

Motivations for Using Euphemisms as Reflected in Selected Filipino Short Stories in English

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Abstract: *This descriptive qualitative research used textual analysis to find out the motivations for using euphemisms among Filipinos as reflected in selected short stories in English. Fifty English short stories written by Filipinos during the American and the contemporary periods were reviewed. Specifically, this study examined the context of their usage guided by face theory, Grice's co-operative principle, relevance theory and politeness. Euphemisms are used to enhance good relationships. From the expressions collected from the fifty stories, politeness is the very common motivation for employing euphemisms. These expressions which try not to offend the reader or the addressee in the stories are the writers' or the characters' polished ways of concealing some harsh realities of life like death, ailments, descriptions of people trivialized by society, expressions of anger, ways of calling the divine beings, insanity, and sex. Euphemisms categorized under relevance theory are expressions which meanings are disguised by the way they are used in context. Their meanings are not unveiled directly by the words' primary meaning. They can only be discovered through critical reading. Relevance is in the reader's attempts to understand the expression. Those that are used to save face are expressions which are sugarcoated such that the addressee would not be embarrassed. While those under the co-operative principle are expressions which help develop understanding if the characters in the story or the readers themselves are equipped with the proper knowledge or stock of vocabulary in order to decode the information presented.*

Keywords: euphemism, motivation, short stories, face theory, Grice's co-operative principle, relevance theory, politeness

1. Introduction

This study focuses on the euphemisms found in the English short stories written by Filipinos during the American period which date of writing starts from the 1900 up to 1945, and the contemporary times which start from 1945 after the Japanese invasion up to the present (Serrano, 1998:127). Twenty five short stories from each period were taken as samples.

The choice of the stories was limited to its containing euphemisms.

Euphemisms are words with meanings or sounds thought somehow to be nicer, cleaner, or more elevated and so used as substitutes for words deemed unpleasant, crude, or ugly in sound or sense. They are sugar coatings, and sometimes they try to hide things that ought not to be hidden (Wilson: 1993). Allan and Burridge (1991:11) contend that euphemism is used as an alternative to a dispreferred expression, in order to avoid possible loss of face: either one's own face or, through giving offense, that of the audience, or of some third party.

In any qualitative study, the bias on the interpretation of the text as the author's own interpretation is always considered as a fallback. Moreover, every reader may have his/her own interpretation of the text. This research is no exception, however, the author's interpretation of the euphemistic terms was founded by the theories he used, the characters alluded in the text and the context in which such euphemism was used.

When discussing euphemism, Warren pointed out that there are two aspects to consider: motivation and formation. This paper focuses on the motivations for using euphemisms.

Motivations for euphemism usage involves the practical concerns behind euphemism, i.e. why people choose to employ a euphemistic phrase in place of another, more direct mode of speech. Some of the theories used are: Face Theory, the Grice's Co-operative Principle, Relevance Theory and Politeness.

Face theory claims that people are required to make concessions during communication (Hudson as cited by Ham 2001:13). If the face value of one party is threatened, the aim may not be fulfilled and the communicative act will be a failure. The use of euphemism can help to avoid offense through softening of language to avoid embarrassment.

Grice's Co-operative Principle explains why speakers are able to implicate more from expressions than is explicitly stated. Grice postulates that this communicative ability is aided by both participants' unspoken adherence to certain conversational rules, or maxims: quantity, quality, relation and manner.

Unlike rules, these maxims are often broken and it is here that implicature, i.e. what is meant, but not expressly stated and euphemism become prominent. As Hudson (1980:115) states that as hearers, "we try hard to make sense of what other people say, even when this means reading far more between the lines that is in them."

When a speaker/writer appears to have broken one of the maxims, their interlocutor searches for the motivation and implicature (Widdowson, 1990) This is a helpful tool in the use and understanding of euphemism.

Sperber and Wilson (1986) expounded Grice's maxim of relation and they claim that "relevance" is the most fundamental principle in interaction. When using euphemism, a speaker, often breaks that maxim of relation in failing to be relevant to the current topic. An example of

this is “score” (have sexual intercourse). In the context, in which this word may be used, it is unlikely that the participants would have in any manner relate it to sports, making the word irrelevant. However, by using implicating strategies, the meaning will be clear. While relevance is not strictly a motivation behind euphemism, it may be related to tactics for euphemism comprehension.

