



Use of euphemisms in youth language

Funda Uzdu Yıldız¹ 

Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey

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Abstract

This study aims at describing in detail how university students in Turkey use euphemisms in their daily language usage. The description of the euphemisms in the study was made according to the linguistic formations of euphemisms defined by Warren and accepted in the literature. The euphemisms used by the participants were determined by asking them questions in the most basic contexts that were selected considering the examples given in the definitions of euphemism. These contexts included going to the toilet, giving news of someone's death, and gaining weight. In the study conducted with 383 participants Metonyms were the most frequently employed method in the context of going to the toilet and the use of loan words; metaphors was the most preferred method in the context of giving news of someone's death; and implications were the choice of communication in the case of weight gain. In the case of implications, the use of "I" language was particularly remarkable. The more frequent use of implications for forming euphemisms based on the context compared to other methods shows that a pragmatic formation method is used more frequently for forming euphemisms in Turkish. In the study, it was determined that "-(y)I kaybetmek" (lose someone) was the most commonly used euphemism in the context of death in youth language. In addition, the use of "rhetorical questions" and expressions such as "like" and "as" were observed as euphemism-formation techniques in youth language in Turkish, though they are not found in Warren's classification.

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Keywords: euphemism, language change, euphemism formation techniques, youth language, formation of euphemisms in Turkish

1. Introduction

Individuals avoid certain expressions during communication to ensure that their communication is not disrupted and they achieve propriety in terms of courtesy. This applies to all cultures. Instead of expressions thus avoided, they use different linguistic or non-linguistic expressions that can be understood contextually by other individuals in communication. Euphemisms constitute one of the linguistic manifestations of such avoidance. In the literature, the concept of euphemism is generally defined as the act of avoiding those expressions which are inappropriate in the context, those which are

¹ Corresponding author.

E-mail address: funda.uzdu@deu.edu.tr

considered harsh, or those which evoke different emotions and replacing such linguistic units with other phrases (Howard, 1985; Fromkin and Rodman, 1993; Abrams, 1993; Aksan, 1998). In other words, euphemism is a way of expressing that which seeks to change the perception even though the meaning does not change (Demirci, 2008: 22). It can be said that psychological dimensions of the language plays a crucial role in preferring to use this expression style. Perception change can be achieved by reducing the effect of the original expression by indirectly expressing its true meaning with euphemism. This change demonstrates the relationship of euphemism with culture and society (Beizae and Suzani, 2016; Jdetawy, 2019). Social relationship and ideal communication requirements of euphemism have been explained by many experts (Ren and Yu, 2013; Enright, 1985; Allan and Burridge, 1991; Pan, 2013). Euphemisms tend to be used mostly in connection with taboo content. It is seen that topics about sexuality, health, and religion produce euphemisms through aversion in daily discourse. Euphemism is a linguistic actualization. In this regard, it is directly related to multiple areas of linguistics. As it is a semantic substitution, it can be examined from a semantic point of view. As the criterion of this substitution depends on language users, i.e., social sections, euphemism is also associated with sociolinguistics. It is also related to pragmatics as it is usually structured according to context in verbal communication. Recently, researchers discuss euphemism as a concept that falls in the area shared by any of these fields as they see it directly related to at least two of these fields (Ghounane, 2013; Pan, 2013; Jdetawy, 2019).

