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The Dynamic Functions of Euphemism: The Martyrdom of the Jordanian Air Force Pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh at the Hands of ISIS

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Abstract

The present paper explores death euphemistic alternatives used by media during the period of kidnapping and later burning the Jordanian air force pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh at the hands of ISIS[1]. The internet-based data serving as a research tool for the present study explained the dynamic functions of death-related euphemisms, showing that what had been avoided before burning because of its dysphemistic sense (*assassination and murder*) was used as a euphemism and as a gentler substitute for the unexpected *burning.* Conceptual metaphor was also used as a euphemistic substitute for the ugly burning of the pilot, and not as doublespeak aimed at hiding the reality. The use of the word *sacrifice* in place of burning, the conceptualization of death and burning as journey and facing or cuddling fate or angles were found to be euphemistic alternatives used to report the act of burning the Jordanian Air Force Pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh. Examining euphemisms in conjunction with face wants and politeness, it was found that burning euphemisms which are based on lexical substitutions are aimed at saving the public self-image of the pilot's bereaved family and protecting their self-esteem.

Keywords: Euphemism; Dysphemism; Pragmatic, Politeness, Burning, Metaphor.

1. Introduction

Realizing that death is a sensitive topic which should be avoided, many people look for and use gentler alternative words and\or expressions to report the death of someone. This is supported by the fact that the Arabic language is rich in terms of providing its users with countless, variable and politer options which function as alternatives to taboo, swearing words and dispreferred expressions. The incredibly large number of lexical alternatives and countless synonyms Arabic language has enables its speakers to avoid the mentioning of death as a socially sensitive topic and use, instead, milder expressions that are less likely to offend and upset other people. Because Jordan could be classified as a positive politeness culture and that most Jordanians are positively oriented (Al-Adaileh 2007; 2011), it is not uncommon for Jordanians to euphemistically employ indirect death expressions as a way to establish and maintain intimacy and solidarity. Death euphemism is used as a face-saving strategy, saving the face of both the speaker and the hearer and realizing relational wok.

This study is concerned with examining why an existing dysphemism (assassination and murder) becomes a euphemism for a new dysphemism (burning) in Jordanian Arabic. The fluctuating nature of euphemism as proposed by (Rawson 1998) is implicitly or explicitly indicative of the dynamic nature of euphemisms whose use is greatly situation and topic-dependent. The internet-supported data upon which this study is based substantiates the dynamic nature of euphemism. It is a continuous process of replacing one linguistic expression with another one, based on an ongoing assessment and reassessment of the expression, and this is enhanced by the need of considering the face needs of the pilot's bereaved family and the desire for successful communication. The data was collected from print and electronic Jordanian newspapers, reporting and condemning the ugly act of burning the Jordanian air force pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh alive at the hands of ISIS, called Daesh in Arabic. Given my interest in pragmatics in general and politeness theory in particular, I realized that these instances might have relevance for the topic of euphemism. Categorizing the collected data, the author recognized four euphemistic alternatives used by media to report and condemn the immolation of the Jordanian pilot: *assassination and murder, sacrifice, death as a journey, and finally death as cuddling fate or angels*, where the last two categories were discussed within the theoretical framework of conceptual metaphor or metaphor-based euphemisms. The overall framework by means of which the data is studied is discourse analytic, using analytic concepts from pragmatics in general and politeness theory in particular.

2. Theoretical background

Driven by the need to be polite, people tend to euphemize taboos and unpleasant words and expressions. In most cultures, there are a number of socially, religiously or politically sensitive topics which people think they should be avoided or replaced with politer and less offensive alternatives, and "perhaps one linguistic universal is that no social group uses language quite uninhibitedly" (Wardhaugh 1986, 231). This study, as outlined above, is concerned with examining the dynamic nature of euphemisms, showing how an existing dysphemism could turn out to be a euphemism for an unexpected dysphemism. It is, therefore, of particular importance to start with defining euphemisms and dysphemisms before moving on to discuss the literature relevant to death euphemisms.

2.1. On defining euphemism and dysphemism

'Euphemism', as a word borrowed from Greek, means 'good speech'. Most definitions of euphemism center on substituting an offensive and unpleasant word or expression with a less offensive and pleasant word or expression. Allan and Burridge (1991, 11) define euphemism 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.'' Hudson (2000, 261) defines euphemism as: "the extension of ordinary words and phrases to express unpleasant or embarrassing ideas". Relatedly, Cruse (2006, 57) defines euphemism as "an expression that refers to something that people hesitate to mention lest it cause offence, but which lessens the offensiveness by referring indirectly in some way".

Allan and Burridge (2006) use the term 'X-phemisms' to refer to orthophemisms (straight-talking), dysphemisms (offensive language), and euphemisms (sweet-talking). Whereas Orthophemisms and

euphemisms are used as a substitution to replace offensive or unpleasant words or expressions, using less offensive language, dysphemisms refer to the use of an offensive or harsh word or expression instead of a sweet one. Allan and Burridge (2006) point to the difference between orthophemism and euphemism showing that the former is typically more formal and more direct (literal) than euphemism, whereas the latter is typically more colloquial and figurative than orthophemisms. Orthophemistic expressions (straight-talking) are neither sweet-talking, nor harsh or offensive. Allan and Burridge (2006, 34) explain the difference between orthophemism, euphemism and dysphemism in terms of preferred or dispreferred language expression. Orthophemism such as *faeces* and euphemism such as *poo* could be classified as the preferred language expression whereas dysphemism such as *shit* is viewed as the dispreferred. The main motive behind the use of orthophemisms and euphemisms could be the need to be polite, protecting the speaker's as well as the addressee's face.

2.2. Literature on euphemism

Euphemism is an interdisciplinary topic that has attracted the attention of many researchers from different disciplines including sociology, psychology, sociolinguistics and pragmatics. In this study, euphemism is investigated within the rubrics of pragmatics stressing the interconnection between language and culture. Fernández (2006, 101) examines the language of death, euphemism and conceptual metaphorization in Victorian obituaries, showing that "[…] the sentimentalization of death provided a fertile soil for the flowering of euphemism." Fernández's (2006) study was conducted within the theoretical framework of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) well-known Conceptual Metaphor Theory. It was found out that there was a tendency to employ metaphor-based euphemism when presenting sentimental obituaries. That is, the taboo of death can be reported through Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphors, where death is viewed as a desirable event. Communicating the taboo of death via conceptual metaphor, it seems, is likely to lessen the negative impact of death and function as a mitigating device and a gentler substitute to the offensive death-related words. Viewing death as a journey, a loss, a joyful life, a rest and as a reward could minimize the offensiveness of the word death. Fernández (2006, 125) attributes this to the religious belief and hope that those who died will enjoy a better life in Heaven. Another study, which examines euphemism within the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson's (1980), is Owiredu's (2020) where the author contrastively analyzes Akan and Hebrew euphemistic expressions for death. Owiredu (2020, 404) points to the mitigating power of metaphorical euphemism as a source to conceal offensive and taboo aspects of death. Metaphors are used as a euphemistic language to indirectly and respectfully speak about death. These findings, says Owiredu (2020, 404), apply to Akan and Hebrew cultures as they exhibit the same attitude to death.

Examining the role of metonymy in the formation of euphemism in Chinese and English, Shi & Sheng (2011), on the other hand, stress the interrelatedness between metonymy and euphemism. They contend that metonymy-based euphemism enables people to replace tabooed or sensitive words with gentler substitutes. In the same vein, Gomaa and Shi (2012, 10-11), investigating the euphemistic language of death in Egyptian Arabic and Chinese, contend that euphemistic metonymies – which could

vary from culture to culture and from language to language – are used to replace death-related words. They found out that though Egyptian Arabic and Chinese death euphemisms have more resemblances, Chinese death euphemisms outnumber Egyptian Arabic ones. Comparing the creation of euphemism in English and Arabic, Salih (2018, 48) points to the significant role of metonymy, rather than metaphor, as the most common device in Arabic to express taboo matters euphemistically. He finds out that the two languages exhibit differences in terms of the linguistic devices used to realize euphemism. Whereas Arabic is found to use euphemism based on figurative language more than English does, English uses more loan words than Arabic to express tabooed words euphemistically.

