nature of the fluid that is forced out during this process (semen is a naturally thick fluid). Of all these expressions, kufika kileleni is the one that is mostly used in formal settings and is used by all social groups. The use of other expressions depends on the social context in which one is involved in the communicative exchange.

The data in Table 4.6 demonstrate that only two of those expressions, kufika kileleni and kumaliza safari, were highly preferred by Swahili speakers, with each having 97.4% of use. Only one expression, kukojoa, was used moderately, while the remaining expressions were less frequently used. The variation in the percentage of using these expressions was probably triggered by the levels of formality of these expressions. The most formal ones had high percentages of usage, while the less formal ones had low percentages of usage.

Concerning the types of euphemisms used, it is observable that all of the expressions presented in Table 4.6 fall under the traditional type. This indicates that Swahili speakers use these expressions as a way of concealing embarrassment that can occur if the direct term is used.

#### 4.2.1.7 Euphemisms used for sexual drive

Sexual drive is the situation where someone is in (excessive) sexual desire. Just like is the case in other communities, this situation is perceived as a taboo among Swahili speakers, and therefore, several euphemisms have been created to satisfy the need of keeping away from mentioning the direct term referring to this situation. Table 4.7 presents the euphemisms that are employed by Swahili speakers when discussing sexual drive/desire.

Table 4.7: Euphemisms used for sexual drive

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| Midadi | the sexual desire | 357 | 93.0 |
| Mshawasha | strong sexual feelings | 307 | 79.9 |
| Hanjamu | sexual feelings | 266 | 69.3 |
| Ukame | drought | 336 | 87.5 |
| Ugwadu | urge for sex | 328 | 85.4 |

Table 4.7 contains the euphemisms that Swahili speakers prefer to use when talking about the sexual drive. The expressions midadi, mshawasha, hanjamu, and ugwadu all refer to sexual feelings that may hang around one’s body and make one crave sex. The expression "ukame," when used in the context of sexual desire, refers to the situation where someone has not engaged in sexual acts for a relatively long time, which makes him feel wanting to have sex (to get out of the drought facing him). Ukame is used more by males than by females. These expressions are understood in a given context, and their use depends on a given social context. The use of these expressions is influenced by the relationship prevailing between the interlocutors. Only one expression, midadi, was highly used by these speakers, with 93.0%, while the remaining expressions were used moderately. The possible reason for this variation in percentage is personal preference. On some occasions, one may prefer a certain expression and disfavour others, hence affecting the percentages of using these expressions.

Regarding the types of euphemisms used for this theme by these speakers, the results indicate that Swahili speakers only resorted to using the traditional type, implying that their use of these expressions for this aspect is focused on keeping faces among interlocutors.

#### 4.2.1.8 Euphemisms used for penis erection

Penis erection is the situation of a man’s sexual organ becoming stiff, swollen, and sticking up following sexual arousal (Collins Dictionary, 2022). As it is associated with sexual organs and sexual feelings, this process is perceived as taboo among Swahili speakers. This has made it to be euphemised. Table 4.8 presents euphemisms that Swahili speakers prefer to use when talking about penis erections.

Table 4.8: Euphemisms used for penis erection

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Jogoo kuwika* | rooster crowing | 382 | 99.5 |
| *Kusimamisha* | erecting | 353 | 91.9 |
| *Jogoo kupanda mtungi* | cock-up | 378 | 98.4 |

As the findings presented in Table 4.8 demonstrate, this aspect is not highly euphemised by Swahili speakers. The euphemisms used for this act reflect the activeness of the male sexual organ. When one’s "cock" is crowing, it is a sign of virility. Thus, the expressions jogoo kuwika and jogoo kupanda mtungi indicate that someone’s penis is erecting or is active. This is also true with the expression kusimamisha, which, when used in the context of sex, means to erect. Just like other euphemisms, these ones need to be used in a specific context for them to be understood. Frequency-wise, all expressions show that they were highly preferred by these speakers. This signifies that these expressions are understood by a majority of Swahili speakers and are also highly used by most of the social groups in evading direct mention of penis erection.

Regarding the types of euphemisms used by Swahili speakers to talk about this aspect, the data indicate that only the traditional type appears to be featured by these speakers. This entails that these speakers use these expressions not for entertainment and social cohesion but to conceal the shame and embarrassment that would result had they opted to use the disturbing direct term for this theme.

### 4.2.2 Euphemisms used for a pregnant woman

Even though being pregnant is accepted as a delightful period of a woman’s life, a variety of euphemisms are formed in various languages, Swahili included, to substitute the explicit expression referring to this situation. These expressions are used either to hide pregnancy or to refer to it funnily. There are several different ways of euphemising this situation in Swahili. Table 4.9 presents euphemisms that are preferred by Swahili speakers when they refer to this situation.

Table 4.9: Euphemisms referring to pregnant woman

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Mjamzito* | expecting | 384 | 100 |
| *Mama kijacho* | expecting mother | 332 | 86.5 |
| *Meneja* | manager | 381 | 99.2 |

As the data in Table 4.9 indicate, this theme is not highly euphemised by Swahili speakers. The expressions contained in Table 4.9 reflect the physical appearance of the referent and the expectations built on a person who is undergoing this situation. The expressions "mjamzito" and "meneja" are associated with the way a pregnant woman usually looks. A woman who is pregnant usually looks fatter (the probable reason for the formation of mjamzito) than a woman who is not pregnant. Meneja is normally viewed as someone prosperous, which is reflected in their physical appearance (which is normally fat). The other expression, "mama kijacho," is associated with the fact that a pregnant woman is expected to bring new life into the world soon. Of all the three expressions, mjamzito is the most formal, and it can be used in all formal contexts. The expressions mjamzito and mama kijacho can be understood even without being familiar with the context, while the expression meneja is context-dependent for it to be understood.

Two of these expressions were most frequently used with one of them, mjamzito, showing 100% of use, while the other one, meneja, shows 99.2 % of use. The other expression, mama kijacho, was moderately used, at 86.5% of use. The high scores depicted in these expressions indicate that the majority of Swahili speakers are knowledgeable about these expressions and consider them the polite ones when talking about being pregnant.

All these expressions fall under the traditional type of euphemisms, meaning that these expressions are geared toward avoiding embarrassment of using the direct term which is considered a taboo among Swahili speakers.

### 4.2.3 Euphemisms used for a prostitute woman

A prostitute woman is any woman who engages herself in sexual activities in exchange for payment. In the past, prostitution was legal and was practised publicly in ancient Rome (Sanger, 2015). Nevertheless, this practice became a crime (a transgression against human and divine law) after the transmission of syphilis was associated with it (Harper et al., 2008). Thus, prostitutes and prostitution are considered taboo in many societies, including in the Swahili-speaking community. Various euphemisms have been coined to substitute the expression for prostitute woman among Swahili speakers. Table 4.10 presents euphemisms that are preferred by Swahili speakers to replace the explicit term, which refers to the same.

Table 4.10: Euphemisms referring to prostitute woman

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Changudoa* | someone selling herself | 379 | 98.7 |
| *Mdangaji* | the one exchanging sex for money | 350 | 91.1 |
| *Kirukanjia* | someone unsettled | 354 | 92.2 |
| *Kurumbembe* | unsettled woman | 344 | 89.6 |
| *Dada poa* | cheap lady | 372 | 96.9 |
| *Anayejiuza* | someone selling herself | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Jamvi la wageni* | strangers mat | 381 | 99.2 |

The expressions presented in Table 4.10 reveal that the euphemised theme is not only taboo but also unacceptable. As Table 4.10 reveals, one of these euphemisms is losing its positive connotation and is turning into a nearly taboo word. The expression "changudoa," although it was used to avoid the unpleasantness of using the direct term, is taking on a more negative tone than it was intended to, making it evolve into dysphemism. The expressions changudoa, mdangaji, and dada poa can be understood even without considering the context of their usage. The remaining expressions may require context to be understood.

In the context of the types of euphemisms used, the findings show that it is the traditional type that was featured here by these speakers. This implies that Swahili speakers tend to use these expressions only for avoiding negative face which would result from using the direct term.

As the statistical figures demonstrate, all but one expression, kurumbembe, which was itself close to 90%, were used above 90%. This reveals that a majority of Swahili speakers are conscious of the vulgarity of the direct Swahili term referring to a prostitute woman, and they are conscious of the expressions that can soften the impoliteness embedded in the direct term. This is the probable reason why most of the expressions used here have high frequencies of use.

### 4.2.4 Euphemisms preferred for bodily emissions

There are various bodily functions that involve the emission/removal of matter from our bodies. People from different societies think about these emissions with varying degrees of revulsion. Some of these emissions are considered taboo by Swahili speakers. This has attracted several euphemisms for the sake of talking about those emissions in a good-mannered way. In the subsequent sections, the euphemisms of some of those emissions that are considered taboos by Swahili speakers are presented.

#### 4.2.4.1 Euphemisms used for menstruation

Menstruation refers to the process of shading blood by a mature woman every month through her sexual organ (Njoroge & Mukhwana, 2015). For hygienic purposes, many cultures tend to use some soft absorbing materials that are worn in this organ to prevent the spread of the flowing blood. A large number of societies and cultures perceive menstruation as taboo, and this has given rise to euphemisms to prevent the direct mention of this act. In Table 4.11, the euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers to refer to this process are presented.

Table 4.11: Euphemisms referring to menstruation

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Kuwa katika siku* | to be on days/to be on one’s days | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Kunyesha mvua* | showering rain | 342 | 89.1 |
| *Kuwa mchafu* | to be dirty | 354 | 92.2 |
| *Kupata wageni* | to be visited by strangers | 372 | 96.9 |
| *Kuwa mwezini* | to be on the moon/ moon time | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Kuvuja* | to leak | 327 | 85.2 |

The euphemisms presented in Table 4.11 are the more polite expressions Swahili speakers prefer to use to refer to menstruation. One of the reasons these expressions are used is to make members of this community think of this act as normal and to prepare the young girls who will face this situation in the near future to not be afraid of it. Some of the euphemisms used here, however, still do not view menstruation as a normal thing. The expression kuwa mchafu, for instance, indicates that some Swahili speakers still have a negative perception about this situation. This perception is probably influenced by the fact that, before the introduction of sanitary pads, women used rags to protect them from the blood flow, which probably did not ensure them 100% protection. Nonetheless, given that not all can afford to buy the pads, chances are that some women and girls still use rags as absorbers of the flowing blood, which may not ensure them maximum protection. Most of the expressions used here are context-dependent, without which they may mean other things. The expression kuwa mwezini, for instance, when used out of context, may mean to be on the moon (a planetary object).

As the data indicate, three of these expressions recorded a high frequency of use, which is above 90%, whereas two of them were close to 100%. The remaining two expressions were used at 85.2% and 89.1%. This is an indicator that most Swahili speakers are knowledgeable about these expressions, and most of them use them irrespective of their social differences.

All these expressions belong to the traditional type of euphemisms indicating that these expressions are used by these speakers to hide the shame resulting from speaking explicitly about the term referring to this situation. None of the euphemism was used for amusement or for maintaining social cohesion/bond.

#### 4.2.4.2 Euphemisms referring to defecation

Even though excretion is a normal and very important biological process without which one may encounter serious health complications, the act of eliminating waste matter through the large intestine and out to the anal passage is perceived as having taboo connotations. It is only in China where it can be done in a company; in other parts of the world, it is done privately and behind closed doors (George, 2008). People belonging to different cultures tend to be reluctant to deal with human defecation using straightforward terms and are thus inclined to soften the effect of what they wish to communicate by using euphemisms. In the Swahili-speaking community, this process is discussed with various euphemistic expressions. Table 4.12 presents euphemisms that are favourably used by Swahili speakers to refer to this process.

Table 4.12: Euphemisms used for defecation

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Kujisaidia* | to help oneself | 384 | 100 |
| *Kusafisha tumbo* | to clean the stomach | 379 | 98.7 |
| *Kunyoosha utumbo* | to stretch the intestine | 363 | 94.5 |
| *Kutoa vyakula* | to eject food | 197 | 51.3 |
| *Kukata gogo* | to cut log | 168 | 43.8 |
| *Kupunguza uzito* | to reduce weight | 352 | 91.7 |
| *Kuchimba dawa* | to dig up herbs | 381 | 99.2 |
| *Kwenda msalani* | to go to toilet | 384 | 100 |
| *Kwenda chooni* | to go to toilet | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Kukamua utumbo* | to squeeze intestine | 328 | 85.4 |
| *Kwenda haja kubwa* | to go for long call | 382 | 99.5 |

As the findings presented in Table 4.12 indicate, there are various euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers to refer to defecation (which is kunya in Swahili) politely. To show how detestable this act is, it is usually done in seclusion by adult members of Swahili in a place called "choo" (toilet). It is interesting to find that even the location where the faeces are disposed of is also euphemised in some expressions (see kwenda msalani, where msalani is a replacement for the rather impolite term choo). While most of the expressions are used by all social groups, the expression kukata gogo is much preferred by youth, especially males. The expressions kujisaidia, kwenda msalani, kwenda haja kubwa are more formal compared to other expressions. The reason why kwenda chooni is less formal is that it has the expression choo which is sometimes euphemised with the expression msalani or maliwatoni in some cases.

As Table 4.12 indicates, the most frequently employed euphemisms are kupunguza uzito (91.7%), kunyoosha utumbo (94.5%), kusafisha utumbo (98.7%), kuchimba dawa (99.2%), kwenda chooni (99.7%), kujisaidia (100%), and kwenda msalani (100%). One of the expressions shown in the table, kukata gogo, was less frequently used (43.8%), and the other one, kutoa vyakula, was moderately used. These data reveal that a majority of Swahili speakers understand that defecation has a taboo connotation and are knowledgeable of the various expressions used in lubricating the rather harsh direct term used in this language for this process/practice. Regarding the types of euphemisms used, the data demonstrate that only traditional euphemisms were resorted to by Swahili speakers in talking about this aspect.

#### 4.2.4.3 Euphemisms referring to farting

Farting (also called flatulence or passing wind) is the process of passing gas from the digestive system through the back passage (Robertson, 2021). Although farting is a normal biological process, it is considered taboo by many communities, including the Swahili-speaking community. Talking directly about this situation is a face-threatening act that may cause embarrassment to the communicators. Even people who experience this situation (unintentionally or deliberately) feel embarrassed. The main reason why people feel embarrassed when they fart is perhaps the bad smell that usually accompanies this situation. Thus, Swahili speakers tend to use some linguistic equivalents as they talk about this process. Table 4.13 presents euphemisms employed by Swahili speakers to talk about farting.

Table 4.13: Euphemisms used for farting

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Kupumua* | to breath | 373 | 97.1 |
| *Kutoa hewa chafu* | to release dirty gas | 379 | 98.7 |
| *Kutoa upepo* | to release wind | 382 | 99.5 |

The euphemisms that are used for farting are associated with air/wind, the substance that is emitted during this process. These expressions are context-dependent for them to be understood. Although the expression kutoa hewa chafu has a close association with the gas that is emitted during farting, it also requires context to be understood since dirty gas can be emitted by different things like cars, industries, and other machines. The statistical data indicated in Table 4.13 reveal that all of these expressions were highly preferred by these speakers. This implies that Swahili speakers are knowledgeable about the impoliteness of the explicit expression for the specified aspect and are conscious of the euphemistic expressions that can soften the offensiveness of this theme. Since all of these expressions focus on maintaining the faces of interlocutors when talking about this theme, they all fall under the category of traditional euphemisms. Not even one of these expressions was used to amuse or entertain.

### 4.2.5 Euphemisms used for diseases

Many people are afraid of diseases, which is the main reason triggering the creation of disease euphemisms. Some of today’s most serious diseases, particularly those that are associated with death, such as cancer and AIDS, are still considered taboo by many people. This has stirred people to think of different linguistic substitutions for the direct terms referring to diseases. The following subsections present euphemisms that are preferred by Swahili speakers when talking about some diseases.

#### 4.2.5.1 Euphemisms referring to AIDS

AIDS is a very dangerous disease that is feared by many people. The disease has had a devastating impact as it has contributed to the loss of many lives. AIDS is associated with sex and death, the two topics that are highly considered taboos by speakers from different communities. These motives have caused people from various cultural backgrounds, including Swahili speakers, to form various euphemisms to avoid mentioning the disease directly. Swahili speakers have coined various euphemistic expressions to talk about this disease in a more polite and fearless way. The euphemisms Swahili speakers use for AIDS are presented in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Euphemisms used for AIDS

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Miwaya* | Wires | 375 | 97.7 |
| *Umeme* | electricity | 337 | 87.8 |
| *Ngoma* | Drum | 364 | 94.8 |
| *Malaria ya kisasa* | modern malaria | 360 | 93.8 |
| *Moto* | Fire | 319 | 83.1 |

The used expressions apart from showing some kinds of stigma, also depict that the signified disease is dangerous and inform that one should beware of the disease. The stigma is largely associated with the notion that this disease is a result of engaging in unacceptable sexual behaviour (normally unprotected sex). This stigmatisation does not involve the public only; it also involves medical practitioners (see Famoroti, Fernandes, & Chima, 2013). Due to the newness of the disease, some of the euphemistic expressions that have been formed have no close association with the referred term. The expression ngoma, for instance, has no close association with the taboo expression. The expression malaria ya kisasa just shows how terrifying and deadly the disease is. Before the inception of AIDS, malaria was one of the leading life-consuming diseases. It is no wonder the newly coming disease (AIDS) was euphemised malaria ya kisasa. Some of the expressions presented here for this theme are found in the work of Lonyangapuo (2014), where the terms kukanyaga waya (stepping on the wire) and ngoma are used among Kenyans. Thus, anyone who is the victim of this disease is thought of as having stepped on the (live) wire, a symbolism of danger.

Three of these expressions were highly preferred, while the remaining two were moderately preferred. This entails that a large number of Swahili speakers are aware of the linguistic alternatives for the rather taboo Swahili term for AIDS. In the context of types of euphemisms used, the findings show that it is only traditional euphemisms that were preferred by these speakers to talk about AIDS.

#### 4.2.5.2 Euphemisms used for a mentally ill person

Many people avoid using terms that otherwise have negative connotations when talking about people who are mentally challenged. They instead use euphemisms for the sake of sounding polite and even showing sympathy to the referent. In this section, the forms of euphemisms that are employed by Swahili speakers when talking about a person who is mentally ill are presented and analysed. These expressions are presented in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Euphemisms referring to a mentally ill person

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Mwenye wazimu* | Insane | 382 | 99.5 |
| *Chizi* | Madman | 366 | 95.3 |
| *Mlemavu wa akili* | mentally impaired person | 359 | 93.5 |
| *Punguani* | Idiot | 177 | 46.1 |

As the data presented in Table 4.15 demonstrate, not all expressions employed by Swahili speakers are sympathetic to the referent. This means that the expressions used for this theme are directed more towards saving the faces of interlocutors than saving the face of the referent. The expressions punguani and chizi, for instance, have somehow a negative tone to the referent. The most formal expression of these euphemisms is the phrase mlemavu/mgonjwa wa akili. This expression can substitute the taboo term for this aspect in all formal settings. Having a medical background, the expression can also be used in medical settings, though it is known that, in most cases, medical practitioners use words as they are (they use fewer euphemisms; see also Njoroge & Mukhwana, 2015). As the table demonstrates, three of these expressions ranked high in preference (above 90%) while one of them was less favoured (41.6%). This means that most Swahili speakers understand the polite expressions that are to be used to refer to a mentally ill person in a polite way. Regarding the types of euphemisms used, reflection on the data discloses that all expressions presented here fall under the traditional type.

### 4.2.6 Euphemisms used for body morphology

Body shape and morphology, such as size and height, may be somewhat bizarre, which may make one uncomfortable talking about them openly. This makes them to create some linguistic terms which may make the referent feel not embarrassed or offended. These euphemisms are used in contexts where using the direct term may cause disturbance to the referent. In the following subsections, euphemisms that are preferred by Swahili speakers to talk about skinny and obese persons are presented and analysed.

#### 4.2.6.1 Euphemisms used for a skinny person

While being thin is a normal thing for many people, some people feel uncomfortable talking about this situation using direct terms, especially about the people who were formerly fat. Hence, some euphemisms are formed to talk about other people’s thinness without offending them. Table 4.16 presents euphemisms that are preferred by Swahili speakers when referring to skinniness (kukonda in Swahili).

Table 4.16: Euphemisms referring to a skinny person

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Kuwa mwembamba* | to become thin | 384 | 100 |
| *Kuwa modo* | to become model | 88 | 22.9 |
| *Kupungua* | to lose weight | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Kimbaumbau* | a very thin person | 349 | 90.9 |
| *Kuchonga* | sculptured | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Kuchoka* | to become tired | 364 | 94.8 |

These euphemisms are used to protect the faces of the referents and show that thinness is a normal thing. The euphemisms kuwa mwembamba, kuwa modo, and kimbaumbau are normally used as polite linguistic forms to refer to someone who is naturally skinny or to someone who was formerly fat and now has become thin/skinny. The expression kupungua is generally used to refer to someone who was formerly fat and now has become thin. There are various reasons that can make one become thin. One can become thin by their wishes or by being faced with life hardships like diseases, stresses and other cares of life. Kuchonga and kuchoka are expressions that usually refer to people who have become thin due to being troubled by life. Nonetheless, the use of these expressions depends on the social context in which one is engaging in interlocution. While the expressions kuwa mwembamba and kupungua can be used in formal settings, the remaining ones can only be used in informal settings. As the data indicate, all but one expression, kuwa modo, were most preferred by these speakers. All these expressions belong to the traditional type of euphemisms, as they are all used to protect the faces of the speaker and the audience when talking about this aspect.

#### 4.2.6.2 Euphemisms used for an obese person

Becoming obese (kunenepa) may be embarrassing to some people as it may change the shape and general appearance of someone. This situation may also affect the general functioning of the body (especially physical activities). Good-mannered people avoid talking directly about other people’s (even their own) state of being fat. Jing-Schmidt (2021) posits that euphemisms describing overweight people are commonly used in cultures where the ideal body is skinny. However, there is no ideal body size in the Swahili-speaking community. The euphemisms employed by these speakers are mainly aimed at talking about one’s body size in a respectful manner. Table 4.17 presents euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers to talk about one’s state of being obese.

Table 4.17: Euphemisms for an obese person

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Kuongezeka* | to gain weight | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Kuwa na afya* | to become healthier | 372 | 96.9 |
| *Tipwatipwa* | to become plump | 316 | 82.3 |
| *Kunawiri* | appear nourished | 382 | 99.5 |
| *Kupendeza* | to look good | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Bonge* | to become huge | 367 | 95.6 |
| *Kifutu* | to rise as dough, to swell | 331 | 86.2 |

The euphemistic expressions used here are aimed at protecting the dignity of a particular group (people who are obese). Protection is ideal when direct and precise expressions run the risk of offending and discriminating particular groups. Most of the expressions used here refer to a state of becoming large-sized in a more positive way (for protecting the dignity of the referents and the faces of the communicators). The expressions kuongezeka and kunawiri, for example, refer to the situation where someone who was formerly skinny has now gained weight and seems nourished. Saying someone is nourished to mean they have gained weight has a positive tone than using a more direct term for becoming fat (kunenepa). Nonetheless, the use of some expressions appearing here depends on the relationship existing between the interlocutors and the context of communication. The expressions tipwatipwa, bonge, and kifutu can only be used in less formal settings where interlocutors are well acquainted with each other. Most of these expressions were most frequently preferred by the respondents, with only one being used moderately (86.2%). Concerning the types of euphemisms that were preferred by Swahili speakers, the presented data indicate that only the traditional type was used by these speakers for this aspect.