The fact that it varies according to the user and it is not entirely lexical indicates that euphemism is a linguistic process that is open to instant formations. As Rawson put it, euphemisms are stable in the current (1981: 4). Euphemisms are not fixed in the language; they contain several variables. This variability can be historical, or it can stem from the speaker's characteristics or entirely from the context itself. The characteristics that are attributed to the speaker can be based on psychological and sociological reasons. As language changes, so does society and vice versa. In sociolinguistics, there are several speaker groups also known as language registers and language groups. William Labov, who is considered as the founder of sociolinguistics, explored the correlation between some linguistic changes and social or communication status of speakers (Kıran and Kıran, 2012: 272). As a result of these researches, it has been demonstrated that the status or position in question is a reason for variability. It is accepted that factors such as occupation, place of residence, educational status, monthly or annual income, cultural background, religion, and family status that affect the social status of individuals also have an effect on their language (König, 1991: 64). Therefore, the presence of different user groups among language users has also been acknowledged. Similarities are expected in terms of vocabulary, pronunciation, intonation, syntactic, formal, or other characteristics in the formation of user groups or language communities (Ferguson, 1994: 20). These similarities form fundamental variables among language groups in society. Euphemisms may vary according to language usage of these groups, and this variability is considered to be more dynamic in youth language. Youth language, defined as a special language that young people use among themselves, is considered a linguistic variety in sociolinguistics (Christmann, 2004) and is a phenomenon that can be observed all over the world. According to Tattersal (2003), all languages are under the influence of different forms of language usage that emerge as a result of various factors (cited in Canbulat, 2017: 114). In this context, the use of euphemisms in youth language is considered a phenomenon that can be studied to find out differences. It can also be argued that changes and trends in youth language can affect the general language and result in changes in the general language. Apart from language fashions, changes in language also occur due to changes in the worlds of the speakers of that language. The changes in the world of speakers involve changes in nature, technology, and thinking structure. All these changes are also reflected in the language (Huber, 2008: 63). This reflection occurs throughout a certain process. A change that is suitable not only to individual uses such as euphemisms but also to cultural patterns can be decisive in communicative processes.

This study aims to describe in detail how university students in Turkey use euphemisms in their daily language usage. It is hypothesized that this description will make it possible to see different uses of euphemisms, characterized with variability and dynamism, in Turkish. It is believed that the determination and knowledge of its different uses will facilitate the interpretation and making sense of euphemisms that can be used in all kinds of communicative contexts (language teaching, discourse analysis, speeches, etc.)

The description of euphemisms in the present study was made according to the linguistic forms of euphemism formation, initially described by Warren (1992), and accepted by researchers in the literature. To this end, the problem sentence, which will form the framework of the study, has been determined as: “How do euphemisms in Turkish change the language used among the youth?” The subset associated with this problem are: “What styles do university students aged 18–25 years use in euphemisms?” “Do the styles used vary by gender?,” and “Do the structures preferred for euphemism formation change based on the subject in their linguistic formations?” To find answers to these questions, the studies on the concept of euphemism in the literature were discussed before linguistic formation styles were explained. Subsequently, the data collection and analysis process was described and the results were evaluated.

2. Conceptual Framework

Euphemism is defined as the “use of a moderate, more agreeable, or indirect word or utterance instead of something offensive, shameful or insulting” (İmer, K, Kocaman A, Özsoy A. S, 2011: 205) or “indirect retelling through cover-up what is considered not suitable for direct telling” (Vardar, 2002: 156) or as “a naming method adopted with the idea that it would not be pleasant to talk about some entities, objects, or events” (Kıran and Kıran, 2012: 390). “El yıkamaya gitmek” (to go to wash one’s hands) instead of “tuvalate gitmek” (to go to the toilet),” “hakın rahmetine kavuşmak” (to achieve God’s mercy) instead of “ölmek” (to die), and “iyi saatte olsunlar” (those that should be in good hour) instead of “cin” (gin). Gomez (2012) considers euphemisms and dysphemisms as the “cognitive process of conceptualization of a forbidden reality.” The cognitive process requires linguistic or extra-linguistic mechanism so that it is manifested in communication. Sadjad M. et al. (2019: 31-32) argues that as euphemisms can be used in the form of metonyms and metaphors, they involve cognitive mechanisms, and they, in turn, should be studies in cognitive linguistics; they propose that the cognitive process should be examined to uncover the meaning of euphemisms. According to Gomez (2012), the speaker can alleviate the effect in a particular context or in a specific pragmatic situation, or, conversely, have a reinforcing effect on the concept of prohibited reality through lexical substitution, phonetic alteration, inversion or composition, syntagmatic grouping, verbal or paralinguistic modulation, or textual description in the linguistic discourse as a result of the transformation of the cognitive process.