Obaid and Seger (2020) investigate how the speakers of Iraqi Arabic in AL-Anbar province use euphemistic language as a substitute for death and cancer taboos in their social interactions. They (2020, 409) find out that there is a tendency on the part of the speakers of Iraqi Arabic in AL-Anbar to communicate death and cancer indirectly and unprovocatively using euphemism. The tendency to employ euphemism as an alternative to death and cancer taboos is enhanced by Islamic principles. Analyzing the language of death used by Shona speaking people in Zimbabwe from a Shona socio-cultural-religious perspective, Kaguda (2012, 57) states that "the Shona people have the tendency of creating, packaging and re-packaging their language use in relation to the social dilemma confronting them." Reference to death and dying is often realized through euphemistic words or phrases, idiomatic and metaphorical expressions as a way to neutralize the unpleasantness of death and dying. Idiomatic and metaphorical expressions such as *people pass over, pass on, pass away, they are carried to rest, they rest,* and *they fall asleep* are euphemistic alternatives used in Shona context to replace the dispreferred death or dying. Death euphemisms are based on the Shona traditional religious beliefs and the politeness principle which monitor human communication on sensitive issues like death (Kaguda 2012, 67).

In the context of Jordan. Farghal (1995), for instance, explores euphemisms in Arabic in conjunction with Leech's (1983) Politeness Principle and Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle's Maxims of Conversation. He contends that euphemism is fulfilled by Arabic speakers through figurative expressions, circumlocutions, remodelings, and antonyms. Farghal (1995) says that death-related euphemisms are the most common euphemisms in Arabic. Also, he finds out that Standard Arabic, in comparison with colloquial varieties of Arabic, is a rich source of euphemisms. Investigating euphemistic death expressions in Jordanian Arabic, Bani Mofarrej & Al-Abed Al-Haq (2015) find out that Jordanian Arabic speakers employ death-related euphemisms as a tool to fulfill polite and sympathetic communication during death occasions and as a face-saving technique for both the speaker and the hearer. Death euphemisms, they said, are monitored by the religious values, norm and beliefs operative in Jordanian culture. Olimat (2020) investigates the euphemistic and dysphemistic choices used in the Jordanian society as a substitute for COVID-19. It is found that Jordanians used different euphemistic techniques including metaphor, shift from Arabic into English, medical terms, and abbreviation in order to avoid the mentioning of COVID-19. Dysphemism is rarely used by Jordanians when talking about COVID-19 (Olimat 2020, 268).

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Having reviewed the previous literature, the researcher believes none of the past research has attempted to investigate the dynamic nature of euphemisms, examining why an existing dysphemism could turn out to be a euphemism for a new dysphemism. Consequently, the researcher feels it is necessary to analyze such linguistic phenomenon and fill in the gap of literature. Despite the significance of the use of euphemisms and dysphemisms, not much attention has been given to them in Arabic language context, particularly in a political context where death cases are concerned. Arabic language readers are typically neglectful and unaware of the inferences of these nuances of meanings while they are generating discourse when experiencing death cases. That is, they should be acquainted with the issue why an existing dysphemism becomes a euphemism of a new dysphemism in Arabic language as well as the huge change that each individual word can bring about. Besides their social and emotional need, death-related euphemisms constitute a face need; they are face-saving acts directed to the bereaved family's negative face. In the next Section, I discuss the interconnection between euphemisms and politeness.

2.3. Euphemisms and politeness

Emerging within the field of pragmatics, politeness theory investigates the possible strategies that could be used by interlocutors in order to fulfill smooth and successful communication. Politeness theory is based on the notion of face, assuming all people have face needs and wants and that these face wants need to be protected, especially when taking into account that some speech acts could be face-threatening to the speaker or the hearer. Building on the work of Goffman (1967), Brown and Levinson (1987) use the notion of "face" as the basis of their theory showing that there are two opposite face needs: Positive face which reflects the person's need to be accepted and liked by others and treated as a member of their group, and negative face which mirrors the person's desire to be autonomous, not imposed on but respected by others in terms of time, privacy and possession. Building on the notions of negative face and positive face, Brown and Levinson (1987) distinguish between positive politeness and negative politeness. In positive politeness, the speaker's goal is to address the positive face needs of the hearer, whereas in negative politeness the speaker addresses the hearer's need for freedom of action and freedom from imposition. Positive politeness strategies highlight solidarity, friendliness, familiarity, claiming common ground and camaraderie between the speaker and hearer. Unlike positive politeness, negative politeness strategies, as said above, emphasize avoidance of imposition on the hearer. That does not mean positive politeness is good whereas negative politeness is bad. Quite the opposite in deed, positive politeness and negative politeness could be used to achieve successful communication. Locher & Watts (2005: 9) redefine politeness as being part of relational work employed by individuals for the purpose of establishing and maintaining relationships with others, and this could explain the dynamic nature of face as a relational and interactional phenomenon (Al-Adaileh 2007, 2011). This being the case, positive politeness and negative politeness could be seen as part of relational work aimed at establishing and maintaining relationships with others. As part of the politeness strategies used to address the face wants of

others and, therefore, achieve successful communication is the use of euphemism in death-related language.

Given the face-threatening effects associated with death and the emotional distress aroused by the mentioning of the taboo topic of *burning*, people employed indirect and mitigating expressions to communicate the monstrous crime of burning the Jordanian pilot alive. Euphemism is an effective and powerful linguistic tool used to soften communication and thus preserve interpersonal relationships in a non-hostile way (Eliecer 2005). This being the case, euphemism is closely related to politeness by means of the notion of face as proposed by Goffman (1967) and developed by Brown and Levinson (1987). The euphemistic strategies resorted to in this study are aimed at minimizing the level of hostility in verbal and non-verbal communication, allowing no face threats directed to the public self-image or face of the bereaved family. Seen this way, euphemism, face and politeness are closely tied and fulfill a common aim: social solidarity and harmonious communication. Euphemism is likely to maintain the social and interpersonal relationships through avoiding the speaker (in this case, the writer) and the addressee any face-threatening acts incurred due to communicating death and burning directly and blatantly.

In Leech's (1983, 131-139) theory of politeness, the Tact Maxim (among the other maxims of Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement and Sympathy) is viewed of a greater relevance to politeness and is considered as "the most important kind of politeness in the English-speaking society" (Leech 1983, 107). These maxims are aimed at regulating linguistic behavior, hence lessening any threat oriented to the social image of communication participants. This seems to be in line with Watts et al. (2005) who contend that the socially appropriate behavior is a one that conforms to the conventional norms of social politeness. That is, a socially appropriate behavior is a linguistic behavior wrapped properly with politeness. This means that the linguistic indirectness examined under study and represented by the use of euphemisms and/or metaphor-based euphemisms conforms to the social norms operative in the Jordanian culture as they preserve and enhance the social tact and respect. The tendency to be sensitive to the social norms and conventions employed in the Jordanian society could justify the use of politeness-enhanced linguistic indirectness when reporting, conversing or reacting to the burning of the pilot. Direct communication of sensitive and tabooed issues like burning seems to be unwelcome by people who abide by the social conventions of the society and who deem that the direct and blatant communication of this impolite word goes against their perception of the socially appropriate behavior. Indirectness is, therefore, viewed more important than clarity and transparency, a point which is stressed by Lakoff (cited in Fraser 1990, 23) who argues that "[P]oliteness usually supercedes: it is considered more important in a conversation to avoid offence than to achieve clarity".