### 4.2.7 Euphemisms for themes related to death

Themes related to death and dying are among the most highly euphemised across societies (Hughes, 2000; Mey, 2001). The following sections present and analyse various euphemisms that Swahili speakers prefer to use when discussing a range of aspects related to death.

#### 4.2.7.1 Euphemisms for death

Death is one of the experiences that cannot be discussed without linguistic safeguards (Crespo-Fernandez, 2006). Enright (2004) asserts that people who euphemise death are motivated by a desire to avoid disturbing family members of the departed person and a fear of the unknown. As Allan and Burridge (1991) elaborate, euphemisms for death are stirred by five types of fears, which include fear of the loss of loved ones, fear of the corruption and disintegration of the body, fear that death is the end of life, fear of malevolent spirits, or fear of the souls of the dead, and fear of meaningless death.

Historically, death was a normal community event in homes all over and it was spoken openly and treated as a part of life (Donnelly, 1999). Time after time, for fear of it, people started to consider it a taboo (Lakasing, 2014; Li-na, 2015). Although people are reluctant to mention the subject of death, there are communicative circumstances in which one cannot avoid the notions of dying and death. In an attempt to avoid mentioning straightforwardly the Swahili expression for death, which is kufa (to die), various polite expressions have been coined to talk about this theme decently. Table 4.18 presents euphemisms that are preferred by Swahili speakers when they talk about death/dying.

Table 4.18: Euphemisms referring to death

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Kuaga dunia* | leaving the earth | 384 | 100 |
| *Kuhitimisha safari ya hapa duniani* | to end the journey on the earth | 384 | 100 |
| *Kuitwa na Mungu* | to be called by God | 382 | 99.5 |
| *Kulala usingizi wa mauti* | falling asleep to death | 384 | 100 |
| *Kuwatoka watu* | to leave people | 384 | 100 |
| *Kuzima* | to halt | 162 | 42.2 |
| *Kufumba macho* | to close eyes | 384 | 100 |
| *Kunyamaza* | to stop talking | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Kulala* | to sleep | 369 | 96.1 |
| *Kutangulia mbele za haki* | to go forth for justification | 384 | 100 |
| *Kupata msiba* | to be bereaved | 384 | 100 |
| *Mgonjwa amemaliza* | to complete (the journey) | 373 | 97.1 |
| *Kuhitajika* | to be needed | 168 | 43.8 |
| *Kufika hatma* | to get to the end | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Kupumzika* | to rest | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Kufariki dunia* | to get separated from the world | 384 | 100 |

As we can see from the findings presented in Table 4.18, euphemisms for death are pleasing ways of coping with the fearful and unpleasant reality of death. These euphemisms are used to substitute the term "death" for various reasons, such as people being worried about others' feelings. Thus, they use these expressions as a way of showing empathy. The other reason is associated with the religious perspective, where dead people are considered to go to a better place, preferably heaven (where they are imagined to live with God/Allah). As Ihtiyorjon and Sangcheol (2021) put it, humans tend to like being on the pleasant side of life, so they presume that when their loved ones die, they go to heaven. Thus, most of the euphemisms used for death have these orientations. The expressions presented here help to release the pressure of death and pretend that death is not such a big threat. This makes people trim down thoughts of death (as it is the fate of every human being living today).

Most of the expressions presented here were most favoured (above 90%) while only two of them, kuzima and kuhitajika, were less favoured.  The probable reason that these two expressions have low frequencies of use is that they are mostly preferred by youths over other groups. These findings enlighten us that these speakers are well knowledgeable of the various euphemisms that can be used to ease the tension caused by one’s demise and comfort the bereaved. Regarding the types of euphemisms used, the findings show that it is traditional euphemisms that these speakers prefer to use when talking about the theme of death. This implies that these speakers use these expressions as a way of avoiding sounding impolite and uncivilised.

#### 4.2.7.2 Euphemisms for a dead body

It is not only the act of dying that is considered taboo by people from different cultures; the state of the dead person is also perceived as taboo. Thus, people have created various euphemisms to talk politely about a dead body. Table 4.19 presents euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers when talking about a dead body (*maiti*).

Table 4.19: Euphemisms referring to dead body

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **(f)** | **(%)** |
| Mwili | Body | 384 | 100 |
| Mfu | Corpse | 384 | 100 |
| Marehemu | the deceased | 384 | 100 |

As it is seen in Table 4.19, all of the euphemistic expressions used here can be used in all formal contexts. While the expressions *mfu* and *marehemu* can be understood without considering the context of use, the remaining expression, *mwili* (body), is a context-dependent expression. The former two expressions literally mean that someone has departed from this world (even though the departed might not have been buried). The expression "mwili" simply refers to the lifelessness of the body (it is not a living body anymore) when it is used in the context of death. These expressions are used due to the fear of the state of the body after death and showing respect to the departed person, and to avoid offending hearers during interlocution. It is interesting to notice that all the euphemistic expressions presented here have 100% of use based on the respondents' responses. The conceivable reason for this is that the list of these expressions is short, which makes it easy for many speakers to be knowledgeable about them. Concerning the types of euphemisms under which these expressions fall, the data reveal that these expressions fall under traditional euphemisms as they are used as alternatives to a disfavourable expression to avoid possible loss of face.

#### 4.2.7.3 Euphemisms for burial activity

The practice of putting a dead body into the ground is feared by many people. This has made it one of the aspects that people feel relaxed talking about using roundabout expressions. Therefore, various euphemistic expressions have been formed by Swahili speakers to evade mentioning the burial activity openly. The euphemisms that are employed by Swahili speakers when talking about burial activity are presented in Table 4.20.

Table 4.20: Euphemisms referring to burial activity

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Kuhifadhi mwili* | to preserve the body | 384 | 100 |
| *Kusindikiza* | to see off (the body) | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Kumuweka (marehemu) kwenye nyumba yake ya milele* | to put the body in its eternal home | 382 | 99.5 |
| *Kupumzisha mwili* | to rest the body | 384 | 100 |

Just like in other euphemisms related to death, burial euphemisms are used to shoot out the fear that is attached to it. The expressions presented in Table 4.20 are considered politer than the Swahili direct term *kuzika* (to bury), which is considered a taboo among Swahili speakers. Thus, the expressions *kuhifadhi mwili*, *kusindikiza mwili*, *kupumzisha mwili*, and *kumuweka marehemu kwenye nyumba yake ya milele* are used as a way of showing politeness when talking about this practice in public. All of these expressions can be used in formal settings, and they can be understood even without considering their context of use. It is exciting to observe that two of these expressions were preferred by 100% by these speakers and the remaining two were very close to 100% of preference. This entails that a large portion of these speakers are cognizant of the polite expressions to be used in polite settings to refer to burial activity. All these expressions represent traditional euphemisms as they aim at saving the face of speakers when talking about this aspect.

#### 4.2.7.4 Euphemisms for grave

The grave is another aspect related to death that many people are so afraid of talking about directly. Since it is a place where dead bodies are put to decay, some people have fear of even walking over or near this ground. Perhaps people’s imagination of what is happening in the grave after burial is the main reason why they are afraid of this place. Therefore, some euphemistic expressions have been created in order to talk about it (the grave) in a fairly fearless way. Table 4.21 contains the euphemisms that are favoured by Swahili speakers to talk about a grave.

Table 4.21: Euphemisms referring to grave

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Malaloni* | sleeping area | 382 | 99.5 |
| *Nyumba ya milele* | eternal home | 296 | 77.1 |
| *Mavani* | burial place | 383 | 99.7 |
| *Mwanandani* | enclave in a grave | 381 | 99.2 |

The euphemisms presented in Table 4.21 reflect the perception that people have about the grave. Swahili speakers view a grave as a place where dead bodies are laid. This reflects what happens during burial activities, where the dead body is laid in the hole dug, which is termed "kaburi" in Swahili. The term malaloni is used in a diplomatic way to avoid using the direct expression. The expression nyumba ya milele has some religious backgrounds (in the Holy Bible, see Punt, 2009), where people believe that when one is buried, they stay in the grave forever. The expression mavani is simply a burial place, an expression considered by Swahili speakers to be more polite for grave than the more explicit term. The expression mwanandani, which is a small enclave in a grave where a dead body is laid, is used as a hyponym for the grave. These expressions are used in order to frustrate emotions and feelings of fear aroused by mentioning kaburi (grave), the expression that is considered impolite.

As it is observable in Table 4.21, three out of four expressions were highly favoured by the respondents. The remaining one was moderately preferred. This means that Swahili speakers consider grave as a taboo theme, and a majority of them understand the euphemisms that can be employed to diminish the impropriety contained in the term. All these expressions fall under the traditional type of euphemisms as they all focus on averting the offensiveness that is attached to the direct term for the grave in the Swahili-speaking community.

### 4.2.8 Euphemisms for corruption

Ekiyor (2009) defines corruption (*rushwa*) as the unlawful use of official power or influence by a government official, either to enrich himself or further his course and/or any other person at the expense of the public, in contravention of his oath of office and/or contrary to the conventions or laws that are in force. In the context of describing or referring to corrupt practices, euphemisms are used to make this behaviour more acceptable to the casual listener and society at large. Table 4.22 presents euphemisms that are employed by Swahili speakers when talking about corruption.

Table 4.22: Euphemisms preferred for corruption

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Euphemism*** | ***Gloss*** | ***(f)*** | ***(%)*** |
| *Mlungula* | a bribe | 172 | 44.8 |
| *Takrima* | hospitality allowance | 373 | 97.1 |
| *Ubadhirifu* | embezzlement | 374 | 97.4 |
| *Matumizi mabaya ya ofisi* | misuse of office | 375 | 97.7 |
| *Ufisadi* | corruption | 384 | 100 |
| *Kitu kidogo* | a small thing | 381 | 99.2 |

Although corruption is perceived as an illegal practice, some of the expressions used here try to paint this practice with good colour to make it look a normal and good practice in the society. The expressions takrima and kitu kidogo do not reflect the worseness of this particular practice. The expression takrima is common, especially in political settings, where one is persuaded to receive "an allowance" in order to make a decision in favour of someone who has given "the allowance" (takrima). This expression is very common during electoral campaigns where the contestants give bribe/allowance to the voters in hopes of persuading them to vote for them. The expression kitu kidogo is normally used in areas where various services are offered. Thus, for one to get a certain service, they have to give "a little thing" to the one who is offering the service. This is used in the same way as mlungula, where one has to give a bribe to get a certain service. The expressions ubadhirifu and matumizi mabaya ya ofisi all mean the act of one using the public office in any corrupt way for personal benefit. These ways may include signing corrupt contracts, violating procurement rules, or using the office or a position in the office to force sexual relations.

Percentage-wise, only one expression, mlungula, was less favourably used by these speakers (44.8%), while the remaining expressions were most preferred by these speakers, with one of them, ufisadi, having 100% of use from the respondents. This entails that a majority of Swahili speakers are mindful of the euphemisms used to talk about this practice in a less offensive language (even though the euphemised practice itself is immoral).

Concerning the types of euphemisms used, these findings publicise that only traditional euphemisms have been used for this practice by Swahili speakers. The use of these expressions aims to disguise the offensiveness of these corrupt acts and make them socially acceptable.

## 4.3 Strategies employed by Swahili speakers in forming euphemisms

There are numerous ways in which euphemisms are formed. Warren (1992) refers to these ways as euphemistic strategies. Warren came up with various strategies that speakers use to form euphemistic expressions. She classified these strategies into 16 types, which include: (1) compounding, (2) derivation, (3) blending, (4) acronyms, (5) onomatopoeia, (6) back slang, (7) rhyming slang, (8) phonemic replacement, (9) loan words, (10) particularisation, (11) implication, (12) metaphor, (13) metonym, (14) reversal or irony, (15) understatement, and (16) overstatement. These 16 strategies are derived from 4 main types, which include word formation devices, phonemic modification, loan words, and semantic innovation.

Warren's model is founded on the notion that novel contextual meanings are always created in language. This creation is governed by some rules, and the acceptability of these new meanings depends on the strength of links between the novel terms and their referents (Linfoot-Ham, 2005; Warren, 1992). This association results in the formation of euphemistic expressions.

Burridge (2012) came up with several processes of forming euphemisms to add to the ones that Warren proposed. The other strategies he identifies include irony, hyperbole, metaphor, acronyms, ellipsis, circumlocution, blending, reduplication, affixation, rhyming, and borrowing (internally and externally). The strategies proposed by Burridge overlap with some of the strategies found in Warren’s categorisation.

The strategies employed by Swahili speakers in forming euphemisms in their day-to-day communicative interactions are presented in the following subsections. These strategies are presented based on Burridge’s (2012) and Warren’s (1992) classifications. Since the line separating some of these categories is very narrow, the categorisation of these strategies is based on instinct. Warren’s (1992) comment on this is that intuition may be the only guide to be used in categorising euphemisms, as there is overlap in some of these strategies (where one expression may belong to more than one category). Those strategies are presented in the following subsections.

### 4.3.1 Metaphor

In linguistics, a metaphor is an implicit comparison between two dissimilar objects in such a way that the comparison results in aspects that normally apply to one object being transferred to or carried over to another object (Sopory & Dillard, 2002; Ullmann, 1972). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) view it as understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another, or as a tightly structured mapping or set of correspondences between two conceptual domains, which they refer to as the source and target domains. There is an obvious and close link between euphemisms and metaphors, particularly in terms of form and function. In the presentation of Swahili euphemisms that was done in the previous section, it is evident that there are various euphemistic expressions that were formed metaphorically. This section focuses on presenting various euphemisms that were created using metaphors to see how Swahili speakers conceptualise various themes that they euphemise.

#### 4.3.1.1 Metaphors for death

Death is among the many aspects that are tabooed in the Swahili-speaking community, and thus people use various euphemisms when referring either to death, dying, or the effects of death. Metaphorically, Swahili expressions referring to death are formed by relating dying or death in terms of other concepts or ideas. The following subsections describe the metaphors that are associated with death in Swahili.

##### **4.3.1.1.1 Death is a journey**

Conceptualising death as a journey is a situation of viewing the process of dying as travelling (leaving the world) and the dying person, in this sense, is conceptualised as the traveller. As Swahili speakers are forming their euphemisms, they apply this conceptualisation as some of the formed expressions associate death with travelling (leaving the world for another better place perceived by some people as heaven). This is depicted in expressions like kuaga dunia, kuwatoka watu and kutangulia mbele za haki. Associating death as a journey is based on the experience of the surrounding people not being able to feel the presence of a dead person anymore and that the dead person has presumably moved, or has been moved by someone or something to another place.

##### **4.3.1.1.2 Death is the end**

In addition to the above-presented realisation of death, Swahili speakers also view death as the end and destination of the journey. Based on this realisation, the expressions associated with death like kuhitimisha safari ya hapa duniani, kufika hatma, and mgonjwa amemaliza were preferred by Swahili speakers to refer to the specified aspect. In this conceptualisation, life and living are impliedly conceptualised as a journey and travelling correspondingly. Therefore, what goes on in these speakers’ minds when one dies is that the deceased has finished the journey of life.

##### **4.3.1.1.3 Death is a rest/sleep**

Death is often realised as a sleep or rest after a wearisome life. This happens, especially if the deceased suffered long-term ailments. It is also conceptualised this way since people perceive life as being filled with a lot of cares and sufferings. Consequently, when one dies, it is conceptualised as resting from the cares, sufferings, and troubles of this world. This conceptualisation is represented by Swahili expressions such as kupumzika (conceptualised as rest), kulala, kulala usingizi wa mauti, and kufumba macho (conceptualised as sleep).

##### **4.3.1.1.4 Death is a loss**

Swahili speakers also conceptualise death as a loss to people who were close to the departed person. This conceptualisation follows the categorisation offered by Bultinck (1998), where death is perceived as the loss of a precious life. Therefore, when one dies, people who were close to the deceased person express this act using the words of regret, deep sorrow, and great sadness which reflect the loss of someone who was so valuable in their life. In Swahili-speaking community, this conceptualisation is exemplified by the expression kuwatoka watu, indicating that someone has left some people.

##### **4.3.1.1.5 Death is the beginning of joyful life**

Death is also viewed as the beginning of a new life, which is thought to be better than the life we are currently living (here on earth). This is based on the assumption that life is a journey that is full of troubles and problems, and that when one dies, their soul is going to heaven to rest from the cares of the world. This makes people create euphemisms reflecting this conceptualisation. In the collected data, expressions like kutangulia mbele za haki, kuitwa na Mungu, kuhitajika (na Mungu) are used to show that when one dies, they are going to the place where God is, the place believed to be better and more peaceful than the world we are living in. This perception of death helps relieve the pain of being bereaved and makes the relatives of the deceased person forget the pain they are going through.

#### 4.3.1.2 Metaphors for sexual intercourse

Another area where metaphors are applied in forming euphemistic expressions is when people talk about sexual intercourse. Being one of the themes that attracts many euphemisms, sexual intercourse is realised using various metaphors. The metaphors that are used for sexual intercourse are presented in the following subsections.

##### **4.3.1.2.1 Sexual intercourse is a sleep**

This is one of many ways in which sexual intercourse is viewed by Swahili speakers. This is probably considered so because the act itself involves laying with somebody in bed (most often). Therefore, when one goes to have sex with someone, it is viewed as going to sleep with that person. The Swahili expression kulala (to sleep) is used as a metaphor for doing sexual act where to sleep with someone (of the opposite sex) means to have sex with someone. This expression is easily understood when it is used in a specific context. Out of this particular context, it will mean a different thing.

##### **4.3.1.2.2 Sexual intercourse is a way of finding/getting children**

Among speakers of Swahili, sexual intercourse is conceptualised as a way of finding children. It is easy to tell why these speakers conceptualise this practice this way. It is understood that the natural way of getting children is through copulation; so, when a male and female copulate, some people perceive this as a way of finding children. In this conceptualisation of sexual intercourse, the expression kutafuta watoto is so common. Again, this has to be understood in a particular context, without which it may lead to other interpretations (like finding the lost children). This way of conceptualising sex brings the interpretation that sex is solely aimed for reproduction purposes, while in the real sense, sex is also aimed for pleasure.

##### **4.3.1.2.3 Sexual intercourse is a marital right**

Sexual intercourse is also realised by Swahili speakers as a marital right. In this realisation, sexual intercourse is implicitly perceived as an act that is supposed to be performed by only married people. In this case, the expression kupata haki ya ndoa is used by these speakers. Based on this conceptualisation, therefore, anyone who is not married is not supposed to engage himself/herself in this act. This expression is mostly preferred by elders, who think that only adults who are married can enjoy copulation.

##### **4.3.1.2.4 Sexual intercourse is a sign of social bond**

Sexual intercourse is also conceptualised as a way of solidifying social bonds. Perhaps this is because the act itself involves physical contact (between man and woman) and involves intimacy and sometimes familiarity. Hence, people who are engaging in this act are metaphorically regarded as people who are cementing their social relationships. In Swahili, the expression kujamiiana (to socialise) is frequently used by all social groups as a euphemistic expression for sexual intercourse. Like in other expressions, this one has to be used in the context of sex, or else it brings other unintended interpretations.

##### **4.3.1.2.5 Sexual intercourse is eating something**

The act of mating (by man and woman) is also conceptualised by Swahili speakers as the act of eating something. When this conceptualisation is applied, the thing that is eaten is often considered delicious. Consequently, expressions like kula uroda, kula mzigo, kutafunana, and kula tunda are commonly used to signify that something is being eaten. These expressions are much favoured by youths, especially males, than elders. However, due to interaction existing between different social groups, even elders are also using these expressions, though not as much as they are used by youths.

#### 4.3.1.3 Metaphors for ejaculation

In the Swahili-speaking community, ejaculation is also spoken metaphorically, where the process of ejecting semen following maximum sexual excitement is associated with other processes. In the following subsections, the metaphors for ejaculation are presented and described.

##### **4.3.1.3.1 Ejaculation is the end of the journey**

This is one of many ways in which ejaculation is realised among Swahili speakers. In this kind of realisation, the acts that are involved during sexual intercourse are considered a journey, and thus, when individuals engaging in sexual acts get to the peak of excitement (the point resulting in ejaculation), they are considered to be getting to the end of their journey (of mating). This conceptualisation is represented by the expression kumaliza safari (to finish the journey). This expression requires specific context for it to be understood, otherwise it may lead to other meanings like literally getting to the end of the journey resulting from travelling or may mean death.

##### **4.3.1.3.2 Ejaculation is sexual satisfaction**

Satisfaction is an enjoyable feeling that one gets when they receive something they wanted, or when they have done something they wanted to do. When individuals involved in sexual acts ejaculate, they are perceived as having satisfied each other sexually after doing what they wanted to do (sex). Thus, when the expression kuridhika (to be/get satisfied) is used in the context of making love, it normally means to reach sexual satisfaction, which is, in most cases, associated with ejaculating.

##### **4.3.1.3.3 Ejaculation is urinating**

Ejaculation is also spoken euphemistically as the act of urinating. This is conceptualised this way because the watery fluid (semen) that is emitted during ejaculation is forced out via the male sexual organ opening, the same opening through which normal urine passes. Therefore, the process of ejaculating is sometimes likened to the process of urinating. Hence, the expression kukojoa (to urinate) is frequently used by Swahili speakers for this process. This kind of expression is much preferred by youths, especially males.

##### **4.3.1.3.4 Ejaculation is the throwing of water**

The act of forcing out semen after the maximum sexual arousal is sometimes spoken euphemistically and metaphorically as the process of throwing water (somewhere). The possible reason being that what is forced out is in watery form and it comes out with great force. Thus, the expression kurusha maji (to throw water) is used to mean to ejaculate, and it is a common expression among youth, particularly males.

##### **4.3.1.3.5 Ejaculation is reaching to the peak**

Ejaculation is also conceptualised as the process of reaching to the peak (of a hill), which is represented by the expression kufika kileleni. Based on this conceptualisation, the process of coitus is implicitly perceived as climbing a hill. As a result, when one reaches the peak of sexual excitement, which leads to ejaculation, they are considered to have reached the peak (of the hill), which metaphorically means getting to the peak of excitement following a series of sexual activities.

#### 4.3.1.4 Metaphors for the male sexual organ

There are several metaphors that are used to talk about male sexual organs. Most of these metaphors are created on the grounds of associating the physical form and the functions attached to this organ. These metaphors are presented in the following subsections:

##### **4.3.1.4.1 Male sexual organ is a long stiff object**

Swahili speakers conceptualise the male sexual organ as an object that is long and solid. Based on this conceptualisation, several euphemisms have been created as cover-up terms for the rather direct taboo term. The expressions mhogo wa jong’ombe, muwa, kiboko, ukuni, mpini, mkongojo, and mtaimbo are some of the common expressions that reflect this conceptualisation of this organ. These expressions are created based on the physical similarity of this organ with the terms it is likened to. These objects have long shapes that resemble the shape of a penis (male sexual organ). Thus, by comparing their forms (shapes), the speakers of this language have used these objects as a substitute for the direct term, which is offensive. Nonetheless, as is the case with other euphemisms, these also need to be used in a particular context, otherwise they will bring about other interpretations.

