



Seeing the unseen: Euphemism in Animated Films

A Multimodal and Critical Discourse Study

by

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M.A. (Linguistics)

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY, UK

JULY 2020

Abstract

Animated films are contemporary popular cultural products recreating the ‘real’ world and engaging massive worldwide audiences of adults and children. Children as the ostensible viewers of animated films may acquire their cultural and ideological knowledge and beliefs about the world from the representations in animated films. Although during the past decade animated films have increasingly been the focus of attention of researchers across different disciplines, including education, gender, sexuality and literacy, studies tackling the discourse and language of animated films are still in their early stages. More specifically, very few studies have investigated the use of euphemism as a major micro-level linguistic device reflecting macro-level discourse and extending to sociocultural structures. To this end, this thesis examines euphemism constructed through the discourse of animated films by employing the strategies of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). Moreover, Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) is employed to examine discursive strategies involving visual representations accompanying euphemism and what underpins those strategies, and to shed light on the multimodal relations between the representation of both.

Euphemism is frequently associated with the notion of taboo. Consequently, new words or phrases are designated to refer to linguistic taboos as alternatives used by speakers to minimise the threat to the audience’s face as well as to their own. In addition, euphemistic occurrences represent a self-interested version of reality by pushing a topic into the background and highlighting instead a particular view of a topic. Therefore, euphemism is a speaker-oriented tool implying the reaction the speaker intends to prompt in the audience. This study shows that euphemism as a discursive linguistic tool has been used extensively in

animated films as a manifestation of the discursive role anthropomorphised characters play to transmit certain ideological and social representations.

A data set comprising 176 euphemisms found in four full-length anthropomorphised animated featured films, AAF, extracted from film scripts and online channels was collected. The study identifies the main types of euphemism used in films, drawing on a framework of types based on Warren (1992), Allan and Burridge (1991) and Crespo (2006). After the main types of euphemism have been identified, the data set is approached from the perspective of taboo and culturally repressed topics, such as sexuality, gender and race. Moreover, discursive strategies adapted from Reisigl and Wodak (2016) are applied in order to identify important categories for the analysis of euphemistic discourse. This approach forms the basis for an in-depth, qualitative analysis of several representative scenes extracted from the films under investigation. First, the analysis focuses on racial euphemisms targeting different races. Then, I analyse sexual euphemisms related to nudity and sexual body parts, as well as conceptual metaphoric representations of sexual euphemisms. Finally, I focus on gendered euphemisms targeting the representation of four female characters in the films.

The analysis shows that animated films tend to use euphemism to camouflage various taboo areas and manipulate the viewers' perceptions, such as those relating to sexuality, gender and race. Nomination strategies are used more frequently with euphemisms referring to race, sex and gender. Metaphors and conceptual metaphors are used more frequently with sexual euphemisms. Visual empowerment strategies of female characters to highlight their sexuality are used more frequently with gendered euphemisms. I argue that while the linguistic element attenuates an ideology by virtue of euphemism's manipulative nature, the visual element, in turn, highlights and confirms the same ideology, values or stereotypes.

Hence, animated films can articulate the ideological and social legitimization or normalisation of a particular view of race, sex or gender through the use of euphemism and visual discursive strategies.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has been submitted for a PhD degree from the Department of Linguistics and English Language at Lancaster University, UK. I also declare that it has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, all praise and thanks to Allah the Almighty, the Giver of bountiful blessings, among which is the successful completion of this thesis.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my supervisor, Julia Gillen, whose continuous guidance and encouragement have helped me do the right thing, even when the going got tough. I could not imagine having a better advisor and mentor for my PhD study.

To my sister and friend, Faizah. Thank you for being my caring, loving and supportive roommate, travel-mate and soulmate. I cannot thank you enough for our stimulating discussions, for the sleepless nights when we were working together to meet deadlines, for always listening to me, being there for me, and for all the fun and sadness we have shared during the last six years.

The completion of this thesis could not have been achieved without the support and patience of my children. To Tamara and Tameem, thank you for your patience throughout the scholarship and the divorce. Thank you for allowing me time away from you to write my thesis. You have always been marvellous children. I am so proud of you. Your dream trips to Disney and Dubai are close to coming true!

I am extremely grateful to my father, whose continuous prayers were the driver that kept me going. Thank you for implanting the love of learning in us, for encouraging us to read and be whom we are. I quote Disney's famous line in Frozen, "true love is between siblings". Therefore, I would like to thank my sister and my backbone, Suzan and her family, especially my brother-in-law Mr Fayez, her husband, and Lujain, my dearest niece. Your encouragement when the times got rough was and is much appreciated and will never be forgotten. It was a great comfort and relief to know that you were willing to care for my children during my hectic travels to the UK

while I completed my work. My heartfelt thanks. I extend my thanks to my sister, Dina, for her professional help with visual data and quantitative analysis. I just want to tell you, unlike what you think, you being away does not mean you are not always remembered because you are in our hearts. Thanks are due to my brothers, Nezar, Hussain and Hassan. I love you, guys. Thanks are due to my uncle, Mr Khalid, for his words of advice during the divorce and supportive words afterwards. Also, I am grateful to all my family - nieces, nephews, sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law, uncles, aunts and cousins. May Allah protect you all. No love can compare to the love of a family.

Thanks are due to Allah for the blessing of my friends, the Al-Nasifyiah group, my friends always and forever. I think this is a good opportunity to thank you for being in my life for 35 years, all for one and one for all. To my good friends, Dr Enas Filimban, Dr Roaa Bati, Ms Etedal Baeshen and Ms Farah Hammad, thank you all for being there for me, for better or for worse.

Dedication

To my late Mom and my Dad, I dedicate this to you.

To my sisters and brothers, I hope I have made you proud.

To Tamara and Tameem, every single bit of this thesis, every single tear, all the pain it took to finish it, is totally worth it because this endeavour is pursued for you.

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List of Abbreviations

CDA	Critical discourse analysis
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
FSA	face-saving act
FTA	face-threatening act
IPs	Interactive participants
LGBTQIA	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex and Asexual
MCDA	Multimodal critical discourse analysis
MDA	Multimodal discourse analysis
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
RVN	Representation and Viewer Network
RP	Represented Participants
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
VSAN	Visual Social Actor Network

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 *Seeing the unseen: Euphemism from a mum's perspective*

A major genre of film production in the U.S. is the genre of full-featured animated films. Full-featured animations have expanded worldwide through traditional platforms, e.g. cinemas and TV, as well as newer platforms such as box offices, and Internet websites such as, Youtube. Animated films are contemporary popular cultural products recreating the 'real' world and engaging massive worldwide audiences of adults and children. Children as the ostensible viewers of animated films may acquire their cultural and ideological knowledge and beliefs about the world from the representations in animated films. As a child, I grew up watching so many films that I cannot keep track of them all. I have never delved into how animated films are produced, or censored, or how they affected my perceptions of self, others or even the world around me. However, as a mother, this is not how I make sense of the changing world of representation now.

My children and I were specifically watching *Monsters University* (2013) when one of the characters used the euphemism *cheese and crackers!* It was manipulative, as there was nothing in the linguistic or visual context referring to food. On the contrary, the context showed that it was said as a minced oath in an interjection, where the visual was colourful and very attractive to the eye. I started delving into its meaning and found out it meant *Jesus Christ*. As a Muslim, this is a very sensitive religious issue due to the prohibition of using profane language or milder alternatives, particularly those equating Jesus with God. From my perspective, conceptualising such euphemisms and thinking of their impact on children, particularly Arab Muslim children, i.e. their language, ideologies and religion, was the first drive for this thesis to see the light.

As a parent having a particular interest in euphemisms as a linguistic tool, I noticed the intensive use of euphemisms. Further, I noticed how they manipulate choices of words, which can consequently affect ideologies and social practices. I watched more and more animated films until I reached the conclusion that animated films included euphemisms of all types. Minced oaths were not the only euphemisms existing in animated films, rather, many sexual and other taboo topics were hidden beneath very creative euphemisms.

This study addresses the relationship between linguistic euphemism and the suppression and manipulation of ideological and social practices in animated films. Animated films, as part of cinematic discourse, are intrinsically multimodal, therefore, what is manipulated or suppressed in linguistic representation can be transmitted in visual representation. Given that, animated films are “‘portable professors’ of a sort, offering diagnoses of culture for adults even as they enculturate children” (Freeman, 2005) and may potentially affect children, whether negatively or positively (Booker, 2010, p. xiv). My focus is on exploring the power of cinematic discourse as a dominant site of communication shaping children (Giroux & Pollock, 2010; King, Lugo-Lugo, & Bloodsworth-Lugo, 2010) through a Critical Discourse Studies, henceforth CDS, lens that aims to address social problems (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Hence, I aim to explore these, suppressed by euphemisms, and how, through the use of visual elements in films, they have the potential to affect children’s perceptions of reality and to normalise or socialise certain ideologies and practices.

1.2 The social context: Why euphemism in Animated films?

This section is concerned with the issue of why animated films and the genre of anthropomorphism are abundant when studied through a CDS lens. Animated films can integrate with mainstream CDS and multimodality because they fulfil the main function

of discourse, being “socially shaped” by filmmakers, but also “socially shaping” audiences of children (Fairclough, 1995, p. 131).