Politeness aims to avoid offense and be respectful to the audience. Perspectives on politeness vary between people, speech communities, societies and cultures. For this reason, politeness is defined pragmatically, with reference to “some contextual norm of appropriateness” (Ham, 2001:15). Euphemisms are encouraged in a society where politeness is highly valued, where indirect reference is considered a sign of good taste, and where direct reference can be embarrassing.

2. Methodology

This descriptive qualitative study probed the euphemisms in the English short stories written by Filipinos during the American and the contemporary periods. It examined the context of euphemism usage guided by the face theory, Grice’s co-operative principle, relevance theory and politeness. This research is a textual analysis of the motivations for using euphemisms in the short stories written in the two periods of Philippine literature.

Fifty short stories were reviewed in this study, twenty-five of which were written during the American period and the other twenty five during the contemporary period. The date of first publication was used as guide by the researcher as to which period each story was to be included.

To avoid bias in the selection of the fifty short stories, the author of this study went by the canons of literature – they were those stories accepted as Filipino literature in English by the academe, read by intellectuals, and the authors are well respected in this particular genre of literature.

Only stories that contain euphemisms were included as samples of the study. Each story was looked into in its entirety for euphemisms. To locate specific words in the story, each text was read individually and euphemisms were recorded as they were discovered. The recorded euphemisms were examined as to how they are used guided by the model suggested by Warren. In discussing euphemism usage the face theory, Grice’s co-operative principle, relevance theory and politeness were used.

3. Findings

a. Face Theory

From the stories written during the American period there were nine or 11.69 percent of the euphemisms that were used to save face.

In “Blue Blood of the Big Astana” the character narrator describes his childhood friend who is a princess as someone who *looked long and deep* for being so skinny

after so many years of not seeing her and after so many things that had happened to both of them. The statement is used because he does not want to offend the woman (the princess); *Epang-epang* is used by the narrator addressing himself being a servant escort to the princess; *It* a maximally general term (Ham 2001) refers to a hidden sexual desire – something the speaker thought he should not say or feel especially that the object of his hidden desire was his mistress – the princess.

In “Harvest”, for the family of a man who got a woman impregnated out of wedlock is something not to be proud of, for such, the term *wronged* is used. In the story, Fabian, the brother says “My brother has *wronged* this girl. There will be a child.” Their reputation and the girl’s can only be saved by marrying her.

The Tagalog term *binabae* is used by a husband in “The Maid, the Man, and the Wife” to refer to himself as a conclusion to what his maids implicitly said that “he lacks something as a man”, this is something he had overheard from their conversations. Of course he cannot use “bakla” as it is more vulgar. The Tagalog term was translated into *fairy*, which is another euphemism.

In “Desire” an unfinished dialogue “*But. . . but. . .*” sends a message that the speaker cannot directly tell the woman of his affection that she has a beautiful body – something which the woman had been keeping for a long period of time thinking this is the only reason why men wanted her and not her whole person. In the story she is described as a woman having an unpleasant face but with a super beautiful body.

In “Five Snapshots”, the narrator uses the term *nervous breakdown* to refer to a friend suffering from such illness. Using the term, the character wants to save the reputation of her friend.

The word *hunger* which appears in “Yours Faithfully” refers to a person who is too ugly to get a partner in life. This is used by an American character such that those who could hear him (possibly the person concerned) would not notice. The purpose of course is not to humiliate the person being referred to.

Twenty-eight or 21.05 percent of the euphemisms used to save face were found in the stories written during the contemporary period.

In “A Bread of Salt”, short statements have *you eaten?* is able to save the character Albert Spalding from embarrassment when he was caught wrapping some food from the buffet table. It is an indirect statement which purpose is to stop him from doing what he is doing. The complete meaning of the statement is accomplished in the subsequent line which says “If you wait a little till they’ve all gone, I’ll wrap up a big package for you.”

In the statement “someone *wanted* me” in “A Warm Hand”, the verb *wanted* is used implicitly to mean “wanting for sex”. Elay, a victim of rape uses that word because she wants to protect herself from shame.