##### **4.3.1.4.2 The male sexual organ is a worm-like object**

Swahili speakers also view a male sexual organ as a worm-like object due to its physical similarity with a worm (earthworms). The body surface of the earthworm is divided into segments with furrows to mark the division between each segment. Its body structure resembles the structure of a male sexual organ, especially when on flaccid. The expression dudu, which is very common among Swahili speakers to refer to this organ, probably derives from this association. This expression is mostly preferred by youths. However, sometimes parents use this euphemism (dudu) to avoid making direct mention of the male sexual organ to their children. Thus, the concept of using euphemisms is built since children are very young.

#### 4.3.1.5 Metaphors for the female sexual organ

A female sexual body-part is attached to some metaphors based on its structure, location, and the sexual feelings attached to it. The following subsection presents the metaphor that is used by Swahili speakers in forming euphemisms referring to the female sexual organ.

##### **4.3.1.5.1 Female sexual organ is something pleasurable**

Swahili speakers conceptualise the female sexual organ as something sweet and therefore pleasurable. This has led to the formation of euphemistic expressions like utamu and tunda. The symbolisms of food and sweetness all refer to the feelings of pleasure attached to the female sexual organ (especially during sexual act). This kind of conceptualisation is more associated with the function of this organ than its structure.

#### 4.3.1.6 Metaphors for semen

Metaphors are used by Swahili speakers when they talk about semen to avoid the vulgarity of the direct term. The following subsections present those metaphors.

##### **4.3.1.6.1 Semen as children**

Semen is conceptualised as children (watoto) among Swahili speakers. Perhaps this is caused by the fact that when sperm (which are found in semen) come into contact with female eggs, fertilisation takes place and the foetus is formed. This makes semen to be metaphorically euphemised as children among Swahili speakers. Nevertheless, this expression is understood in a specific context, without which it may lead to other interpretations.

##### **4.3.1.6.2 Semen as water**

Semen has a watery property, which makes Swahili speakers to conceptualise it as water. Thus, expressions like maji ya baraka and maji ya uzima (probably because it results in life when it comes into contact with a female egg) are a result of this conceptualisation of this property of semen.

#### 4.3.1.7 Metaphors for menstruation

Menstruation is one of the taboos that cross many cultures all over the world. This has prompted the creation of various euphemisms in the form of metaphors to talk about this natural process of the female body, which is sometimes considered by some speakers to be dirty and undesirable. The following subsections present those metaphors for this aspect.

##### **4.3.1.7.1 Menstruation as falling of rain**

Swahili speakers conceptualise the process of menstruating as the process of falling rain (kunyesha mvua). This metaphor is preferred by all social groups, but it is highly favoured by youths. This expression is formed as these speakers liken the flow of blood during menstruation to the way rain falls. As is the case with other euphemisms, the use of this expression requires specific context for it to be understood.

##### **4.3.1.7.2 Menstruation is the situation of being dirty**

Swahili speakers still have a negative outlook on menstruation, which has impacted the way its euphemisms are created. When women are in this situation, always their genitalia have blood until this period ceases. This blood is considered dirty, and therefore, anyone who is experiencing this situation is also perceived as being dirty. No wonder women who are experiencing this situation are forbidden from attending religious gatherings in some sects, to prevent them from defiling those gathering areas. Hence, the expression kuwa mchafu (to be dirty) is frequently used to express this situation without using the direct term.

##### **4.3.1.7.3 Menstruation as getting visitors**

The state of shading blood monthly by a mature female is conceptualised by Swahili speakers as getting visitors (kupata wageni). Since the process of shading blood occurs once a month, it is conceptualised by Swahili speakers as a visitation paid to them (women) by guests/visitors (menstrual blood). This expression needs to be used in a particular context; otherwise, it will mean differently.

##### **4.3.1.7.4 Menstruation as leaking**

Leaking is the process of losing liquid (or gas) through a hole or a crack. Swahili speakers associate menstruation with the process of leaking (kuvuja). Reflecting on the meaning of leaking, it is not hard to understand why these speakers conceptualise being in a bleeding situation with the leaking process.

#### 4.3.1.8 Metaphors of defecation

Defecation being one of the taboo themes among Swahili speakers has prompted the creation of metaphorical expressions that help speakers talk about it decently. The following subsections present the metaphors that are used to talk about defecation.

##### **4.3.1.8.1 Defecation is cleaning the stomach**

Faeces are byproducts after the digestion process has taken place in the stomach. Thus, when one is defecating, it is regarded as cleaning their stomach (removing waste from the stomach). Therefore, in order to avoid mentioning publicly the direct word for removing faeces from the stomach, indirect expressions like kusafisha tumbo (to clean the stomach) and kutoa vyakula (to remove (digested) food (from the stomach)) are used instead.

##### **4.3.1.8.2 Defecation as stretching the intestine**

Defecation is also conceptualised as the process of stretching the intestine. This process is conceptualised in this way as it involves squeezing the stomach to force the faeces out of it (stomach). Thus, the expression kunyoosha utumbo (to stretch the intestine) is most often used as a euphemism for this process. It is the expression that is preferred by all social groups to talk about this aspect.

##### **4.3.1.8.3 Defecation as reducing weight**

Among Swahili speakers, defecation is metaphorically viewed as the process of cutting down weight (kupunguza uzito). This conceptualisation is grounded on the fact that when one defecates, they remove the wastes from their stomach, which carry some weight. Thus, removing these wastes from the stomach means reducing/cutting down some weight from someone’s body.

##### **4.3.1.8.4 Defecation as cutting log**

Defecation is also conceptualised by Swahili speakers as the process of cutting the log. It is known that when one emits normal faeces (not diarrhea), the faeces come out as a long object resembling a tree log. Sometimes the faeces do not come out as a whole; instead, they come out in pieces, the same way one cuts a long log into pieces. Thus, the process of defecation is sometimes euphemised metaphorically as the process of cutting the log (kukata gogo) by associating the way faeces come out (during defecation) with the way a log is cut into pieces.

#### 4.3.1.9 Metaphors of AIDS

Known for its long form as Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome, AIDS is one of the most fearful and dreadful diseases, making people create various euphemisms to refer to it fearlessly. One of the strategies that have been employed to create euphemisms for this disease is the use of metaphors. The following subsections present the metaphors for AIDS as they were used by Swahili speakers.

##### **4.3.1.9.1 AIDS as fire**

Swahili speakers conceptualise AIDS as fire (moto). Most of us know what happens when someone accidentally catches fire. When AIDS first came, it consumed the lives of many, but thanks to the introduction of ARVs, which help in weakening the virus and helping the victims live long lives. When one contracted HIV, which leads to AIDS, it was viewed as someone who caught fire, as fire kills in a matter of minutes (through burning). This, therefore, makes people metaphorically euphemise this disease as fire.

##### **4.3.1.9.2 AIDS as (electrical) wires**

This is another way in which AIDS is conceptualised by Swahili speakers. This conceptualisation originates from the fatality of this disease when it first came into many communities, the Swahili-speaking community being one of them. The expression miwaya (wires) conceptualises AIDS as electrical wires, which are very dangerous if one comes into contact with them when they have power (live wires). Thus, someone with AIDS is viewed as someone whose body is connected with electrical wires carrying electricity.

#### 4.3.1.10 Metaphors for burial activity

The use of metaphors can also be found in talking about burial activities. The following subsection presents the way burial activity is conceptualised by Swahili speakers when it is talked about euphemistically.

##### **4.3.1.10.1 Burial as resting the dead body**

From the findings, it is seen that Swahili speakers conceptualise the process of burying the dead body as the process of resting it. Thus, the expression kupumzisha mwili is very common for this process. The expression kupumzisha mwili refers to the process that is done by other people for another thing (the dead body) since the dead body cannot rest itself; there must be an external force (people involved in burying) to do it.

### 4.3.2 Particularisation

Particularisation is another strategy that was employed by speakers of Swahili in forming euphemisms. Warren (1992) refers to particularisation as the use of a general expression that in its context of use has to be particularised to make sense. To be more specific, particularisation involves the selection of a particular sense for an expression. To understand a certain expression, one has to understand the immediate context. For one to understand the intended message, they have to use their general knowledge about the world, the situation around them, and the available context to fill the information gap. It is therefore correct to say that particularised expressions are not fixed since their interpretations are derived from the context of use. It is, however, not a commonly used strategy, as the findings demonstrate. Some of the euphemisms formed through this strategy include kwenda chooni/msalani which means to defecate. This strategy is also used in forming euphemisms for other aspects like death, where the expressions kunyamaza, kufumba macho, and kulala are frequently used. The expression mbegu which refers to semen, is also formed from this strategy. All these expressions are understood in a specific context, without which they may have unintended interpretations.

### 4.3.3 Reversals (irony)

According to Warren (1992), reversal euphemisms are formed when someone expresses something perceived as taboo by referring to it oppositely. This means that the conventional meaning of a word fits our favoured contextual referent, provided that we reverse it. There are very few euphemisms that were created from this strategy, with only euphemisms referring to body morphology being featured in this category. The expressions kuwa na afya, kunawiri, and kupendeza for an obese person are some of the few euphemistic expressions that were formed through this strategy. These expressions are ironic to the referred situation as they decorate the situation (of being obese), which sometimes makes the referent look somehow abnormal. Just like other forms of euphemism, reversal euphemisms are highly context-dependent.

### 4.3.4 Understatement euphemisms

According to Warren (1992), understatements are expressions formed where the conventional meaning of a word fits the preferred contextual referent, provided that the degree to which some feature of meaning applied is made stronger. In this case, the undesirable feature is downgraded. It is not a widely used strategy in forming euphemisms, though. From the presented data in the preceding section, this strategy is seen being used in talking about corruption, where expressions like takrima, matumizi mabaya ya ofisi, and kitu kidogo are used.

### 4.3.5 Implications

Warren (1992) defines implications as phenomena caused by a clear causal association between the contextual and the conventional referents. There are some euphemistic expressions that were formed by Swahili speakers using this strategy. The expression kuaga dunia, which is used in the context of death, gives us the sense that someone has given farewell to the earth (the planet we live on), and this gives us the implication that this person has died. Likewise, the expression kulala usingizi wa mauti, which is used in the same context, gives us the sense that the referent is not in a normal sleep, and this gives us the implication that the said referent is dead. Thus, implication was also featured as a strategy of creating euphemisms.

### 4.3.6 Metonymy

Metonymy is another strategy that was applied in forming euphemisms, as the data of the current study demonstrate. Allan and Burridge (1991) refer to metonymy as the process of substituting words with other words. It includes processes like one-for-one substitution, general-for-specific substitution, and part-for-whole substitution. All three of these processes were applied in the formation of some euphemisms in the current study. Part-for-whole is represented by the expression mwanandani (part), a small enclave in a grave where the dead body is placed, which is used to refer to a grave (whole), which is a burying hole where this enclave is found. General-for-specific is another process that was involved in creating Swahili euphemistic expressions. The expressions uume and uke (both of which are general terms to mean manhood and womanhood, respectively) are expressions used to refer to male and female sexual organs, respectively. One-for-one occurs when a taboo expression is replaced by another expression that does not have a taboo connotation. As the findings reveal, many taboo words were substituted by other words of nearly the same sense, but ones that were politer than those they replaced. Words like mjamzito for pregnant woman, changudoa, mdangaji, kirukanjia and kurumbembe for prostitute woman, mwili, mfu, and marehemu are some of the examples of polite words that were used instead of offensive ones.

Warren (1992) adds other sets of associations that result in the formation of euphemisms like causal, locative, equative, and whole-part. Using locative as one of those associations, we can find an expression like chini (down), which was formed to euphemise a female sexual organ. Equative was also used in forming euphemistic expressions like muwa, mhogo wa jang’ombe, ukuni, and dudu, which all are used to refer (equate) to the male sexual organ (by equating their structures with the referred organ).

### 4.3.7 Abbreviation

Euphemisms that are formed through this strategy involve writing the first letter of the taboo word or something that is considered rude or offensive. In the presented data, we find only one taboo word that was euphemised by being abbreviated, which is the female sexual organ where the first letter "K" of the offensive term was used. This strategy is very uncommon, and it seemed to be used by only youths, specifically males. This strategy helps in avoiding the rough and impolite impression when encountering an expression that is improper to be mentioned in full.

### 4.3.8 Circumlocution

This strategy involves talking about taboo expressions using long expressions (roundabouts). The long expressions used are considered euphemisms provided that they tone down the severity of rude expressions. As the data indicate, some euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers were formed through this strategy. Expressions like kufanya tendo la ndoa, kupata haki ya ndoa, kukutana kimwili, mkojo wa mtu mzima, jamvi la wageni, jogoo kupanda mtungi, kwenda chooni, kwenda msalani, and kuwa mwezini are some of the examples.

### 4.3.9 Slang

This strategy involves using informal words or phrases to replace taboo expressions. It is the common strategy preferred by younger speakers and other social groups with special interests. This strategy is used to enable talking about taboo expressions in a less offensive way. Most researchers do not include this strategy as one of the ways used in forming euphemistic expressions. In the current study, it is evident that some euphemistic expressions were formed using slang. Some of the expressions formed through this method include ukuni (for male sexual organ), "K" (for female sexual organ), jogoo kupanda mtungi (for erection), wazungu (to refer to semen), kutoa wazungu (for ejaculation), kukata gogo (for defecation), and ngoma (for AIDS), among others.

After presenting the strategies which Swahili speakers use in forming euphemistic expressions, the next part compares euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers to determine their levels of politeness in relation to their use of euphemisms.

**4.4 To compare euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers**

This part compares euphemism usage by male and female Swahili speakers to determine whether there is a significant difference in using these expressions between the two groups. In establishing whether there is a significant difference in the use of euphemisms between the compared groups, the first null hypothesis stated in chapter one is tested using a t-test, a statistical function found in Excel.

In interpreting the findings, the means of the two variables and other statistical data produced during the test are used. When the difference in the means of the compared groups is not equal to zero, it is established that there is a difference between the two groups in their use of euphemisms. However, to determine the significance level of the difference, other statistical values like the p-value, a t-statistic, a t-critical, and the alpha value obtained after conducting the t-test are used to determine the strength of the difference. These values guide the decision to reject or accept the hypothesis. Two rules are used in concluding. One: the null hypothesis prevails if the p-value is higher than the alpha value, which is 0.05. Secondly, the null hypothesis is accepted if the t-statistic value is smaller than the t-critical value and vice versa. Based on the association that is intended to be established between the use of euphemisms and the level of politeness, when the null hypothesis is accepted, it is established that the compared groups have the same levels of politeness. When the hypothesis is rejected, it is established that the compared groups have different levels of politeness. The data presented here were collected from 384 respondents, 192 of which were male and 192 being female Swahili speakers. The frequencies of their responses are used in performing the t-test.

### 4.4.1 Sexual euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers

As already explained in the previous sections, sexual euphemisms are those euphemistic expressions that are used to talk decently about sexual acts, the state of the body, and the clothing that is in direct contact with the sexual body parts. The following subsections present and compare euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers when talking about various sexual aspects and establish if there is a significant difference in the use of these expressions for various aspects related to this topic.

#### 4.4.1.1 Sexual intercourse euphemisms usage between males and females

This part is aimed at comparing the euphemisms that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers when discussing sexual intercourse and considering if the two groups use these expressions in a similar or dissimilar way. These expressions are presented in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23: Euphemism usage by males and females for sexual intercourse

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Kujamiiana* | to socialise | 184 | 167 | Mean | 144.8 | 139.45 |
| *Kutafunana* | to eat one another | 129 | 144 | Variance | 1685.747 | 1905.42 |
| *Kulalana* | to sleep over one another | 73 | 96 | Observations | 20 | 20 |
| *Kufanyana* | to do one another | 75 | 72 | Pearson Correlation | 0.941 |  |
| *Kufanya tendo la ndoa* | to do marital act | 187 | 189 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kupata haki ya ndoa* | to get marital right | 183 | 185 | df | 19 |  |
| *Kula mzigo* | to eat a luggage | 115 | 76 | t Stat | 1.623 |  |
| *Kupata unyumba* | to get marital right | 170 | 181 | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.061 |  |
| *Kulala* | to sleep | 187 | 180 | t Critical one-tail | 1.729 |  |
| *Kukunana* | to scratch one another | 124 | 111 | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.121 |  |
| *Kula tunda* | to eat a fruit | 154 | 151 | t Critical two-tail | 2.093 |  |
| *Kula uroda* | to eat something delicious | 168 | 147 |  |  |  |
| *Kukutana kimwili* | to meet bodily | 186 | 181 |  |  |  |
| *Kufanya mapenzi* | to make love | 190 | 188 |  |  |  |
| *Kukamuana* | to squeeze one another | 73 | 69 |  |  |  |
| *Kutifuana* | to wrestle one another | 125 | 109 |  |  |  |
| *Kutafuta watoto* | searching for children | 153 | 161 |  |  |  |
| *Kupasuana* | to pierce each other | 106 | 95 |  |  |  |
| *Kudonoana* | pecking each other | 130 | 101 |  |  |  |
| *Kuingiliana* | to enter one another | 184 | 186 |  |  |  |

The means of the two variables presented in Table 4.23 reveal a difference in the use of euphemisms related to sexual intercourse between the compared groups, with the males’ mean exceeding the females’ mean. However, to determine whether this difference is significant enough, other values obtained in the hypothesis test presented in Table 4.23 are used. Table 4.23 indicates a p-value of 0.121, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. The table further shows a t-statistic value of 1.623, which is higher than the t-critical (which is 2.093) at the alpha level of 0.05. Since the p-value is higher than the alpha value and the t-statistic is smaller than the t-critical, we accept the first null hypothesis that there is no statistically significant difference in the use of euphemisms between male and female Swahili speakers. This implies that the two groups have the same levels of politeness in their use of euphemisms associated with this theme.

#### 4.4.1.2 Euphemism usage by males and females for male sexual organ

This subsection compares male sexual organ euphemism usage by male and female Swahili speakers and determines whether being different in sex significantly impacts the use of these expressions for this theme by these speakers. These euphemisms and their frequencies of use are presented in Table 4.24.

Table 4.24: Euphemisms used by males and females for male sexual organ

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Dudu* | worm-like object | 68 | 52 | Mean | 148.5 | 137.2 |
| *Jogoo* | cork | 182 | 173 | Variance | 1427.167 | 2012.18 |
| *Mhogo wa jang’ombe* | cassava | 143 | 87 | Observations | 10 | 10 |
| *Muwa* | sugarcane | 139 | 160 | Pearson Correlation | 0.856 |  |
| *Uume* | manhood | 192 | 192 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kiboko* | whip | 154 | 165 | df | 9 |  |
| *Ukuni* | firewood | 121 | 123 | t Stat | 1.540 |  |
| *Mtaimbo* | rod bar | 188 | 180 | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.079 |  |
| *Mpini* | hoe/axe handle | 128 | 112 | t Critical one-tail | 1.833 |  |
| *Mkongojo* | walking staff | 170 | 128 | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.158 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.262 |  |

The means of the two variables shown in Table 4.24 indicate a difference in the use of euphemisms for the male sexual organ between male and female Swahili speakers. As the table indicates, male speakers used these expressions more than female speakers. However, to determine if this difference is significant, the t-test values indicated in the table (rather than relying solely on the means of the compared variables) need to be considered. The table shows a p-value of 0.158, which is higher than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also indicates a t-statistic value of 1.54 and a t-critical value of 2.262. The t-statistic shown here is smaller than the t-critical. The values indicated by the p-value against the alpha value and the t-statistic against the t-critical indicate the absence of a significant difference in the use of euphemisms for this taboo theme between the two groups. This leads to the acceptance of the first null hypothesis, stating there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers. It can thus be established that the use of euphemisms related to the male sexual organ is not significantly influenced by sex differences. This implies that the compared groups have the same levels of politeness in using euphemisms for male sexual organ.

#### 4.4.1.3 Euphemisms used by males and females for female sexual organ

As explained in the previous sections, the female sexual organ is one of the body parts that are considered too sensitive to be talked about openly and directly. As such, various euphemisms have been formed across speech communities to maintain politeness when referring to this organ. This section is aimed at comparing the usage of female sexual organ euphemisms by the two groups and considering if the two groups use these expressions in a similar or dissimilar way. These findings are presented in Table 4.25.

Table 4.25: Euphemisms used by males and females for female sexual organ

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Uke* | womanhood | 191 | 192 | Mean | 109 | 75.5 |
| *Utamu* | sweetness | 143 | 14 | Variance | 3634 | 4545.1 |
| *Tunda* | fruit | 138 | 84 | Observations | 6 | 6 |
| *Mzigo* | luggage | 67 | 81 | Pearson Correlation | 0.672 |  |
| *‘K’* | short form for female sex organ | 23 | 3 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Chini* | down | 92 | 79 | df | 5 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 1.574 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.088 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.015 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.176 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.571 |  |

As is shown in Table 4.25, there is a difference in the use of euphemisms related to female sexual organs between male and female Swahili speakers. This difference is depicted in the means of the two groups. Nonetheless, it is not yet clear if this difference is significant. To establish if the shown difference is significant enough to nullify the stated hypothesis, other data found in the table are used. In Table 4.25, the indicated p-value is 0.176, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. Furthermore, the table reveals a t-statistic of 1.574, which is smaller than the t-critical, which is reading 2.571. These values indicate a lack of significant evidence to reject the first null hypothesis. This leads to the conclusion that sex differences do not significantly influence the use of euphemisms referring to the female sexual organ. This implies that the compared groups have the same levels of politeness in using euphemisms for female sexual organ.

#### 4.4.1.4 Euphemisms used by males and females for sodomy

This section is aimed at presenting and comparing the euphemistic expressions which Swahili male and female speakers prefer to use when discussing sodomy (an anal sexual intercourse) and establish whether there is a significant difference (or similarity) in the usage of these expressions by the two groups. These expressions are presented in Table 4.26.

Table 4.26: Euphemisms used by males and females to refer to sodomy

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Kulawitiwa* | buggery | 192 | 190 | Mean | 183.75 | 182.5 |
| *Kufanyiwa ufirauni* | cruelty | 186 | 163 | Variance | 50.917 | 169.667 |
| *Kuingiliwa kinyume na maumbile* | to be entered contrary to nature | 175 | 189 | Observations | 4 | 4 |
| *Kunajisiwa* | to be defiled | 182 | 188 | Pearson Correlation | -0.174 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | df | 3 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 0.157 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.443 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.353 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.885 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 3.182 |  |

As the data in Table 4.26 reveal, the p-value is 0.885, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also shows the t-statistic value of 0.157, which is less than the t-critical value of 3.182. As the p-value is greater than the alpha value and the t-statistic is less than the t-critical, it is clear that these data fail to reject the first null hypothesis. This is also seen in the means of the two compared variables where the shown difference is very small. This being the case, the hypothesis that there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers is retained. This indicates that the compared groups have the same levels of politeness in using euphemisms for sodomy.

#### 4.4.1.5 Euphemisms preferred by males and females for semen

This section aims to present and compare the euphemisms that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers when talking about semen. The findings presented are used to test the first null hypothesis to establish if there is a significant difference in the use of euphemisms for this theme between the two groups. Consider the findings presented in Table 4.27.