The role that Disney plays in shaping individual identities and controlling fields of social meaning through which children negotiate the world is far too complex to be simply set aside as a form of reactionary politics. If educators and other cultural workers are to include the culture of children as an important site of contestation and struggle, then it becomes imperative to analyze how Disney’s animated films powerfully influence the way America’s cultural landscape is imagined (Giroux, 1994, p. 68).

Giroux’s (1994) view on animated films, as seen above, indicates the domination and social force transmitted by this medium to children. It also highlights the problematic nature of this medium in powerfully influencing and shaping certain individual identities and controlling sociocultural meanings. This medium is problematic in terms of how it combines entertainment, advocacy and pleasure with the construction of diverse messages and representations of gender, racial and class positions constituting conservative views of the world to children’s culture. Therefore, discourse analysts have to react to respond to such a sociocultural problem.

The importance of focusing on animated films as the genre of investigation is because animated films are a medium of literature primarily produced for children’s entertainment. The Oxford English Dictionary, henceforth OED, defines animation as a form of life, which means the action of animating, or the state of being animated. It also refers to a film produced in this way, a motion picture.

[A]nimation as a form of historical memory has entered real space. After all, any space or film that uses manipulated, interactive imagery must be called,

by definition, a form of animation; and we are increasingly being submerged in life as a video game, even while our political crises deepen, and our class difference widens ... [w]e act out stories inside cartoons now (Klein, 1993, p. 251).

Klein's (1993) view of animation indicates a distinct feature of animated films that hinges on the way still images deceive the viewer's mind into motion. Therefore, this view highlights the manipulative and interactive nature of animation, which gives rise to class differences and political considerations. This view is supported by Pikkov (2010, p. 14), who claims that "animation essentially involves the presentation of still images in a manner that creates an illusion of motion in viewers' minds and not outside reality".

The defining feature of the form of animated films is multimodal, integrating different modes into their production. This form of art is composed of many elements that make it distinctive, including moving images, narrative elements, colours and songs, in the presence of amusing characters. Animation is described by Wells (2013) as "a medium which makes available a multiplicity of styles and approaches in the telling of a story or the expression of particular thoughts and emotions" (p. 68).

Having discussed animated films in terms of their distinct form, the discussion now turns to the kinds of functions they perform. Different paradigms play a dominant role in children's films, such as moral, social science, cultural, feminist and ideological, which are all tied to politics (Wojcik-Andrews, 2002). As pedagogical and socialising tools, animated films have been recognised as enlightening children with a wide array of multimodal social lessons. King, Lugo-Lugo and Budsworth-Lugo (2010) argue that animated films have been seen as a technological advance that offers children social

lessons that are wrapped in extraordinary and enchanted plots. Moreover, many researchers have highlighted animated films' ideological input into children. Children's films are works of art that entertain, but they also position ideologies that programme young viewers with, for example, traditional class and gender roles. According to Wojcik-Andrews (2002), children's cinema and films offer a narrative that positions the audience to consider the world and the events portrayed in them from a particular perspective. Such narratives provide their audience, particularly children, with audio-visual reinforcement of ideologies which make these stories powerful agents of socialisation.

1.3 Aim of the study and research questions

The present study aims to explore the extent to which cinematic discourse tends to exploit euphemisms in AAF. I especially focus on how underlying euphemisms structure the representation of AAF discursively in terms of their linguistic and visual elements and the relation between both the linguistic and the visual representations as far as euphemisms are concerned. The above aim gives rise to the following research questions (RQs) to be answered in a study of euphemisms in AAF discourse.

1. a. To what extent do filmmakers tend to use euphemisms in AAF?
- b. What euphemisms do filmmakers construct in AAF?
2. In AAF, how are euphemistic representations discursively exploited in linguistic and visual elements?
 - a. Linguistically, how are euphemistic representations constructed in cinematic discourse?
 - b. Visually, how are these euphemistic representations transmitted in cinematic discourse?
 - c. To what extent are visual representations similar to or different from verbal

(linguistic) euphemisms? Do visuals provide congruent or dissonant details?

3. Concerning the findings of RQs 1 and 2, how and why are these euphemistic representations constructed in discourse related to the genre of AAFF?

1.4 Organisation of the thesis

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. This chapter provides a brief introduction followed by Chapter 2, which integrates interconnected issues at the heart of this thesis. It, first, conducts a thorough diachronic study of the approaches of euphemism. Key issues regarding euphemisms, the ways in which they are closely tied to their contexts and the ways in which interpretation of euphemisms is subjective are addressed. Then, a link between CDS and euphemism is established to point out how euphemism can be a discursive tool to point out a gap within the realm of CDS, especially in the genre of cinematic discourse. Then, it is vital to give prominence to how euphemism is employed in films, given that films are multimodal, to shape ideologies. The final section is devoted to discussing the linguistic and visual elements used in films and the way filmmakers make use of euphemism through these modes.

Chapter 3 outlines the data set used and the analytical methods employed in this thesis. The chapter conveys the motivation, challenges and process of film selection and collection. Then, it provides an overview of the films watched and examined in search of euphemistic occurrences. The methods combine approaches from CDS, multimodality and social semiotics, in order to facilitate the multimodal and critical analysis of discourse in AAFF. A methodological framework, comprising qualitative and quantitative elements, serves the purpose of this thesis. Therefore, the euphemisms are quantified as a stage in the methodology that then leads to devising the thematic framework. As for qualitative analysis, representative extracts of how euphemism is

discursively exploited in linguistic and visual elements in three emerging ideological themes, namely, race, sexuality and gender, are examined and scrutinised.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 approach the data set via a qualitative analysis of representative extracts where racial, sexual and gendered euphemisms occur, respectively. In Chapter 4, various references to different races and racial stereotypes appear using euphemisms in the data set. I aim to arrive at the ideologies underlying euphemisms related to race in animated films. The analysis examines occurrences, their linguistic meanings and connotations, as well as their visual meanings. The chapter shows how linguistic euphemisms are dealt with in the visual, and how meaning is conveyed to the viewers of animations. As regards Chapter 5, it deals with sexual euphemisms in animated films. Looking closely at quantified examples of sexuality in animated films results in a definition for sexual euphemisms. Two themes related to sex are analysed in the chapter: nudity and private parts, and innovative sexual metaphors. While Chapter 5 focuses on sexual euphemism, Chapter 6, through a focus on gendered euphemisms, exudes an extension to the theme of sexuality. A general theoretical discussion of gendered discourse to reach a definition of gendered euphemisms is conducted. I also focus on identifying a range of linked gendered discourses, i.e. subthemes under the main theme of objectifying women, in AAFs. Moreover, I analyse representative scenes from the data set linguistically and visually, as well as the synergy between visual and linguistic representations.

Finally, Chapter 7, where I conclude the thesis with a summary of the literature review on euphemism, CDS and cinematic discourse. The chapter also answers the research questions from the findings of each chapter. A general discussion section conducts a discussion of the most significant findings related to the thesis. I will also

present the limitations of the thesis. A further section with suggestions is also included.

Finally, I summarise the conclusion in which I explain my contribution to the field.

Chapter Two

A Critical Approach to Euphemism in Cinematic Discourse

2.1 Introduction

This chapter integrates the interrelated issues at the core of this thesis. The chapter comprises three main sections. The first section conducts a thorough diachronic study of euphemism as a discursive linguistic tool. Euphemistic discursivity then makes a link between euphemism and the application of a critical approach. Therefore, an account of CDS is given in section two of this chapter. The third section discusses cinematic discourse to point out the lack of cinematic discourse studies within the realm of CDS, especially when it comes to linguistic tools such as euphemism. Critical issues regarding euphemism, how euphemisms are closely tied to their contexts and the ways in which the interpretation of euphemisms is subjective are addressed in this chapter. Then, it is vital to give prominence to how euphemism is employed in films, given that films are multimodal, to shape ideologies.

2.2 Euphemism

The OED lists euphemism as a term that comes from Greek, where *eu* means ‘good’ and *pheme* ‘speaking’, as euphemism operates in language where it replaces offensive speaking by good speaking. The reason why euphemism emerges in language is to cover for taboos prevailing in the culture and society of that language (Allan & Burridge, 1991). Such taboos become entrenched in the language and improve to become linguistic taboos so that language interactants start to resort to euphemism to avoid taboos. With euphemism and its vital function, people resort to it often, not only to avoid linguistic taboos but also to avoid referring to embarrassing or unpleasant topics.

Returning to sociocultural taboo, it is borrowed from Tongan which means ‘holy’ or ‘untouchable’ (Allan & Burridge, 1991). Therefore, taboo operates where it is

forbidden to talk about sacred things (Gao, 2013). Taboo is a social, cultural or religious custom prohibiting or restricting certain topics. Taboo topics can vary widely: sex, death, illness, excretion, bodily functions, religious matters, the body or the supernatural. Abrantes (2005, p. 87) further classified tabooed topics into major categories, including fear-based topics (e.g. death and some diseases like cancer); shame-based topics (e.g. sex and excretion); and politeness-based topics (e.g. lying and insults). As a result of the interconnectedness of society, culture and language, a sociocultural taboo is a significant contributory factor to the development of linguistic taboo. A linguistic taboo reflects the social and cultural patterns, values and ideology of a language community and reveals cultural attitudes (Burgen, 1997).