From the story “Family Rites”, the euphemisms found were on things concerning the changes in a woman’s body at the onset of puberty. These are the terms *period*, a euphemism for menstruation and *yucky* which is an expression of dislike for something. The choppy statement in “*and..hair beginning to sprout in the unlikeliest place*” implicitly tells that this topic is still taboo even to the youth who admit that they have learned all these in school. The changes in the body particularly on the covered parts are not worth sharing in the open.

Some Chinese terms and names are used in “How my Cousin Manuel Brought Home a Wife” to conceal the real meaning of one’s statement from either the reader or a character in the story. *Ah puy* [fatty], *Ah Siao* [the crazy one], *O kui* [black devil] are some of the examples. Other euphemisms in the story are *deflowering* which means “losing virginity” and *dope* for drugs. *Gold mines* means “women” and not wealth because of the word *hindot* a Tagalog word for “flirt” which comes at the beginning of the statement. A woman who is not pure is tagged as *damaged good*. The reason is that the user of the term is a business man, a rattan exporter, that is why he likened his wife to an item in his business.

Edilberto K. Tiempo in his story “Karatung” does not only use words but statements to save a person from embarrassment. “*how do you think I can go on*” and “*we might as well close the store*” are statements made by a store owner Tunay to Olimpio, a neighbor who is fund of taking some items from her store for a credit. These statements are indirect way of saying “no” to someone’s request.

Sexual intercourse is euphemized as *affair*, *bed* and *gone to bed with* in “Kulisising Hari” and “*Lover Boy*”. In “The Goddess”, the word *this* refers to the act of sex. The speaker, an old man says that he is “*too old for this*” while he is doing the act.

An omitted word in *playing with their ____ never mind* in “Oldtimer” refers to sexual partners. *Play* is a euphemism for sex.

These euphemisms affirm Harvey and Shalom’s (1997) views that those involved in loving sexual relations they play with their language by extending and subverting it.

The other euphemisms found in “Portents” that are used to save face are *like a . . .* – an unfinished statement caused by the sudden appearance of the person being referred to; *nervous breakdown* – the speaker is educated and somebody who belongs to the middle class. Another one is *sahib* a Filipino colloquial term which is used to cover-up something, the term actually refers to the boss who is referred to in the text as a “major asshole”.

School from “The Distance from Andromeda” means “the Cine Oriente” where the boy Ben would usually hang out instead of going to his real classes. The term is used by his father while talking to him on the phone and he does not

want to put the boy into shame as he makes the call while he is in a conversation with some friends.

In “The Summer Solstice” the word *touch* does not refer to sex but to “beating”. The term *woman’s privilege* means that privilege extended to a woman to tell a lie and which could easily be accepted especially by men. In the story, Paeng is telling his wife Lupeng if she had seen their young cousin Guido who was with the men carrying the statue of San Juan. Lupeng denies it; the man then accepts the answer and does not contest.

The unpleasant sound of the Tagalog term *baho* is perfumed by the change of spelling to *bejo* which refers to the Filipinos in America in the story “The Day the Dancers Came.”

These statements are used not to offend the other party. This affirms what Srikar (2005) believed that if one uses more euphemisms in his language he’s said to be urbane and polished. The same belief was pronounced by Cobb (1985) that the chief purpose of a euphemism is to present a person in a more agreeable, more reassuring or politer light than would be afforded by the hard glare of reality or by crude, direct definition.

These euphemisms conform with Allan and Burrige’s (1985) statement that those who are skilled in face-work are described as having social savior faire; they are said to be perceptive, and diplomatic.

b. Grice’s Co-operative Principle

The cooperative principle underlies language use, according to which the participants (in this study, the characters in the story or the writer and the reader) are enjoined to make sure that what they say in conversation furthers the purposes of these conversations. This principle was broken down into four maxims, quantity, quality, relation and manner. For this usage, there were 11 euphemisms or 14.29 percent found in the American period.

In “The Mats”, the mother uses *aren’t here* to refer to her children who are already dead. As a mother, she cannot directly say that her children are already dead because that is very painful for her. On the surface, she is creating an implication that her children have just left, but reading the text, one can conclude that she is actually referring to the dead ones.

Other euphemisms like *another world* from “Kingdom by the Sea”, *distance beyond* from “We or They”, and *heart beat no more* from “The Fence”, all mean death.