Table 4.27: Euphemisms used by males and females for semen

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Mbegu (za kiume)* | (male) seeds | 192 | 189 | Mean | 123 | 83.125 |
| *Watoto* | children | 133 | 109 | Variance | 922.286 | 2821.27 |
| *Mkojo mweupe* | white urine | 102 | 37 | Observations | 8 | 8 |
| *Mkojo mzito* | heavy urine | 105 | 19 | Pearson Correlation | 0.936 |  |
| *Mkojo wa mtu mzima* | adult’s urine | 117 | 69 | Hypothesised Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Wazungu* | white men | 96 | 50 | df | 7 |  |
| *Maji ya uzima* | water of life | 124 | 95 | t Stat | 4.190 |  |
| *Maji ya baraka* | water of blessing | 115 | 97 | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.002 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 1.895 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.004 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.365 |  |

Looking at Table 4.27, we find unequal means for the two compared variables in their use of euphemisms related to semen. However, we are not yet aware of the extent to which these two groups are differing in their use of these expressions. We thus use other data available in the table to determine the significance of the difference indicated in the means of these variables. As is shown in Table 4.27, the p-value is 0.004, which is less than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also shows a t-statistic of 4.19, which is higher than a t-critical value, which stands at 2.365. Since the p-value is smaller than the alpha value of 0.05 and the t-statistic is greater than the t-critical, we reject the first null hypothesis. Thus, it can be said that the use of euphemisms referring to semen by Swahili speakers is significantly influenced by sex. This indicates that the two groups have different levels of politeness when using euphemisms for semen.

#### 4.4.1.6 Euphemisms used by males and females for orgasm

As stated before, orgasm is a sexual aspect that is considered sensitive, so people refrain from talking about it directly. This has led people to create various euphemisms to talk about it more comfortably. In this section, the euphemisms that are used by male and female Swahili speakers when discussing orgasm are presented and compared to see if there is a significant difference in the use of these expressions by the two groups.

Table 4.28: Euphemism usage by males and females for orgasm

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Kufika kileleni* | getting to the peak | 183 | 191 | Mean | 134.7143 | 100.714 |
| *Kukojoa* | urinating | 142 | 101 | Variance | 1499.905 | 4097.57 |
| *Kurusha maji* | throwing water | 102 | 74 | Observations | 7 | 7 |
| *Kumaliza safari* | finishing the journey | 189 | 185 | Pearson Correlation | 0.948 |  |
| *Kuridhika* | to get satisfied | 126 | 51 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kutoa wazungu* | to produce white men | 110 | 77 | Df | 6 |  |
| *Kutoa oili* | to pour out oil | 91 | 26 | t Stat | 3.001 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.012 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 1.943 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.024 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.447 |  |

As the data presented in Table 4.28 reveal, it is evident that the two groups use euphemisms referring to orgasm differently. This is shown by both scenarios explained in section 4.3. In the first scenario, the p-value of 0.024 is less than the alpha value, 0.05. In the second scenario, the t-statistic appears greater than the t-critical, where the former is 3.001 and the latter is 2.447. This leads to the rejection of our first null hypothesis. As the data indicate, the two groups differ significantly in their use of euphemisms referring to orgasm. Males seem to use these expressions more than females, with the former showing a mean of 134.7143 and the latter showing a mean of 100.714. We, therefore, conclude that sex difference significantly influences the use of euphemisms related to orgasm among Swahili speakers. This enlightens that the compared groups have different levels of politeness in using euphemisms for orgasm.

#### 4.4.1.7 Euphemisms used by males and females for sexual desire

The main objective of this section is to present and compare the euphemistic expressions that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers when discussing sexual desire. The findings presented are used to test the stated null hypothesis. Consider the findings presented in Table 4.29.

Table 4.29: Euphemisms preferred by males and females for sexual desire

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Midadi* | the sexual desire | 189 | 168 | Mean | 174.2 | 144.6 |
| *Mshawasha* | strong sexual feelings | 161 | 146 | Variance | 138.7 | 745.8 |
| *Hanjamu* | sexual feelings | 168 | 98 | Observations | 5 | 5 |
| *Ukame* | drought | 184 | 152 | Pearson Correlation | 0.478 |  |
| *Ugwadu* | urge for sex | 169 | 159 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Df | 4 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 2.755 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.026 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.132 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.051 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.776 |  |

Table 4.29 indicates the difference in means between the two compared groups. This reveals that the two groups differ in their use of euphemisms related to sexual desire. But to establish whether this difference is strong or weak, other statistical data presented in the table are used. Table 4.29 reveals a p-value of 0.051, which is marginally larger than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also indicates a t-statistic value of 2.755, which is slightly lower than the t-critical value of 2.776. These values indicate the presence of statistically insignificant inconsistencies in the use of euphemisms between these two groups. This leads to the conclusion that the two groups do not differ significantly in their use of euphemisms related to sexual desire. Since there is no satisfactory statistical evidence to reject the first hypothesis, the null hypothesis prevails. This indicates that the two groups have nearly the same levels of politeness when using euphemisms for sexual desire.

#### 4.4.1.8 Euphemisms used by males and females for penis erection

The focus of this section is to present and compare the euphemistic expressions that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers when discussing penis erection and to determine whether there is a significant difference between them in their use of these expressions. Table 4.30 presents euphemistic expressions used by both groups and their corresponding frequencies of use.

Table 4.30: Euphemisms favoured by males and females for penis erection

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Jogoo kuwika* | rooster crowing | 192 | 190 | Mean | 187.667 | 183.333 |
| *Kusimamisha* | erecting | 181 | 172 | Variance | 34.333 | 97.333 |
| *Jogoo kupanda mtungi* | cock up | 190 | 188 | Observations | 3 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  | Pearson Correlation | 0.998 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Df | 2 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 1.857 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.102 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.920 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.204 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 4.303 |  |

Table 4.30 shows a p-value of 0.204, which is higher than the alpha value of 0.05. As well, the table reveals a t-statistic value of 1.857, which is smaller than the t-critical value of 4.303. These figures lead to the acceptance of the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers. Therefore, the use of euphemisms related to penis erection is not significantly influenced by sex differences. This can also be seen in the means of the compared groups, where males have a mean of 187.667 and females have a mean of 183.333. This entails that the two groups differ marginally in their use of euphemisms associated with penis erection, implying that both groups have almost the same levels of politeness in their use of euphemisms for this theme.

### 4.4.2 Euphemisms used by males and females for pregnant woman

As pointed out in the previous sections, euphemistic expressions referring to pregnancy and a pregnant woman are common in various cultures. This part focuses on presenting and comparing the euphemisms that male and female Swahili speakers prefer to use to refer to a pregnant woman and seeing if there is a significant difference in the use of these expressions between these speakers.

Table 4.31: Euphemisms used by males and females for pregnant woman

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Mjamzito* | expecting | 192 | 192 | Mean | 177.667 | 188 |
| *Mama kijacho* | expecting mother | 150 | 182 | Variance | 574.333 | 28 |
| *Meneja* | manager | 191 | 190 | Observations | 3 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  | Pearson Correlation | 0.986 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Df | 2 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | -0.954 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.220 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.920 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.441 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 4.303 |  |

Table 4.31 indicates the presence of differences in the means of using euphemisms for pregnant women between male and female Swahili speakers. This entails that the two groups diverge in their use of euphemisms related to this topic. However, the strength of this difference is not yet clear. Other statistical data presented in the table after conducting a t-test can thus be utilised to determine the strength of this divergence. The same table shows a p-value of 0.441, which is higher than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also indicates a t-statistic value of -0.954, which is far below the t-critical value of 4.303. These readings indicate that there is no statistically significant difference in the use of euphemisms for a pregnant woman between the two groups. This makes the hypothesis acceptable. This implies that the use of euphemistic expressions referring to a pregnant woman is not significantly influenced by sex. This conclusion entails that the compared groups have the same levels of politeness.

### 4.4.3 Euphemisms used by males and females for prostitute woman

As already explained in the other sections, it is not a mark of politeness to refer to a prostitute woman using the explicit term. Consequently, several euphemisms have been created to cover the otherwise direct and offensive term to refer to a prostitute woman in Swahili. Table 4.32 presents euphemisms that are favoured by male and female Swahili speakers when talking about a prostitute woman. The frequencies appearing in Table 4.32 are used to test the null hypothesis stating that there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers.

Table 4.32: Euphemisms favoured by males and females for prostitute woman

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Changudoa* | someone selling herself | 191 | 188 | Mean | 183.571 | 182.571 |
| *Mdangaji* | the one exchanging sex for money | 162 | 188 | Variance | 164.952 | 87.619 |
| *Kirukanjia* | someone unsettled | 189 | 165 | Observations | 7 | 7 |
| *Kurumbembe* | unsettled woman | 168 | 176 | Pearson Correlation | 0.061 |  |
| *Dada poa* | cheap lady | 191 | 181 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Anayejiuza* | someone selling herself | 192 | 191 | Df | 6 |  |
| *Jamvi la wageni* | strangers mat | 192 | 189 | t Stat | 0.171 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.435 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 1.943 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.869 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.447 |  |

As Table 4.32 reveals, the computation of hypothesis testing yields a p-value of 0.869, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also indicates a t-statistic value of 0.171, which is lower than a t-critical value of 2.447. These values do not indicate significant evidence to reject the hypothesis about the use of euphemisms by Swahili male and female speakers for this theme. This being the case, the hypothesis that there is no statistically significant difference in euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers is accepted. This indicates that the use of euphemisms referring to a prostitute woman by Swahili speakers is not significantly influenced by one’s sex. This is also observed in the means of the two groups, where the indicated difference is very slight (with male speakers showing the mean of 183.571 and female speakers showing the mean of 182.571). This reveals that the two groups have closely the same levels of politeness in using euphemisms for this theme.

### 4.4.4 Euphemisms used by males and females for effluvia

This section aims to present and compare euphemistic expressions that are used by male and female Swahili speakers to refer to various bodily emissions that are considered taboo. These emissions and their corresponding euphemisms are presented in the following subsections as they are used by male and female Swahili speakers.

#### 4.4.4.1 Euphemisms favoured by males and females for menstruation

The monthly shading of blood by a mature female human being through her sexual organ is considered taboo by various speech communities. This has motivated the formation of various euphemistic expressions to refer to this situation in polite language. In this section, euphemisms that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers to refer to this aspect are presented, and the frequencies of using these expressions between the two groups are compared to see if the first null hypothesis can be rejected or accepted.

Table 4.33: Menstruation euphemisms usage by males and females

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Kuwa katika siku* | to be on days | 191 | 192 | Mean | 182.83 | 177.333 |
| *Kunyesha mvua* | showering rain | 174 | 168 | Variance | 48.167 | 303.867 |
| *Kuwa mchafu* | to be dirty | 179 | 175 | Observations | 6 | 6 |
| *Kupata wageni* | to be visited by strangers | 183 | 189 | Pearson Correlation | 0.736 |  |
| *Kuwa mwezini* | to be on the moon | 191 | 192 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kuvuja* | to leak | 179 | 148 | Df | 5 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 1.022 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.177 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.015 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.354 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.571 |  |

In Table 4.33, we find the difference in means in using euphemisms for menstruation between the two compared groups. This shows that the two groups vary in their use of euphemisms related to the particular theme. However, we are not yet informed of the strength of this discrepancy. We thus use other statistical data generated in the table after carrying out a t-test, to determine the strength of the shown difference. As is indicated in Table 4.33, the p-value is 0.354, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. As well, the table shows a t-statistic value of 1.022, which is smaller than the t-critical value of 2.571. The fact that the p-value is greater than the alpha value and the t-statistic is less than the t-critical indicates that there is no sufficient evidence to reject the first hypothesis. This makes us accept the null hypothesis stating, “there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers”. This entails that the two groups have the same levels of politeness when using euphemisms related to menstruation.

#### 4.4.4.2 Euphemisms used by males and females referring to defecation

It has already been explained in the previous sections that the removal of byproducts from the stomach through the back opening is a normal biological process. Surprisingly, many people avoid talking about this process directly in public as it is attached to some taboo connotations. This has made people to form various alternative linguistic expressions to talk about it politely and easily. This section focuses on presenting and comparing the euphemistic expressions that are favoured by male and female Swahili speakers when they are talking about defecation and determining whether there is a significant difference in using these expressions between the two groups.

Table 4.34: Euphemisms preferred by males and females for defecation

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Kujisaidia* | to help oneself | 192 | 192 | Mean | 176.272 | 160.182 |
| *Kusafisha tumbo* | cleaning the stomach | 191 | 188 | Variance | 633.218 | 2992.16 |
| *Kunyoosha utumbo* | stretching the intestine | 176 | 187 | Observations | 11 | 11 |
| *Kutoa vyakula* | to eject food | 120 | 77 | Pearson Correlation | 0.913 |  |
| *Kukata gogo* | cutting log | 137 | 31 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kupunguza uzito* | to reduce weight | 189 | 163 | Df | 10 |  |
| *Kwenda kuchimba dawa* | to dig up herbs | 191 | 190 | t Stat | 1.601 |  |
| *Kwenda msalani* | to go to toilet | 192 | 192 | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.070 |  |
| *Kwenda chooni* | to go to toilet | 192 | 191 | t Critical one-tail | 1.812 |  |
| *Kukamua utumbo* | to squeeze intestine | 168 | 160 | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.140 |  |
| *Kwenda haja kubwa* | going for long call | 191 | 191 | t Critical two-tail | 2.228 |  |

Table 4.34 shows a p-value of 0.140, which is higher than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also indicates a t-statistic value of 1.601, which is below the t-critical value of 2.228. These values indicate that there is no significant difference in the use of euphemisms referring to defecation between the two groups. This makes us accept the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the use of euphemisms between male and female Swahili speakers. This implies that the use of euphemisms referring to defecation is not significantly influenced by sex. The means of the two variables also prove this, as the gap between them is very narrow (with male speakers having a mean of 176.272 and female speakers having a mean of 160.182). Given the number of euphemisms presented for this theme, this difference in mean is insignificant. This indicates that both groups have similar levels of politeness which is reflected in their use of euphemisms related to defecation.

#### 4.4.4.3 Euphemisms used by males and females for farting

As it has already been explained, emitting gas from the stomach through the back opening is perceived as something that cannot be talked about directly without using some softened linguistic expressions, which we refer to them as euphemisms. In this section, euphemisms that are preferred by male and female speakers of Swahili are presented and compared to establish whether the two groups use these expressions equally or differently.

**Table 4.35: Euphemisms preferred by males and females for farting**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Kupumua* | to breath | 185 | 188 | Mean | 188 | 190 |
| *Kutoa hewa chafu* | to release dirty gas | 189 | 190 | Variance | 7 | 4 |
| *Kutoa upepo* | to release wind | 190 | 192 | Observations | 3 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  | Pearson Correlation | 0.945 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Df | 2 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | -3.464 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.037 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.920 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.074 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 4.303 |  |

The data illustrated in Table 4.35 reveal a p-value of 0.074, which is higher than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also shows a t-statistic value of -3.464, which is smaller than the t-critical, whose value is 4.303. Based on the rules applied in determining the relationship between the two variables using the t-test, we establish that there is no significant difference in the use of euphemisms referring to farting between male and female Swahili speakers. This leads to the acceptance of the first hypothesis. Therefore, we conclude that the use of euphemisms related to farting among Swahili speakers is not significantly determined by sex. This can also be seen in the means indicated for the two variables, where the difference between them is very small. This entails that the compared groups’ levels of politeness are the same.

### 4.4.5 Euphemisms preferred by males and females for some diseases

Some of today’s most serious diseases, particularly those related to death, are still taboo, and the best option to talk about them politely is to use euphemisms. The following subsections present and compare euphemisms that are favoured by male and female Swahili speakers to refer to certain diseases and draw a conclusion if there is a significant difference in their preference and use of these expressions.

#### 4.4.5.1 Euphemisms used by males and females to refer to AIDS

In its inception, AIDS was like no other disease; it was a real threat to mankind, and for this reason, people feared to talk about it directly. This necessitated the creation of various euphemisms to talk about this awful disease more comfortably. In this part, euphemisms that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers to talk about this disease are presented and compared to determine if the two groups employ these expressions in the same or different ways. Consider the euphemisms presented in Table 4.36.

Table 4.36: Euphemisms usage by males and females for AIDS

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Miwaya* | wires | 191 | 184 | Mean | 181.6 | 169.4 |
| *Umeme* | electricity | 174 | 163 | Variance | 74.8 | 204.3 |
| *Malaria ya kisasa* | modern malaria | 185 | 179 | Observations | 5 | 5 |
| *Ngoma* | drum | 187 | 173 | Pearson Correlation | 0.940 |  |
| *Moto* | fire | 171 | 148 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Df | 4 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 3.992 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.008 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.132 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.016 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.776 |  |

In Table 4.36, we see the difference in means between the two compared groups. This indicates that the two groups diverge in their use of euphemisms for AIDS. Despite this revelation, the strength of this difference is not yet known. We thus use other statistical data presented in the table to determine the strength of the spotted difference. As is seen in Table 4.36, the p-value is 0.01 which is less than the alpha value of 0.05. The table further shows a t-statistic of 3.992, a figure greater than the t-critical, which is 2.776. Since the p-value is smaller than the alpha value and the t-statistic is greater than the t-critical, it indicates that there is enough evidence to reject the first hypothesis. Since the data provide us with the grounds to reject the null hypothesis, we have to accept the first alternative hypothesis. This implies that the two groups have different levels of politeness when using euphemisms referring to AIDS.

#### 4.4.5.2 Euphemisms favoured by males and females for mentally ill persons

Good-mannered people feel uncomfortable using an explicit term referring to people who are mentally challenged, especially when their communication exchange takes place in public. For the purpose of sounding polite and considerate, various euphemisms referring to mental illness have been formed. This section presents and compares the euphemistic expressions that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers to refer to people with mental illness and determines whether these two groups use these expressions in the same or different ways. To determine the relationship existing between sex and the use of euphemisms, we test the first null hypothesis using the t-test in Excel.

Table 4.37: Euphemisms used by males and females for mentally ill person

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Mwenye wazimu* | insane | 191 | 191 | Mean | 169.5 | 151.5 |
| *Chizi* | madman | 191 | 175 | Variance | 1683 | 3099.67 |
| *Mlemavu wa akili* | mentally impaired person | 188 | 171 | Observations | 4 | 4 |
| *Punguani* | idiot | 108 | 69 | Pearson Correlation | 0.991 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Df | 3 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 2.247 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.055 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.353 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.110 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 3.182 |  |

Table 4.37 indicates a difference in the means of using euphemistic expressions associated with a mentally ill person between male and female Swahili speakers. This reveals that the two groups differ in their use of euphemisms related to the specified theme. However, the extent of this divergence is not yet known. We use other statistical values contained in the table to determine the strength of this divergence. The same table reveals a p-value of 0.110, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. The table further shows a t-statistic value of 2.247, which is less than the t-critical value, which is 3.182. Given that the p-value is greater than the alpha value and the t-statistic is less than the t-critical, we accept the first null hypothesis. This implies that sex does not significantly influence the use of euphemisms referring to a mentally ill person among Swahili speakers.

### 4.4.6 Euphemisms used by males and females for body morphologies

Some people have some physical appearances that other people, or even themselves, feel it is disrespectful and embarrassing to talk about directly. For this reason, they resort to using euphemisms to refer to those physical appearances politely. In the following sections, euphemisms that are preferred by male and female speakers among Swahili speakers to talk about skinny and obese people are presented and compared to determine whether these two groups use these expressions in a similar or dissimilar way.

**4.4.6.1 Euphemisms preferred by males and females for skinny persons**

People become thin for different reasons. Some become thin by changing their eating behaviours, others by diseases; some by being stressed; and others are born thin. Whatever reason that may be, not all people are relaxed to talk about people’s scrawniness using the explicit term. This has caused people to create euphemisms to talk about this state in an inoffensive way. In Table 4.38, euphemisms that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers to talk about skinny persons are presented and compared to decide whether these two groups converge or diverge in their use of these expressions for this situation.

Table 4.38: Euphemisms preferred by males and females for skinny person

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Kuwa mwembamba* | to become thin | 192 | 192 | Mean | 162.5 | 162.667 |
| *Kuwa modo “model” (kwa mwanamke)* | to become model | 37 | 51 | Variance | 3809.9 | 3065.87 |
| *Kupungua* | to lose weight | 191 | 192 | Observations | 6 | 6 |
| *Kimbaumbau* | a very thin person | 178 | 171 | Pearson Correlation | 0.998 |  |
| *Kuchonga* | sculptured | 192 | 191 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kuchoka* | to become tired | 185 | 179 | Df | 5 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | -0.054 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.479 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.015 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.958 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.571 |  |

Table 4.38 reveals a p-value of 0.959, which is above the alpha value of 0.05. The table also indicates a t-statistic of -0.054, a figure that is less than the t-critical, which is 2.571. Based on these figures, there is no enough evidence to reject the stated null hypothesis. Since the difference existing in the use of euphemisms is not statistically significant enough to deny the hypothesis, this hypothesis is retained. This implies that sex does not significantly influence the use of euphemisms referring to a skinny person among Swahili speakers. We can also use the means of the two variables to demonstrate this, as the gap between their means is very small. This indicates that both groups have the same levels of politeness regarding the use of euphemisms for skinniness.

#### 4.4.6.2 Euphemisms used by males and females for obese person

The main focus of this subsection is to highlight the euphemisms that are employed by male and female speakers of Swahili as they talk about an obese person and establish whether there is any correlation between one’s sex and the use of these expressions for this aspect. We use the data presented in Table 4.39 to test the hypothesis using the t-test.

Table 4.39: Euphemisms favoured by males and females for obese person

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Kuongezeka* | to gain weight | 191 | 192 | Mean | 183.571 | 178.429 |
| *Kuwa na afya* | to be healthier | 188 | 184 | Variance | 104.285 | 294.952 |
| *Kuwa tipwatipwa* | to become plump | 167 | 149 | Observations | 7 | 7 |
| *Kunawiri* | appear nourished | 190 | 192 | Pearson Correlation | 0.992 |  |
| *Kupendeza* | to look good | 192 | 191 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kuwa bonge* | to become huge | 186 | 181 | Df | 6 |  |
| *Kuwa kifutu* | to rise as dough | 171 | 160 | t Stat | 1.903 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.053 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 1.943 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.106 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.447 |  |

Table 4.39 depicts the p-value of 0.106, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. Moreover, the table indicates a t-statistic value of 1.903, which is lower than the t-critical value, which is 2.447. The figures obtained between the p-value against the alpha value and the t-statistic against the t-critical indicate that there is not enough evidence to nullify the first hypothesis. On this account, we accept the hypothesis that male and female Swahili speakers do not differ significantly in their use of euphemisms. This being the case, we establish that the use of euphemisms associated with an obese person is not significantly determined by one’s sex among Swahili speakers. This conclusion is also in line with the means of the two variables, which indicate that the difference between them is not very pronounced (with male speakers having a mean of 183.571 and female speakers having a mean of 178.429).

### 4.4.7 Euphemisms used by males and females for themes related to death

This section is aimed at unveiling and comparing the euphemistic expressions that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers as they talk about various aspects related to death and establishing whether there are any similarities or differences in their use of these expressions. The various themes of death are presented in the following subsections.

#### 4.4.7.1 Euphemisms used by males and females for death

As already stated in the previous sections, death is one of the aspects that are highly euphemised due to the fear associated with it. Table 4.40 presents and compares euphemisms that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers to determine if the two groups use these expressions similarly or differently. As in the preceding sections, we use the t-test to test the hypothesis stating, “there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers”.