Taboo is also dynamic, and concepts about what is forbidden change constantly and vividly across cultures and time (Burridge, 2012). Therefore, since the 1980s, new taboos have emerged in the English language such as gender, sexuality, disability and race. Language speakers will avoid such taboos that may be interpreted as discriminatory or pejorative. Gender, sexuality and race taboos created a kind of contextually and legally offensive language: sexist, racist, ageist, religionist (Allan & Burridge, 2006). These –IST taboos exceed in their significance nonreligious profanity, blasphemy and sexual obscenity, against which laws have been flexible (Burridge, 2012).

In the literature, euphemism has been associated with linguistic taboo. So far as language is concerned, referring to certain taboo topics can be in very roundabout ways, i.e. euphemistically, where a linguistic taboo is usually replaced by a euphemism. In its general sense, “euphemism is a word or phrase used in a specific linguistic and extra-linguistic context to soften or conceal something unpleasant” (Abrantes, 2005, p. 86). Euphemism is as dynamic as taboo, thus it can be found across all cultures, societies and

languages (Hughes, 2015). However, euphemism can have two vital functions, which are either shielding against what is feared, disliked, unpleasant or embarrassing; or beautifying goods, to boost them and make them more appetising (Burridge, 2005), which activates the manipulating feature of euphemism (see section 2.2.1, below).

In the case of shielding against taboos and distasteful topics by using a euphemism, a language user may have two potential motives: to minimise threat to the addressee's face and to minimise threat to their own. From this perspective, euphemistic use is closely tied to politeness by means of the notion of *face* proposed by Goffman (1967) and developed by Brown and Levinson (1987). The notion of face is related to the self-image that participants in any communicative context claim for themselves. Face is two-dimensional; while positive face is identified with the individual's desire to be positively regarded in a social context, negative face is concerned with the participant's desire to be autonomous and free from imposition (Crespo, 2005, p. 83). In doing so, euphemistic strategies ensure safety from the conflict in which the speaker does not feel any threat towards their public self-image (or face). Therefore, in cases of face-threatening acts (FTAs), the addresser employs politeness strategies to mitigate the threat, mainly through euphemism. However, an addresser tends to use euphemism more for their own self-image rather than the addressee's face, so as to avoid culpability (McGlone & Batchelor, 2003).

It is now understood that euphemism plays a vital role in mitigating the offence caused by sociocultural, and consequently linguistic, taboos. However, as much as it is useful, euphemism can be problematic in terms of being context-dependent and subjective in its interpretation. Given the centrality of these two issues to the interpretation of the analysis in this thesis, I now shed light on them in the following section.

2.2.1 Euphemism critique: context and subjectivity

Having established the functions of euphemism in the previous section, I now turn to two aspects of euphemism that are specifically relevant to this thesis and thus need prior attention. The first is the centrality of the issue of context to euphemism, which can be the basis on which a euphemism is understood. The second issue arises from the first, as it discusses the aspect of subjectivity in determining the meaning of a euphemism. Before pointing this out, it is important to define the notion of ‘context’. Halliday (1999, p. 6) emphasises that context follows two traditions which “are in an important way complementary to each other”. He highlights that ‘context’ is the linguistic system that lies behind the text. While the environment for language as text is the context of situation, the environment for language as a system is the context of culture (ibid. p. 1).

With the notion of context in mind, if a euphemism is closely tied to its context, it is necessary to analyse what creates different understandings of it with different communicative values. Context is the concept that makes it possible to understand euphemism within different communication processes and, subsequently, to understand the different meanings of euphemism and its underlying referent. In this sense, Gómez (2009) argues that a linguistic euphemism can be labelled as euphemistic “through a certain context and given situation” when “the real sense of its intentions and its function as a communicative value” are recognised, and thus can be considered a merely pragmatic tool used to help maintain the communicative function of language. In the same vein, van Leeuwen (2005) indicates that the interpretation of a semiotic text depends on textual as well as contextual specific rules of interpretation, which are contextually bound (p. 83). Linfoot-Ham (2005) and Warren (1992) support the argument that euphemistic interpretation is context-dependent, i.e. whether the speaker means the term to be euphemistic, and the hearer interprets it in that light. Consequently, as an

objective classification of euphemism is “a grey area, and judgements may differ from one person to another”, it should be borne in mind that even within its context, “the classification of a term as ‘euphemistic’” is difficult (Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p. 229).

The issue of context leads directly to the second central issue of euphemism, the issue of whether euphemism can be intrinsically problematic in its interpretation. This issue is clouded by the fact that euphemism is most probably subjective, and so by the same token, its interpretation may vary from one person to another.

As discussed before, euphemism is understood from its context to maintain the communicative function of language. However, in leaving out a direct reference to a taboo and replacing it by an indirect lexical substitute in the euphemistic process, euphemism “seems to contradict the principle of efficiency in communication”, as pointed out by Abrantes (2005, pp. 92-93). Hence, euphemism is a hearer-oriented strategy that allows the hearer to consider the speaker’s discontent with a direct reference to a taboo and, by extension, with the taboo itself (*ibid.*).

Indeed, euphemism reinforces the need for expressivity in discourse, rather than a need for effective communication. Therefore, euphemism eliminates the discomfort that taboos produce in a communicative exchange for the parties involved. In addition to reinforcing expressivity in discourse, euphemism is more likely to conform to the conventions of politeness and social tact expected in interpersonal communication (Crespo, 2005). Nonetheless, if euphemism allows the speaker’s social goal to introduce taboos in public and, at the same time, allows participants in communicative exchanges to soften the effect of what they communicate, thus avoiding offence, then any linguistic unit or verbal strategy trying to avoid conflict in interpersonal communication can be said to be euphemistic (Crespo, 2005). It can be concluded that euphemism is a context-dependent device that allows for an appropriate sociocultural, not necessarily effective,

communicative exchange that is highly subjective in terms of interpretation. Most of the euphemisms discussed in the analysis chapters rely on their discursive and interactive contexts, as well as the subjectivity of the researcher. The following section reviews the literature on euphemism, which is the focus of many researchers in various disciplines within the field of linguistics. The following section aims to display how euphemism has been viewed in these different approaches diachronically, until recently, when the manipulative and discursive features of euphemism were unveiled.

2.2.2 Approaches to euphemism

Many scholars focusing on various disciplines have discussed the term *euphemism*; therefore, to be able to define the term in its specific sense, its homogenous aspects and how it is utilised in different disciplines should be highlighted. Before attempting to define euphemism as a discursive linguistic tool, this thesis needs to give an account of the approaches that the concept euphemism has received. These approaches are lexical/lexical-semantic, pragmatic, cognitive and discursive, which are now tackled one by one. Although these approaches differ in their disciplinary backgrounds, they share the same general principle of euphemism.

The first approach concerned with euphemism is the lexical-semantic approach. Traditionally, euphemism was considered to be a purely lexical phenomenon employed to replace words and phrases not considered appropriate for polite linguistic usage with milder or indirect equivalents. In this sense, Leech (1974) tends to consider euphemism as a rigorously lexical process that appropriates ambiguous, mild and polite-sounding words. Leech (1974, p. 53) defines euphemism as a process that “consists of replacing a word which has offensive connotations with another expression, which makes no overt reference to the unpleasant side of the subject, and may even be a positive misnomer”. In relation to connotation, words are described as having two kinds of meaning or signs;

denotation and connotation. While denotation means the permanent sense of a word excluding all subjective evaluations as it describes the literal or obvious meaning of the sign, connotation is an idea or concept suggested by a word in addition to its main meaning. Thus, it is the implication evoked by words or statements over what they actually denote. Unlike denotative signs, connotative signs can be “personal and individual or general and universal” which means they are more subjective and variable (Cuddon, 2012). Leech (1974) also saw denotation as basic conceptual meaning, and connotation as additional meaning, stemming from the associations with what a word refers to, and hence, again, subjective and variable (van Leeuwen, 2005). Following in Leech’s footsteps, from the 1980s onwards, scholars have tended to consider euphemism as a rigid one-for-one process of lexical substitution to replace taboo words or forbidden phrases with milder or indirect equivalents to soften them, by hiding their features.

Compatible with euphemism as one-for-one lexical substitution, Rawson (1981, p. 1) compiled a dictionary of euphemisms in which he defined euphemisms as “mild, agreeable, or roundabout words used in place of coarse, painful, or offensive ones”, asserting a lexical viewpoint of euphemism. Gómez (1986) takes euphemism a step further, from a lexical-semantic substitute to a set of linguistic and paralinguistic devices pragmatically governed in a specific context (cited in Gómez, 2009). He explains that restricting the euphemistic process to one-for-one lexical substitution would mean overlooking the discursive manipulations that occur in everyday speech. Subsequently, from this standpoint, euphemism became a pragmatic phenomenon.

Pragmatics is the second approach within linguistics focusing on euphemism. It highlights the communicative elements of the process of euphemistic discursivity, such as the speaker, hearer, situation and social conventions of the pragmatic context surrounding the participants. A milestone in defining euphemism is the seminal work

by Allan and Burridge (1991), in which the pragmatic dimension of euphemism receives particular emphasis. They give a detailed account of euphemisms linked to face-work, politeness and style. Accordingly, euphemism is defined 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” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 11). From that point on, scholars have tended to consider the relevance of pragmatic and communicative perspectives in the study of euphemism.