The *another world* is that one which is to come after life here on earth. Of course no reader would conclude that it means another planet. *Distance beyond* can be taken literally to mean some meters away, but with the following lines - “But his voice seemed strangely hollow. It seemed to come from a distance, a very great distance beyond. . .” the reader can conclude that the voice comes from someone who is dying. And still reading after the ellipses -

which is the ending of the story, the reader can further conclude that the character has died.

Villa in "The Fence" uses a very effective means of conveying pain and sorrow caused by death by his short and simple sentences. The phrase "His heart beat no more." does not try to imply other things but death because of the previous sentences which give a picture of closing the eyes of the character and of the weeping by the mother.

With all these euphemisms on death Ham's statement holds true that because death is feared, people would use euphemisms.

Ministerer to his comfort from "A Night in the Hills" is a euphemism for someone who does something on behalf of another. As part of her narrative, Marquez-Benitez tries to show the repulsive condition of a woman being a slave of her husband. The phrase does not only mean domestic chores but it also covers sexual functions because of the word "comfort". To a man, sex is a basic need which if satisfied gives him comfort.

The act of adultery is euphemized in "The Fence" as *caught her husband with the other*. In the phrase, the sexual act or the *bed* is not explicitly mentioned but readers can conclude that by catching her husband with the other, something intimate has happened between him and the other woman. This is further substantiated by another euphemism *wrong womb* which is the result of the act. The *wrong womb* carries a child out of wedlock.

Another euphemism where sex is not explicitly mentioned is in *wasn't in the mood* from "The Morning Before Us". Reading between the lines, the reader can deduce that the character is not in the mood for sex.

For euphemisms in the contemporary times that used the co-operative principle, 26 or 19.55 percent were found.

The euphemisms on sex and sexual intercourse are *(I was) upon her* which means the speaker, Rabutnik is on top of a woman's dead body and doing the sex act. Such act finds fulfillment by his *giving out one gasp of ecstasy* which is another way of saying that he ejaculates; *Giving a girl with a feel* which is part of the first person narrative means that the man, Lawrence, slides his hand up her skirt with the purpose of arousing her; *to nap* which literally is to take a short sleep but in this case this refers to the intimate affairs that happen inside the office between the Big Man (the boss) and the ladies in the office and which would usually happen at noon time; in "The Goddess" the term *carnal release* is used. In "Sounds of Sunday" lust is euphemized as *sick with a greed he could not satisfy* referring to Norma Ravidad, who is meeting strange men in strange rooms to satisfy her hunger for sex which her husband could not reciprocate.

Women as sexual objects are euphemized in "Lover Boy" as *pastures* while the sexually active men are being referred to as *horses*.

The terms *loose screw* and *out of mind* are all English translations of the Tagalog terms "*maluwag ang turnilyo*"

and "*wala sa sariling pag-iisip*." All these terms from "Karatung" refer to insanity. For the Filipino reader, for which these stories are intended, the terms could easily be understood.

c. Relevance Theory

Relevance works toward euphemism comprehension in properly getting the meaning of a euphemism by tying it in context, or relating its use. This motivation was the least used in the euphemisms in both the American and contemporary periods which contrasts with Ham's finding in his study on British novels that relevance was one of the powering forces behind euphemisms aside from politeness.

The euphemisms in the American period along this theory are nine or 11.69 percent.

Paz Latorena in "Desire" uses as part of the narrative the description *unbeautiful light*. This term refers to the body of the major character which men desired the most. To the men, her body is perfectly shaped, such that they admire it the most. To the character, who is described as somebody who has an ugly face, her super beautiful body is nature's curse. For her it is something not to be flaunted.

Long table in "Dead Stars" refers to a wedding feast wherein tables are connected to be able to accommodate the visitors. In the story they are asking when would that happen to Alfredo Salazar who is getting older and still single.

Bed is a general term which in "Three Generations" means sex which describes the character of the old man in the story to be someone who cannot live without a sexual partner despite his age. Another euphemism used in the story is *body* which in the text does not mean the body of a person but particularly the "womb" which carries the child.

The word *touch* can have so many meanings. It can mean the simple pressing of the palm or having sexual intercourse. In the story "Even Purple Hearts" the word could mean a simple touch of the hand against one's skin, but reading between the lines the reader could imply that it is a sexual foreplay.

Felt which is used in "Harvest" is synonymous to *touch* and is a euphemism according to Allan and Burridge (1991:86) for foreplay which has the effect of getting one's self or partner sexually aroused/excited.