Prohibited (Hidden and Implicit) Reality



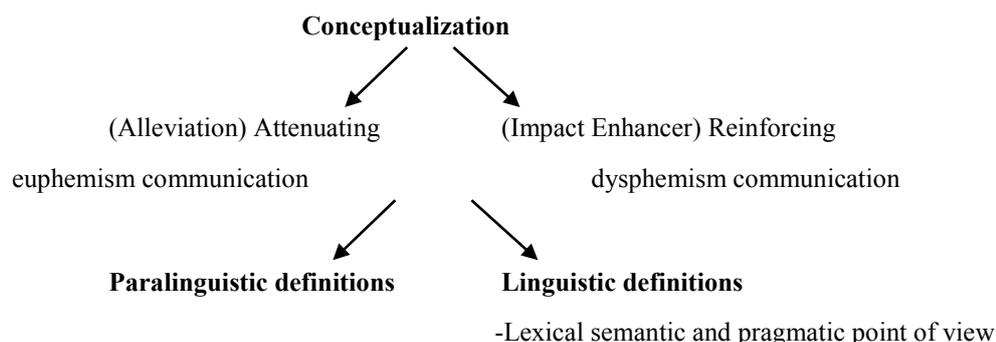


Figure 1 The process of conceptualization and definition of euphemisms according to Gomez

In addition to Gomez’s cognitive classification, which is intended to answer to the question of why we use euphemisms and how we express them, there are also studies that discuss the functions of euphemisms. The manifestation of the prohibited/concealed reality may vary depending on the functions it is expected to perform from the communication point of view. So even if reality remains the same, it can differ based on purpose, intention, and other participants in communication. Burridge (2012) lists the functions (and types) of euphemisms as follows: the protective euphemism: to shield and to avoid offense, the underhand euphemism: to mystify and to misrepresent, the uplifting euphemism: to talk up and to inflate, the provocative euphemism: to reveal and to inspire, the cohesive euphemism: to show solidarity and to help define the gang, the ludic euphemism: to have fun and to entertain. According to Pan (2013), there are four main functions of euphemisms: politeness, circumlocution, avoidance of taboo, and concealment. Beatrice Warren is one of the researchers who have conducted detailed studies on the conceptual formation of euphemisms and the linguistic formation of euphemisms based on their functions so described. Warren (1992) argued that euphemisms be discussed based on the context, and she studied how euphemisms are shaped rather than how they are formed. Warren’s linguistic euphemism model is as follows:

Table 1. Warren’s Euphemism Model

Semantic innovation	Formal innovation		
	Word formation devices	Phonemic modification	Loan words
Particularizations	Compounding	Back slang	
Implications	Derivation	Rhyming slang	
Metaphors	Acronyms	Phoneme replacement	
Metonyms	Onomatopoeia	Abbreviation	
Reversals	Blends		
Understatements			
Overstatements			

In her doctoral dissertation entitled “Blood, Shame, and Fear: Self-Presentation Strategies in Turkish Women’s Talk about their Health and Sexuality,” completed at Gröningen University, the Netherlands, Neslihan Kansu Yetkiner added the following components to this model: ellipsis, circumlocution, indexical expressions, vague reduplications, giving proper names, and giving geographical adjectives. To merge these additions to Warren’s model, they can be included under the semantic innovation

section. The formal innovation section in the table has three groups: word formation devices, phonemic modification, and loan words. While these descriptions are self-explanatory, brief information can still be given about the groups under the semantic innovation process. In the innovation called particularization, a detail about the reality in question is highlighted. This innovation is used as the antonym of generalization in semantics. Implications are all sorts of meanings that can be understood from the form of an utterance, but that does not determine the truth conditions of that utterance. Conversational implication occurs as a result of the use of the cooperative principle during speech. For instance, when someone says that he has forgotten his watch at home, it is understood based on the cooperative principle that it is most likely that he wants to learn the time (İmer, K, Kocaman A, Özsoy A. S, 2011: 223). With regard to metaphors, there is a conceptual realization. One of the two units that are considered equivalent is used, as in expressing the reality of “dying” with “losing.” Metonymy refers to the use of expressions that have a certain relationship with the reality. These relationships can be in the form of part–whole, covering–covered, producer–consumer, cause–effect, general–specific, etc. The relationship must have the ability to represent the concealed reality. Referring to a feared animal like a snake or a mouse only as an “animal” can be an example of euphemism created through metonymy. In reversals, the reality is expressed using its opposite. Saying, “How plain spoken you are” instead of saying “You are tactless” is an example of reversal. Understatement is the opposite of overstatement. It is intended to make an important event seem less important. Overstatement is, as the same implies, the marketing of the existing reality as more important.