By analysing the relationship between pragmatics and communication, Crespo (2005) proposes that euphemism is a powerful discursive tool used as “a form of verbal behaviour” that conforms to conventions of politeness and face concerns. Therefore, euphemism, face and politeness are interrelated phenomena aiming to work towards social harmony in communication. In connection with this, Abrantes (2005) adopts a twofold perspective that views euphemism as a pragmatic strategy, both speaker-oriented and hearer-oriented. It is speaker-oriented when the speaker avoids mention of the taboo to maintain a positive self-image, but hearer-oriented when it supports co-operation in discourse and reflects semantic collaboration between the parties involved. Paying attention to the semantic and pragmatic features of euphemism led to focusing on euphemism from a new perspective, i.e. in terms of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, or CMT, initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) (Crespo, 2006c) (see section 5.6 for more details).

The cognitive approach has been applied to euphemism in terms of how resources of figurative language, such as metaphor or metonymy, provide the speaker with a linguistic safeguard or with a verbal weapon for presenting the banned concept in social interaction (Crespo, 2006b). As for the cognitive aspect of euphemism, Gómez (2009) defines the cognitive aspect of euphemism as the “process of conceptualisation of a

forbidden reality, which, manifested in discourse through the use of linguistic mechanisms” (p. 738). These mechanisms can include a variety of verbal mitigation devices, such as lexical substitution, phonetic alteration, morphological modification, inversion, enabling the speaker in a specific context to weaken a specific forbidden concept. Therefore, euphemism, besides being both social and emotional, allows for a figurative conceptualisation of ‘touchy’ or taboo subjects “without enraging, outraging, or upsetting other people, and acts as a pressure valve whilst maintaining the appearance of civility” (Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p. 288). In this regard, if euphemism is used to reinforce social relations in a communicative exchange, then its main aim coincides with a primary function of discourse. This discursive function is fulfilled using lexical substitutions, and especially through euphemistic discursive strategies.

The cognitive approach towards euphemism facilitated a proliferation of understandings of its discursive functions. Euphemism is a verbal behaviour used in everyday social discourse, and thus it carries features of discursive manipulation. According to Crespo (2005), euphemism cannot only be considered a lexical process, but it can also be “a verbal behaviour” that occurs in everyday social discourse, otherwise, “discursive euphemistic maneuvers” will be lost (p. 78).

I consider that euphemism is most helpfully regarded as a verbal discursive strategy, as it mitigates and at the same time deceives the hearer. Given this orientation, euphemism can be classified into two general types, positive and negative euphemisms. On the one hand, positive euphemisms aim to make referents look impressive and more suitable (Radulović, 2012). On the other hand, negative euphemisms are intrinsically defensive, counterbalancing the power of taboo terms and otherwise eliminating from the language everything that people prefer not to deal with directly, such as the name of God, death, poverty (Rawson, 1981, p. 1).

Therefore, euphemism can be problematic if its negative features are taken into account. Such euphemisms are frequently used in politically correct discourse. So-called politically correct language can make use of negative euphemism to eschew “the uncertainty in naming the others and referring to their disadvantaged condition (of either social, sexual, ethnic or cultural nature)” (Abrantes, 2005, p. 87).

Moreover, much of the debate concerning politically correct language revolves around euphemism, which takes its force from George Orwell’s essay *Politics and the English language* (Cameron, 2012). Along similar lines, Orwell (1968, p. 10) proposes that “[p]olitical language ... is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind”. He further proposes that euphemism is a tool of political language, as it violates the norm of using plain terms through both circumlocutory and value-laden ways. Such ways soothe the addressee by wrapping unpleasant truths in a soft cloud of verbal cotton-wool, e.g. using *physically challenged* to refer to a person in a wheelchair rather than *cripple* (Cameron, 2012). The previous proposals apply equally to the double feature of negative euphemisms.

Nevertheless, in this thesis, euphemism is considered as a linguistic device. As a result, I intend to explore euphemisms in their linguistic element, examine the discursive strategies of accompanying visual elements, and then determine the relation between them.

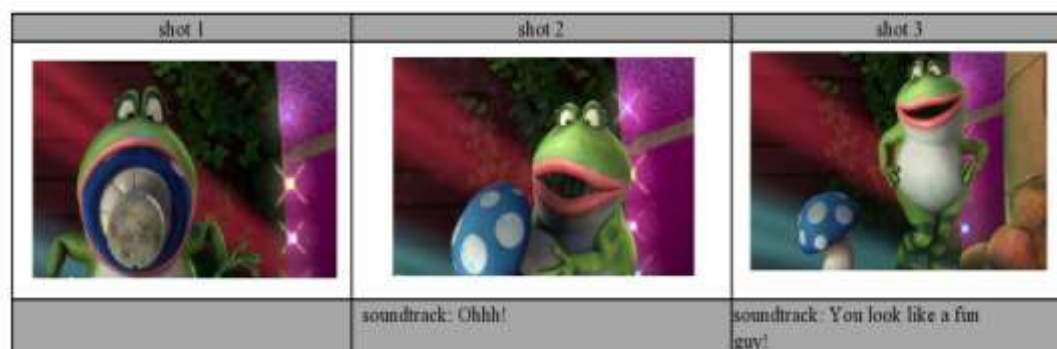
2.2.3 Yet another kind of euphemism: visual euphemism

It is vital to say that euphemism can also be realised visually. It can be employed in news or books to present deviant and negative social realities, as a way of exercising ethical restraint by choosing images with delicate configurations that are less likely to cause moral panic or intensify horrid feelings. Ojebuyi and Salawu (2018) analysed the

use of euphemistic photographs to tell stories about terror acts in Nigeria. They concluded that it is a demonstration of ethical responsibility that has great implications for public peace, especially in an African country like Nigeria with security concerns.

Visual euphemism is a helpful device rendered less harmful realities in terms of social communications. However, Burridge (2005) contends this view and yields visual euphemism as deceptive because “the illusion is very effective” (p. 177). When a taboo is rendered non-verbally, it is much easier for text producers to escape the blame (ibid.). This can be explained in terms of a milestone in the semiological analysis of the visual image the seminal work by Barthes (1977) in which he identifies the two levels of meaning in images representing a symbolic interaction between the denotative and the connotative meanings mentioned above in section 2.2.2. Barthes expresses that the photographic image contains two coexistent messages: the first without a code which is denoted and the second with a code which is connoted (Barthes, 1977). On the denoted level, an image shows particular events, particular people, places and things which allows an image reader to ask questions such as, who and/or what is depicted here? On the connoted level, an image still depicts particular people, places, things and events, however, denotation is not the primary purpose. It depicts concrete people, things and events to get general or abstract ideas across to allow an image reader to ask questions such as, what ideas or values are communicated through what is represented, and through the way in which it is represented (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The notions of connotation and denotation can be relevant in the case of an extract of visual euphemism taken from an AAF produced in 2011 entitled *Gnomeo and Juliet* (Extract 1). The extract comprises a euphemistic instance in which the mushroom connotes a man’s private part. The way it leaps into the frog’s mouth (indexing oral sex) and then the way the frog holds it, is humorous. The lighting and the way the frog is standing all contribute

to referring to a very sexual scene going on in the background. Such a euphemistic scene is euphemised linguistically by “You look like a fun guy!” playing with words and referring to the fun guy; ‘fungi’ joke, denoting mushroom but connoting fun and sexulaity.



Extract 1 An example of visual euphemism in Gnomeo and Juliet (2011)

In this vein, euphemism is seen as a discursive strategy that can be situated within CDS. In the following section, I will establish a link between CDS and euphemism, and explain why I choose euphemism in particular and not other linguistic tools. I opt to study euphemism as a linguistic device in relation to the visual elements of texts, as it is generally ignored within the realm of CDS, especially within cinematic discourse.

2.2.3 Critical approach to euphemism

In the previous section, I established that euphemism is a discursive strategy amenable to be considered from a critical stance. I now return to CDS, in which arena Chilton (1987) describes euphemism as a major device of discourse of social and political action. Euphemism operates as a micro-linguistic device on the language level, but then it functions in discourse and is exploited there (Chilton, 1987), where it works as a function of ideological discourse. He further explains that where ideological discourse functions euphemistically, it silences alternative interpretations and is thus suppressive; for example, missile crews do not fire missiles, but *enable launch procedures* and *deliver packages* (p. 14). Euphemistic discourse camouflages a particular viewpoint through

specific linguistic resources, such as passivisation, nominalisation, presupposition as part of grammatical euphemism and lexical replacements (p. 17).

Van Dijk (1995, p. 29) accounts for how semantic figures, such as metaphors and euphemisms, function ideologically, to give less prominence to unfavourable information about 'us', while giving more prominence to negative information about 'them'. Moreover, the way these semantic figures operate is closely related to underlying models and social beliefs. They also help in expressing sexist, racist and other ideologies.

In addressing the manipulative features of euphemism, Crespo and Lirola (2012) propose that the press, as part of the mass media, engages in a process of social legitimisation at the linguistic level, using euphemism to portray immigrants and shape public opinion concerning immigration. Additionally, they argue that euphemism, although its primary function is to hide offensive meaning, is "not trustworthy in all cases". Their views hinge on the assumption that euphemism is a device of so-called politically correct language which conforms to beliefs about correctness in language with regard to sexism, racism and ageism (Burridge, 2004, p. 206). Given that orientation, euphemism is considered a persuasive device carrying out ideological and social control. The same logic underlies euphemism used in film to carry out ideological and social control, depending on the interests of filmmakers.