Lie which literally means to recline in a horizontal position is used in "The Beetle" to describe the position of the body of Nana Basiang when she was found lifeless. She was bitten by a snake.

From stories in the contemporary times, there were 28 or 21.05 percent that were found to have used this theory.

At peace, at rest, free, and perish are all euphemisms for death and referring to Agueda in "May Day Eve". Although all are understatement, the reader can imply that

they all refer to death because the preceding statement talks about death. *Peace* is used to mean that being dead, the alluded person has no more problem. *Rest* means an eternal rest and *free* means to be free from the sad realities of life on earth.

In “Lover Boy,” *taken*, another understatement is a euphemism for death – a death which is abrupt. Still in “Lover Boy”, *service* is a term associated with death because of the line “my betrothed was serviced during her last day on earth”. It means the fixing of the dead body from embalming to putting of proper make-up.

Touch is also used in this period to euphemize sex. In “Family Rites”, “Woman Afraid”, and “Sounds of Sunday” the meaning sexual intercourse is signaled by the mention of the husband and wife characters from which such act is expected. In all these stories, the husbands are forbidden by the wives to *touch* them for being unfaithful husbands. In “The Door” the word *touch* implicitly refers to promiscuity as signaled by the use of the phrase “from loveless kiss to loveless kiss, from venomous *touch* to venomous *touch*.” In the stories “The Goddess” and “The Virgin”, *touch* refers to the brushing of the hand against the skin but it has some sexual connotations. In “The Goddess”, the author writes “she could not rid herself of the pollen of the boy’s *touch*” while in “The Virgin” the phrase “thinking in a mixture of shame and bitterness and guilt that they had never *touched* a man” is used.

In “Summer Solstice”, the word *heat* could mean the temperature brought by summer. But the term has a second meaning – that is the feeling of arousal felt by Lupeng after watching the half naked men carrying the statue of Saint John the Baptist.

In “A Warm Hand,” the line “...burning with a need to find some precious *treasure* which, she was certain of it now, she alone possessed,” the word *treasure* is a term used to mean the “vagina” which to the woman in the story is her only treasure – and that is so precious that she has to protect it against anybody who desires to take it from her.

Operation from “Portents” is used to mean the act of abortion. The reader can easily implicate such because there is the mention of pregnancy and a baby in the story.

Posture in “The Summer Solstice” describes the position of Amanda who is in bed and naked. The speaker, Doña Lupeng could not describe her posture and so she uses a general term, but by reading through, the reader can understand the kind of posture she has.

The *thing* is the idol in “The God Stealer”. The Ifugao god is addressed in the reduced form because for an outsider, it does not mean sacred.

Doña Lupeng calls the men of today as *a disagree* because for her, they do not conform to the standard of her age. They seem to be a headache for her for not following the right and proper manner.

Tongue is a euphemism for mute and is used in “The Summer Solstice”. The term is an allusion to the old prophet, Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, who was made mute by Angel Gabriel and was promised that he will be able to talk again when his promise of giving them a son in their old age is fulfilled.

d. Politeness

In a civil society politeness is very much valued and indirect reference is considered a sign of good taste. In this study this is the very common motivation for euphemism usage, which affirms Ham’s findings in his study.

In the American period 48 euphemisms or 62.34 percent were found.

When talking about illnesses, usually the speaker does not tell directly the one listening or the patient about it. This is not to make the patient feel bad which could worsen his/her condition. The euphemisms are *cardiac decompensation* for bad heart case, *Hansen's Disease* for leprosy, *Koch's Disease* for tuberculosis, and *Niesserian Infection* for gonorrhoea. These euphemisms are realities which Burn (2004) believed to be inoffensive language used to soften or mask upsetting truths.

Death is another aspect which is feared the most by people. In most cases, this word is usually euphemized so as not to frighten the listener. Some of the terms are *expired* in “Conservation”, *lost lives* and *perished* in “Blue Blood of the Big Astana”. The word *body* in “The Beetle” refers to a dead body. The speaker is trying to hide from the girl Gela the real condition of her mother. According to Allan and Burrige the motivation for these euphemisms is the fear of being haunted by the spirits of the dead. This also affirms Ham’s (2001) statement that in modern societies, the motivation for euphemism is not usually fear, but not harming the sensibilities of any parties involved.