3. Method

In this study, the descriptive survey model was used to determine simultaneously the euphemistic structures used by university students. Survey models are suitable for the research which aims to describe a situation that existed in the past or still exists in its current state (Karasar, 1999), and therefore, they are suitable for the present study. The data were collected through interviews. Interviews were conducted in writing with structured interview forms. The data obtained as a result of interviews were classified by considering the linguistic formation of the euphemisms table presented in the conceptual framework using the content analysis technique and grouped according to the gender variable.

3.1. Sample / Participants

The study group from which the data were collected consisted of 383 students between the ages of 18 and 25 studying at universities in İzmir, at 2019. The average age of the participants was 21.3. They were selected as a sample group representing youth language speakers. Descriptive information about the study group is presented in the table below.

Table 2. Number of participants

	Female	Male
Participants	163	220
%	42.56	57.44

3.2. Data Collection Tool

In order to obtain the content for analysis, the participants were given an interview form containing three questions. The fear of “death” as the most commonly used subject in the sources describing the concept of euphemism, the “need to go to the toilet,” which is described through euphemism in many languages, and “gaining weight,” which is believed to be a common topic in the communications among young

people, were selected as topics when creating the interview form. In the interview form, contexts were created in which euphemism formation would occur, and the participants were asked to express what they would say in that context. Experts were consulted on whether the contexts in the interview form were suitable for using euphemistic expressions and necessary revisions were made in accordance with their opinions. The participants were required to provide only their gender and age. The contexts provided to the participants and the questions about these contexts are as follows:

Answer the following questions with your actual usage in mind.

1. You're sitting in a cafe with your friends and teachers. You need to go to the toilet. What do you say when you leave your friends?

2. A friend of yours has gained a lot of weight lately and you want to tell that to him/her. What do you say?

3. You have learned that a relative of your very close friend has died. Your friend doesn't know that. You're going to give her/me the news. What do you say?

The participants gave their answers to these questions in writing. The information and responses in each participant's form were transferred to the computer, and the data were organized to be analyzed together.

3.3. Data analysis

First, frequency analysis was conducted on the data obtained from the interview forms. Then, the expressions were grouped according to Warren's table of semantic and formal innovations for the linguistic formation of euphemisms. The formations that could not be found in the classification were also grouped. The gender variable was considered in the classifications. The answers to the subset of the problems of the study were evaluated first for each context and then collectively.

4. Results

When the data collected from the participants were analyzed according to the three contexts in the interview form (going to the toilet, news of death, and weight gain), the following results were obtained.

Table 3. Ratios of the use of euphemisms in the context of "going to the toilet"

Going to the toilet	Female	%	Male	%	Total	% in total
Implications	50	30.67	108	49.09	158	41.25
Metonyms	77	47.24	59	26.82	136	35.51
No euphemism	33	20.25	47	21.36	80	20.89
Particularizations	1	0.61	4	1.82	5	1.31
Abbreviations	1	0.61	1	0.45	2	0.52
Dysphemisms	1	0.61	1	0.45	2	0.52
	163	100.00	220	100.00	383	100.00

As shown in the table, the participants selected implications and metonyms primarily for forming euphemisms in the context of "going to the toilet." It was found that 20.89% of the participants did not choose to use euphemisms in this context. The use of "lavabo/lavaboya gitmek" (wash basin/to go to the wash basin) instead of "tuvalet/tuvalete gitmek" (toilet/to go to the toilet" can be seen as a way of creating a euphemism through metonymy in terms of the part-whole relationship. A euphemism was

created by using the name of another place within the same space where the conceptual reality would take place. The concealed reality was presented through metonymy in the same relationship of spatial proximity. In this context, the most preferred use for the participants was implication. The responses from the participants, who can be considered as a sample of the youth language in this study, included: “Hemen geliyorum” (I’m coming right now), “Birazdan geliyorum” (I’ll be back), “Hemen döneceğim” (I’ll be right back), and “İki dakikaya gelirim” (I’ll be back in two minutes). As it represents a use that can be understood based on the contextual relationship between the transmitter and the receiver, implication can be understood through cooperation with the recipients. In these uses, a euphemism was formed by implicating the concealed act with reference to it being a “short-term action.” It is noteworthy that the ratio of this use in youth language was high. The participants who used the particularization method referred to such actions as “el/yüz yıkama” (washing hands/face) or “makyaj tazeleme” (reapplying make-up). Here again, the space–action detail of the concealed reality was utilized by referring to actions performed in the same space with the concealed reality. As an abbreviation, “WC” is used. It was seen that the two participants preferred the expression “Çişim geldi” (I have to pee) as a dysphemism. When the cases of euphemism use were examined in terms of gender, there were differences. For example, implications were used by 49.09% of the male participants and 30.67% of the female participants. Euphemism formation through metonymy was adopted by 47.24% of the female participants and 26.82% of the male participants. In this case, it can be said that men prefer implication for this context, while women prefer metonymy.