Table 4.40: Euphemism usage by males and females for death

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Kuaga dunia* | leaving the earth | 192 | 192 | Mean | 180.875 | 173.813 |
| *Kuhitimisha safari ya hapa duniani* | to end the journey on the earth | 192 | 192 | Variance | 773.983 | 2160.16 |
| *Kuitwa na Mungu* | to be called by God | 190 | 192 | Observations | 16 | 16 |
| *Kulala usingizi wa mauti* | falling asleep to death | 192 | 192 | Pearson Correlation | 0.993 |  |
| *Kuwatoka watu* | to leave people | 192 | 192 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kuzima* | to halt | 104 | 58 | Df | 15 |  |
| *Kufumba macho* | to close eyes | 192 | 192 | t Stat | 1.478 |  |
| *Kunyamaza* | to stop talking | 191 | 192 | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.080 |  |
| *Kulala* | to sleep | 188 | 181 | t Critical one-tail | 1.753 |  |
| *Kutangulia mbele za haki* | to go forth for justification | 192 | 192 | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.160 |  |
| *Kupata msiba* | to be bereaved | 192 | 192 | t Critical two-tail | 2.131 |  |
| *Mgonjwa amemaliza* | to complete (the journey) | 185 | 188 |  |  |  |
| *Kuhitajika* | to be needed | 116 | 52 |  |  |  |
| *Kufika hatma* | to get to the end | 192 | 191 |  |  |  |
| *Kupumzika* | to rest | 192 | 191 |  |  |  |
| *Kufariki dunia* | to get separated from the world | 192 | 192 |  |  |  |

In Table 4.40 we notice that there is a difference in means in employing euphemisms related to death between the two compared groups. This entails that the two groups somehow diverge in their use of euphemisms related to this taboo theme. Nevertheless, we are not yet aware of how strong this difference is. We can only know this by using other statistical data available in Table 4.40. Currently, Table 4.40 depicts a p-value of 0.160, which is above the alpha value of 0.05. Furthermore, the table shows a t-statistic figure of 1.478, which is less than the t-critical, which is 2.131. These values indicate that there is no statistically significant difference in the two groups' use of euphemistic expressions referring to death. This being the case, we accept the stated hypothesis and conclude that the usage of euphemisms related to death is not significantly influenced by one’s sex among Swahili speakers. This indicates that both groups have similar levels of politeness when using euphemisms referring to death.

#### 4.4.7.2 Euphemisms favoured by males and females for dead body

A dead body is another theme related to death that people are afraid to talk about directly. This moves people to coin various euphemisms to replace the explicit term perceived as a taboo. Table 4.41 specifies and compares euphemisms that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers when talking about a dead body and establishes whether the two groups use these expressions in a similar or dissimilar way.

Table 4.41: Euphemisms used by males and females for dead body

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Mwili* | body | 192 | 192 | Mean | 192 | 192 |
| *Mfu* | corpse | 192 | 192 | Variance | 0 | 0 |
| *Marehemu* | the deceased | 192 | 192 | Observations | 3 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  | Pearson Correlation | #DIV/0! |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Df | 2 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | #DIV/0! |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | #DIV/0! |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | #DIV/0! |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | #DIV/0! |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | #DIV/0! |  |

Table 4.41 indicates that there is no difference in means in utilising euphemisms for the dead body between the two compared groups. This enlightens that the two groups use these euphemisms in exactly the same way. As it is seen, the table indicates division errors in most of the statistical data except in means and observations. This error is a result of dividing the corresponding figures by zero, resulting from the difference between the two means (for male and female speakers). This means that the difference in means between the two groups is zero (due to the sameness in the use of these expressions between the two groups). Hence, the p-value, t-statistical value, and t-critical value are not shown here. Since the means of the two groups are exactly the same, we accept the hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the use of euphemisms between males and females among Swahili speakers. This implies that the use of euphemisms related to the dead body by Swahili speakers is not influenced by sex. This indicates that the compared groups have the same levels of politeness in using euphemisms for dead body.

#### 4.4.7.3 Burial activity euphemisms used by males and females

This section is aimed at presenting and comparing the euphemisms that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers when talking about burial activity and establishing whether these two groups use these expressions in a similar or dissimilar way. Those expressions are presented in Table 4.42.

Table 4.42: Euphemisms used by males and females for burial activity

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M**  **(f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Kuhifadhi mwili* | to preserve the body | 192 | 192 | Mean | 191.75 | 191.5 |
| *Kusindikiza* | to see off (the body) | 192 | 191 | Variance | 0.25 | 0.333 |
| *Kumuweka (marehemu) kwenye nyumba yake ya milele* | to put the body to its eternal home | 191 | 191 | Observations | 4 | 4 |
| *Kupumzisha mwili* | to rest the body | 192 | 192 | Pearson Correlation | 0.577 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Df | 3 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 1 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.196 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.353 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.391 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 3.182 |  |

Table 4.42 shows the p-value of 0.391, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. The table as well depicts a t-statistical value of 1, which is smaller than the t-critical value, which is 3.182. These figures fail to provide sufficient evidence to deny the stated null hypothesis. We, thus, accept the hypothesis that there is no statistically significant difference in using euphemisms between male and female Swahili speakers. This insinuates that the use of euphemisms related to burial activity is not significantly influenced by sex among Swahili speakers. This conclusion is not only confirmed by the statistical data used but also by the means of the variables as they appear in the table. The means of these variables indicate a very small difference between the two groups (with male speakers having a mean of 191.75 and female speakers having a mean of 191.5). This shows that both groups have the same levels of politeness.

#### 4.4.7.4 Euphemisms used by males and females for grave

Where people are laid after dying is another aspect related to death that has attracted some euphemisms. This section presents and compares the euphemisms that are preferred by male and female Swahili speakers when talking about a grave. Consider the euphemistic expressions presented in Table 4.43.

Table 4.43: Euphemisms preferred by males and females for grave

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Malaloni* | sleeping area | 190 | 192 | Mean | 182.75 | 177.75 |
| *Nyumba ya milele* | eternal home | 159 | 137 | Variance | 251.583 | 738.25 |
| *Mavani* | burial place | 192 | 191 | Observations | 4 | 4 |
| *Mwanandani* | enclave in a grave | 190 | 191 | Pearson Correlation | 0.998 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Df | 3 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 0.877 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.223 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.353 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.445 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 3.182 |  |

In Table 4.43, we notice a difference in means in the use of euphemisms related to grave between the two compared groups. This reveals that the two groups differ in their use of euphemisms related to the specified theme. But to this point, we are not knowledgeable about the significance level of this difference. By using other statistical figures found in the table, we can establish the significance level of this difference. As shown in Table 4.43, the p-value of 0.445 is larger than the used alpha value. The table also shows the t-statistic of 0.877, which is less than the t-critical value of 3.182. Comparing the p-value against the alpha value and the t-statistic against the t-critical, it is safe to accept the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between the two groups. Therefore, the use of euphemisms referring to a grave by Swahili speakers is not significantly determined by being male or female.

### 4.4.8 Euphemisms used by males and females for corruption

As it has already been explained, corruption is euphemised to make this behaviour more tolerable in society. Table 4.44 presents and compares euphemisms that male and female Swahili speakers resort to use when discussing corruption and corrupt acts done by public servants and other public figures. The data presented in Table 4.44 are used to test the stated hypothesis using the t-test.

Table 4.44: Euphemisms used by males and females for corruption

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| ***Euphemism*** | **Gloss** | **M (f)** | **FM (f)** |  | ***M*** | ***FM*** |
| *Mlungula* | a bribe | 105 | 67 | Mean | 175.167 | 166.333 |
| *Takrima* | hospitality allowance | 188 | 185 | Variance | 1184.567 | 2377.07 |
| *Ubadhirifu* | embezzlement | 190 | 184 | Observations | 6 | 6 |
| *Matumizi mabaya ya ofisi* | misuse of office | 189 | 186 | Pearson Correlation | 0.999 |  |
| *Ufisadi* | corruption | 192 | 192 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kitu kidogo* | a small thing | 187 | 184 | Df | 5 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 1.501 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.097 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.015 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.194 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.571 |  |

Table 4.44 demonstrates the presence of a mean difference in employing euphemistic expressions associated with corruption between male and female Swahili speakers. This reveals that the two groups, to a certain extent, differ in their use of euphemisms related to corruption. However, the significance level of this difference is not yet clear. By using the other statistical data found in the table, which were obtained after conducting a t-test, we can determine whether this difference is significant or not. The same table indicates a p-value of 0.194, which is higher than the alpha value of 0.05. Furthermore, the table shows a t-statistic of 1.51, which is smaller than the t-critical value of 2.571. Given that the p-value is greater than the alpha value and that the t-statistic is smaller than the t-critical, we accept the first null hypothesis that there is no statistically significant difference in the use of euphemisms between the two groups. This signifies that the compared groups have the same levels of politeness in using euphemisms for corruption.

## 4.5 To compare euphemism usage by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers

## 

This part aims at establishing whether education has any role to play in the individual’s choice and use of euphemisms on various subjects that are considered taboo in the Swahili-speaking community. Since we want to test the second hypothesis, which states "there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers," the steps elaborated in section 4.3 are also applied here. The data presented here were collected from 384 respondents, of whom 192 were graduates and the other 192 represented the opposite group.

### 4.5.1 Sexual euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates

As mentioned earlier, sexual euphemisms cut across various aspects related to sex, like sexual intercourse, actions and behaviours associated with sexual activity, and even the clothing that is in direct contact with sexual body parts. Therefore, the main focus of this part is to specify and compare euphemisms that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers as they talk about some of these sexual aspects.

#### 4.5.1.1 Sexual intercourse euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates

This section is aimed at presenting and comparing euphemisms that are favoured by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers when referring to sexual intercourse and establish whether there is a significant similarity or difference in their use of those euphemisms between them. Consider the euphemisms contained in Table 4.45.

Table 4.45: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for sexual intercourse

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Kujamiiana* | to socialise | 186 | 165 | Mean | 150.7 | 138.55 |
| *Kutafunana* | to eat one another | 132 | 141 | Variance | 1383.905 | 1755.734 |
| *Kulalana* | to sleep over one another | 95 | 73 | Observations | 20 | 20 |
| *Kufanyana* | to do one another | 83 | 64 | Pearson Correlation | 0.913 |  |
| *Kufanya tendo la ndoa* | to do marital act | 188 | 188 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kupata haki ya ndoa* | to get marital right | 191 | 177 | Df | 19 |  |
| *Kula mzigo* | to eat a thing/luggage | 114 | 77 | t Stat | 3.178 |  |
| *Kupata unyumba* | to get marital right | 183 | 169 | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.002 |  |
| *Kulala* | to sleep | 187 | 180 | t Critical one-tail | 1.729 |  |
| *Kukunana* | to scratch one another | 119 | 116 | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.005 |  |
| *Kula tunda* | to eat a fruit | 151 | 154 | t Critical two-tail | 2.093 |  |
| *Kula uroda* | to eat something delicious | 168 | 147 |  |  |  |
| *Kukutana kimwili* | to meet bodily | 188 | 179 |  |  |  |
| *Kufanya mapenzi* | to make love | 189 | 189 |  |  |  |
| *Kukamuana* | to squeeze one another | 137 | 105 |  |  |  |
| *Kutifuana* | to wrestle one another | 111 | 123 |  |  |  |
| *Kutafuta watoto* | searching for children | 177 | 137 |  |  |  |
| *Kupasuana* | to pierce each other | 122 | 79 |  |  |  |
| *Kudonoana* | pecking each other | 109 | 122 |  |  |  |
| *Kuingiliana* | to enter one another | 184 | 186 |  |  |  |

By looking at the means of the two variables in their use of euphemisms related to sexual intercourse, one finds a difference in using those expressions between them. However, the strength of this difference is not yet known. In order to understand the significance level of this difference, we use other statistical data presented in the table. Table 4.45 depicts the p-value of 0.005, which is lower than the alpha value of 0.05. The table further shows the t-statistic value of 3.178, which is greater than the t-critical value of 2.093. Considering that the p-value is lower than the alpha value and that the t-statistic is greater than the t-critical, we reject the second null hypothesis. This leads into establishing that there is a statistically significant difference in the use of euphemisms referring to sexual intercourse between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. This observation implies that education plays a significant role in the use of euphemisms related to sexual intercourse among Swahili speakers. This implies that the compared groups have the different levels of politeness in using euphemisms for sexual act.

#### 4.5.1.2 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for male sexual organ

This section seeks to specify and compare euphemisms that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers when talking politely about the male sexual organ and to consider whether there are any significant resemblances or disparities in their use of these expressions.

Table 4.46: Euphemisms preferred by graduates and non-graduates for male sexual organ

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR**  **(f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Dudu* | worm-like object | 71 | 49 | Mean | 147 | 138.7 |
| *Jogoo* | cork | 185 | 170 | Variance | 1529.556 | 1700.456 |
| *Mhogo wa jang’ombe* | cassava | 116 | 114 | Observations | 10 | 10 |
| *Muwa* | sugarcane | 160 | 139 | Pearson Correlation | 0.964 |  |
| *Uume* | manhood | 192 | 192 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kiboko* | whip | 170 | 149 | Df | 9 |  |
| *Ukuni* | firewood | 118 | 126 | t Stat | 2.398 |  |
| *Mtaimbo* | rod bar | 183 | 185 | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.020 |  |
| *Mpini* | hoe/axe handle | 121 | 119 | t Critical one-tail | 1.833 |  |
| *Mkongojo* | walking staff | 154 | 144 | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.040 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.262 |  |

The means of the two variables (groups) presented in Table 4.46 reveal that there is a difference in the use of euphemisms associated with the male sexual organ between the two groups. Yet, we are not knowledgeable about the extent of this difference. We, therefore, use other statistical data contained in the table to determine the strength of this difference. In Table 4.46, we find the p-value of 0.04. This value is less than the alpha value, which is 0.05. The table also shows a t-statistic value of 2.398, which is greater than the t-critical value, which is 2.262. Since the p-value is less than the alpha value and the t-statistic is greater than the t-critical, we reject the second null hypothesis, which states that there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. This leads us to the acceptance of the second alternative hypothesis. This implies that the compared groups have different levels of politeness related to euphemism usage for this taboo theme.

#### 4.5.1.3 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for female sexual organ

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As already explained in the other sections, the female sexual organ is one of those body parts that are highly perceived as taboos which are refrained to be talked about directly by polite and considerate people. For this reason, various euphemisms have been created to talk about it in a way that does not disturb or embarrass communicators, especially in settings that require the maintenance of politeness. This section presents and compares euphemistic expressions that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers to find out if these two groups converge or diverge in their use of these expressions when they talk about this taboo theme. Consider the findings presented in Table 4.47.

Table 4.47: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for female sexual organ

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Uke* | womanhood | 192 | 191 | Mean | 101.5 | 83 |
| *Utamu* | sweetness | 89 | 68 | Variance | 3267.5 | 3626.8 |
| *Tunda* | fruit | 130 | 92 | Observations | 6 | 6 |
| *Mzigo* | luggage | 83 | 65 | Pearson Correlation | 0.980 |  |
| *‘K’* | short form for female sex organ | 19 | 7 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Chini* | down | 96 | 75 | Df | 5 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 3.721 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.007 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.015 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.014 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.571 |  |

The means of the two variables contained in Table 4.47 indicate that there is a difference in the use of euphemisms for the female sexual organ between the two compared groups. Nonetheless, we do not know how strong this difference is. We, therefore, rely on other statistical data presented in Table 4.47 to guide us in determining whether the indicated difference is significant. As Table 4.47 indicates, the p-value is 0.014, which is smaller than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also indicates a t-statistic value of 3.721, which is greater than the t-critical value of 2.571. These values reveal that there is a statistically significant difference in the use of euphemisms referring to the female sexual organ between graduate and non-graduate speakers of Swahili. Based on this premise, we reject the second null hypothesis. This being the case, the alternative hypothesis is accepted. It is thus asserted that the levels of politeness between the compared groups in using euphemisms for female sexual organ are not the same.

#### 4.5.1.4 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for sodomy

The act of penetrating the male sexual organ through another person’s back opening is considered a huge sin by people from different cultural backgrounds. Being one of the most tabooed practices, this act has attracted the formation of several euphemisms to talk about it in a fairly inoffensive way. This section sets out to present and compare the euphemisms that graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers prefer to use when discussing this aspect and to establish whether the two groups use these expressions in a similar or dissimilar way. Consider the data presented in Table 4.48.

Table 4.48: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for sodomy

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Kulawitiwa* | buggery | 191 | 189 | Mean | 184.75 | 181 |
| *Kufanyiwa ufirauni* | cruelty/sexual harassment | 187 | 162 | Variance | 34.917 | 162 |
| *Kuingiliwa kinyume na maumbile* | to be entered contrary to nature | 177 | 187 | Observations | 4 | 4 |
| *Kunajisiwa* | to be defiled | 184 | 186 | Pearson Correlation | -0.191 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | df | 3 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 0.499 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.326 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.353 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.652 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 3.182 |  |

Table 4.48 indicates a p-value of 0.652, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. In the table, we also see a t-statistic value of 0.499, which is smaller than the t-critical value of 3.182. Comparing the p-value against the alpha value and the t-statistic against the t-critical, it is seen that there is no significant difference in the use of euphemistic expressions for sodomy between graduate and non-graduate speakers of Swahili. This being the case, the second hypothesis is accepted, meaning that one’s level of education does not significantly influence the use of euphemisms referring to sodomy. This conclusion is also confirmed by the means of the two variables as they appear in Table 4.48, where the difference between them is very small (with graduate speakers having a mean of 184.75 and non-graduate speakers showing a mean of 181).

#### 4.5.1.5 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for semen

This section seeks to specify and compare the euphemisms that graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers use when talking about semen in a polite language. The results are presented in Table 4.49, where the frequencies presented for each group are used to test the second null hypothesis using a t-test.

Table 4.49: Euphemisms preferred by graduates and non-graduates for semen

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Mbegu (za kiume)* | (male) seeds | 192 | 189 | Mean | 110.625 | 96.75 |
| *Watoto* | children | 136 | 106 | Variance | 1623.125 | 1815.929 |
| *Mkojo mweupe* | white urine | 76 | 63 | Observations | 8 | 8 |
| *Mkojo mzito* | heavy urine | 69 | 55 | Pearson Correlation | 0.982 |  |
| *Mkojo wa mtu mzima* | adult’s urine | 96 | 90 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Wazungu* | white men | 82 | 64 | df | 7 |  |
| *Maji ya uzima* | water of life | 122 | 107 | t Stat | 4.826 |  |
| *Maji ya baraka* | water of blessing | 112 | 100 | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.001 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 1.895 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.002 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.365 |  |

The means of the two compared groups indicate the presence of a difference between them in the usage of euphemistic expressions for semen. However, relying on means alone is not enough since we need to understand the significance level of this difference. It is thus useful to collect other statistical data available in the table to guide us in determining the significance level of this difference. Table 4.49 shows the p-value of 0.002, which is lower than the alpha figure, which is 0.005. The table also shows a t-statistic value of 4.826, which is higher than the t-critical value of 2.365. Because the p-value is smaller than the alpha value and the t-statistic is higher than the t-critical, we reject the second null hypothesis. This automatically leads to the acceptance of the second alternative hypothesis. These findings enlighten us that the use of euphemisms related to semen is significantly influenced by one’s level of education among Swahili speakers. This indicates that the two groups have different levels of politeness in relation to the usage of euphemisms for semen.

#### 4.5.1.6 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for orgasm

Orgasm is one of the themes with a taboo undertone in the Swahili-speaking community. As such, various euphemisms have been created as a way of avoiding mentioning straightforwardly the term referring to it. This section presents and compares the euphemisms that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers to refer to orgasm. We use the findings presented in Table 4.50 and their corresponding frequencies to test the second null hypothesis using the t-test.

Table 4.50: Euphemisms preferred by graduates and non-graduates for orgasm

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Kufika kileleni* | getting to the peak | 186 | 188 | Mean | 132.5 | 124.333 |
| *Kukojoa* | urinating | 137 | 116 | Variance | 2099.1 | 2461.867 |
| *Kurusha maji* | ttrowing water | 89 | 87 | Observations | 6 | 6 |
| *Kumaliza safari* | Finishing the journey | 189 | 185 | Pearson Correlation | 0.988 |  |
| *Kuridhika* | to get satisfied | 95 | 82 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kutoa wazungu* | to produce white men | 99 | 88 | df | 5 |  |
| *Kutoa oili* | to give out oil | 63 | 54 | t Stat | 2.375 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.032 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.015 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.064 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.571 |  |

The means of the compared variables indicate a divergence between them in applying euphemisms related to orgasm. Nevertheless, the means of these variables alone cannot enlighten us on the extent of this divergence. We can achieve this by using other statistical data presented in the table, like the p-value, t-statistic, t-critical, and alpha value. The data contained in Table 4.50 show a p-value of 0.064, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. The same table reveals a t-statistic value of 2.375, which is less than the t-critical value of 2.571. Given that the p-value is greater than the alpha value and the t-statistic is less than the t-critical value, we retain the second hypothesis. We, therefore, establish that the use of euphemisms related to orgasm is not significantly influenced by sex among Swahili speakers. This indicates that both groups have the same levels of politeness when using euphemisms for this taboo theme.

#### 4.5.1.7 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for sexual desire

It is not civilised behaviour to talk directly about the feelings one has for sex in the Swahili-speaking community. Being attached to some taboo connotations, this situation has triggered the formation of softer linguistic expressions to talk about it more respectfully. This section presents euphemisms that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers to refer to sexual desire and considers if there are considerable similarities or differences between them in their use of these expressions. We use the frequencies presented here to test the second null hypothesis using a t-test.

Table 4.51: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for sexual desire

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Midadi* | the sexual desire | 188 | 169 | Mean | 164.8 | 154 |
| *Mshawasha* | strong sexual feelings | 163 | 144 | Variance | 253.7 | 428.5 |
| *Hanjamu* | sexual feelings | 144 | 122 | Observations | 5 | 5 |
| *Ukame* | drought | 169 | 167 | Pearson Correlation | 0.773 |  |
| *Ugwadu* | urge for sex | 160 | 168 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | df | 4 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 1.838 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.070 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.132 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.120 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.776 |  |

As Table 4.51 indicates, the means of the two compared variables are not equal, indicating the existence of a discrepancy in the use of euphemisms referring to sexual desire between the two groups. However, we are not yet informed of the strength of this discrepancy. To understand the significance level of this discrepancy, we have to use other statistical values presented in the table rather than just relying on the means of these variables. Table 4.51 indicates a p-value of 0.140, which is nearly thrice the alpha value of 0.05. The table also shows a t-statistic value of 1.838 and a t-critical value of 2.776. Comparatively, the former value is smaller than the latter. These figures entail that there is no statistically significant difference in the use of euphemistic expressions referring to sexual desire between graduate and non-graduate speakers of Swahili. Based on this premise, the second null hypothesis is retained. We, therefore, assert that the use of euphemisms related to sexual desire is not significantly influenced by one’s status of education. This entails that the levels of politeness between the two groups in using euphemisms for this theme are almost the same.

#### 4.5.1.8 Euphemisms usage by graduates and non-graduates for penis erection

The act of erecting the penis is one of those situations that are taboo among the Swahili-speaking community. This has made it the hub for several euphemisms. This section seeks to specify and compare the euphemisms that graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers are inclined to use as they evade mentioning the explicit Swahili term for penis erection. Consider the findings presented in Table 4.52.