From a critical perspective, euphemism operates such that the hearer is manipulated when their attention is directed to specific opinions deliberately chosen by the speaker. As the speaker chooses not to say something, it does not mean it is unsaid, rather, it is pushed into the background, and a specific detail or opinion is highlighted instead. This explanation indicates that euphemism is more speaker-oriented, as the speaker can point toward effects they want to trigger in the hearer (Abrantes, 2005). Establishing a link

between euphemism and CDS necessitates providing a detailed account of CDS in the following section. The multiple methods of CDS can be employed as analytical tools to better understand the discursive and manipulative nature of euphemism, because euphemism tends to be highly significant for critical analysis. While the process of doing CDS involves looking at euphemism, the underlying ideologies that function as discourse to highlight certain ideologies and downplay others can be revealed.

2.3 Critical Discourse Studies (CDS)

Thus far, the discussion in this chapter has described euphemism and its features as the linguistic tool under study. Such features make euphemism integrate in a manner similar to that described by CDS scholars. Therefore, to make this study possible, this section tackles CDS as a methodological and theoretical tool that enables the integration of aspects of language and socio-culture as constituted by its scholars. Moreover, CDS will provide the analytical tools by which the ideological manipulation underlying euphemism will be unravelled.

2.3.1 Critical motivation and beginnings

In the 1970s, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), now known as CDS, began as Critical Linguistics (CL) (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979), which relates to the term ‘critical’ by adopting a more critical perspective in language studies. CL and CDS are not ‘critical’ in the literal sense of the term, rather, they are critical because they are rooted in Critical Theory (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). While the Critical Theory of language considers the use of language as a form of social practice, CDS, ultimately, is oriented toward critiquing power relations and aiming to achieve social change through language (Hart, 2014). To reach this goal, CDS addresses social problems and seeks to solve them by taking social and political action through its analysis. Therefore, CDS is more concerned with ‘critiquing’, which is directed towards

positive outcomes, rather than ‘criticising’, which connotes negative evaluation (Bloor & Bloor, 2013).

Returning to CL, and by extension CDS, both of these mainly appropriate Halliday’s (1985, 1994) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as a systematic model of grammar to examine the rhetoric and ideology of different types of discourse. Based on SFL, CL’s analytical tools deal with language as performing three functions; ideational, interpersonal and textual (Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991). Fairclough (1995) criticised two main concerns of CL, which are the role of audiences’ interpretations of discourse possibly being different from analyst’s discourse, and the scope of analysis beyond intertextual analysis. Such issues and limitations of CL resulted in the creation of CDS as shared perspectives involving an array of approaches, rather than just one (Bell & Garrett, 1998). Therefore, CDS is a term recommended for the theories, methods, analyses, applications and other practices of critical discourse analysts (van Dijk, 2013). Van Dijk (1998, p. 468) further claims that CDS does not involve “specific directions of research”, hence it does not have “a unitary theoretical framework”.

After previewing how CDS began, it is now crucial to review the vast array of definitions of CDS. For Wodak (1989), CDS is interested in analysing structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control, as manifested in language. Van Dijk (2001, p. 352) explains that CDS is a “type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context”. CDS sees “language as social practice” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) and considers the “context of language use” to be crucial.

In relation to the most recent updated definitions of CDS, Wodak and Meyer (2016) highly recommend defining CDS in terms of employing ‘critical’ and ‘discourse’.

Moreover, CDS comprises multifarious study derived from different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies. Because CDS relies on a variety of grammatical approaches, it is, therefore, crucial to present definitions of the terms ‘discourse’, ‘text’ (section 2.3.2, below), ‘ideology’ and ‘power’ (section 2.5.4.2.3) in this thesis.

2.3.2 Discourse and text

As the notions of ‘discourse’ and ‘text’ are central to the understanding of CDS, I will present a summary of their definitions to unravel their distinctions and highlight the most suitable definition of discourse to which this thesis will adhere.

The notion of text should be distinguished from discourse, because text is the element from which analysts understand context (van Dijk, 1990), which in turn cannot be separated from discursive and social practices (Fairclough, 1992). Therefore, understanding the effects of discourse can be enabled through the structured and systematic analysis of texts. However, if we aim to understand discourses, we must understand the shared social and cultural contexts in which they appear (van Dijk, 1997). As regards the aspect of sharedness of sociocultural contexts, this aspect proves to be challenging in terms of analysing euphemisms that are mostly sociocultural slang used by English speakers, which necessitate referring to non-formal online dictionaries, reading viewers’ comments and film commentators interpreting the ideological discourses underlying such euphemisms.

While the understanding of text leads to an understanding of discourse, laying the ground for a discussion of discourse is essential. Discourse is a term that has been the subject of considerable debate among scholars (Bell & Garrett, 1998, p. 2). All of the definitions, though multidisciplinary, have broadened the meaning of the term discourse. Consequently, there are, today, quite a few definitions of and approaches to discourse.

Across these multidisciplinary approaches, discourse definitions fall into three main categories. The first and second definitions are linguistically oriented, whereas the third is more sociologically oriented. The definitions are 1) anything beyond the sentence, 2) language use, 3) a broader range of social practices that includes non-linguistic aspects and nonspecific instances of language (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 1). However, the term discourse is central to CDS as, in its simplest form, discourse means language in real contexts of use. Moreover, in CDS, the broader ideas communicated by a text are referred to as ‘discourses’.

As far as CDS is concerned, central to the purpose of this literature review is the definition of discourse informed by Simpson and Mayr (2010). They explain that discourse operates beyond the level of grammar and semantics to “capture what happens when these language forms are played out in different social, political and cultural arenas” (p. 5). Thus, the process of doing CDS involves looking at choices of words and grammar in texts in order to discover the underlying discourses and ideologies, because the linguistic structure of a text functions as discourse to highlight certain ideologies, while downplaying or concealing others (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Therefore, to discover the underlying discourses and ideologies available in animated films, looking at the types and categories of euphemism as a first step of the analysis enables assigning the manipulative ideologies and discourses concealed or downplayed behind euphemism. Euphemism is a verbal behaviour used in everyday social discourse, and thus it can be played out on different sociocultural grounds.

Given that the core of this thesis concerns multimodality and CDS, it is important to clarify how the term discourse is to be used in this thesis. Discourse is a term used as a particular representation of the world. Discourses comprise participants, values, ideas, identities, settings, times and sequences of activity. Therefore, through CDS and

multimodality, analyses of the details of texts will be conducted to reveal what kinds of discourses are being presented to readers or viewers. A discourse may be communicated by reference to specific social actors which will, in turn, signify kinds of actions, values and ideas without these being specified.

2.3.3 Approaches

CDS as a school for discourse analysis has several approaches, each of which has its own methodology, which in turn relies on the field of linguistics in which different researchers are interested. There is a huge variety of theories contributing to eclectic approaches in CDS, ranging from theories on society and power, the Dialectical-relational Approach (Fairclough, 1995) and the Discourse-historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005), theories of social cognition, the Socio-cognitive approach (van Dijk, 1984, 2015) and theories of functional grammar, e.g. systemic functional grammar (Halliday, 1985). This thesis employs an eclectic approach to CDS, relying on Fairclough's conceptualisation of CDS (1995) in its broader sense, and by extension the DHA. However, drawing on Mujaddadi (2017), to make the analysis of this thesis effective, other approaches of CDS are employed, such as the metafunctions of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (1985) and van Leeuwen's (2006) visual representation of social actors in the realm of multimodality.

2.3.3.1 Dialectical-relational Approach to CDS

Following the conceptualisation of Fairclough (1992), the Dialectical-relational Approach to language distinguishes a three-dimensional framework for analysing discourse (see Fig. 1, below). The first dimension is the *text* dimension, which comprises the analysis of language at the micro-level of social actions. The second dimension is the *discursive practice* dimension, comprising the macro-level of social structure in which "the nature of the processes of text production and interpretation" are specified

(p. 4). The third dimension is the *social practice* dimension. Social practice “attends to issues of concern in social analysis”. Social practices can shape the nature of discursive practice and construct effects of discourse (ibid.). The three-dimensional framework of discourse analysis entails texts having dialectical and interrelated relationships with the society. The society shapes our perceptions and world views of ourselves and others, which, in turn, are shaped in our texts.

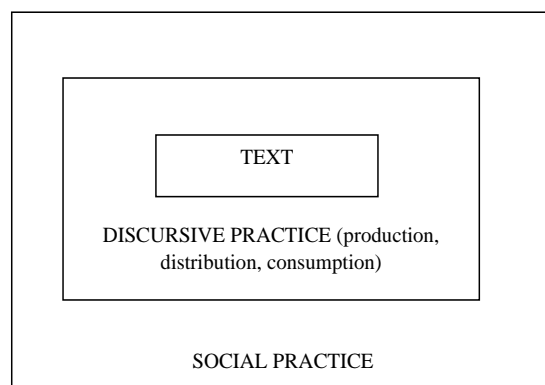


Figure 1 Three-dimensional framework of discourse analysis by Fairclough (1995)

Corresponding to the three levels of text analysis proposed by Fairclough, above (1995), he further distinguished three stages of CDA (1998/2001, p. 26). First is the *description* level of text and its features, which are ‘framed’ by the other two levels of analysis. Second is the *interpretation* level of the relationship between text and interaction; and third is an *explanation* of the relationship between interaction and sociocultural context. For Fairclough, the three levels of critical discourse analysis are important because of the indirect relationship between text and social structures that is mediated by discourse and social context (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 1998/2001). Therefore, describing the social values associated with texts and their elements needs to be complemented with interpretation and explanation, because they can be seen as two consecutively applied procedures of unveiling, or demystification (Fairclough, 1998/2001, p. 142). This thesis, however, does not proceed in stages, rather,

euphemisms are described and interpreted and then, depending on their multimodal, namely visual analysis, they can be described in terms of the effect they intend to invoke in the viewer.