Table 4. Ratios of the use of euphemism formation methods in the context of “giving the news of death”

News of Death	Female	%	Male	%	Total	% in total
Loan words	56	34.36	74	33.64	130	33.94
Metaphors	54	33.13	74	33.64	128	33.42
Implications	30	18.40	41	18.64	71	18.54
No euphemism	21	12.88	29	13.18	50	13.05
Ellipsis	0	0.00	1	0.45	1	0.26
I can’t tell	1	0.61	1	0.45	2	0.52
Particularizations	1	0.61	0	0.00	1	0.26
	163	100.00	220	100.00	383	100.00

In the context of “giving the news of death,” the participants mostly adopted forming euphemisms through loan words and metaphors. It was followed by implications. The linguistic unit used by the participants in this implication method was a stereotyped expression: “Başın sağ olsun” (Please accept my condolences). As stereotyped expressions were regarded as wishes after the situation in question, they were considered as structures that implicate the concealed implicit reality in this context. They had an indirect relationship with reality. When the cases of euphemism use were examined in terms of gender, there was no significant difference. There is a slight positive difference in the proportion of the male participants in cases where no euphemism was used and the reality was directly mentioned.

The loan words used in this context included “vefat etmiş” (passed away) (123 participants), “merhum olmuş” (deceased) (1), and “rahmetli olmuş” (departed) (1). It was followed by metonymy, in connection of which the following expression were used: “-(y)I kaybetmek” (lose one’s life) (20), “-(y)I kaybetmek (lose someone) (90), “yaşamını yitirmek” (lose one’s life) (2), “hayata gözlerini yummak” (close your eyes to life) (4), “hakkın rahmetine kavuşmak” (to achieve God’s mercy) (6), “kurtulmak” (to be freed) (1), “göçmek” (to depart) (1), “çilesi bitmek” (suffering to end) (1), and “aramızdan

ayrılmak” (to depart from us) (1). The ratios of the usage of these to the number of the participants are as follows:

Table 5. Metaphors of the “news of death” and their ratios

Death metaphors	Female	%	Male	%	Total	% in total
-(y)I kaybetmek	40	74.07	50	67.57	90	70.31
hayatını kaybetmek	8	14.81	12	16.22	20	15.62
hakkın rahmetine kavuşmak	1	1.85	5	6.76	6	4.68
hayata gözlerini yummak	1	1.85	3	4.05	4	3.12
göçmek	1	1.85	2	2.70	3	2.34
yaşamını yitirmek	2	3.70	0	0.00	2	1.562
kurtulmak	0	0.00	1	1.35	1	0.78
çilesi bitmek	0	0.00	1	1.35	1	0.78
aramızdan ayrılmak	1	1.85	0	0.00	1	0.78
	54		74		128	

The most frequently used metaphor about death by the participants who constituted a sample of youth language speakers was “-(y)I kaybetmek.” It was followed by the metaphor “hayatını kaybetmek.” The metaphor “-(y)I kaybetmek” was used by 74.07% of the female participants and 67.57% of the male participants. The metaphor of “hayatını kaybetmek” was used by 16.22% of the male participants and 14.81% of the female participants.