Table 4.52: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for penis erection

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Jogoo kuwika* | rooster crowing | 188 | 184 | Mean | 185 | 179.333 |
| *Kusimamisha* | erecting | 183 | 170 | Variance | 7 | 65.333 |
| *Jogoo kupanda mtungi* | cock up | 184 | 184 | Observations | 3 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  | Pearson Correlation | 0.655 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | df | 2 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 1.474 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.139 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.920 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.278 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 4.303 |  |

By looking at the means of both variables, one observes the presence of the difference between them in their use of the euphemisms related to penis erection. But the strength of this difference is not yet clear. The other statistical data presented in the table can lead us into determining the significance level of this difference. Table 4.52 reveals a p-value of 0.278, which is higher than the alpha value of 0.05. Moreover, the table shows a t-statistic value of 1.474, which is smaller than the t-critical, whose value is 4.303. These values entail that there is no statistically significant evidence to reject the second null hypothesis. This being the case, the hypothesis that there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers is retained. We thus establish that the use of euphemisms for penis erection by Swahili speakers is not significantly determined by one’s level of education. This shows that the compared groups have similar levels of politeness in using euphemisms related to penis erection.

#### 4.5.2 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for pregnant woman

As highlighted in other sections, speakers of various speech communities consider the situation of being pregnant as taboo, which has motivated the formation of various euphemisms to refer to this situation. This is also the case in the Swahili-speaking community, where polite and considerate people use polite linguistic expressions to refer to this aspect. This section seeks to present and compare the various euphemisms that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers when they refer to a pregnant woman in a respectful way.

Table 4.53: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for pregnant woman

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Mjamzito* | expecting | 192 | 192 | Mean | 185.667 | 180 |
| *Mama kijacho* | *expecting mother* | 175 | 157 | Variance | 86.333 | 397 |
| *Meneja* | manager | 190 | 191 | Observations | 3 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  | Pearson Correlation | 0.997 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | df | 2 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 0.918 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.228 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.920 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.456 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 4.303 |  |

The means of the two compared groups indicate the presence of differences in the use of euphemisms for a pregnant woman between them (groups). These means, nonetheless, do not inform us of the extent of this difference. We can only establish this by using other statistical values available in the table. Table 4.53 indicates a p-value of 0.456, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. Furthermore, the table reveals a t-statistic value of 0.918, which is smaller than the t-critical, which is 4.303. These readings signify the lack of enough proof to eliminate the second null hypothesis. These figures indicate that there is no statistically significant difference in the use of euphemisms referring to a pregnant woman between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. Based on this assertion, the second null hypothesis prevails. This leads to the conclusion that both groups have the same levels of politeness in their use of euphemisms for pregnant woman.

### 4.5.3 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for prostitute woman

Prostitution is perceived as unacceptable behaviour in many societies, including among Swahili speakers. This is also the case with a prostitute woman. This makes decent speakers talk euphemistically about these two terms. This section, therefore, seeks to specify and compare euphemisms which are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers when referring to a prostitute woman. The findings are presented in Table 4.54.

Table 4.54: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for prostitute woman

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Changudoa* | someone selling herself | 187 | 192 | Mean | 184 | 178.833 |
| *Mdangaji* | the one exchanging sex for money | 179 | 168 | Variance | 75.2 | 128.967 |
| *Kirukanjia* | someone unsettled | 186 | 166 | Observations | 6 | 6 |
| *Kurumbembe* | unsettled woman | 169 | 175 | Pearson Correlation | 0.461 |  |
| *Dada poa* | cheap lady | 192 | 180 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Anayejiuza* | someone selling herself | 191 | 192 | df | 5 |  |
| *Jamvi la wageni* | strangers mat | 191 | 190 | t Stat | 1.189 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.144 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.015 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.288 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.571 |  |

The means of the two groups contained in Table 4.54 are not equal. This indicates that the two groups use euphemisms for prostitutes differently. Nevertheless, we are not yet informed of how strong or weak this difference is. We thus take another route where we use other statistical data presented in the table to determine the significance level of the indicated difference. As Table 4.54 illustrates, the p-value is 0.288, which is higher than the used alpha value of 0.05. The table also shows a t-statistic value of 1.189, which is smaller than the t-critical, whose value is 2.571. These figures indicate that there is no significant difference in using euphemisms referring to a prostitute woman between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. Based on these findings, we accept the second null hypothesis. These findings imply that the use of euphemisms associated with a prostitute woman is not significantly determined by one’s level of education. This also means that the compared groups have the same levels of politeness in using euphemisms for this taboo theme.

### 4.5.4 Euphemisms favoured by graduates and non-graduates for bodily emissions

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The main objective of this section is to identify and compare the euphemistic expressions that are favoured by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers when referring to various bodily emissions (effluvia) and determine whether the two groups use these expressions in a similar or dissimilar way. These expressions are presented in the following subsections.

#### 4.5.4.1 Menstruation euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates

Menstruation is perceived as taboo in the Swahili-speaking community. This makes well-mannered speakers to euphemise it whenever they are engaged in communication exchange in a context requiring politeness. This has stirred up the coinage of various euphemisms as a way of replacing this taboo situation. This section presents and compares euphemisms that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers when talking about menstruation. Consider the data presented in Table 4.55.

Table 4.55: Euphemism usage by graduates and non-graduates for menstruation

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Kuwa katika siku* | to be on days/to be on one’s days | 192 | 191 | Mean | 183 | 177.333 |
| *Kunyesha mvua* | showering rain | 174 | 168 | Variance | 68.8 | 245.867 |
| *Kuwa mchafu* | to be dirty | 177 | 177 | Observations | 6 | 6 |
| *Kupata wageni* | to be visited by strangers | 187 | 186 | Pearson Correlation | 0.847 |  |
| *Kuwa mwezini* | to be on the moon/ moon time | 192 | 191 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kuvuja* | to leak | 176 | 151 | df | 5 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 1.430 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.106 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.015 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.212 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.571 |  |

The means of the two groups presented in Table 4.55 indicate that the two groups differ in using these expressions. It is, however, not clear if this difference is strong or weak by looking at the means alone. To determine the strength of this difference, we use statistical data other than the means that are contained in the table. In Table 4.55, we observe a p-value of 0.212, which is higher than the alpha value, which is 0.05. The same table also reveals the t-statistic value of 1.430, which is smaller than the t-critical, whose figure is 2.571. These figures imply that there is no statistically significant difference in the use of euphemistic expressions associated with menstruation between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. This being the case, the second null hypothesis is accepted. We thus conclude that the use of euphemisms for menstruation by Swahili speakers is not significantly influenced by somebody’s status of education. This also implies that both groups have the same levels of politeness in relation to the theme of menstruation.

#### 4.5.4.2 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for defecation

Removing faeces from the stomach, though a normal biological process, is associated with some taboo connotations in the Swahili-speaking community. In pursuit of saving their faces and the faces of others, these speakers cannot speak about this process in public without lubricating their language. This section focuses on presenting euphemisms that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers to refer to defecation. The data presented here are used to test the second null hypothesis using a t-test found in Excel. Consider the data presented in Table 4.56.

Table 4.56: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for defecation

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Kujisaidia* | to help oneself | 192 | 192 | Mean | 170.727 | 164.818 |
| *Kusafisha tumbo* | cleaning the stomach | 187 | 192 | Variance | 1292.618 | 1791.564 |
| *Kunyoosha utumbo* | to stretch the intestine | 182 | 171 | Observations | 11 | 11 |
| *Kutoa vyakula* | ejecting food | 106 | 91 | Pearson Correlation | 0.9890 |  |
| *Kukata gogo* | cuiting log | 94 | 74 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kupunguza uzito* | to reduce weight | 185 | 167 | df | 10 |  |
| *Kwenda kuchimba dawa* | to dig up herbs | 192 | 189 | t Stat | 2.302 |  |
| *Kwenda msalani* | to go to toilet | 192 | 192 | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.022 |  |
| *Kwenda chooni* | to go to toilet | 192 | 191 | t Critical one-tail | 1.812 |  |
| *Kukamua utumbo* | to squeeze intestine | 165 | 163 | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.044 |  |
| *Kwenda haja kubwa* | to go for long call | 191 | 191 | t Critical two-tail | 2.228 |  |

From the means of the two compared groups in the use of euphemisms referring to defecation, we find that there is a difference between them in employing these expressions. Nonetheless, the means alone are not enough to tell the significance level of this difference. We, therefore, utilise other statistical data available in the table to determine the strength of the indicated difference. In Table 4.56, we see the p-value of 0.044, which is less than the alpha value of 0.05. Additionally, the table shows a t-statistic value of 2.302, which is greater than the t-critical value of 2.228. These figures indicate that there is a statistically significant difference in the use of euphemistic expressions associated with defecation between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. Based on this ground, we reject the second null hypothesis and accept the second alternative hypothesis. This enlightens that both groups have the same levels of politeness in using euphemisms referring to defecation.

#### 4.5.4.3 Euphemisms usage by graduates and non-graduates for farting

As pointed out in the previous sections, releasing gas through the back opening is considered taboo by different communities, the Swahili-speaking community being among of them. This has sparked the formation of various euphemistic expressions to enable people to talk about this process with ease in public. This section presents and compares the euphemisms that are favoured by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers as they talk about farting (flatulence) to determine how adequately similar or dissimilar these two groups are in using these expressions. Consider the findings presented in Table 4.57.

Table 4.57: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for farting

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Kupumua* | to breath | 189 | 184 | Mean | 189.667 | 188.333 |
| *Kutoa hewa chafu* | to release dirty gas | 190 | 189 | Variance | 0.333 | 16.333 |
| *Kutoa upepo* | to release wind | 190 | 192 | Observations | 3 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  | Pearson Correlation | 0.929 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | df | 2 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 0.658 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.289 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.920 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.578 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 4.303 |  |

Table 4.57 has a p-value of 0.578, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also depicts a t-statistic value of 0.658, which is less than the t-critical value of 4.303. Based on the fact that the p-value is greater than the alpha value and that the t-statistic is smaller than the t-critical, it indicates that there is no statistically significant difference in the use of euphemistic expressions associated with farting between the graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. Based on these findings, we accept the second null hypothesis. The conclusion that is drawn from these data is that both graduate and non-graduate speakers have the same levels of politeness when talking about farting.

### 4.5.5 Euphemisms favoured by graduates and non-graduates for diseases

Becoming ill is a normal thing for any living being. Nevertheless, people have always been afraid of falling ill, especially with the most serious diseases. This has made people to consider the most serious and deadly diseases as taboos (for fear of those diseases). This has always been the case in many communities, including the Swahili-speaking community. Therefore, to speak about the most feared diseases more comfortably, one has to use euphemisms. The following subsections present and compare euphemisms that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers when talking about some feared diseases.

#### 4.5.5.1 Euphemisms employed by graduates and non-graduates to refer to AIDS

AIDS is one of the most feared and deadly diseases, and it has contributed to the deaths of millions of people. Based on these facts, many people have attempted to create euphemisms to enable talking about this disease more comfortably. This subsection presents and compares euphemisms that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers when talking about AIDS. We test the second hypothesis using a t-test to determine whether these two groups use these expressions in a significantly similar or dissimilar way.

Table 4.58: Euphemisms preferred by graduates and non-graduates for AIDS

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Miwaya* | wires | 189 | 186 | Mean | 174.2 | 175.6 |
| *Umeme* | electricity | 165 | 172 | Variance | 179.2 | 90.3 |
| *Malaria ya kisasa* | modern malaria | 175 | 183 | Observations | 5 | 5 |
| *Ngoma* | drum | 185 | 175 | Pearson Correlation | 0.826 |  |
| *Moto* | fire | 157 | 162 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | df | 4 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | -0.407 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.353 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.132 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.705 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.776 |  |

The means of the two compared groups indicate the presence of a difference in the use of euphemisms related to AIDS between them. Nonetheless, to determine the significance level of this difference, we use other statistical data contained in the table than relying solely on the means. In Table 4.58, we find the p-value of 0.705, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. Additionally, the table shows a t-statistic value of -0.407, which is smaller than the t-critical, whose value is 4.303. These values indicate that there is no statistically significant difference in the use of euphemisms associated with AIDS between graduates and non-graduates. Consequently, we accept the second null hypothesis. This enlightens us that the use of euphemisms referring to AIDS by Swahili speakers is not significantly influenced by one’s status of education. This entails that the compared groups have the same levels of politeness when discussing about AIDS.

#### 4.5.5.2 Euphemisms preferred by graduates and non-graduates for mentally ill person

#### 

This section focuses on presenting and comparing the usage of euphemisms by graduates and non-graduates when talking about someone who is mentally unwell and establishing whether these two groups use these expressions in the same or different ways when referring to this aspect. These expressions are provided in Table 4.59.

Table 4.59: Euphemisms favoured by graduates and non-graduates for mentally ill person

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Mwenye wazimu* | insane | 192 | 190 | Mean | 161.75 | 159.25 |
| *Chizi* | madman | 180 | 186 | Variance | 2576.25 | 2144.91 |
| *Mlemavu wa akili* | mentally impaired person | 189 | 170 | Observations | 4 | 4 |
| *Punguani* | idiot | 86 | 91 | Pearson Correlation | 0.976 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | df | 3 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 0.432 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.347 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.353 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.695 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 3.182 |  |

Table 4.59 indicates a p-value of 0.695, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also shows a t-statistic value of 0.432, which is less than the t-critical value of 3.182. These values reveal that there is a lack of sufficient proof to reject the second hypothesis. This means that the hypothesis is retained. Hence, we establish that, in the Swahili-speaking community, the use of euphemisms associated with mental illness is not significantly determined by how well one is educated. This conclusion can also be confirmed by the means of the two groups, which show that there is no huge difference between them (with graduate speakers showing a mean of 161.75 and non-graduate speakers showing a mean of 159.25). This affirms that the two groups have the same levels of politeness when using euphemisms referring to a mentally ill person.

### 4.5.6 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for body morphologies

As it has already been elaborated, some people’s physical looks may not be well organised. This makes people use softened linguistic expressions to refer to them politely and pleasantly. This part focuses on presenting the euphemisms that are preferred by graduates and non-graduates when talking about people who are skinny and obese and comparing their use of these expressions to find out if the difference in their level of education has any influence on their preference for these expressions.

#### 4.5.6.1 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates to refer to a skinny person

#### 

Being thin is a situation in which some people are not comfortable referring to others using explicit terms, especially when the conversation or discussion takes place in public or in settings where politeness is a prerequisite. This drives people to use various linguistic alternatives to refer to skinny people in more considerate ways. This section sets out to present and compare euphemisms that are favourably used by graduates and non-graduates when referring to skinny people. For us to establish whether the two groups use these expressions in a similar or dissimilar way, we conduct a t-test for the second null hypothesis.

Table 4.60: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for skinny person

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Kuwa mwembamba* | to become thin | 192 | 192 | Mean | 166 | 159 |
| *Kuwa modo* | to become model | 57 | 30 | Variance | 2877.6 | 4072.8 |
| *Kupungua* | to lose weight | 192 | 191 | Observations | 6 | 6 |
| *Kimbaumbau* | a very thin person | 179 | 170 | Pearson Correlation | 0.999 |  |
| *Kuchonga* | sculptured | 191 | 192 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kuchoka* | to become tired | 185 | 179 | df | 5 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 1.629 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.082 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.015 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.164 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.571 |  |

In Table 4.60, we notice the existence of a difference in the means of the two compared groups in their usage of euphemisms related to one’s state of being thin. This signifies the presence of a difference in the use of these expressions between the two groups. However, we are not yet informed of whether this difference is significant or not. We thus use other statistical data available in the table to determine the significance level of the existing difference. In the same table, we find a p-value of 0.164, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. As well, the table reveals a t-statistic value of 1.628, which is less than the t-critical value of 2.571. These figures indicate the absence of a significant difference in the use of euphemisms related to the state of being/becoming thin between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. These findings lead us to accept the second null hypothesis. It is thus affirmed that the use of euphemisms associated with skinniness among Swahili speakers is not significantly influenced by one’s level of education.

#### 4.5.6.2 Euphemisms preferred by graduates and non-graduates for obese person

As explained in the previous sections, being obese may be a situation that makes some people uncomfortable. This is because some people are annoyed by this situation, especially those who are experiencing it. Therefore, when someone talks about people experiencing this situation, they take caution not to hurt or upset the referents. This has motivated the creation of sweet or otherwise polite expressions to refer to people who are living with this situation without embarrassing or disturbing them. This section seeks to present and compare euphemisms that are preferred by graduates and non-graduates when referring to an obese person. We use the data presented in Table 4.61 to test the second null hypothesis.

Table 4.61: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for obese person

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Kuongezeka* | to gain weight | 191 | 192 | Mean | 183 | 177.143 |
| *Kuwa na afya* | to become healthier | 188 | 184 | Variance | 119.333 | 270.810 |
| *Kuwa tipwatipwa* | to become plump | 162 | 154 | Observations | 7 | 7 |
| *Kunawiri* | appear nourished | 187 | 185 | Pearson Correlation | 0.934 |  |
| *Kupendeza* | to look good | 191 | 192 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kuwa bonge* | to become huge | 188 | 179 | df | 6 |  |
| *Kuwa kifutu* | to rise as dough/to swell | 174 | 154 | t Stat | 2.100 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.040 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 1.943 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.081 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.447 |  |

Looking at the means of the compared groups, we observe the presence of a difference in the use of euphemisms for an obese person between the two groups since their means are not equal. Yet, we do not know how strong or weak this difference is. To understand this, we need to utilise other statistical data demonstrated in the table. Table 4.61 indicates a p-value of 0.081, which is higher than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also shows a t-statistic value of 2.100, which is smaller than the t-critical, which is 2.447. These values indicate the absence of a statistically significant difference in using euphemisms to refer to one’s state of becoming obese between the two groups. This being the case, we accept the second null hypothesis. This finding indicates that the use of euphemisms referring to an obese person is not significantly determined by one’s level of education. This implies that the two groups have the same levels of politeness in using euphemisms referring to an obese person.

### 4.5.7 Euphemisms preferred by graduates and non-graduates for death-related aspects

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This part focuses on specifying and comparing the euphemisms that graduates and non-graduates use when they talk about various aspects of death. This presentation is done in the next few subsections.

#### 4.5.7.1 Euphemisms usage by graduates and non-graduates for death

Death is among those experiences that cannot be discussed without linguistic safeguards due to people's fear of it. People down history have tried to talk about this experience using various softened linguistic expressions. This section focuses on presenting and comparing euphemisms preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers when talking about death. Consider the expressions provided in Table 4.62.

Table 4.62: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for death

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Kuaga dunia* | leaving the earth | 192 | 192 | Mean | 178.438 | 176.25 |
| *Kuhitimisha safari ya hapa duniani* | to end the journey on the earth | 192 | 192 | Variance | 1271.196 | 1513.66 |
| *Kuitwa na Mungu* | to be called by God | 192 | 192 | Observations | 16 | 16 |
| *Kulala usingizi wa mauti* | falling asleep to death | 191 | 191 | Pearson Correlation | 0.980 |  |
| *Kuwatoka watu* | to leave people | 192 | 192 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kuzima* | to halt | 96 | 66 | df | 15 |  |
| *Kufumba macho* | to close eyes | 192 | 192 | t Stat | 1.071 |  |
| *Kunyamaza* | to stop talking | 192 | 191 | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.150 |  |
| *Kulala* | to sleep | 188 | 181 | t Critical one-tail | 1.753 |  |
| *Kutangulia mbele za haki* | to go forth for justification | 192 | 192 | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.301 |  |
| *Kupata msiba* | to be bereaved | 192 | 192 | t Critical two-tail | 2.131 |  |
| *Mgonjwa amemaliza* | to complete (the journey) | 189 | 184 |  |  |  |
| *Kuhitajika* | to be needed | 79 | 89 |  |  |  |
| *Kufika hatma* | to get to the end | 192 | 191 |  |  |  |
| *Kupumzika* | to rest | 192 | 191 |  |  |  |
| *Kufariki dunia* | to get separated from the world | 192 | 192 |  |  |  |

Table 4.62 shows the p-value of 0.301, which is higher than the alpha value of 0.05. Additionally, the table indicates a t-statistic value of 1.071, which is smaller than the t-critical, which is 2.131. These figures indicate that there is no significant difference in the use of euphemisms to refer to death between the two groups. This observation leads to the acceptance of the second null hypothesis. Hence, it is established that the use of euphemisms referring to death is not significantly determined by one’s level of education. This can also be seen from the means of the two variables, where the difference between them (means) is very small. This signifies that the two groups’ levels of politeness in using euphemisms referring to death are almost similar.

#### 4.5.7.2 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for dead body

This section focuses on presenting and comparing euphemisms that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers to refer to a dead body. The data presented are used in determining whether the education gap among these speakers has any impact on the use of euphemisms referring to this theme. These expressions and their corresponding frequencies are provided in Table 4.63 to enable testing of the null hypothesis.

Table 4.63: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for dead body

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Mwili* | body | 192 | 192 | Mean | 192 | 192 |
| *Mfu* | corpse | 192 | 192 | Variance | 0 | 0 |
| *Marehemu* | the deceased | 192 | 192 | Observations | 3 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  | Pearson Correlation | #DIV/0! |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | df | 2 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | #DIV/0! |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | #DIV/0! |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | #DIV/0! |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | #DIV/0! |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | #DIV/0! |  |

Table 4.41 shows division errors in most statistical data except in the mean and observations. The same case was observed in Table 4.41. As elaborated before, this error is a result of dividing the respective figures by zero, resulting from the difference between the two means obtained from graduate and non-graduate speakers in the current case. This implies that the difference in means between the two groups is zero. Thus, the p-value, t-statistical value, and t-critical value are not shown here. Since the means of the two groups are the same, it signifies that the two groups use euphemisms for a dead body in precisely the same way. As a result, we accept the null hypothesis stating there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. Therefore, the use of euphemisms related to a dead body by Swahili speakers is not influenced by one’s level of education. This indicates that both groups have the same levels of politeness when using euphemisms for this theme (dead body).

#### 4.5.7.3 Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for burial activity

As it was explained in the preceding sections, burial activity is perceived as taboo among the Swahili-speaking community. This has triggered the formation of various euphemisms to refer to this activity in an easy way. This section presents and compares the use of euphemisms that are favoured by graduates and non-graduates when they talk about this activity.

Table 4.64: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for burial activity

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Kuhifadhi mwili* | to preserve the body | 192 | 192 | Mean | 191.75 | 191.5 |
| *Kusindikiza* | to see off (the body) | 192 | 191 | Variance | 0.25 | 0.333 |
| *Kumuweka (marehemu) kwenye nyumba yake ya milele* | to put the body to its eternal home | 191 | 191 | Observations | 4 | 4 |
| *Kupumzisha mwili* | to rest the body | 192 | 192 | Pearson Correlation | 0.577 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | df | 3 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 1 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.196 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.353 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.391 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 3.182 |  |

Table 4.64 shows the p-value of 0.391, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. Likewise, the table reveals a t-statistic value of 1, which is smaller than the t-critical, whose value is 3.182. These values signify that there is not enough evidence to reject the stated hypothesis for this objective. Since we cannot reject the second hypothesis, we automatically accept it. We thus conclude that the use of euphemisms referring to burial activity among Swahili speakers is not significantly motivated by one’s level of education. This conclusion is in line with what is observed in the means of the two compared groups as the difference between them is almost zero. This implies that the two groups have the same levels of politeness in using euphemisms for this taboo theme.