2.3.3.2 Discourse-historical Approach (DHA)

Corresponding to Fairclough's conceptualisation of the Dialectical-relational Approach, Reisigl and Wodak (2016) proposed the DHA. Like the Dialectical-relational Approach, the DHA includes the three-dimensional concept of discourse analysis discussed above in section 2.3.3.1, but with the added value of a historical dimension. The DHA "focuses on multiple genres, large data corpora and on argumentative, rhetorical and pragmatic interdisciplinary analysis, while integrating multiple layers of socio-political and historical contexts in order to theorize dimensions of social change and identity politics" (Wodak, 2015a). This definition of DHA considers the significance of the historical context when interpreting texts and discourses. This historical dimension allows recontextualisation to function as a process of linking texts and discourses intertextually and interdiscursively over time (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 32). In this thesis, the use of the historical context identified by DHA allows linking euphemism and discourses of sex to examine the intertextual reasons for the constraints of the taboo of sex socioculturally (see section 5.2).

2.3.4 Intertextuality and interdiscursivity

The DHA investigates intertextual and interdiscursive relationships. Intertextuality means that texts are related to other texts. The connections between texts can be made in different ways, such as through explicit or implicit references to a topic or actor, through references to the same events, or by allusions or evocations. If an element is taken out of a specific context, then it is de-contextualised; however, if it is transferred into a new context, then it is recontextualised (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 28). While intertextuality

refers to a text “borrowed” from other texts, interdiscursivity involves relationships between texts, genres and discourses, as well as extra-linguistic social variables, the history of an institution and situational frames (Wu, 2011, p. 97). In this sense, the textual analysis I conduct, including the linguistic analysis of euphemism and visual analysis, can realise the interdiscursive features of films.

2.3.5 Euphemism and the recontextualisation of social practice

Linell (1998, pp. 144-145) describes recontextualisation as “[t]he dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context to another”, which involves “[t]he extrication of some part or aspect from a text or discourse, or from a genre of texts or discourses, and the fitting of this part or aspect into another context (...) and its use and environment”.

Euphemism can be transformed through language in different ways, following van Leeuwen and Wodak’s (1999) conceptualisation identifying the lexical choices that bring about recontextualisation. They suggest three ways of recontextualisation. First is substituting the details and complexities of activities by generalisations or abstractions or representing people in terms of whom they are, through appearance and feelings, rather than what they do. Second is adding elements through representation for different functions, such as legitimisation, purpose and reactions. Third is the evaluation of social practices that are concerned. Events and people in each form of recontextualisation are represented according to the goals, values and priorities of the presenter. This can result in the delegitimisation of certain kinds of actors and actions that are not in harmony with the values of the presenter. In this thesis, the use of recontextualisation is recognised as the data taken from films reflecting and using texts and discourses from other films or other genres such as songs. Moreover, the multimodal nature of films allows transfer

between the linguistic and visual elements in films which is described in the following section.

2.4 Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA)

In the previous sections, the focus was on euphemism as a linguistic and discursive tool representing ideologies within CDS. Due to the centrality of the multimodal nature of films in this thesis, the focus now shifts to the ways in which visual communication can represent ideologies and stereotypes in films. As a film reflects a director's, producer's and actors' version of reality with their inherent prejudices, values and stereotypes associated with an array of perspectives, then a focus on how these perspectives are rendered to the audience is one of the main aims in this thesis. Such perspectives can be explicitly or implicitly reflected to the audience through the 'double' communicative interaction plane that is a significant feature of films. Films' double interaction plane is communicated through the interaction between the on-screen characters within the narrative of films, and the interaction between the characters and the narrative's external audience inviting their engagement (Bednarek, 2015). With this in mind, such narratives integrate multiple meaning-making resources, not just language, and therefore a multimodal approach.

2.4.1 Beginnings

Social semiotics is rooted in the semiotic theory of representation, informed by de Saussure (1910) and defined as "the study of signs and sign processes and meaningful communication" (de Saussure, 1910). However, semiotics has broadened from the study of signs in philosophy to include social semiotics in linguistics. Halliday (1978; 1985) regards language as a set of semiotic resources, an approach that is concerned with representing ideas, people and concepts and identifying how these resources can form a range of meanings, and explaining how they are used for specific purposes in social

contexts (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 11). Following on from Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach discussed in section 2.3.3.1, CDS is also concerned with semiosis, which is viewed "as an element of the social process which is *dialectically* related to others" (Fairclough, 2016, p. 87), of which language is one and others are visual images and body language. Semiosis encompasses "words, pictures, symbols, design, colour, gesture, and so forth" (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011). Multimodality is rooted in semiotics but interfaces particularly with discourse analysis, systemic functional linguistics and socially oriented work in CDS (Page, 2010).

2.4.2 Different approaches

Multimodality has been taken up within four main approaches: Conversation Analysis (CA), SFL, anthropology and Social Semiotics (Jewitt, 2015). Although these disciplines differ in their theoretical and methodological connections, they share the broad conceptions of communication going beyond language to understand social practices. The CA approach is rooted in talk-as-interaction; therefore, speech is the best analytical 'starting point' for CA analysts (ibid.). Within the anthropological approach to multimodality, Hall (1966) contends that, because people communicate without talking, it is necessary to focus on the temporal and spatial dimensions, such as the physical distance people maintain, and how these practices are moulded by cultural contexts. A Social Semiotic approach to multimodality emphasises how the context of communication and the signmaker shape signs and meaning. Moreover, it focuses on people's situated use of resources, rather than emphasising the system of available resources (Jewitt, 2015). In contrast, the SF approach to multimodality focuses on the function and meaning of language as choice, alongside other semiotic resources (O'Halloran, 2004). Whereas Social Semiotics more directly theorises the possible ways in which meanings can potentially be created using different semiotic resources,

multimodality focuses on how semiotic resources can be combined in texts to communicate meanings. While the current thesis relies on the SF approach to multimodality, it utilises analytical tools from other approaches to multimodality, especially the Social Semiotic approach. This usage of multi-semiotic tools alongside multimodal tools ensures that elements worthy of analysis that might not be covered by the SF approach are presented and considered in an evaluative analysis of euphemism and its visual correspondents. Film narratives are multimodal texts as they utilise and exploit sign systems, such as language, visual communication and body language (Baumgarten, 2008). Moreover, O'Halloran (2008) considers these texts to be both multimodal and multi-semiotic. Following O'Halloran, I use the term 'multimodal' to mean both multi-semiotic and multimodal.

2.4.3 Critical Analysis of Multimodal Discourse

According to Serafini (2013, p. 12), "A mode is a system of visual and verbal entities created within or across various cultures to represent and express meanings", such as photography, written language and videos. Therefore, a multimodal text is a text comprising more than one mode, used by different creators, to create different things, such as to tell stories, share information and communicate with viewers. Multimodality, quoting Jewitt (2015, p. 127), "attends to the full repertoire of resources that people use to communicate and represent phenomena and experiences including speech, sound, gesture, gaze, body posture and movement, writing, image and so on". CDS began to explore approaches that integrate theory and methods from Multimodality and CDS, which resulted in the formulation of different approaches to the critical and multimodal study of discourse. Van Leeuwen (2013) discusses multimodal discourse in terms of critical analysis which he develops through a "merger" of CDS and multimodality. For this merger to work for CDS and multimodality, application of the visual representation

of social actors and consideration of Halliday's metafunctions are involved. Therefore, this approach comprises the main multimodal analytical approach of this thesis.

2.4.4 MDA and cinematic discourse

MDA, as an extension of CDS, adopts the same perspective of language as social and ideological practice. In addition, a critical analysis of MDA prioritises unveiling the ideological and social practices situated in the visual elements of texts alongside language. Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 10) hold that the merger of Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis, henceforth MCDA, aims to describe the meaning potential of both linguistic and visual elements found in texts to uncover how they make meaning, as well as what they mean.

Bateman and Schmidt (2013) argue that multimodality, derived from linguistic semiotics, is an essential instrument for analysing cinematic discourse and artefacts for two reasons. The first is that language has recently been defined as a semiotic system, not merely grammar. Without semiotics as an analytical tool, film would remain poorly interpreted and articulated (p. 32). Focusing on multimodal meaning-making, Juffermans (2012) has drawn on the theory of audience design, developed by Bell (1984), to explain the salience of images. The fundamental insight from this theory is that communicators always conform the form and contents of their message to the audience they target. An important characteristic of public discourses is that they are meant to be read and designed with the readership in mind. Authors in cinematic discourse design their messages in a particular way so that they can be read and understood by a particular audience (Mujaddadi, 2017). Therefore, drawing on a much broader semiotic toolkit to communicate visual messages, if "[a]udience design [...]" applies to all codes and repertoires within a speech community, including the switch from one complete language to another in bilingual situations" (Bell, 1997, p. 245), then

“it must also apply to different modes of communication, such as text and image” (Juffermans, 2012, p. 275). The second reason is that multimodal analysis seeks to uncover the social and ideological meanings of cinematic discourse (p. 38).