Clearly then, euphemism and politeness are mutually dependent phenomena in that the need to be polite necessitates the euphemistic use of language (Eliecer 2005, 80). The indirectness featured by the use of euphemism contributes to minimizing the risk of threatening the public images of others and insuring politeness in its two senses: positive politeness (oriented to the other's positive face wants and means solidarity, familiarity and symmetry) and negative politeness (oriented to the other's negative face wants and means respect and interlocutor's freedom of imposition). Building on the explained above, it

becomes obvious that politeness, face and euphemism are interrelated in the sense that politeness is a powerful tool to lessen the threat directed to the speaker or hearer's face (Goffman 1967, Brown and Levinson 1987) and since euphemism is one of the politeness strategies used to maintain the social relationships and fulfill smooth communication, then euphemism is closely tied to face in that it (euphemism) helps protect the speaker and interlocutor's own social images.

The linguistic choices employed by people are, to a great extent, monitored by the social norms of appropriate behavior and tact. Since the socio-cultural norms operative in the Jordanian culture encourage the consideration of the others' needs, then it is not uncommon for Jordanians to use euphemistic lexical alternatives – when reporting the ugly crime of burning the Jordanian pilot by ISIS – aimed at protecting the social images of the pilot's bereaved family in particular and Jordanians in general. In the context of this paper, euphemizing the burning of the Jordanian pilot by the Jordanian media should not be viewed as an attempt to portray ISIS as less cruel. Burning euphemistic alternatives could be rather perceived as an expected response to the Jordanian conventional norms in which death euphemism (in this case burning euphemism) is enhanced by the need to show respect and deference towards interlocutors (bereaved family) and maintain the speaker's (bearer of the news of burning the Jordanian pilot by ISIS) face. This indeed conforms to Allan and Burridge (1991, 11) who contend that "A 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 offence, that of the audience, or of some third party". This being the case, death and burning euphemisms fulfill the social function of establishing and/or maintaining a harmonious relationship with others. People are aware of the cruelty of ISIS and their committed crimes, and they, it seems, prioritized euphemizing the death of the pilot as a way to show respect towards the pilot's bereaved family over blatantly highlighting the ugly crime of burning committed by Daesh.

3. The story of burning the pilot alive

This study is based on the story of Moath Al-Kasasbeh, a Jordanian Air Force pilot, who was captured and burned to death by the militant group ISIS, referred to by the Arabic acronym Daesh, after his fighter aircraft crashed over Syria on 24 December 2014 during the military intervention against the Islamic State. ISIS held Al-Kasasbeh captive before burning him in early January 2015. It then conducted negotiations with the Jordanian government, claiming it would spare Al-Kasabeh's life in exchange for Sajida Al-Rishawi, a woman who had been sentenced to death by Jordan for attempted terrorism and possessing explosives. After the Jordanian government insisted on freeing Al-Kasasbeh as part of the deal and showing proof that he was alive before it would exchange al-Rishawi, ISIS released a video on 3 February 2015 showing Al-Kasasbeh being burned to death while trapped inside a cage.

Before ISIS released the video of Al-Kasasbeh's burning, Al-Kasasbeh's family applied pressure on the Jordanian government to arrange for the release of their son. The story of capturing and later burning the Jordanian pilot alive by ISIS provoked widespread outrage for Jordanian people in general and for Al-Kasasbeh's family in particular. Dealing with a highly sensitive issue and enhanced by the need to sympathize with the pilot's family before and after the act of burning, the Jordanian government and the

media strategically resorted to lexical alternatives that are likely to alleviate the impact of the expected killing and later the act of burning the Jordanian pilot alive. Prior to the act of burning and during the hostage period of the Jordanian pilot, the Jordanian government's spokesperson, during declaring the government's unflinching determination to do everything possible to enable the safe return of the pilot, and media extensively employed lexical alternatives and assuaging expressions which were all used euphemistically as a shield against the expected, feared and disliked *killing* of the pilot. *Killing* which had been avoided as a word before the harsh act of burning because of its dysphemistic sense was used euphemistically following the act of burning to soften the ugly event of *burning* the pilot. This study is, therefore, aimed at analyzing the euphemistic expressions used by the Jordanian government and media prior to and after the burning process, showing that what had been avoided before burning because of its dysphemistic sense (*killing*) was used as a euphemism and as a gentler substitute for the unexpected *burning.*

4. Discussion and Findings

This study, as stated previously, is concerned with analyzing the death-related euphemisms used on media prior to and after the act of burning the Jordanian pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh by the terrorist organization of Daesh. The internet and TV-based data upon which this study is based embodies numerous assuaging expressions that function as a protective language; using politer, less offensive, gentler and socially acceptable words in place of words like *death*, *die*, *murder and burning.* Pragmatically speaking, euphemism is a face-saving technique, in that it protects the speaker's and hearer's face from any potential face loss that could be incurred due to the use of harsh and socially rejected expressions such as those mentioned above. That is, Euphemisms on death and obituaries are based on replacing unpleasant words by more pleasant expressions as a way to avoid shocking or upsetting the listener or reader. In what follows, I discuss the euphemistic expressions employed during the hostage period of the Jordanian pilot.

4.1. Prior to the act of burning.

Given the brutality of ISIS and the atrocious crimes and offences that the terrorist organization had previously committed against innocent people, Jordanians had been expecting the pilot to be executed by the terrorist organization. This, as such, necessitated the use of politer and gentler language, on media, when handling the story of capturing the Jordanian pilot by ISIS. The language used by media, narrating and analyzing the Jordanian State's negotiations with ISIS as an attempt to get the pilot back home safely, was intended to soften the harshness of the pilot's expected execution. The use of euphemistic expressions in place of harsh and offensive words such as *murder*, *execution* could be motivated by Jordanians holding little hope for the important negotiations to be fruitful and be culminated with the hoped-for release of the Jordanian pilot. The following internet-based examples are illustrative of the strategic avoidance of dysphemistic expressions of *murder.*

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1-

أسرة معاذ الكساسبة تكثف جهودها لإنقاذ حياة إبنها المحتجز لدى تنظيم داعش. (عنوان مقال في موقع أخبار الآن تاريخ 29\1\ 2015)

The family of Moath Al-Kasasbeh are stepping up their efforts to <u>save the life</u> of their son, who is being held by ISIS. (Title of a newspaper article in <u>Akhbaralaan News Site</u>, 29/1/2015)

2-

تكثف عائلة الرهينة الطيار الاردني الضغوط على الحكومة الاردنية كي تبذل ما في وسعها لانقاذ حياة الطيار الذي يحتجزه تنظيم داعش. (كما ورد في قناة أخبار الآن، تاريخ 28\1\ 2015)

The Jordanian pilot's family is intensifying pressure on the Jordanian government to do everything in its power to <u>save the life of the pilot held hostage by Daesh</u>. (As reported by Akhbar Alan TV., 28/1/2015)

The use of "*save the life*" could be said to be a taboo-prevention technique used strategically in place of the dysphemistic and harsh words: *kill, murder or execute*. The sensitivity of taboo expressions, like those mentioned above, arises out of social constraints on the individual's behavior where it can cause discomfort, harm or injury (Allan and Burridge 2006, 1). These dysphemistic words are constrained and thoroughly censored as they evoke fear, injury or disgust to conversation participants and go against politeness standards. More importantly, the use of highly euphemistic expressions was motivated by the need to care much about the feelings of the pilot's small family and Jordanians in general who had been eagerly waiting any good news regarding the release of the kidnapped pilot. Examples of euphemistic expressions used to avoid offending or upsetting the pilot's family also include:

3-

ولفت (رئيس مجلس النواب) الى ان الحكومة تعمل على قدم وساق وعلى مدار الساعة لانقاذ حياة الطيار والحفاظ على سلامته. (كما ورد في المقال المعنَّون بِ " الروابدة: كل جندي هو مشروع شهيد.."، عمون الاخبارية، تاريخ 29\1\ 2015)

He (the Speaker of the Parliament) pointed out that the government is working in full swing and around the clock to <u>save the life</u> <u>of the pilot and maintain his integrity.</u> (As reported under the headline of: "Al-Rawabdeh: Every soldier is a martyr's project," Ammoun News, 29/1/2015)

4-

وأضاف المومني بأن موقف الأردن كان منذ البداية <u>ضمان حياة ابننا الطيار معاذ الكساسبة.</u> (كما ورد في المقال المعنَّون بِ "الكساسبة والريشاوي و"داعش"... في أبرز عناوين الصحافة العالمية"، موقع عمان نت الاخباري، تاريخ 29\1\ 2015)

The Minister of Information, Mohammad Al-Momani, added that the position of Jordan was clear from the beginning and is based on <u>guaranteeing the life of our son, pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh</u>. (As reported under the headline of: "Al-Kasasbeh, Al-Rishawi and " Daesh"... in the most prominent headlines of the international press," Amman Net News, 29/1/2015)

5-

وقال المسؤول الذي طلب عدم كشف اسمه "أن المفاوضات لا زالت جارية، الاردن لا زال يفاوض" لتأمين سلامة الطيار معاذ

الكساسبة المحتجز لدى تنظيم داعش. (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بـ "والد الطيار الأردني يطالب سلطات بلاده بالحفاظ

على حياة ابنه"، موقع المملكة اليوم الاخباري، تاريخ 29\1\ 2015)

The official, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said "negotiations were still under way, and that Jordan was still negotiating" to secure the safety of pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh who is being held by Daesh. (As reported under the headline of: "The father of the Jordanian pilot demands his country's authorities to preserve his son's life," Al-Mamlakah Al-Yawm News, 29/1/2015)

6-

الأردن مستعد لإطلاق سراح ساجدة الريشاوي بشرط إطلاق سراح الطيار الأردني معاذ الكساسبة وعدم المساس بحياته

(عنوان مقال في موقع الانباط الاخباري، تاريخ 28\1\ 2015)

Jordan is ready to release Sajida Al-Rishawi on the condition that the Jordanian pilot Moath al-Kasasbeh be released and his life be maintained. (Title of a newspaper article in Alanbat News, 28/1/2015)

7-

ويأتي هذا التهديد الصريح والواضح بأن الدولة الاردنية ستقدم على خطوات حازمة اتجاه عناصر التنظيم واتباعه في حال

اقدم 'داعش' على المسَ بحياة الطيار الاردني. (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بـ "مصدر امني رفيع لـ عمون: مصير الريشاوي

مربوط بمصير طيارنا"، موقع عمون الاخباري، تاريخ 29\1\ 2015)

The clear and explicit threat comes on the basis of Jordan's intention to take firm steps towards the organization elements and its followers in the event that 'Daesh' harms the life of the Jordanian pilot. (As reported under the headline of: "A senior security source told Ammoun News: The fate of Al-Rishawi is tied to the fate of our Jordanian pilot," Ammoun News, 29/1/2015)

8-

ثمّن مجلس الأعيان الجهود التي تُبذل لإطلاق سراح الطيار الأردني الملازم أول معاذ الكساسبة وعودته سالماً إلى أهله ووطنه.

(كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "الأعيان يثمن الجهود المبذولة لإطلاق سراح الطيار الكساسبة"، موقع عمون الاخباري، تاريخ

28\12\2014)

The Senate valued the efforts exerted to secure the release of the Jordanian pilot, First Lieutenant Moath Al-Kasasbeh, and the safe return to his family and homeland. (As reported under the headline of: "The Senate appreciates the efforts made to release pilot Moath al-Kasasbeh," Ammoun News, 28/12/2014)

9-

وأكدّ المصدر أن مصير الريشاوي مربوط بمصير طيارنا الاردني معاذ الكساسبة، ولم يُخف المصدر الكبير جديّة الدولة

الأردنية في اتخاذ الخطوات المقابلة لاي خطوة تستهدف حياة معاذ الكساسبة. (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بـ "مصدر امني

رفيع لـ عمون: مصير الريشاوي مربوط بمصير طيارنا"، موقع عمون الاخباري، تاريخ 29\1\ 2015)

The Dynamic Functions of Euphemism: The Martyrdom of the Jordanian Air Force Pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh at the Hands of ISIS

The source confirmed that the fate of Al-Rishawi is tied to that of our Jordanian pilot, Moath Al-Kasasbeh. <u>The great source did not hide the seriousness of the Jordanian State taking the necessary steps corresponding to any step aimed at the life of Moath Al-Kasasbeh.</u> (As reported under the headline of: "A senior security source told Ammoun News: The fate of Al-Rishawi is tied to the fate of our Jordanian pilot," Ammoun News, 29/1/2015)

The use of murder-related euphemisms such as those displayed in the examples above (*to save the life of the pilot and maintain his integrity, guaranteeing the life of our son, to secure the safety of pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh, his life be maintained, in the event that 'Daesh' harms the life of the Jordanian pilot, the safe return to his family and homeland* and *any step aimed at the life of Moath Al-Kasasbeh*) could be said to be an instance of evasive language used to avoid the use of the harsh and the more offensive *murder* or *execute*. They have less negative overtones and more positive connotations compared to their dysphemistic counterparts. Such less offensive expressions are applied strategically to ameliorate the most unpleasing connotations of the dysphemistic *murder*. The use of euphemistic metaphors is in conformation with a general trend to euphemize lexicons that are associated with fear, harm or injury and explains how inventive people are in terms of using politer lexical substitutions for death and murder.

Euphemisms are mostly used to avoid affronting the face wants of both speaker and hearer in a particular context and not because of the fear of a possible physical injury (Allan and Burrige 1991, 2006). That is, euphemisms are used as a face-saving technique through hiding the unpleasant associations of *murder* or by employing lexical alternatives with more positive meanings. The use of murder-related euphemisms with the aim of lessening the negative impact and unpleasant connotations of murder is not to distort realities, trivialize the matter of taking the Jordanian pilot hostage by ISIS or mislead people who had been impatiently waiting the news of releasing the Jordanian pilot. If designed to mislead audience, euphemisms are normally called doublespeak, and this conforms to Lutz' (1989) assumption that euphemism is a language designed to alter our perception of reality, understate significant problems or reduce the precision. In the context of capturing the Jordanian pilot by ISIS, euphemisms of murder could have been used to alleviate the impact of the expected murder and its relevant negative associations and not as an attempt to hide reality. I previously pointed to Jordanian people's awareness of the brutality of ISIS and the heinous crimes committed by this terrorist organization. Having said that, it becomes apparently clear that Jordanian people are aware of the strategic use of these euphemistic expressions which are designed as face-saving devices and as a tool to mention the unmentionable or talk about the pilot's expected murder indirectly. Added to this is the Jordanian state, media and people's sympathy with the pilot's family who were exerting pressure on the Jordanian State to do everything possible to save the life of their son. This seems to be the main motive behind using murder-related euphemisms; sparing the feelings of the pilot's heartbroken family and not as an instance of doublespeak aimed at hiding or understating reality.