#### 4.5.7.4 Euphemisms favoured by graduates and non-graduates for grave

This section aims at presenting and comparing the euphemisms that are preferred by graduates and non-graduates when talking about a grave and considering whether there are any considerable similarities or differences in the use of these expressions by the two groups.

Table 4.65: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for grave

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Malaloni* | sleeping area | 192 | 190 | Mean | 181.25 | 175.5 |
| *Nyumba ya milele* | eternal home | 149 | 147 | Variance | 462.25 | 421.667 |
| *Mavani* | a burial place | 192 | 191 | Observations | 4 | 4 |
| *Mwanandani* | enclave in a grave | 192 | 174 | Pearson Correlation | 0.925 |  |
|  |  |  |  | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  | df | 3 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 1.406 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.127 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.353 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.254 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 3.182 |  |

Table 4.65 indicates the mean difference in using euphemisms related to grave between graduates and non-graduates. This entails that the two groups somehow diverge in their use of euphemisms related to this aspect. Nevertheless, it is not yet known whether this difference is strong or weak. We thus apply other statistical data found in the table to determine the significance level of the difference spotted. In Table 4.65, we find the p-value of 0.254, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. The table also shows a t-statistic value of 1.406, which is less than the t-critical value of 3.182. Since the p-value is greater than the alpha value and the t-statistic value is smaller than the t-critical, it shows that there is no significant difference in the use of euphemisms for grave. Based on this premise, we accept the second null hypothesis. We, therefore, state that the use of euphemisms for grave among Swahili speakers is not significantly influenced by one’s level of education. This also means that the compared groups have identical levels of politeness in euphemisms usage for the subject at hand.

### 4.5.8 Euphemisms preferred by graduates and non-graduates for corruption

This part focuses on presenting and comparing the euphemisms that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers when talking about corruption. We use the euphemisms used by both groups and their corresponding frequencies to test the second hypothesis.

Table 4.66: Euphemisms used by graduates and non-graduates for corruption

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  | **t-Test: Paired two sample for means** | | |
| **Euphemism** | **Gloss** | **GR (f)** | **NGR (f)** |  | ***GR*** | ***NGR*** |
| *Mlungula* | a bribe | 127 | 45 | Mean | 179.5 | 162 |
| *Takrima* | hospitality allowance | 191 | 182 | Variance | 664.7 | 3299.6 |
| *Ubadhirifu* | embezzlement | 187 | 187 | Observations | 6 | 6 |
| *Matumizi mabaya ya ofisi* | misuse of office | 191 | 184 | Pearson Correlation | 0.996 |  |
| *Ufisadi* | corruption | 192 | 192 | Hypothesized Mean Difference | 0 |  |
| *Kitu kidogo* | a small thing | 189 | 182 | df | 5 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Stat | 1.347 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) one-tail | 0.118 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical one-tail | 2.015 |  |
|  |  |  |  | P(T<=t) two-tail | 0.236 |  |
|  |  |  |  | t Critical two-tail | 2.571 |  |

Table 4.66 shows the p-value of 0.236, which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. The table as well shows a t-statistic value of 1.347, which is less than the t-critical value, which is 2.571. These values indicate that there is no statistically significant difference in the use of euphemisms referring to corruption between the two groups. On this basis, we accept the second null hypothesis. This implies that the use of euphemisms referring to corruption among Swahili speakers is not significantly influenced by one’s level of education. This conclusion is also in line with the means of the two compared variables, as the table indicates. As it can be seen, the mean difference between the two groups is very small, implying that the difference in usage of these expressions by the two groups is insignificant. This indicates that both groups have the same levels of politeness in their use of euphemisms for corruption.

## 4.6 Summary

This chapter has focused on presenting and analysing the specific objectives of the present study. The specific objectives of the study were fourfold: the first objective focused on identifying euphemisms used by Swahili speakers; the second one aimed at identifying the strategies used by Swahili speakers in creating euphemisms; the third objective aimed at comparing euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers; and the fourth objective aimed at comparing euphemism usage between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. Various taboo themes were incorporated into the study to obtain relatively reliable conclusions.

The findings have shown that Swahili speakers use a variety of euphemisms when talking about various themes that have taboo connotations. In forming those expressions, these speakers employ a variety of strategies, some of which are in the form of nouns such as metaphors, metonyms, slang, reversal/irony, understatement, implications, and abbreviation, while others are in the form of processes like particularisation and circumlocution. The findings have shown that the most commonly used strategy is metaphor. The findings have also shown that there is no significant difference in the use of euphemisms between the compared groups. Even though the findings have shown that there are some themes that show a discrepancy in the use of these expressions between the compared groups, this discrepancy might have occurred by chance since it is observed in a few taboo themes.

After presenting and analysing the data for the objectives of the current study, the following part discusses the findings presented in this chapter and establishes the meaning of these findings.

# CHAPTER FIVE

# DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

## 5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter focused on the presentation and analysis of the findings. The findings were presented both qualitatively (for the first and second specific objectives) and quantitatively (for the third and fourth objectives). The current chapter is dedicated to discussing the findings presented in the previous chapter to get the meaning of those data. The discussion follows the sequence of the presentation of the findings in the preceding chapter. Where applicable, the discussion will be linked to the literature. Before discussing the findings, a recap of the objectives (which led to the formulation of research questions and hypotheses) is done.

The main objective of the current study was to investigate euphemism usage by different social groups among Swahili speakers. This main objective was to be realised through the following specific objectives: to identify euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers; to identify strategies that are employed by Swahili speakers in creating euphemisms; to compare euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers; and to compare euphemism usage between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers.

## 5.2 Discussion

This section focuses on discussing the findings as presented in the preceding chapter. The discussion is done in the next subsections.

### 5.2.1 Euphemisms employed by Swahili speakers

The first specific objective sought to identify the kinds of euphemisms preferred by Swahili speakers when talking about various taboo themes. After the presentation and analysis of the findings, it was revealed that Swahili speakers use a diversity of euphemisms when they are exposed to various themes that are forbidden to be talked about directly in public. These taboo expressions have a varying number of euphemistic expressions assigned to them. Some of them were highly euphemised, some were moderately euphemised, and others were minimally euphemised. This indicates that Swahili speakers perceive these impolite expressions with varying weight. Thus, the themes that attracted more euphemisms seem to be the ones that are highly tabooed. Those that are moderately euphemised seem to be the themes that are moderately tabooed, and those that are minimally euphemised appear to be the ones with less taboo connotations.

Of all the themes investigated, the ones that attracted the most euphemisms included sexual intercourse, death, and defecation. This indicates that these themes are the most tabooed in this community, making people find as many linguistic alternatives as possible to talk about them more comfortably. Sexual intercourse and death euphemisms are areas that have been much researched (Abbott, 2010; Aboh, 2015; Mofarrej & Al-Haq, 2015; Crespo-Fernández, 2023; Gathigia, Ndung’u, & Njoroge, 2015; Gomaa & Shi, 2012; Jamet, 2010; Kusumah, 2019; Owiredu, 2020), suggesting that these themes are highly considered unpleasant among speakers of various speech communities. The least euphemised themes include erection, pregnant woman, flatulence/farting, the dead body, and mentally ill person. This entails that these themes are not considered as highly offensive in this speech community as those that attracted many euphemisms. This being the case, speakers do not trouble themselves with creating as many euphemistic expressions to talk about these themes with ease. The remaining themes have been moderately euphemised, entailing that they are moderately considered offensive.

The findings also revealed that even within individual taboo themes, there were differences in the use of euphemisms for a particular theme. Some of the expressions were most frequently used; others were less frequently used, while others were moderately used. The possible reasons that triggered this difference are the knowledge of certain euphemistic expressions, the formality of the expressions, and the proportion of social groups favouring such expressions. Those expressions that are known by a large number of speakers of this language were most frequently used; this is also the case with the most formal euphemistic expressions. The opposite of this seems also to be true. On the other hand, those expressions that were preferred by a large proportion of social groups appeared to have high frequencies of use, while those expressions that were prominently preferred by one social group received a low percentage of use.

Further observation of the findings presented in the first objective reveals that all of the presented euphemisms fall under the category of traditional euphemisms. This implies that these speakers tend to use these expressions as a way of maintaining politeness. The euphemisms found in the current study have the main function of de-tabooing taboo themes. These expressions are used as functional linguistic devices in indirect verbal strategies to ensure that the faces of interlocutors are saved. These findings confirm the hypothesis established from the theoretical framework, which was employed in the current study, which proposed that Swahili speakers use euphemistic expressions for politeness purposes. This hypothesis is advocated by Brown and Levinson (1987) in their theory of Politeness. It is thus correct to assert that euphemism and politeness are intertwined phenomena in the sense that the need to be polite dictates the use of euphemism in a considerable way. The circuitousness provided by euphemisms, consequently, contributes to keeping away from offence and ensuring politeness. In this view, the main goal of euphemising coincides with a basic discursive function of strengthening social relations in interpersonal communication. This being the prime goal of euphemisation, the speaker chooses several euphemistic expressions that facilitate social accord in communicative settings while safeguarding the image of the participants in communication. Therefore, the use of euphemisms by the speakers of this language is more aimed at saving the face of the interlocutors and ensuring harmonious communication, and this has been the main aim of euphemising in various fields and various speech communities (Crespo Fernández, 2005; Gabriel & Charlotte, 2021; Wu & Wang, 2016; Zegeye, Temesegen, & Godisso, 2023).

### 5.2.2 The strategies employed in creating euphemisms

Regarding the second objective, which focused on identifying the strategies that are applied by Swahili speakers in forming euphemisms, the findings demonstrated that several ways were employed in creating those expressions. The findings showed that most of those expressions were formed through semantic innovation. Observation from the findings presented indicated that the leading strategy in creating euphemisms among Swahili speakers was metaphor, especially in death-related themes. These findings are inconsistent with those which were established in the studies of scholars like Al-Haq and Al-Smadi (2020), Frajzyngier and Jirsa (2006), Greene (2000), and Rabab’ah and Al-Qarni (2012), who reported that overstatement and figurative expressions were the most frequently used euphemistic strategies in a death-related context. The possible reason for this discrepancy between the findings of the current study and those cited here is the cultural difference existing between these communities, which influences the use of euphemisms due to diverging social norms, values, and religious beliefs embedded in the other cultures. The studies that were done by Al-Khasawneh (2018), Jdetawy (2019), and Rabab’ah & Al-Qarni (2012) inform that cultural difference has an impact on the general use of euphemisms, where in some cases it triggers differences in the use of these expressions while in other instances it does not. The appearance of metaphor as a major strategy in creating euphemisms related to death implies that associating the act of dying with other things or other acts helps greatly in eliminating the fear that is brought up by the explicit mention of the event of dying.

Interestingly, the study observes the use of slang as one of the strategies used in forming euphemistic expressions. This strategy is not mentioned in other reviewed studies. Although it is known that younger speakers are leading in forming and using slang, once the slang is formed it infiltrates in the society where it is caught by other members of the society. Thus, instead of remaining the expression identifying a certain social stratum, it becomes a property of all members of the society who happen to hear it. Its use, however, depends on the prevailing social context. This being the case, the slang that is used by one group is also known by other groups in this speech community.

Other strategies appeared in the current study include particularisation, reversal/irony, and metonym. Nonetheless, the line separating some of these categories is very thin. Since there is no formal way of categorising these strategies, Warren (1992) suggests the use of intuition in categorising these strategies.

### 5.2.3 Euphemisms preferred by male and female speakers

The third specific objective of the present study aimed at comparing the use of euphemisms based on sex differences. The findings obtained from this study indicate that both male and female speakers preferred similar euphemisms to refer to various themes that have taboo connotations.

After conducting a quantitative analysis using a t-test in determining whether there is a significant difference in the use of these expressions between the two groups, the findings came as follows: of all 22 taboo themes which were studied, only three themes revealed that Swahili male and female speakers used euphemisms referring to them (taboo themes) in significantly different way. These themes are semen, orgasm, and AIDS. The first two of these themes are related to sexuality, while the remaining one is related to diseases. Given that only three of these themes led to the rejection of the first null hypothesis, it is likely that this discrepancy happened by chance and not because of sex differences. This being the case, we conclude that there is no difference in the use of euphemisms between male and female Swahili speakers.

Several studies have attempted to investigate the relationship between sex and the use of euphemisms. Some of these studies report that there are significant differences in the use of euphemisms between men and women (Hysi, 2011; Jespersen, 2013; Lakoff, 1986; Mofarrej & Al-Haq, 2015; Simkins & Rinck, 1982; Xia, 2013; Zaiets, 2018). The notable difference that is reported most often is that women use euphemisms more than men. However, as the findings in the current study reveal, there is no significant difference in the use of these expressions between male and female Swahili speakers. These findings are in line with the ones established in the works of Al-Haq and Al-Smadi (2020), Al-Khasawneh (2018), Al-Khawaldeh (2014), Crawford and Chaffin (1987), Kapron-King and Xu (2021), Karimnia and Khodashenas (2016), McGlone and Batchelor (2003), Olimat (2020), Rabab'ah and Al-Qarni (2012), and Rosadi, Rosa, and Tiarina (2013), which established that neither sex group significantly outperforms the other in using these expressions.

Since euphemisms are part of the day-to-day tools of polite communication, it is correct to establish that their use cannot be influenced by one’s sex. These expressions are open to being used by any member of the society provided that they (euphemisms) are known by particular speakers. The current study’s findings are in line with the findings of those studies that found a lack of significant difference in the use of these expressions by the two sexes. Nevertheless, the findings in some of the earlier studies that the two sexes differ significantly in their use of euphemisms cannot be ruled out due to cultural differences in the context in which those other studies were conducted. It is possible that due to their cultural position, their findings came out the way they did.

The data given here do not provide enough evidence to support the notion that one sex group uses euphemisms more than the other group. Even in cases where one group uses these expressions more than the other, it does not happen consistently. This led to the acceptance of the first null hypothesis stating, “there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers”. This entails that the two groups have closely the same levels of politeness when using euphemisms for a variety of taboo subjects.

### 5.2.4 Euphemisms preferred by graduate and non-graduate speakers

On the fourth specific objective, which required that the euphemisms that are preferred by graduate and non-graduate speakers of this language be specified and compared, the present study revealed the following: Out of the 22 taboo themes investigated, only five themes showed a significant difference in the use of their euphemisms by the two groups, while the remaining themes showed no significant difference in the use of their euphemisms. The themes that the two groups diverged on in using their euphemisms include sexual intercourse, male and female sexual organs, semen, and defecation. All but one (defecation) of these are sexually-related themes. Overall, the data revealed that the two groups do not exhibit significant disparity in the use of euphemisms in most of taboo themes.

There are a limited number of studies devoted to reporting the association between the level of education and the use of euphemisms. The only study that was found in the literature was the one conducted by Alotaibi (2015), which found that the educated Kuwaiti speakers of Arabic (holders of university degrees) avoided employing offensive words where they considered them unsuitable. Although the study is silent about the use of these expressions by non-graduate speakers of the studied language, the reported finding implies that graduate and non-graduate speakers of this language use euphemisms differently. These findings are not in harmony with the ones established in the current study, which reveal that both graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers used euphemisms at nearly equal levels to avoid talking about the taboo expressions using direct language. The possible reason that the findings of these two studies differ is the difference in cultural backgrounds exhibited by the speakers of the two languages. The findings in the current study led to the acceptance of the second null hypothesis stating, “there is no significant difference in euphemism usage between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers”. This entails that both groups have the same levels of politeness in using euphemisms for the most tabooed themes, except for a few of these themes.

After dealing with this chapter, the focus in the next chapter rests on presenting the summary of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations, both educationally and for areas requiring further research.

# CHAPTER SIX

# SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

# 

## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary and conclusions of the study. It also presents recommendations for future research. The chapter is organised into five sections. The first section provides the introductory remarks about the chapter, while the second section provides the general summary of the study. The third section presents the summary of the findings, which is based on the objectives of the current study, which were stated in chapter one. The fourth section deals with the conclusions, which are grounded in the findings of the study. The last section presents the recommendations for future research and for actions to be taken educationally.

## 6.2 General summary

The main aim of the current study has been to contribute towards understanding the way various social groups use euphemisms among Swahili speakers. Knowing the way various social groups use euphemisms is very crucial, as it helps language users choose and use linguistic expressions that are considered appropriate to a particular social group to avoid the possible misunderstanding that is caused by miscommunication resulting from using expressions that are inappropriate or unfamiliar to a specific social group. The study, therefore, investigated the way different social groups employ these expressions in their day-to-day interactions when exposed to various taboo subjects. The present study consisted of four specific objectives, which included: (1) to identify euphemisms that are used by Swahili speakers; (2) to identify strategies that are employed by Swahili speakers in creating euphemisms; (3) to compare euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers; and (4) to compare euphemism usage between graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. To get fairly enough data that would sufficiently lead into a reliable conclusion, a total of 22 taboo themes were incorporated in the study. These themes are related to sex, death, body morphologies, diseases, bodily emissions, and corruption, to name a few.

The current study was conducted in Unguja Urban District of Unguja West Region, in Zanzibar. The study was done in 23 shehias and it involved 384 respondents, composed of 192 male and 192 female speakers. These respondents included 192 graduates and 192 non-graduates.

The only tool that was employed in collecting data was a questionnaire. A questionnaire containing all the taboo themes involved in the current study was prepared and administered to all 384 respondents. In each of the taboo theme involved, there was a list of corresponding euphemisms which these respondents were to tick the particular euphemism(s) they prefer to use for specific theme. The respondents were also allowed to add to the list other expressions they prefer to use for a specific theme in case the expression was not on the list in the questionnaire. The collected data were analysed qualitatively and quantitatively. The qualitative analysis involved content and taxonomical analysis of the findings.

Quantitative analysis, on the other hand, first involved managing the data using MAXQDA 2022. This software assisted in finding the frequencies for each expression used in a specific theme. The frequencies of each euphemism ticked by the respondents were presented in tables, and the values found in those tables were used in testing the stated hypotheses through the t-test, which is available in Excel. In the following section and the subsequent subsections, the summary of the results of the current study is presented.

## 6.3 Summary of the findings

This section focuses on presenting a summary of the findings of the present study based on the highlighted research objectives. The summary is presented in the following subsections.

### 6.3.1 Euphemisms used by Swahili speakers

The main concern of this objective was to identify the kinds of euphemisms that Swahili speakers prefer to use when conversing on various taboo themes. In response to this objective and its corresponding research question, the findings indicated that Swahili speakers use a variety of euphemisms when they are talking about various themes that are considered taboo. The findings reveal that the most euphemised themes were sexual intercourse, death, and defecation (the themes with the most euphemisms). This implies that these themes are the most impolite and unpleasant, and they are the ones that most people feel uncomfortable talking about in public using explicit terms. On the other end, the least taboo themes include erection, pregnant woman, farting, dead body, and mentally ill person (they had fewer euphemistic expressions). This indicates that these themes are considered to be less offensive compared to the ones that were highly euphemised. The remaining themes were moderately euphemised. The euphemisms that were preferred by Swahili speakers were geared more towards saving the faces of the interlocutors than for other functions like self-uplifting and entertaining. This indicates that the use of these expressions by these speakers is focused on maintaining politeness during the verbal exchange.

### 6.3.2 The strategies employed in forming euphemisms

Regarding the second objective and its corresponding question, which altogether sought to identify the euphemistic strategies that are involved in the formation of euphemisms by Swahili speakers, the results exhibited that these speakers use a mixture of strategies in creating euphemisms that are used for the involved taboo themes. As the data indicated, most of the presented euphemisms were formed metaphorically. The themes whose euphemisms were largely formed by this strategy are sexual intercourse, defecation, and death. In addition to metaphors, particularisation, reversal/irony, metonym, understatement, implications, and abbreviation were also used. The findings also revealed the use of slang in euphemising sensitive expressions. Although this kind of language (the use of slang) is most common among youths, it was also found among other groups due to interaction existing between them. Most of the euphemisms were formed through semantic innovation.

### 6.3.3 Euphemism usage by male and female Swahili speakers

Concerning the third objective and its respective null hypothesis, which focused on comparing euphemism usage between male and female Swahili speakers, the findings unearthed that both male and female speakers of this language use similar euphemistic expressions in the various themes that were involved in the current study.

Quantitatively, after conducting a t-test on the first null hypothesis, the findings revealed that, generally, there is no significant difference in the use of euphemisms between male and female Swahili speakers. This is based on the fact that out of 22 taboo themes that were investigated, only three indicated the presence of significant divergence in using euphemisms between the two groups. The remaining themes indicated a lack of significant divergence in using these expressions between the two compared groups. Based on these findings, it was established that the use of these expressions is not significantly determined by sex differences. Anyone, irrespective of their sex, can use these expressions provided that they (the speakers) are knowledgeable about them. No sex group has a monopoly over certain euphemisms. All it takes to use them is to know them and the appropriate context in which they are involved in communicative exchange.

### 6.3.4 Euphemism usage by graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers

The main concern of this objective was to compare euphemism usage by Swahili speakers based on their differences in their levels of education. Concerning this objective, the study sought to specify and compare euphemisms that graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers prefer to use on various impolite themes. After the presentation and analysis of the data, it was concluded that both graduate and non-graduate members of this speech community prefer to use the same euphemisms to refer to the various taboo themes.

After testing the second hypothesis using a t-test, it was revealed that, overall, there is no significant difference in the use of euphemisms between the graduate and non-graduate Swahili speakers. The results that came out after testing the hypothesis indicated that, out of the 22 taboo themes that were investigated, only five themes showed the presence of a difference in the use of euphemisms between graduate and non-graduate speakers. The remaining themes revealed that there is no significant difference in the use of euphemisms between the two groups. By comparing the themes that showed the presence of a significant difference in using these expressions with those that showed the absence of a significant difference between the two groups, it is clear that the latter overtakes the former by far. In this regard, we concluded that the difference shown in those five themes in the use of these expressions by the two groups might have occurred by chance. It was thus established that the education variable is not decisive in the ways euphemisms are used among speakers of this language.

## 6.4 Conclusions

The current study shows that the Swahili-speaking community is sensitive to various impolite expressions; this triggered the formation of diverse linguistic expressions to counter the impolite and unpleasant expressions and enable talking about those taboo themes in a more polite way. This reveals how linguistically creative Swahili speakers are in their formation and use of euphemisms. Their creativity is observed in the way they play with language to innovate linguistic forms that substitute expressions with taboo connotations. As the data indicate, most of the euphemistic expressions formed are in the form of phrases. This entails that these speakers prefer indirectness in their adherence to the principle of politeness. The use of roundedness, however, does not obstruct the comprehension of the intended meaning, especially when they (euphemisms) are used in the specific context.

The study also observes that sex and education differences do not influence the use of euphemisms by these speakers. As the findings indicate, there is no significant difference in the use of these expressions in most taboo themes that were used in comparability between males and females; graduates and non-graduates. The difference that is observed in the use of these expressions by the compared groups on some impolite themes might have occurred by chance. This reveals that the compared groups have almost the same levels of politeness in using euphemisms for most of taboo themes which were investigated. Euphemisms being part of language, they can be used by any member of the society on condition that those speakers are knowledgeable about the particular expression and the social context allows the usage of such expression. Thus, since the users of this language, especially the studied groups, use euphemistic expressions at almost identical levels, the users of this language can somehow relax when using these expressions to ensure effective communication. However, for those euphemisms with varying levels of usage across social groups, speakers should use more of the expressions with high frequencies from the respective group because they are likely the most suitable euphemisms to meet the politeness standards for the respective group. Generally, users of this language should avoid explicit mention of words with taboo connotations in order to ensure effective communication with high levels of politeness.