Table 6. Ratios of the use of euphemism formation methods in the context of “gaining weight”

Gaining Weight	Female	%	Male	%	Total	% in total
Implications	79	48.47	124	56.36	203	53.00
No euphemism, gaining weight	38	23.31	30	13.64	68	17.75
Particularizations	16	9.82	29	13.18	45	11.75
Contrasting concepts	13	7.98	8	3.64	21	5.48
Understatement	13	7.98	3	1.36	16	4.18
Reversals	2	1.23	13	5.91	15	3.92
Overstatement	2	1.23	13	5.91	15	3.92
	163	100.00	220	100.00	383	100.00

In the context of “gaining weight,” the most preferred method for forming euphemisms was implication. In this context, 56.36% of the male participants and 48.47% of the female participants chose to create euphemisms through implication. Of 203 participants who preferred implications for euphemism, 121 (59.60%) used “I” language in the context of gaining weight. For example, they tried to implicate the message in the context using such expression as: “Daha fazla kilo almak istemiyorum. Fark edersen beni uyar.” (I do not want to gain more weight. Warn me if you notice), “Geçen tartıldım, baya kilo almışım, birlikte spora gidelim mi?” (I weighed recently, I gained a lot of weight, shall we go to the gym together?). The high ratio of this use is remarkable.

In this context, there were also other uses in which the reality of “gaining weight” was not concealed, but efforts were made not to have a negative impact on the receiver. When the uses that fall under the category of “No euphemism” in the table above were further examined, the following table was created.

Table 7. Expressions by the participants who did not use euphemisms in the context of “gaining weight”

	Female	%	Male	%	Total	% in total
Directly	13	36.11	14	46.67	27	40.91
Like-as	13	36.11	10	33.33	23	34.85
Rhetorical questions	10	27.78	6	20.00	16	24.24
	36		30		66	

Of the participants who did not use euphemisms, 40.91% chose direct expressions and 34.85% used words “like” or “as.” The ratio of the participants who used questions about the reality mentioned was 24.24%. The proportion of the male participants who used direct expressions was higher compared to the female participants. As regards the use of the words “like” or “as,” the difference between the genders was not high, but the number of the female participants was higher. This applies to the use of rhetorical questions.

When the results of the three contexts in the study were examined together in terms of linguistic formation of euphemisms, the most commonly used techniques were implications, metonymy, metaphors, and loan words. These results reveal that the context is decisive in the technique of linguistic formation. In addition, the number of the participants who did not use any euphemism in all three contexts but expressed the reality directly was proportionally high. Therefore, in these cases, the participants resorted to rhetorical questions and the use of words “like” or “as,” thereby, achieving the effect mitigation function of euphemism in other ways.

5. Conclusions

In this study that aimed to describe in detail how university students in Turkey use euphemistic structures in their daily language use, novel ways such as the use of “rhetorical questions” and words “like” or “as” were discovered. These were identified although there was no mention of them in Çiftoğlu Çubuk’s (2015) study examining the ways of formation of euphemistic words in Turkish considering the classifications in the literature in a detailed way or in Warren’s widely accepted classification. These usage demonstrate that new ways of formation in different contexts can be produced similarly in all languages. Given Warren’s context-based classification, it can be argued that each component of the context influence the formation of euphemisms. Specifically, if the communication elements of the subject which will be concealed are about the transmitter or the recipient, this seems to be decisive on the ways of formation.

Of the results showing the variability of the uses of euphemisms, the high rate of use of “Hemen geliyorum” instead of “lavaboya gitmek” in the context of going to the toilet implies a change in the use of euphemisms, at least in youth language. Likewise, the use of the metaphor “-y(I) kaybetmek” almost at the same rate with the loan word “vefat etmek” in the context of death also signifies a change. It was also a remarkable finding that 59.6% of the participants who formed euphemisms through intuition in the context of gaining weight employed “I” language. In addition, the gender variable was not decisive in the ways of formation such as the use of loan words and metaphors in the context of giving the news of death, but there were differences in the expressions used by the female participants and male participants in the context of going to the toilet and gaining weight. These results provide data that can

be used in areas such as language teaching and discourse analysis, where current descriptions of euphemisms can be used.

The results of the present study reinforce the fact that euphemism is a semantic formation, and this can be seen particularly in the linguistic use at the end of the formation, while its pragmatic aspect is more decisive in the stage of formation, and it may vary according to the participants and the subject. Therefore, it can be argued that the definition of the term of euphemism should include sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and semantics, and that only linguistic formation is not decisive, but semantic/conceptual formation, too, should be included depending on the concealed concept of reality. To comment on the functions based on the contexts of this study, it can be said that the youth language speakers resorted to the protective function and being polite as avoidance of shame in the context of going to the toilet; avoidance of taboo and being polite in the context of giving the news of death; the cohesive function in some cases and the provocative function in others and being polite in the context of gaining weight. Therefore, the common feature of all three contexts was that they included the function of being polite. This shows the importance of using euphemisms as a politeness strategy. It can be said that the gender variable does not make a difference in the use of this strategy.