The first person narration in “Kingdom by the Sea” uses the term *sleep forever*. The reader can make an assumption that this means “death” for there is no such thing as sleeping forever.

In “A Son is Born”, the mother character is talking to a pig she is feeding when she says “Eat hearty, you greedy one, you *only* have *few days of this life*”. She is actually saying that the pig is about to be butchered in a few more days but to say it is something gory.

“Chicken for Dinner”, a story filled with figurative language on dressing chicken, a phrase *held them down* refers to killing the chicken. *Cardiac trouble* is a euphemism to describe an unlikable experience of dressing the chicken which the characters in the story loved dearly.

As part of the narrative, the euphemisms *shapeless mass of flesh* and *homely face* from “Desire”, *unearthly appearance* from “The Life of Cardo”, and *muddy complexion* from “The Maid, The Man and the Wife” are the writers’ way of trying to conceal the real attribute of their characters.

The name of God and Jesus are never mentioned in the dialogues, instead in “At Last this Fragrance” and “It Isn’t Just Horses” the expression *Gee* is used, instead of “Jesus”. In “The Morning Before Us” *gosh* is used instead of saying “God!” The word *Nature* is used in “Desire” to refer to the divine creator. It is used by the narrator instead of God so as not to point explicitly that He has made a mistake in giving the primary character a beautifully shaped body but with an ugly face.

These expressions are used by the characters not to offend divinities or not to commit the sin of blasphemy. This affirms what the Greeks believed - that they used terms that were favorable to the gods instead of using their unspeakable names. This finding also confirms what Alkire (2002) believed that to speak a name is to evoke the divinity whose power is to be confronted.

The expressions like *Judas* from “The Life of Cardo”, *lightning* in “Conservation”, and *shucks* from “Even Purple Hearts” lessen the impact of the words. They are less hurting than saying “idiot”, “devil” or “shit”. This affirms the statement of Mojica which says that euphemisms are devices used to subdue the vulgarity of curse words.

The phrase *didn’t live together* in “The Morning Before Us” does not only refer to an ordinary relationship of parents and children or of friends but of husbands and wives. It is a euphemism for a broken marriage.

In “Three Generations”, Nick Joaquin used the phrase *fever of the flesh* to refer to the earthly desire for sex. The author through his character Chitong, a young man who wants to become a priest, tries to send a picture of that burning desire of his dying grandfather by using the word “fever” which means “hot”. The phrase instead of sounding bawdy, sounds biblical. “Flesh” in the bible usually connotes sex or the body preoccupied with worldly intentions.

In “Tragedy in Lumba’s Bend” the narrator describes the emotion of a woman whose husband “Pepe” is buried in the landslide in the sentence “Perhaps she would *go right off her mind* on the spot.” For the narrator in “It Rained Saturday Afternoon”, insanity is something he would not try talking about. Thus he uses terms like *lose hold of reality*, *lost his mind* and *unconscious behavior*. In fact when one character said, “My God, that boy’s crazy!”, he commented by indirectly using *that* and *thing* which are also euphemisms.

The *chest* is the part of the body enclosed by the ribs, breastbone and diaphragm. In “Rice” it means the breast as in “flat, bony *chest*”.

The term *creature* in “The Maid, The Man and the Wife” refers to a lowly person, a servant, somebody who is not beautiful. On the other part of the coin the term seems to be derogatory but it is less painful than to say “the ugly one” or “the beast”. The character’s appearance is also described in the general *thing*.

In the contemporary period, 51 expressions or 38.35 percent were used to show politeness.

In “Tell Me Who Cleft the Devil’s Foot”, *lunch* is used to mean “skinny”. Instead of asking Evangeline, the primary character in the story, “why are you so thin?” or “are you that poor that you have no more food to eat?” Cynthia, a college friend asks her instead “Do you *lunch*?” with the purpose of not offending her.

In “Sounds of Sunday” Doming utters a curse saying *a b-ing bastard* referring to an officemate, he does not say it loudly as he is with his wife inside their car on their way home.

Wifely functions is more polite for a husband to mean the sexual obligation of his wife. This affirms what Harvey and Shalom’s statement that lovers push back the boundaries of the code to compensate for what may be seen as kind of ‘linguistic deficit’ of intimate language with the public sphere.