4.2. After burning

Because of the barbarity of ISIS and the many atrocities committed by this terrorist organization, killing military and civilian people by beheading, crucifixion, shooting or other means, Jordanian people were expecting the airman's execution at the hands of Daesh, yet nobody expected burning the pilot to death while being held inside a cage. The immolation of Lieutenant Al-Kasasbeh set off a region-wide explosion of anger and disgust at the extremists, as burning someone alive is prohibited in Islam as a punishment. Burning someone alive seems to be more awful and horrible than say shooting, crucifixion and even more appalling than beheading. Caught by anger and surprise, his majesty King Abdullah II, Jordan's government spokesman, media and Jordanian people expressed their condemnation of the grotesque execution of the Jordanian air force pilot. In what follows, I discuss the euphemistic alternatives used to report the act of burning Al-Kasasbeh. These less offensive lexical substitutes range from *murder* and *assassination* through *sacrifice* and *journey* to comparing burning to *facing or cuddling fate and angles*.

4.2.1. Assassination and murder

Driven by the need of avoiding hurting the people who are in grief or shock, people normally resort to indirect and more euphemistic alternatives to mention death; wrapping it up in politer and less offensive phrases. Like the case in many cultures, death is a word that cannot be directly said out in Jordan as it is always associated with losing a loved one. The deliberate and planned burning of the Jordanian air force pilot by ISIS was a shock to all Jordanian people who found the use of *assassination* and *murder* more euphemistic and less offensive than mentioning *burning*. The need became greater to handle the word *burning* with a lot of care and caution, and this, as such, made *assassination* and *murder* – which had been avoided prior to the act of burning due to their dysphemistic senses – euphemistic substitutes for the dysphemistic and more offensive *burning*. The following examples illustrate how *assassination* and *murder* are strategically used as mitigating expressions to avoid mentioning the unmentionable (burning):

10-

وقال جلالته: "لقد قضى الطيار الشجاع معاذ دفاعا عن عقيدته ووطنه وأمته." (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "الملك: واجب جميع أبناء الوطن الوقوف صفًا واحداً في مواجهة الشدائد والمحن"، موقع الغد الاخباري، تاريخ 3\2\ 2015)

His majesty king Abdullah II said "the brave martyr died/passed away (qatha) defending his faith, country and nation." (As reported under the headline of: "His majesty: The duty of all the sons of the nation is to stand united in the face of hardships and adversities," Al Ghad News, 3/2/2015)

11-

عبّرت أسرة جامعة عمان العربية من أساتذة وإداريين وطلبة عن شجبهم واستنكارهم للجريمة البشعة التي اغتالت روح الطيّار الشهيد الكساسبة، وذلك من خلال وقفة ومسيرة سارت في داخل الحرم الجامعي اليوم الأحد الموافق 2015/2/8.(كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "تأبين للشهيد البطل معاذ الكساسبة في جامعة عمان العربية"، موقع أخبار البلد، تاريخ 8\2\ 2015)

The Dynamic Functions of Euphemism: The Martyrdom of the Jordanian Air Force Pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh at the Hands of ISIS

The Amman Arab University family of professors, administrators and students expressed their condemnation of <u>the ugly crime that assassinated/took away the soul of the Jordanian pilot martyr Al-Kasasbeh</u> through a march and peaceful assemblies that took place on campus on Sunday, February 8th, 2015. (As reported under the headline of: "A memorial service for the hero martyr Moath Al-Kasasbeh at Amman Arab University," Al Balad News, 8/2/2015)

12-

قُوبلت جريمة <u>إغتيال الشهيد معاذ الكساسبة</u> بإدانة واستنكار واسعين محلياً وعربياً ودولياً من قبل ساسة ودبلوماسيين وبرلمانيين ومنظمات وأحزاب وجاليات أردنية في الخارج.(كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بـ "<u>اغتيال الكساسبة يوحّد</u> العالم استنكاراً وتصميم على اجتثاث "داعش" "، موقع أخبار الغد، تاريخ 4\2\ 2015)

<u>The assassination of the martyr Moath Al-Kasasbeh</u> was met with widespread local, regional and international condemnation by politicians, diplomats, parliamentarians, organizations, parties and Jordanian communities abroad. (As reported under the headline of: "<u>The assassination of Al-Kasasbeh</u> unites the world in condemnation and a determination to uproot "Daesh"," Al Ghad News, 4/2/2015)

13-

واستنكرت الفعاليات الشعبية والنقابية والحزبية والرسمية في المحافظات <u>ما قام به تنظيم داعش الإرهابي من جريمة همجية باعدام وقتل الشهيد الطيّار الاردني معاذ الكساسبة.</u> (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بـ "فعاليات المحافظات تستنكر جريمة «داعش» البشعة بحق الشهيد الكساسبة"، موقع أخبار الدستور، تاريخ 4\2\ 2015)

The popular, official party and trade-union activities in the provinces denounced the <u>barbaric crime committed by Daesh, executing and murdering the Jordanian pilot martyr Moath Al-Kasasbeh.</u> (As reported under the headline of: "Provincial activists denounce the heinous crime of ISIS against the martyr Al-Kasasbeh," Addustour News, 4/2/2015)

Assassination and *murdering* which are always considered dysphemistic were used euphemistically in this particular occasion as an attempt to avoid the mentioning of the disgusting monstrous crime of burning the Jordanian pilot and to mask its negative effects. The reuse of dysphemistic words as euphemistic substitutes for the disgusting event of burning could demonstrate that the euphemistic and dysphemistic use of some socially sensitive words is dynamic and situation-dependent. That is, what counts as dysphemistic in one occasion might not count as such in another different occasion. This is not to say that words like *assassination* and *murder* are pleasant and polite, yet they become more acceptable, more pleasant and less offensive when compared to the highly offensive and less pleasant *burning*, and this could explain the dynamic nature of these contextually and doubly-edged words.

In example 10, *qatha* which was used by king Abdullah II to report the burning of the Jordanian pilot is semantically equivalent to *died. Qatha* is, however, more euphemistic and gentler than *died;* it is used euphemistically to hide the negative effects associated with the horrible act of burning.

4.2.2. Sacrifice

As part of the attempts to euphemize the ugly act of burning the Jordanian pilot is the use of the word *sacrifice* and its synonyms in place of *burning*. Using *sacrifice* as a euphemistic substitute for *burning* is highly likely to assuage the atrocity committed against the pilot. Williams (1975) argues that euphemisms are created to avoid tabooed words and people have to find linguistic alternatives to fill up the vacancy. This indeed could justify the use of *sacrifice* as a lexical alternative to the tabooed *burning*. The following examples explain how *sacrifice* and its synonyms are used as a euphemistic substitute for the abandoned *burning*:

14-

العاهل الاردني: الشهيد معاذ الكساسبة ضحّى بحياته فداءً للوطن. واضاف الملك عبدالله في بيان للشعب الاردني أن الطيّار معاذ الكساسبة قطع شوطاً من الشجاعة والتحق بمن سبقوه من شهداء الوطن الذين ضحّوا بحياتهم ودمائهم فداءً للوطن.