The fact that the data collection group in this study consisted only of university students can be considered as a limitation of the study. Comparison of the data to be collected from different sections of the society in future studies may produce more inclusive results for determining the variables of the changes in euphemisms. Similarities and differences in the ways of forming euphemisms between those sections that are likely to produce differences in a linguistic sense, such as age, education, socio-economic level, and professional groups, can be described. In this way, linguistic variations and innovations (if any) in possible formations of euphemism can be revealed. Changes in language and society can be described by repeating similar practice on the same age group after a certain period of time. The data collected from the same age group can be examined in terms of variables that are supposed to affect the language of individuals such as the regions where participants live, their cultural backgrounds, family information, and income status, and the relationship between society and formations of euphemism can be studied.

6. Ethics Committee Approval

The author(s) confirm(s) that the study does not need ethics committee approval according to the research integrity rules in their country (Date of Confirmation: 21.01.2021).

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Gençlik Dilinde Örtmece İfadelerin Kullanımı

Özet

Bu çalışmada Türkiye’deki üniversite öğrencilerinin günlük dil kullanımlarında örtmece yapıları nasıl kullandıklarının ayrıntılı olarak betimlenmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Dildeki değişim ve dönüşüm açısından dinamik bir toplumsal kesit olan gençlik dilinde örtmece kullanımlarının betimlenmesi Türkçedeki örtmecelerin oluşum yollarının belirlenebilmesi açısından bir örneklem olarak seçilmiştir. Farklı kullanımların belirlenip bilinmesinin her türlü iletişimsel bağlamda kullanılabilir olacak olan örtmecelerin açıklanmasında ve anlamlandırılmasında kolaylık sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir. Çalışmadaki örtmecelerin betimlemesi, alanyazında araştırmacılar tarafından kabul görmüş olan Warren’in tanımladığı örtmecenin dilsel oluşturma biçimlerine göre yapılmıştır. Örtmece tanımlarında yer alan örneklerde yer alma durumuna göre belirlenen en temel bağlamlarda katılımcılara sorular yöneltilerek kullandıkları örtmece yapıları belirlenmiştir. Bu bağlamlar tuvalete gitmek, ölüm haberi ve kilo alma bağlamları olmuştur. Üç yüz seksen üç katılımcıyla gerçekleştirilen çalışmada Türkçe gençlik dilinde örtmece yapılarıdaki dilsel oluşum yollarının bağlama göre değişiklik gösterebildiği; tuvalete gitme bağlamında sezdirim ve metonimin kullanımı ilk sıradayken ölüm haberi bağlamında alıntı sözcük kullanımı ve metaforun ilk sırada olduğu kilo alma bağlamında ise sezdirimin en çok kullanıldığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Sezdirimde ise özellikle “ben” dilinin kullanımı dikkat çekici boyuttadır. Bu bağlamlardan sezdirim ile örtmece oluşturma bağlamı temelli olmak üzere daha fazla kullanılması örtmece oluşumunda Türkçede edimbilimsel bir oluşum yönteminin daha sık kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Çalışmada gençlik dilinde örtmece kullanımında ölüm bağlamında metafor oluşturmada en sık –(y)I kaybetmek kullanımının olduğu belirlenmiştir. Ayrıca Türkçede gençlik dilindeki örtmecelerin oluşum yollarında Warren’in sınıflandırmasında bulunmayan “retorik soru”, “gibi, sanki” ifadelerinin kullanımı görülmüştür.

Anahtar sözcükler: örtmece, dilsel değişim, örtmece oluşum teknikleri, gençlik dili, Türkçede örtmecelerin oluşumu

AUTHOR BIODATA

Assist. Prof. Dr. Funda UZDU YILDIZ got her Master’s Degree from Dokuz Eylül University, Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language Department in 2008. She completed her Ph.D. study in Ege University, Department of Turkish Language and Literature, in 2012. She has been working in Dokuz Eylül University, Faculty of Literature, Linguistics Department since 2014. Her professional interest areas are; language teaching, vocabulary teaching, material design.