Descriptions of sexual arousals in “The Goddess” are hidden by such euphemism as *damp geography* and *moist excitement*.

To *conquer* in “May Day Eve” is for Anastasia to have married seven husbands. For a woman of the time the story is set, a woman to have seven husbands can be a cause of gossip for other people.

Departed, end, gone, passing, untimely and *went* are all euphemisms for death. Understatements are used for the ones left not to feel bad about the death of a loved one. In “Lover Boy”, *last day on earth, join the ancestors* and *laid to rest* are used.

Good as married or living together as married couple, imply that persons are doing what only married people are doing and that includes enjoying sex outside the sacrament of marriage. Such statement comes from a neighbor who would usually see the people being referred to spending the night together. It is more polite than to say that they are “having sex even if they are not yet married”

The word “old” is not a welcome vocabulary for people at this age level that is why in “Sounds of Sunday” the term *graying man* is used by Emma Gorrez to refer to her husband Doming.

Happy Landing Ground is used by the character Rabutnik to refer to the funeral parlor which to him is the place his best memories are inscribed.

P-f-f-f-t in “Sounds of Sunday” is less blunt than describing a dying business or saying “bankrupt”.

In “Pattern”, the man, Bruno, wants to be polite before Esmeralda by trying to correct her for saying that she is a liar. He follows it up by saying “Don’t say liar, say *prevaricator*.” This confirms what Rawson believes that people use euphemisms to project a better image.

To say *did it* is more subtle than to say “killed it”. In “The God Stealer”, Sadek, the brother of Philip Latak uses the word in trying to explain to Sam Christie the cause of their grandfather’s death saying “It wasn’t the drink that did it, Sir, it was the loss of the god. It was stolen.” Another euphemism *issoulless which* implies very ruthless persons who will do just anything to get what they want.

To a Filipino who grew up in the States the word *gaba* means nothing but “curse”. That is why the old woman in the futuristic story “Sunday Morning” uses the term while talking to a girl who grew up in the states.

Lived implies that Digo in “Kulisising Hari” had been around or had sexual intercourse with many different women.

To give a *whack* is to spank. If used, the impact of the word would be lighter than the latter. This term is from “The Distance to Andromeda” and used by a character named Ben warning a baby that if he spews a glob of gruel on his face again, he will spank him.

In “The Boarding House”, there is a statement saying “We only admit professionals, but *not without politeness.*” Here, the landlady Mrs. Meliton is talking to a boarder applicant whom she doubts would be able to pay the rent. Her statement is meant to turn down the person but she does not want to offend him. If she admits him, she reminds him *not to bring women in for the night*. The phrase is a refined way of saying that she does not want her boarding house to be used as a motel.

A very common euphemism for adultery is *sleeping with someone* and this is used in “Portents” while in “The Door” it is *sleeping with another man*. Sleeping is usually used as a euphemism for sex.

Innocence in “Kulisising Hari” is used to mean both losing ones virginity and literary to come out into the world. The word sounds pleasing to the ears than to *lose ones virginity*. *Heavenly feeling* in “Lover Boy” refers to the feeling of desire of Edmund Sanchez upon seeing Lulu in a sheer night gown. For a man like Edmund it would be very rude to explicitly say that he got aroused seeing the lady in that attire.

In “Summer Solstice”, the author uses the Spanish loan word *caramba* as an expression of surprise. This is commonly found in most of Nick Joaquin’s stories.

The lines “*did you come with anyone in particular?*” (Pattern) and “*do you earn much for writing poems?*” (The Boarding House) are questions which are intended not to bring harm to the addressee, which meaning can only be discovered by a critical mind. The first one is a question from a man asking if the addressee, a woman, has a boyfriend with her at that time. The second statement implicitly asks if the addressee could pay the rent in the boarding house from what he does – writing poems.

4. Conclusion

Politeness is the common motivation behind using euphemisms for Filipinos as reflected in the short stories subjected to this study. Descriptions of people particularly unsavory ones are mostly euphemized in the American period. Those relating to sex abound in the contemporary period. Since literature reflects culture, the Filipinos even then tried every means not to offend other people. Filipinos would conceal their real feelings so that relationships would not be tarnished. Filipino writers tried to make their writing “clean” by using euphemisms instead of the taboo expressions so that they could invite more readers to read their stories.

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