(اخبار المسائية، تاريخ 5\2\ 2015)

The Jordanian monarch: martyr Moath Al-Kasasbeh <u>sacrificed his life to redeem his country</u>. King Abdullah said in a statement to the Jordanian people that the pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh <u>had gone a long way of courage and joined his former martyrs</u> who <u>sacrificed their lives and blood for the homeland</u>. (Almsaey TV., 5/2/2015)

15-

نعى رئيس النقابة العامة للعاملين بالبترول والكيماويات الاردنية سعادة السيد خالد الزيود واعضاء الهيئة الادارية والعامة البطل الشهيد معاذ الكساسبة <u>والذي دفع حياتة ثمناً للارهاب</u>. (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "النقابة العامة للعاملين بالبترول والكيماويات الاردنية تنعى الكساسبة"، موقع أخبار القلعة نيوز، تاريخ 4\2\ 2015)

The Chairman of the Jordanian General Union of Workers for the Petroleum and Chemicals, His Excellency Mr. Khaled Al-Ziyud and the members of the administrative board and working body mourned the heroic martyr Moath Al-Kasasbeh who <u>paid his life as a price for terrorism.</u> (As reported under the headline of: "Jordanian General Union of Workers for the Petroleum and Chemicals mourns Al-Kasasbeh," Al Qalah News, 4/2/2015)

16-

وعبّر رئيس بلدية الشوبك وقوف ابناء اللواء الى جانب أسرة الشهيد البطل معاذ الكساسبة إبن الأردن <u>الذي قدّم روحه رخيصه في سبيل الدفاع عن دينه ووطنه وأمته.</u> (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "فعاليات المحافظات تستنكر جريمة «داعش» البشعة بحق الشهيد الكساسبة"، موقع أخبار الدستور، تاريخ 4\2\ 2015)

The Mayor of Ash-Shoubak: the sons of the city of Ash-Shoubak are committed to standing by the family of the heroic martyr Moath Al-Kasasbeh, the son of Jordan, who <u>offered his soul cheaply in defense of his religion, country and nation.</u> (As reported under the headline of: "Provincial activists denounce the heinous crime of ISIS against the martyr Al-Kasasbeh," Addustour News, 4/2/2015)

17-

بقلوب يعتصرها الألم والحزن والأسى تلقّى منتسبي تجمع البلقاء للمتقاعدين العسكريين نبأ استشهاد النقيب البطل الطيّار معاذ الكساسبة شهيد الواجب والانسانية الذي ضحّى بحياته وروحه من أجل الوطن الغالي على يد التنظيم الأرهابي (داعش). (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "بيان صادر عن تجمع البلقاء للمتقاعدين العسكريين"، موقع أخبار البلقا نت، تاريخ 4\2\ 2015)

With hearts overcome by pain, sadness and sorrow, the members of the Balqa Gathering for the Military Retirees received the news of the martyrdom of the heroic captain; pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh, the martyr of the duty and humanity, <u>who sacrificed his life and soul for the dear homeland at the hands of the terrorist organization (Daesh).</u> (As reported under the headline of: "A statement issued by the Balqa Gathering for the Military Retirees," Albalqanews.net, 4/2/2015)

18-

وقف موظفو شركة الخطوط الجويّة الملكية الأردنية في تمام الساعة الثالثة من مساء (يوم الأربعاء) في مكاتب مبنى الإدارة العامة للشركة وفي جميع مرافقها في مطار الملكة علياء الدولي دقيقة صمت لقراءة الفاتحة على روح الشهيد البطل معاذ الكساسبة. وتأتي هذه اللفتة من الملكية الأردنية تكريماً للشهيد الطيّار معاذ الكساسبة <u>الذي قدّم روحه في سبيل الدفاع عن عقيدته ووطنه وأمته والتحق بمن سبقوه من شهداء الوطن الذين بذلوا حياتهم ودماءهم فداءً للأردن.</u> (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "مُوظفو الملكية الأردنية يقفون دقيقة صمت على روح الشهيد الكساسبة"، وكالة جراسا الإخبارية، تاريخ 5\2\ 2015)

The staff of the Royal Jordanian Airlines Company (RJ) observed a minute of silence at 3:00 pm on Wednesday at the offices of the company's General Administration and at its all facilities at Queen Alia International Airport to read Al-Fatihah on the soul of the heroic martyr Moath Al-Kasasbeh. This gesture comes from the Royal Jordanian in honor of the martyr pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh, <u>who sacrificed his soul in order to defend his faith, country and nation, and he joined the former martyrs of the nation who had given their lives and blood for the sake of Jordan</u>. (As reported under the headline of: "Royal Jordanian employees held a minute of silence in memory of the martyr Al-Kasasbeh" Gerasa News, 5/2/2015)

19-

على صعيد ذي صلة أكدّ الدكتور عودة أبو سنية نائب عميد كلية الآداب والعلوم في تبادل العزاء بالشهيد البطل <u>الذي قدّم روحه الطاهرة فداءً للوطن والأمّة والإنسانية جمعاء.......</u> (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "تأبين للشهيد البطل معاذ الكساسبة في جامعة عمان العربية"، موقع أخبار البلد، تاريخ 8\2\ 2015)

On a related matter, Dr. Audeh Abu Sneineh, Vice Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, during the exchange of condolences to the heroic martyr's family, stressed that the heroic martyr Moath Al-Kasasbeh, <u>who presented his pure spirit for the sake of his country, nation and humanity all</u>, …..(As reported under the headline of: "A memorial service for the hero martyr Moath Al-Kasasbeh at Amman Arab University," Al Balad News, 8/2/2015)

20-

وتحدّث الدكتور الذنيبات في رسالة صوتية بُثت بشكل مباشر خلال فعاليات الطابور الصباحي في المدرسة، حول المعاني النبيلة والجليلة التي تجسّدت في إستشهاد النقيب معاذ الكساسبة <u>والتضحية التي قدّمها دفاعاً عن عقيدته ووطنه.</u> (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "الذنيبات يشارك طلبة مدرسة الشهيد الكساسبة قراءة الفاتحة على روح الشهيد البطل"، موقع أخبار الدستور، تاريخ 8\2\ 2015)

Dr. Al-Thunaibat (The Minister of Education) spoke in a voice message broadcasted directly during the events of the morning assembly in the school about the noble and glorified meanings embodied in the martyrdom of Captain Moath Al-Kasasbeh and <u>the sacrifice he presented in defense of his faith and his homeland.</u> (As reported under the headline of: "Al-Thunaibat shares with the students of the Martyr Al-Kasasbeh School reciting Al-Fatihah on the soul of the hero martyr," Addustour News, 8/2/2015)

Sacrificed his life in favor of his country (example 14)*, sacrificed his life and soul for the dear homeland* (example 17)*, sacrificed his soul in order to defend his faith, country and nation* (example 18) *and the sacrifice he presented in defense of his faith and his homeland* (example 20) are all instances of using *sacrifice* as a euphemistic substitute for the upsetting act of burning the pilot. Sacrifice-related expressions such as *paid his life as a price for terrorism* (example 15)*, offered his soul cheaply in defense of his religion, country and nation* (example 16) *and presented his pure spirit for the sake of his country, nation and humanity all* (example 19) fulfill the same function; refraining from mentioning the tabooed word of burning.

It could be said that the collocation of *sacrifice* and *soul* as displayed in the above examples is not without reason. That is, the co-occurrence of *sacrifice* and *soul* rather than associating *sacrifice* with *body* could be aimed at directing people's attention away from burning as burning happens to the body. This could be part of the several attempts employed by people and media to avoid any lexicon whose use could directly or indirectly remind others of the disgusting burning that happened to the pilot. Also, the interconnection between *sacrificing life and soul* from one hand and *defending religion, nation, country and humanity* from the other hand could be enhanced by the need of reminding people that one could sacrifice soul and life in favor of protecting country and humanity from the terrorist acts committed by the extremists, and again it is an attempt to euphemize the burning of the pilot, an act which shocked all the people of the country. The use of euphemistic substitutes is a culturally bound linguistic phenomenon in that euphemistic choices are deeply influenced by culture. The process of avoiding tabooed words and looking for their euphemistic counterparts is determined by the culture of people (Williams 1975; Nyakoe et al. 2012). In the same vein, Fan (2006) contends that all cultures seem to have sensitive notions that people try to avoid mentioning directly. Euphemistic and dysphemistic uses of some words are defined in light of the social norms operative in cultures. Having said that, it is then quite normal to say that the use of *sacrificing life and soul to defend country and humanity* as a euphemistic substitute for the act of burning springs from the culture which highlights the significance of sacrificing everything precious in favor of keeping humans and humanity safe from the barbaric acts committed by the enemies of humanity.