## 6.5 Recommendations

Educationally, the current study recommends that euphemisms be taught when studying language at different levels of education. Considering how important this language aspect is in sustaining good communicative relationships, it is high time that curriculum developers integrate it as a separate topic in our curriculum. Currently, this aspect is taught superficially as one of the figures of speech. If the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology approves the teaching of euphemisms as an independent topic, curriculum developers are advised to incorporate these euphemisms into the curriculum without considering the diversity of the social groups in society. This is due to the fact that these groups (especially the ones involved in the study) do not differ much in their use of euphemisms.

Regarding the areas for further research, the future studies may investigate how urbanites and rural dwellers use these expressions to determine if there are similarities or differences in their preferences and use of these expressions. This is due to the fact that the current study was limited to only speakers who are living in urban areas. It is said that language use might also be influenced by the regions where the speakers of a given language are residing.

Also, the current study did not directly investigate whether there are some social groups that lead in the innovations and change of euphemisms. Future works could investigate which of the involved social groups is ahead in the formation of new euphemisms, while bearing in mind that the answer to this question is likely to be context and topic-dependent.

Additionally, the current study was limited to a few social groups due to time and financial constraints. The same study could be done to investigate how other groups, like professionals and non-professionals, use these expressions. It can also compare the use of euphemisms by groups of various professions to see if there are any significant similarities or differences in their use of these expressions between them.

Furthermore, the same study could be done using other methods. The current study relied solely on the questionnaire. This method was beneficial in terms of time saving while ensuring the availability of required data, as it helped the respondents to remind themselves of the euphemisms they use for the specific theme just by looking over the list of those expressions. The questionnaire was open, as it allowed the respondents to add other euphemisms that they use but were not included on the list in the questionnaire. Thus, the same study can be done using a different method to see if the same findings can be obtained. The other method may involve long-term participant observation, where the researcher may spend an extended period of time in various social groups and various contexts to study how they use these expressions.

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# APPENDICES

# APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is **Lazaro Charles**, a PhD student at the Open University of Tanzania. I am conducting research titled ‘***Investigating Euphemism Usage by Different Social Groups among Swahili Speakers: A Comparative Analysis’****,* as a part of my doctorate research work. It would be very kind of you to spare your valuable time to fill this questionnaire in order to get data which will help to make this work successful. I assure you that the responses you supply in this questionnaire will be used solely for the purpose of this research and will be kept *strictly confidential.*

I will be indeed thankful to you for filling this questionnaire.

Personal information

Age (Umri) …………………………………………………….

Sex (Jinsia) …………………………………………………….

Level of education (Elimu yako) ………………………………………………..

Place of residence (Mahali unapoishi) …………………………………………...

Date (Tarehe) ……………………………………………………

Katika dodoso hili, upande wa kushoto (safu A) kuna orodha ya tafsida (*maneno ya staha yanayotumika kupunguza ukali wa maneno yasiyofaa kutumika katika jamii*)ambazo hutumika kuzungumzia mada husika. Upande wa kulia (safu B) ni aina mbalimbali za watu wanaohusika katika mazungumzo. Weka alama ya vema {✓} kwenye upande wa kulia ikiwa tafsida iliyotajwa upande wa kushoto huwa unaitumia unapozungumza na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa kwenye mada husika (kwenye safu B)

1. Ni tafsida zipi unazozitumia unaposema unaenda kufanya ngono au unaposema mtu fulani anaenda kufanya ngono pindi unapozungumza na watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika; kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Kujamiiana |  |  |  |  |
| Kutafunana |  |  |  |  |
| Kulalana |  |  |  |  |
| Kufanyana |  |  |  |  |
| Kufanya tendo la ndoa |  |  |  |  |
| Kupata haki ya ndoa |  |  |  |  |
| Kula mzigo |  |  |  |  |
| Kupata unyumba |  |  |  |  |
| Kulala |  |  |  |  |
| Kukunana |  |  |  |  |
| Kula tunda |  |  |  |  |
| Kula uroda |  |  |  |  |
| Kukutana kimwili |  |  |  |  |
| Kufanya mapenzi |  |  |  |  |
| Kukamuana |  |  |  |  |
| Kutifuana |  |  |  |  |
| Kutafuta watoto |  |  |  |  |
| Kupasuana |  |  |  |  |
| Kudonoana |  |  |  |  |
| Kuingiliana |  |  |  |  |

Kama kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia zinazohusiana na kufanya ngono, tafadhali ziorodheshe hapa chini kulingana na jinsi unavyoongea ukiwa na:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako …………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri……………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ………………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

2. Ni tafsida zipi unazozitumia kumaanisha sehemu za siri za mwanaume unapozungumza na makundi mbalimbali ya watu? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika, ikiwa hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Dudu |  |  |  |  |
| Jogoo |  |  |  |  |
| Mhogo wa jang’ombe |  |  |  |  |
| Muwa |  |  |  |  |
| Uume |  |  |  |  |
| Kiboko |  |  |  |  |
| Ukuni |  |  |  |  |
| Mtaimbo |  |  |  |  |
| Mpini |  |  |  |  |
| Mkongojo |  |  |  |  |

Kama kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia kumaanisha sehemu za siri za mwanaume unapozungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatao, tafadhali ziongeze kwenye nafasi zilizoachwa wazi hapa chini.

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako …………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri……………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ………………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………….

3. Ni tafsida zipi kati ya zifuatazo unazozitumia kumaanisha sehemu za siri za mwanamke unapozungumza na makundi mbalimbali ya watu? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika, kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Uke |  |  |  |  |
| Utamu |  |  |  |  |
| Tunda |  |  |  |  |
| Mzigo |  |  |  |  |
| “K” |  |  |  |  |
| Chini |  |  |  |  |

Tafadhali orodhesha tafsida zingine (kama zipo) unazotumia kumaanisha sehemu za siri za mwanamke unapozungumza na makundi ya watu yaliyo kwenye orodha hapo chini.

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako …………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri……………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ………………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ………………………………………………………………

4. Ni tafsida zipi kwenye orodha ifuatayo unazozitumia unapozungumzia mtu kufanyishwa ngono kwa njia ya haja kubwa? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika, ikiwa hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa iliyotajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Kulawitiwa |  |  |  |  |
| Kufanyiwa ufirauni |  |  |  |  |
| Kuingiliwa kinyume na maumbile |  |  |  |  |
| Kunajisiwa |  |  |  |  |

Tafadhali tumia nafasi iliyoachwa wazi hapa chini kuongeza tafsida zingine, kama zipo, unazotumia kuzungumzia kitendo cha mtu kufanyishwa ngono kwa njia ya haja kubwa pindi unapozungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatao:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri…………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

5. Ni tafsida zipi unazozitumia kumaanisha mbegu za kiume unapozungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika, kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Mbegu (za kiume) |  |  |  |  |
| Watoto |  |  |  |  |
| Mkojo mweupe |  |  |  |  |
| Mkojo mzito |  |  |  |  |
| Mkojo wa mtu mzima |  |  |  |  |
| Wazungu |  |  |  |  |
| Maji ya uzima |  |  |  |  |
| Maji ya baraka |  |  |  |  |

Kama kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia zinazomaanisha mbegu za kiume, tafadhali ziorodheshe kutokana na unavyozitumia na makundi ya watu wafuatao:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri…………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

6. Unatumia tafsida gani unapozungumzia kitendo cha mwanaume kutoa mbegu akifanya tendo la ngono unapozungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika; ikiwa hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Kufika kileleni |  |  |  |  |
| Kukojoa |  |  |  |  |
| Kurusha maji |  |  |  |  |
| Kumaliza safari |  |  |  |  |
| Kuridhika |  |  |  |  |
| Kutoa wazungu |  |  |  |  |
| Kutoa oili |  |  |  |  |

Ikiwa kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia kumaanisha kitendo cha mwanaume kutoa mbegu akiwa anashiriki ngono, tafadhali ziorodhesha hapa chini kulingana na namna unavyozitumia ukizungumza na:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri…………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

7. Ni tafsida zipi unazozitumia unapozungumzia kuwa na hamu ya kufanya ngono unapozungumza na makundi mbalimbali ya watu? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika; kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Midadi |  |  |  |  |
| Mshawasha |  |  |  |  |
| Hanjamu |  |  |  |  |
| Ukame |  |  |  |  |
| Ugwadu |  |  |  |  |

Tafadhali tumia nafasi zilizoachwa wazi hapa chini kuongeza tafsida zingine (kama zipo) unazotumia kuzungumzia kitendo cha mtu kuwa na hamu ya kufanya ngono unapozungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatao:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri…………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

8. Ni tafsida zipi unazozitumia unapozungumzia kitendo cha uume kusimama unapozungumza na makundi ya watu yafuatayo? (Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika; kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema).

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Jogoo kuwika |  |  |  |  |
| Kusimamisha |  |  |  |  |
| Jogoo kupanda mtungi |  |  |  |  |

Kama kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia kumaanisha kusimamisha uume, tafadhali ziorodheshe hapa chini kulingana na jinsi unavyozitumia unapozungumza na makundi yafuatayo ya watu:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri…………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

9. Ni tafsida zipi unazozitumia kumaanisha mwanamke mwenye mimba unapozungumza na makundi mbalimbali ya watu? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika; ikiwa hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Mjamzito |  |  |  |  |
| Mama kijacho |  |  |  |  |
| Meneja |  |  |  |  |

Kama kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia kumaanisha mwanamke mwenye mimba, tafadhali zitaje kulingana na namna unavyozitumia ukiwasiliana na watu wafuatao:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako …………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri……………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ………………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ………………………………………………………………

10. Ni tafsida zipi unazozitumia kumaanisha mwanamke malaya/kahaba unapozungumza na makundi mbalimbali ya watu? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika; kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa iliyotajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Changudoa |  |  |  |  |
| Mdangaji |  |  |  |  |
| Kirukanjia |  |  |  |  |
| Kurumbembe |  |  |  |  |
| Dada poa |  |  |  |  |
| Anayejiuza |  |  |  |  |
| Jamvi la wageni |  |  |  |  |

Tafadhali tumia nafasi zilizoachwa wazi hapa chini kuongeza tafsida zingine (kama zipo) unazotumia kumaanisha mwanamke malaya unapozungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatao:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri…………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

11. Ni tafsida zipi unazozitumia unapozungumzia kitendo cha mwanamke kuwa katika hedhi unapozungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika; kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Kuwa katika siku |  |  |  |  |
| Kunyesha mvua |  |  |  |  |
| Kuwa mchafu |  |  |  |  |
| Kupata wageni |  |  |  |  |
| Kuwa mwezini |  |  |  |  |
| Kuvuja |  |  |  |  |

Ikiwa kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia kumaanisha mwanamke aliye katika hedhi, tafadhali ziorodheshe kwenye nafasi zilizoachwa wazi hapa chini kulingana na jinsi unavyoongea na:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ……………………………………………………………….

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri…………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

12. Ni tafsida zipi unazozitumia unapotaka kwenda kujisaidia haja kubwa unapozungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika; kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Kujisaidia |  |  |  |  |
| Kusafisha tumbo |  |  |  |  |
| Kunyoosha utumbo |  |  |  |  |
| Kutoa vyakula |  |  |  |  |
| Kukata gogo |  |  |  |  |
| Kupunguza uzito |  |  |  |  |
| Kuchimba dawa |  |  |  |  |
| Kwenda msalani |  |  |  |  |
| Kwenda chooni |  |  |  |  |
| Kukamua utumbo |  |  |  |  |
| Kwenda haja kubwa |  |  |  |  |

Tafadhali tumia nafasi zilizoachwa wazi hapa chini kuongeza tafsida zingine (kama zipo) unazotumia unapotaka kwenda kujisaidia haja kubwa unapozungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatao:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri…………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

13. Unatumia tafsida gani unapozungumzia kitendo cha mtu kujamba wakati unapozungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika; kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Kupumua |  |  |  |  |
| Kutoa hewa chafu |  |  |  |  |
| Kutoa upepo |  |  |  |  |

Kama kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia zinazohusiana mtu kujamba, tafadhali ziainishe hapa chini kulingana na jinsi unavyozitumia ukiongea na:

(a) Mtu wa jinsia yako ……………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri……………………………………………………….

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri …………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ………………………………………………………….

14. Ni tafsida zipi unazotumia kumaanisha ugonjwa wa UKIMWI unapozungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatayo? (Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika; ikiwa hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Miwaya |  |  |  |  |
| Umeme |  |  |  |  |
| Ngoma |  |  |  |  |
| Malaria ya kisasa |  |  |  |  |
| Moto |  |  |  |  |

Tafadhali ongezea kwenye orodha ikiwa kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia kumaanisha ugonjwa wa UKIMWI kwa kadri unavyozitumia unapozungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatao:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ……………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri …………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri …………………………………………………………

15. Unatumia tafsida gani unapozungumzia hali ya mtu kuwa kichaa unapozungumza na watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika, kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Mwenye wazimu |  |  |  |  |
| Chizi |  |  |  |  |
| Mlemavu wa akili |  |  |  |  |
| Punguani |  |  |  |  |

Orodhesha tafsida zingine (kama zipo) unazotumia kumaanisha mtu mwenye ukichaa kulingana na jinsi unavyoongea na:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ……………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri …………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri …………………………………………………………

16. Unatumia tafsida gani unapozungumzia hali ya mtu kuwa mwembamba unapozungumza na watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika; ikiwa hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Kuwa mwembamba |  |  |  |  |
| Kuwa modo |  |  |  |  |
| Kupungua |  |  |  |  |
| Kimbaumbau |  |  |  |  |
| Kuchonga |  |  |  |  |
| Kuchoka |  |  |  |  |

Ikiwa kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia kumaanisha mtu mwembamba unazotumia ukizungumza na makundi ya watu wafuatao, tafadhali zitaje.

(a) Mtu wa jinsia yako ……………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri……………………………………………………….

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ………………………………………………………….

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ………………………………………………………….

17. Unatumia tafsida gani unapozungumzia hali ya mtu kuwa mnene unapozungumza na watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika, kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Kuongezeka |  |  |  |  |
| Kuwa na afya |  |  |  |  |
| Tipwatipwa |  |  |  |  |
| Kunawiri |  |  |  |  |
| Kupendeza |  |  |  |  |
| Bonge |  |  |  |  |
| Kifutu |  |  |  |  |

Tafadhali ongeza tafsida zingine hapa chini (kama zipo) unazotumia kumaanisha mtu mnene kulingana na jinsi unavyoongea na:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ……………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri …………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri …………………………………………………………

18. Unatumia tafsida gani unapozungumzia kitendo cha mtu kufa unapozungumza na watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika, kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Kuaga dunia |  |  |  |  |
| Kuhitimisha safari ya hapa duniani |  |  |  |  |
| Kuitwa na Mungu |  |  |  |  |
| Kulala usingizi wa mauti |  |  |  |  |
| Kuwatoka watu |  |  |  |  |
| Kuzima |  |  |  |  |
| Kufumba macho |  |  |  |  |
| Kunyamaza |  |  |  |  |
| Kulala |  |  |  |  |
| Kutangulia mbele za haki |  |  |  |  |
| Kupata msiba |  |  |  |  |
| Mgonjwa amemaliza |  |  |  |  |
| Kuhitajika |  |  |  |  |
| Kufika hatma |  |  |  |  |
| Kupumzika |  |  |  |  |
| Kufariki dunia |  |  |  |  |

Kama kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia zinazohusiana na kitendo cha mtu kufa, tafadhali ziongeze kadri unavyozitumia kuwasaliana na watu wafuatao:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako …………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri……………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ………………………………………………………

19. Aina gani ya tafsida unazotumia kumaanisha maiti unapozungumza na watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika, kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Mwili |  |  |  |  |
| Mfu |  |  |  |  |
| Marehemu |  |  |  |  |

Kama kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia kumaanisha maiti, tafadhali zitaje kulingana na jinsi unavyoongea na:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri…………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

20. Aina gani ya tafsida unazotumia unapozungumzia kitendo cha kuzika unapozungumza na watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika, kama hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Kuhifadhi mwili |  |  |  |  |
| Kusindikiza mwili |  |  |  |  |
| Kumuweka (marehemu) kwenye nyumba yake ya milele |  |  |  |  |
| Kupumzisha mwili |  |  |  |  |

Ikiwa kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia zinazomaanisha kitendo cha kuzika, tafadhali ziorodheshe hapa chini kulingana na jinsi unavyoongea na:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako …………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri……………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ………………………………………………………

21. Aina gani ya tafsida unazotumia kumaanisha kaburi unapozungumza na watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika; ikiwa hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Malaloni |  |  |  |  |
| Nyumba ya milele |  |  |  |  |
| Mavani |  |  |  |  |
| Mwanandani |  |  |  |  |

Tumia nafasi zilizoachwa wazi hapa chini kuongeza tafsida zingine (ikiwa zipo) unazotumia kumaanisha kaburi kwa kadri unavyozitumia kuongea na watu wenye sifa zifuatazo:

(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ………………………………………………………………

(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri…………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

22. Aina gani ya tafsida unazotumia kumaanisha rushwa unapozungumza na watu wafuatao? Weka alama ya vema {✓} panapohusika, ikiwa hiyo tafsida huitumii unapoongea na mtu mwenye sifa tajwa usiweke alama ya vema.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A (Tafsida) | B (Makundi mbalimbali ya watu) | | | |
| Mtu wa jinsia yako | Mtu mnayelingana umri | Mtu aliyekuzidi umri | Mtu uliyemzidi umri |
| Mlungula |  |  |  |  |
| Takrima |  |  |  |  |
| Ubadhirifu |  |  |  |  |
| Matumizi mabaya ya ofisi |  |  |  |  |
| Ufisadi |  |  |  |  |
| Kitu kidogo |  |  |  |  |

Ikiwa kuna tafsida zingine unazotumia kumaanisha kitendo cha kula rushwa zitaje hapa chini kulingana na jinsi unavyoongea na:

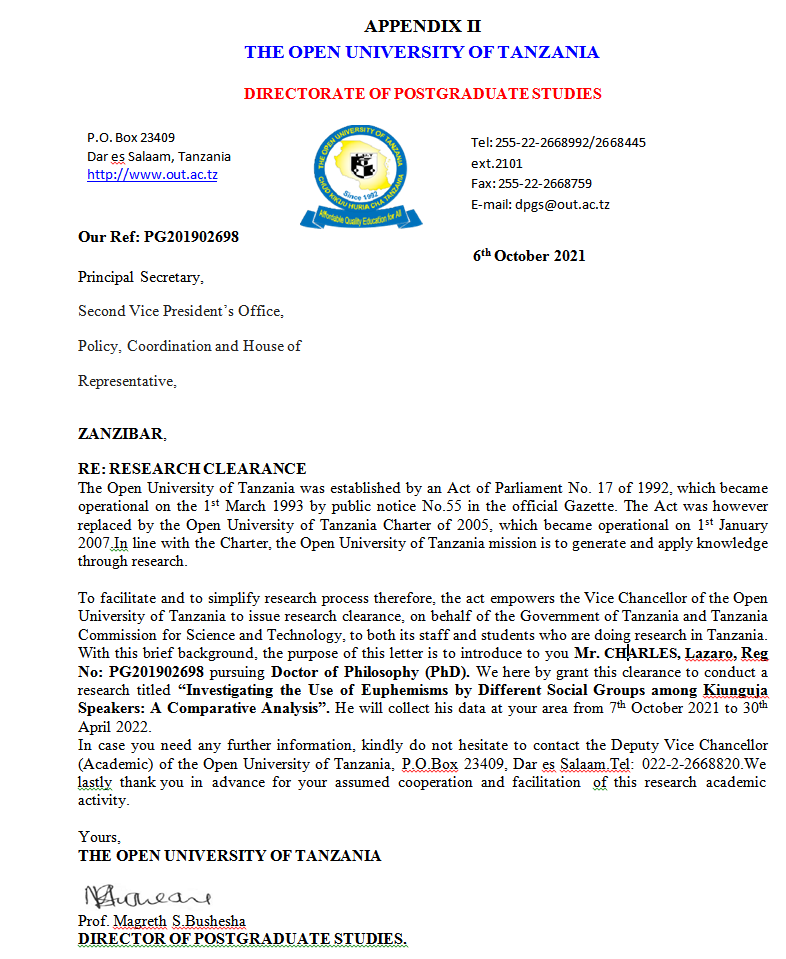
(a) Mtu wa jinsi yako ………………………………………………………………

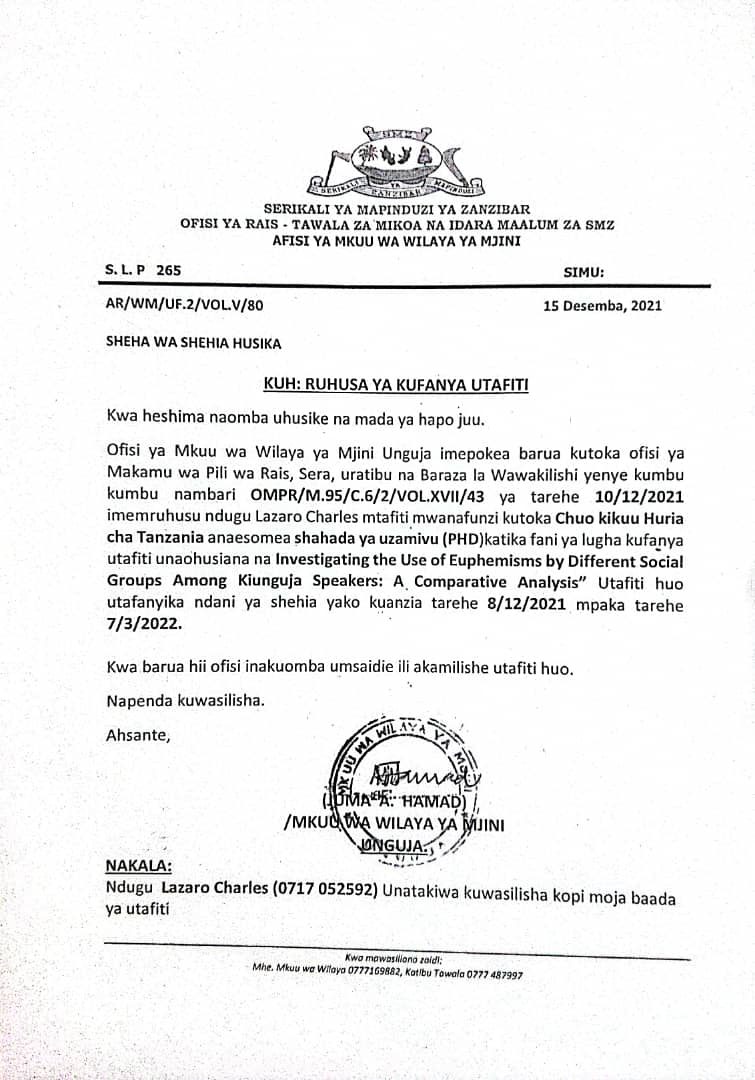
(b) Mtu mnayelingana umri…………………………………………………………

(c) Mtu aliyekuzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

(d) Mtu uliyemzidi umri ……………………………………………………………

**APPENDIX II: CLEARANCE LETTER**



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