In the literature, cinematic discourse studies adopting a sociolinguistic multimodal approach on film have been criticised for providing a language-centred approach to fictional discourse. Nevertheless, such studies have neglected major indexical features of identity which are deployed at various semiotic levels interplaying with language, such as visuals, e.g. appearance, setting, bodily movements and music (Bell & Gibson, 2011; Coupland, 2010). Since the relevant research has mostly exploited multimodality as a tool in combination with language and far less has used it as part of the narration and characterisation of films, this study, conversely, employs multimodality as a meaning-making approach besides language which contributes to distinguishing the anthropomorphised characters in the filmic text who are signifying racial or gendered stereotyping and females as sex objects.

Stamou (2014, p. 127) in her systematic observation of cinematic studies, indicated that “multimodality has not only been considered quite limitedly but also largely unsystematically” in the relevant research. Specifically, most of the studies did not employ systematic methodological tools in order to address the non-linguistic signs of fictional texts. Nevertheless, the studies provided short or longer descriptions of the images of the texts, as supplements of the symbolic meanings derived from the mediation of sociolinguistic style (Section 2.5.3 below for discussion of unit of analysis). Such visual unsystematic analysis has shown that these studies mainly support micro-level scene analysis. However, this thesis applies a different approach where the visual analysis constructs certain ideas and values through engaging the viewers with the anthropomorphised characters. Also, when compared and contrasted to the verbal

analysis, such representations of discursive messages on both levels of analysis reflect such ideologies on sociocultural structures. Therefore, the use of the visual analysis in this thesis is not meant to only support micro-level scene analysis, rather to reflect upon the macro and socio-cultural levels.

I will draw upon MDA as a discourse analytic approach in my thesis for the reasons explained above. In addition, multimodal analysis is seen as an interaction across a variety of semiotic modes, i.e. verbal, visual and aural, is considered to be an important endeavour in contemporary studies of cinematic discourse (Piazza, Bednarek, & Rossi, 2011). To conclude, understanding these modes adds to an understanding of how euphemism may potentially shape audiences' perceptions of social or ideological practices, particularly children as the implied viewers of animated films.

2.5 Cinematic Discourse

The purpose of this section is to review the literature on film and cinema discourse and how it simulates real-life social, ideological and cultural practices. Reviewing the literature from this perspective may allow mapping how CDS contributes to the proliferation of more cinematic discourse studies. It may also help to position multimodality within this site, i.e. the relation between cinema/film and discourse. Moreover, when discussing discourse, the question of “what does discourse in relation to cinema comprise?” may arise. The review is based on presupposed questions: Can a link be established between cinema/film studies and CDS? What might be the result when CDS crosses the boundary into cinema studies? In what ways does cinematic discourse use CDS? How can the use of CDS in cinematic discourse inform us about method and theory? I provide answers to these questions as I proceed with the discussion.

To address the question above of what discourse in relation to cinema comprises, I employ Fairclough's (2016, p. 87) definition of discourse as "meaning-making as an element of the social process", which is concerned with various semiotic modalities of language and other elements, such as visual images. Thus discourse, in the broadest sense, is used as a term to describe semiotic resources (Fairclough et al., 2011) that are used in cinematography. The following section elaborates more on the meaning of cinematic discourse.

2.5.1 Distinctions: Cinematic Discourse, Film Discourse and Film Dialogue

Cinematic discourse is an issue of controversy in terms of its terminology and definitions as the terms, film discourse, film dialogue and cinematic discourse are used interchangeably, which will be discussed below. According to Monaco (2000), film and cinema are synonymous. However, "the 'filmic' is that aspect of the art that concerns its relationship with the world around it; the 'cinematic' deals with the aesthetics and the internal structure of the art" (p. 252). With this in mind, it is demonstrated that there is a substantial overlap of the terms and definitions of cinematic and film discourse, resulting in two issues. The first issue lies primarily in the absence of "a firmly established academic concept" that all researchers of cinema or film discourse may choose to rely on (Androutsopoulos, 2012). The second issue is that the ways in which each of these terms is defined and conceptualised differ from one researcher to another.

Film dialogue and film discourse differ from cinematic discourse, which is more inclusive of both film discourse and film dialogue (characters' verbal and non-verbal communication) as well as multimodal (audio-visual) communication. Thus, film discourse is used more broadly to mean the use of films as linguistic texts, including their language and language-related elements from a linguistic point of view (Alvarez-Pereyre, 2011), whereas film dialogue is concerned with the interaction between

narrative characters. That said, it is pivotal to decide on the term I will be using and justify through the literature, the use of the term cinematic discourse seems to be a fit for the methodological approaches applied in the thesis, which conforms with the mainstream of cinematic discourse.

Piazza et al. (2011) discuss cinematic discourse in terms of the language of cinema, which integrates all the multimodal features of fictional narrative: verbal, non-verbal, audio and visual. Janney (2012) proposes that cinematic discourse is not language use in film (dramatic dialogue, fictional conversation, scripted interaction); rather, it is “the audio-visual discourse of film narration itself: the discourse of *Mise-en-scène*, cinematography, montage, and sound design used by filmmakers in narrating cinematic stories”. She further explains that cinematic discourse is the “filmmakers’ main expressive vehicle and primary form of communication with, and influence over, film viewers”. Dynel (2013) claims that cinematic discourse “conflates an array of cinematographic techniques, which are studied outside linguistics”.

To reclassify previous cinematic techniques drawing on what each of the previous terms means, they are classified as follows:

- Cinematic discourse includes four modes of representation: visual (*Mise-en-scène*, setting, clothing, cinematography, and editing), audio and verbal (sound, diegetic, non-diegetic and internal diegetic) and non-verbal (facial expressions, body movement). It combines both linguistic scrutiny and other modes of communication.
- Film discourse includes both linguistic and concomitant non-linguistic elements in film language, such as studies on the pedagogic uses of the language of film. A large part of it comes under the scrutiny of linguistics.

- Film dialogue exclusively includes the characters' interaction in films (diegetic: dialogue or monologue), with the accompanying non-verbal elements being a tool for characterisation, such as the use of "mind style" as a way of entering the mind of a character (Montoro, 2011).

To this end, I postulate the most applicable term and definition that best serves the approach of this thesis. I use the term cinematic discourse and draw on Janney's (2012) claim that "cinematic discourse has been understood in film theory since Christian Metz (1974) as a form of communication not *in* film but through *it*" (p. 86; emphasis in the original). On these grounds, cinematic discourse is how "filmmakers guide viewers' attention, shape their perspectives, colour their perceptions, and steer their inferences about the unfolding narrative". It is also through cinematic discourse that filmmakers suggest to viewers how characters and dramatic events are to be seen and heard, how they are to be interpreted and, ultimately, how film itself is to be understood (ibid.).

2.5.2 Reviewing the literature

2.5.2.1 Studies adopting a critical perspective on cinematic discourse

To address the presupposed question in 2.5 above, a link can be established between cinema/film studies and CDS. This section confirms that a link between cinema and CDS can be established with the purpose of reviewing the literature on film and cinema discourse and how it simulates real-life social, ideological and cultural practices. Typically, CDS has mainly focused its attention so far on analysing different media providers, such as newspapers, news broadcasters, political magazines, political TV shows and policies because cinematic discourse, a branch of media discourse, is a relatively new area in discourse analysis. Therefore, a detailed account of media discourse is not the aim of this thesis, though it is crucial to identify cinematic discourse as an element of mass media.

Production and consumption of media are the aspects of cinematic discourse that should fall under the scrutiny of research into media discourse, which is preoccupied with taking a critical stance, namely CDS. Therefore, reviewing the literature from a critical perspective may allow mapping how CDS contributes to the proliferation of more cinematic discourse studies. Nevertheless, CDS is not generally concerned with fiction as a suitable epistemological site for analysis because fiction (non-naturally-occurring language) seems to be different than ‘spontaneous’ linguistic data collected from everyday interactions. However, there may be exceptions where we want to carry out an analysis of and critique social or ideological representations.

The current literature on cinematic discourse abounds with examples of a whole strand of critical sociolinguistic studies arguing for the usefulness of cinematic discourse as fruitful epistemological sites. Stamou (2014), for instance, conducts a review on the representations of sociolinguistic style in a particular aspect of mass cultural discourse, namely TV and film fictional discourse. The review reveals that although the epistemology of social construction has advantaged the analysis of fictional data, the reviewed studies have still exploited a traditional framework. Similarly, a view of fiction as a reflection of sociolinguistic style is still a dominant conceptual framework from which many researchers tend to interpret their analyses. Stamou (2014) suggests that a traditional methodological and conceptual framework is rather more appropriate to account for the representation of sociolinguistic style in fictional data, and therefore leaving more analyses for ‘spontaneous’ linguistic data collected from everyday interactions. Consequently, a more fruitful approach would be to acknowledge the ideological framework upon which fiction operates, which constructs a particular version of language and the world. In this view, fictional discourse should be analysed exploring how it shapes viewers’ understanding about the speech of social groups and

of the way it challenges certain social and linguistic stereotypes. While this study is concerned with the stylistic aspect of language by which the speech of a social group is constructed to the viewer, this thesis is more concerned with the euphemistic representations of anthropomorphised characters that help construct certain subliminal sexual and gendered messages as well as racial stereotypes using both language and visual elements of films.