4.2.3. Death as a journey

As part of euphemizing the horrible act of burning the Jordanian pilot is the conceptualization of death and burning in this case as a journey. Like the case in many other cultures, the Jordanian culture uses the metaphor-based language to report the death of people. The conceptual metaphor of *Death is a journey* is proposed by (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and (Lakoff 1993) and is used to explain the domain of death in terms of the domain of journeys, where humans are portrayed as travelers on earth and going to heaven which is seen as the final destination to be reached. Examples conforming to this particular category of conceptual metaphor were found in our data and they include:

21-

معاذ الكساسبة انتقل للسموات العلى واقفاً دون أن ينحني رغم أنه كان يرى نيران الحقد والتخلف تزحف إليه بسرعة، في رسالة وجَهها الشهيد لكل الأردنيين وهو يعانق الملائكة في طريقه الى جنات الخلد. (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "معاذ الكساسبة لم يمت بل مات قاتلوه"، موقع أخبار عمون، تاريخ 5\2\ 2015)

In a very moving message addressed to all Jordanians while he was cuddling the angels in his way to eternal paradise, Moath Al-Kasasbeh moved to the heavens above standing without bending, although he saw the flames of hatred and backwardness creeping quickly to him. (As reported under the headline of: "Moath Al-Kasasbeh did not die, but his murderers died," Ammoun News, 5/2/2015)

22-

معاذ الكساسبه شهيد خطّ بدمه طريقه للجنه التي وعد الله بها الشهداء الذين يحاربون من أجل أوطانهم حتى لايدوسها من شوّهوا وجه الإسلام السمح واختطفوه لتحقيق أهداف مريضه ومتخلّفه لاعلاقة لها بالإسلام والمسلمين. (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "معاذ الكساسبة لم يمت بل مات قاتلوه"، موقع أخبار عمون، تاريخ 5\2\ 2015)

Moath Al-Kasasbeh is a martyr who, with his blood, made his way to the paradise, the paradise which Allah promised martyrs who fight for their homelands so as not to be trampled by those who defaced and hijacked Islam, those who distorted Islam to achieve sick and backward goals that have nothing to do with Islam and Muslims. (As reported under the headline of: "Moath Al-Kasasbeh did not die, but his murderers died," Ammoun News, 5/2/2015)

23-

لقد عاش شهيدنا البطل معاذ من أجل الأردن ، واستشهد من أجل الاردن، وانتقل الى الرفيق الأعلى يحمل معه محبة الأردن والأردنيين وهو شامخ الراس، رافض الانحناء للقتله. (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "معاذ الكساسبة لم يمت بل مات قاتلوه"، موقع أخبار عمون، تاريخ 5\2\ 2015)

Our heroic martyr Moath Al-Kasasbeh lived for Jordan, and was martyred for Jordan. With a head held high refusing to bow to the murderers, he moved to the Highest Companion carrying with him the love of Jordan and Jordanians. (As reported under the headline of: "Moath Al-Kasasbeh did not die, but his murderers died," Ammoun News, 5/2/2015)

24-

نجح معاذ <u>في الإنتقال بعزّة إلى ربّه</u>. (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ " الشهيد البطل معـــاذ الكساسبة "، موقع دنيا الوطن، تاريخ 5\2\ 2015)

<u>Moath succeeded in moving with pride to his Lord.</u> (As reported under the headline of: "The hero martyr Moath Al-Kasasbeh," Alwatanvoice News, 5/2/2015)

25-

كانت السكينة تغمر معاذ <u>وانتقل إلى الله مطمئناً</u>. (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ " الشهيد البطل معـــاذ الكساسبة "، موقع دنيا الوطن، تاريخ 5\2\ 2015).

Tranquility was overwhelming Moath, and he <u>turned to Allah reassuringly</u>. (As reported under the headline of: "The hero martyr Moath Al-Kasasbeh," Alwatanvoice News, 5/2/2015)

The metaphor used in the above examples is a cross-domain mapping from the source domain (in this case, journeys) to the target domain (in this case, burning). These euphemistic substitutes map the aspect of travel onto that of death as a way to understand death by referring to it in an inoffensive and polite terms. Nyakoe et al. (2012, 1455) argue that the act of dying corresponds to the act of leaving and the deceased is viewed as the one embarking on a journey. They said that the deceased was assumed to be on transit and, in most cases, is purported to have gone to Heaven. The euphemistic substitutes displayed in the above examples indirectly deny the death of the pilot and emphasize his survival, moving and ascending upwards to meet his Lord and comrades, it is a message to the pilot's bereaved family in particular and to the Jordanian family in general that all people are travelers moving to a common destination. This assumption, negation of death, is apparently clear in the following example:

26-

عنوان مقال في موقع أخبار عمون، تاريخ 5\2\ 2015 ("معاذ الكساسبة لم يمت بل مات قاتلوه")

<u>Moath Al-Kasasbeh did not die</u>, but his murderers died. (Newspaper Headline in Ammoun News, 5/2/2015)

The metaphorical mapping exemplified in the previous examples could be driven by the need of being respectful of the bereaved people; the source domain (journey) is used to understand, structure and mitigate the target domain (burning). Put it in other words, these metaphor-based euphemisms are based on using the euphemistic expressions in the source domain to replace the taboo expressions in the target domain.

Because language is rich of options, language users could use variable forms to express the same content. It is a socio-cultural need to talk about death using gentle and polite alternatives. Other frequently used expressions in the Jordanian culture fulfilling the same pragmatic functions include *he/she moved to the mercy of God*, *he/she moved to the neighborhood of his/her Lord* and *he/she moved to the home of eternity*. Because Moath Al-Kasasbeh was burned to death and because burning is uglier than beheading and shooting, more gentle and politer alternatives were used to support the pilot's bereaved family.

4.2.4. Facing and cuddling fate or angles

Facing and/or cuddling fate and angles is also an example of metaphorical mapping where the act of burning and facing the flames of fire are compared to cuddling fate or angles. The use of the non-straightforward language to account for the immolation of Lieutenant Al-Kasasbeh, resorting to metaphor-supported euphemisms emphasizes people's negation of the pilot's death. Complying with the social norms of the Jordanian culture which underline the importance of being respectful and polite when reporting the death of any one, people avoid mentioning the words *dead, dying* and *death* directly. Death is, therefore, mentioned and understood using different alternative lexicons and ideas. Conceptual metaphor where one idea or concept is understood in terms of another concept is one of these polite alternatives used to mitigate the unexpected immolation of the Jordanian pilot. The cross-domain mapping employed as a taboo-avoidance technique is evident in the following examples:

27-

معاذ الكساسبة انتقل للسموات العلى واقفاً دون أن ينحني رغم أنه كان يرى نيران الحقد والتخلف تزحف اليه بسرعة، في رسالة وجهها الشهيد لكل الأردنيين وهو يعانق الملائكة في طريقه الى جنات الخلد. (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "معاذ الكساسبة لم يمت بل مات قاتلوه"، موقع أخبار عمون، تاريخ 5\2\ 2015)

In a very moving message addressed to all Jordanians <u>while he was cuddling the angels in his way to eternal paradise</u>, Moath Al-Kasasbeh moved to the heavens above standing without bending, although he saw the flames of hatred and backwardness creeping quickly to him. (As reported under the headline of: "Moath Al-Kasasbeh did not die, but his murderers died," Ammoun News, 5/2/2015)

28-

وطالبت القوى الشعبية والسياسية بالثأر والقصاص للطيّار العربي الشاب، مؤكدين أن الجريمة حرقت مشاعر الأمة العربية قبل أن تقترب من جسد "معاذ" <u>الذي واجه مصيره مرتفع الرأس</u> متحدّياً عناصر عصابات "همجيّة" دمويّة. (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "الشـارع المـصري ينـتفض ضـد جريمة شياطين التتار "داعش" بحرق معاذ"، موقع أخبار البلد، تاريخ 8\2\ (2015

The popular and political forces demanded the Jordanian state to take revenge for the young Arab pilot, stressing that the crime burned the feelings of the Arab nation before approaching the body of Moath, who <u>faced his fate with a head held high</u> defying bloody "barbaric" gangs. (As reported under the headline of: "The Egyptian people are rising up against the crime of the Tatar demons "Daesh" by burning Moath," Al Balad News, 8/2/2015)

29-

معاذ الكساسبة <u>عانق القدر بكل شجاعة والتحق بمن سبقوه حاملاً معه حُبّ الأردن والأردنيين.</u> (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "معاذ الكساسبة لم يمت بل مات قاتلوه"، موقع أخبار عمون، تاريخ 5\2\ 2015)

Moath Al-Kasasbeh <u>cuddled fate with all courage and joined the former martyrs, carrying with him the love of Jordan and the Jordanians.</u> (As reported under the headline of: "Moath Al-Kasasbeh did not die, but his murderers died," Ammoun News, 5/2/2015)

The use of burning-mitigating expressions such as *while he was cuddling the angels in his way to eternal paradise* (example 27)*, faced his fate with a head held high* (example 28) and *cuddled fate with all courage and joined the former martyrs, carrying with him the love of Jordan and the Jordanians* (example 29) is likely to make people feel the great honor the Jordanian pilot had in defending the homeland. The indirect communication of burning and death as shown above (cuddling angles, facing fate and cuddling fate) is one of the ways of mentioning the unmentionable. These euphemistic substitutes have a great potential of lubricating communication, using a socially agreeable expression instead of a one that might offend people. The euphemistic expressions such as *sacrificed his life in favor of his country* (example 14), *the son of Jordan* (example 16), *he joined the former martyrs of the nation who had given their lives and blood for the sake of Jordan* (example 18)*,* and *he moved to the Highest Companion carrying with him the love of Jordan and Jordanians* (example 23) are strategically used to support the family of the deceased. The use of *the son of Jordan* is an indirect reminder that the heroic pilot is not only a son of his bereaved family but also a son of the aggrieved Jordanian family. This is, as such, likely to ameliorate the ugly crime of burning the Jordanian pilot alive.

Euphemistic expressions that do not belong to the aforementioned categories and were found in our data include *heinous and criminal crime*, *brutal and barbaric crime*, *disgusting monstrous crime, horrendous inhuman crime* and *cowardly act.* The following is an example of these expressions:

30-

وعبّر مغرّدون إماراتيون عبر موقع التواصل الاجتماعي تويتر عن حزنهم واستنكارهم الشديد للجريمة البشعة. واعتبروا أن ما أقدم عليه تنظيم "داعش" الإرهابي من عمل جبان إنّما يُعبّر عن فكره المتطرّف واستهتاره بالقيم الروحية وحياة البشر. (كما ورد في المقال المعنّون بِ "اغتيال الكساسبة يوحّد العالم استنكاراً وتصميم على إجتثاث "داعش" "، موقع أخبار الغد، تاريخ 4\2\ 2015)

Emaratians, through Twitter, expressed their deep sorrow and condemnation of the <u>heinous crime</u> and said that the <u>cowardly act</u> committed by Daesh expresses the terrorist organization's extremist ideology and its contempt for spiritual values and human life. (As reported under the headline of: "<u>The assassination of Al-Kasasbeh</u> unites the world in condemnation and a determination to uproot "Daesh","

Al Ghad News, 4/2/2015)

It seems, building on what outlined above, that Jordanian culture, like other cultures, is inclined to employing death euphemisms including politer, softer and more delicate terms as a way to enhance smooth and successful communication. That is, failure to come out with euphemistic and polite alternatives for death could have made the task of communicating the ugly burning of the Jordanian pilot at the hands of terrorists a difficult task. The use of euphemism constitutes a social and emotional need as it allowed the discussion of this 'touchy' or taboo subject without enraging, outraging, or upsetting other people (Samoškaite 2011, 4).

Conclusion

Reflecting upon the foregoing discussion, it is evident that euphemisms for death are necessary for smooth and successful communication. The present paper explored death euphemistic alternatives used by media during the period of kidnapping and later burning the Jordanian air force pilot Moath Al-Kasasbeh at the hands of ISIS. The central claim of this paper is based on explaining the dynamic function of death-related euphemisms, showing that what had been avoided before burning because of its dysphemistic sense (*assassination and murder*) was used as a euphemism and as a gentler substitute for the unexpected *burning*. Conceptual metaphor was also used as euphemistic substitute for the ugly burning of the pilot, and not as doublespeak aimed at hiding the reality.

The study stresses the intrinsic interconnection between euphemism, face needs and politeness, demonstrating the significance of euphemism as a face-management strategy, creating and maintaining harmonious relationship with others. Our linguistic behaviors are molded by politeness as a cultural and social need for accomplishing socially appropriate behavior. The euphemistic strategies employed by means of lexical substitutions are oriented to saving the public self-image of the bereaved family and protecting their self-esteem.

الوظائف الديناميكية للتلطَّف وبدائل التعبير عن الموت في حادثة استشهاد الطيَّار الأردنيَ معاذ الكساسبة على يد داعش

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الملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل الألفاظ التي استعملت بدائل للتعبير عن الموت، لدى الإعلام الأردني خلال فترة خطف الطيَّار الأردنيَ معاذ الكساسبة، ثم حرقه على يد تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية (داعش)، إذ أوضحت البيانات المستندة إلى الإنترنت - أداة البحث للدراسة الحاليَة – ديناميكية هذه التعابير، وأهميتها في تلطيف الآثار السلبيّة التي تقع على المتلقّي المعني بها. وبينَت الدراسة أن الألفاظ التي لم تُستعمل قبل الحرق، وتم تجنب استعمالها لكونها ليست لطيفة، وذات وقع مؤلم على سامعها، مثل: الاغتيال والقتل – على سبيل المثال لا الحصر - كانت بديلاً ألطف وأقل أثراً من لفظة: (الحرق) غير المتوقع، فضلاً عن الاستعارة التي استخدمت، آنذاك، بديلاً آخر، ولم تكن خطاباً مزدوجاً يهدف إلى إخفاء الواقع. كذلك بينَت الدراسة أن كلمة التضحيّة بدلاً من الحرق ، وتصوَر الموت والحرق كرحلة ، ومواجهة المصير أو معانقة الملائكة استُخدمت كبدائل لطيفَة للإبلاغ عن حادثة حرق طيَار سلاح الجوّ الأردنيَ معاذ الكساسبة. وبعد دراسة هذه التعبيرات والألفاظ، اتَضح أنها بدائل لفظيَّة جاءت بهدف التأدب، واحترام ذوي الطيار، والحفاظ على مشاعرهم.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التلطف اللغوي؛ فُحْش التَّعْبير؛ براغماتي؛ التأدّب؛ الحرق؛ استعارة.

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Endnotes

[1] The acronym ISIS stands for the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. Its equivalent Arabic acronym is Daesh (<u>Arabic</u>: داعش IPA: [ˈdaːʕɪʃ]) which stands for al-Dawla al-Islamiya fi al-Iraq wa al-Sham. A terrorist organization that is widely known for <u>its videos of beheadings and other types of executions</u> of both soldiers and civilians, including journalists and aid workers.

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