As far as fictional texts are concerned, Sunderland (2004, p. 142) claims that “[d]iscourse analysis in linguistics is usually carried out on non-fictional texts, fictional texts being more the province of stylistics”. Stamou (2011) confirms the previous claim by exploring how social class is depicted in late modern Greek television, and the role of speech style to this process. She conducts a stylistic analysis of two central characters of a TV series that suggests that the traditional discourse of class society is reproduced by building a universe of upper-middle vs. lower-middle classness. However, upon examining some peripheral characters, this discourse appears to be challenged through using an unmeasured manner (e.g. projection of negative stereotypes linked to upper-middle and lower-middle-class). Greek television eventually appears to promote the contemporary discourse of classlessness making the two protagonists look like caricatures. Specifically, the stylistic analysis of these two characters seems to lead to the deconstruction of class discourse.

As far as the ideologies of race and racism in cinematic discourse are concerned, Mujaddadi (2017) investigates subtitling of racial slurs from English to Arabic as a norm-governed socio-cultural structures by utilising the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). Her study seeks to identify the main subtitling strategies that Arab subtitlers use to translate racial slurs in English-language films into Arabic and the ideological underpinnings behind those strategies.

The study shows that racial slurs serve as tools for characterisation through stereotyping. Moreover, the study demonstrates how racial slurs are a manifestation of the audience design involved in producing a film's script. While Mujaddadi's study is concerned with racial slurs which entail derogation of people of particular race or social groups and employed explicitly, this thesis is concerned with racial, gendered and sexual euphemisms which are always employed implicitly in language.

2.5.2.2 Children's fiction

2.5.2.2.1 Children's Books

Following from section 2.5.2.1 above, most sociolinguistic studies adopting a critical perspective, which have used literature as data, have focused on stylistic representations of language. Therefore, Stamou (2012), drawing on Bakhtin's dialogic theory, considers how register variation is represented in children's books by a popular Greek writer. She aims to explore whether, and in what terms, strategically deauthenticated depictions of register variation exploited for humour could be used as a resource for the raising of (critical) language awareness. Children, through postmodern culture, are increasingly exposed to recontextualised and playful representations of linguistic varieties, a process known as 'stylisation' which refers to the artificial use of a linguistic variety on the part of the speaker (Coupland, 2001).

McGlashan (2015) also conducts a descriptive and critical analysis of a representative corpus of picturebooks written for children featuring representations of families with same-sex, i.e. gay or lesbian parents. Combining approaches from CDA, Multimodality and social semiotics, his thesis thus situates itself in relation to MCDA and Multimodal Corpus Linguistics. Findings of his research suggests that same-sex parent family picturebooks attempt to challenge and counter dominant negative stereotypes of gay and lesbian people and related homophobic discourses that lead to

social exclusion and opposition to the books. They also include discourses intended to celebrate differences in family identity. However, the findings also suggest that in same-sex parent families are represented in largely homonormative ways, upholding traditional notions regarding family, as well as perpetuating some gender stereotypes.

2.5.2.2.2 Children's Films

The growing body of literature recognises the importance of how children as the assumed viewers of animated films may acquire their social, cultural and ideological knowledge and beliefs about the world from the language present in animated films. However, as Giroux and Pollock (2010) suggest, at the very least, special attention should be paid to the processes whereby meanings are produced in these films and how they work to secure particular forms of authority and social relations.

There is a noticeable increase in the continuous deployment of race, gender and sexuality representations in films generally, and animated films in particular, especially films produced by large organisations in Western countries, such as the USA., e.g. Disney and Dreamworks, among others. For the purpose of this thesis, I developed three themes that emerged from the data set, race, gender and sex, to be investigated, as discussed in section 3.3.2. In this thesis I will explore some aspects of race, gender and sexuality explicitly under the label of multimodal and CDS. I will, nevertheless, refer to some studies conducted on the same themes below.

A central feature common to all animated films is the evaluation of social relations in conflict with the principles of democracy. The employment of nature and the animal kingdom provide an escape for presenting and legitimating class systems, hierarchies of gender and race, and structural inequalities as part of the natural order. Giroux and Pollock (2010) argue that such traditional presentations of fairy tale narratives emanate from fixed social practices. Consequently, these social practices suggest a yearning to

return to a more strictly hierarchal society based on a theoretic traditionalist ideology of dictatorship.

As far as race and social relations are concerned, the review on cinematic portrayal of sociolinguistic variability by Stamou (2014) has shown that the exploitation of the dominant language ideology is commonly achieved through the association of low-status linguistic codes with minor, low-educated, low-class, or bad characters, whereas prestigious linguistic codes are typically reserved for protagonists and elite characters. Along similar lines, the seminal study by Lippi-Green (2012) on Disney animated films has unveiled systematic associations between specific cartoon character types and particular speech styles and accents, concluding that cartoons, besides entertaining, constitute a powerful tool for ‘teaching’ children the linguistic prejudice and social discriminations targeted to social groups speaking ‘deviant’ styles of talk.

Many studies in the literature on representations of sexuality in animated films mainly discuss sexual identities such as straightness, heterosexuality and homosexuality in the narratives of films (King et al., 2010). Such studies can be biased to suit the norms and deviations of the authors of articles or books. King et al. (2010) discuss sexuality, or “needless heterosexuality”, as seemingly unnecessary incorporation that can serve a function of establishing an expectation or norm about sexuality.

While previous scholarly work has discussed sexuality in films in terms of the sexual identities constructed, other scholarly work has concentrated on quantitative and content analysis of male vs female characters and gender roles in animated films (Unger & Sunderland, 2005). Stamou, Maroniti, and Schizas (2014) study children’s and parents’ stance and views on media through which some significant differences with respect to the children’s gender were disclosed. In their study, girls have different

favourite popular cultural characters than boys, mostly drawing upon classic fairy tales and ‘feminine’ cartoon characters. In contrast, boys’ favourite heroes come from famous superheroes and ‘masculine’ cartoon characters. These differences between boys and girls regarding their preferences for media seem to be linked to the social expectations and the distinct social roles of what means to ‘be a girl’ and ‘be a boy’.

Exceptionally, a few studies have looked at how these themes are represented through visual images, and what those visual images mean in relation to the linguistic element of films. Thus, the purpose of the present research is to explore the emerging themes from the data set and analyse how sexuality, gender and race are represented in AAF, through language and images.

2.5.2.2.3 Media engagement and literacy

Lugo-Lugo and Bloodsworth-Lugo (2009) argue that, as suggested by Giroux, animated films offer children intricate teachings about race and sexuality, guiding children through the complexities of highly racialised and sexualised scenarios. Moreover, they explain how animated films for children teach children how to manoeuvre within the general terrain of “race” and “sexuality,” and they highlight quite specific differences. Thus, in their role as agents of socialisation and “portable professors,” these films provide children with the necessary tools to reinforce expectations about normalised racial and sexual dynamics.

As far as media engagement is concerned, several studies have highlighted the centrality of media and popular culture in children’s lives. Stamou et al. (2014), from both parents’ and children’s responses, confirm that media icons have a central role in children’s lives. Most children like to consume clothes, shoes and toys featuring their favourite popular cultural hero while parents seem to be affected by the ‘moral panics’

of children's use of media, specifically, negative impact of media on children's emotional and social development. Therefore, as a solution, most parents adhered to an 'inoculation' model of media education, according to which media education is seen as a protective 'shield' against negative media content viewing it as a means of preventing children from the 'harmful' media messages. Their findings are in line with other studies in the literature confirming that parents tend to be generally favourable about the role of media in their children's social, linguistic and emotional development as media have been only recently introduced to the Greek curriculum in a systematic way.

Considering the role of popular cultural texts in shaping sociolinguistic reality, it makes sense to explore how children actually receive those texts and what conceptualisations of sociolinguistic diversity they form through those texts. Therefore, Stamou, Maroniti, and Griva (2015) aim to examine Greek young children's views on sociolinguistic diversity in popular cartoons and TV series. Drawing upon a framework of media reception, they explore how attention to the ways children interpret mediated representations of sociolinguistic difference might provide a methodological tool used for investigating language attitudes and ideologies. From the analysis of children's interviews, it was found that they can easily distinguish between different dimensions of sociolinguistic difference, showing an enhanced sociolinguistic awareness. On the other hand, their reading positions seemed to be in accordance with the meanings conveyed in the texts. Moreover, their findings suggest that children tended to make hegemonic readings of popular cultural texts, premising many of their evaluations on the ways in which sociolinguistic diversity was represented in the text (e.g. plot, characterisation). Therefore, they discuss implications of these findings for the role of popular culture in the shaping of children's language attitudes.

Ray (2009) suggests that children explore concepts of gender is through make-believe and performative play. One of the most prevalent presentations of gender that is packaged for children's play is the Disney Princess brand. In 2007 the Walt Disney Princess campaign profited over four billion dollars and expanded to include over 25,000 items for sale. Princess paraphernalia reflects a change in the way that young girls (ages 3-5) engage in imaginary play by creating a whole new paradigm of thought. As these girls project themselves into the role of a certain Princess, typical play transforms into a consumer-based theatrical experience. Girls not only identify with the ideas of playing princess, but of being a Princess as well. Judith Butler examines gender as consisting of performative "acts" that are stylised, repeated, and public. Gender identity usually includes aligning one's self with socially accepted definitions of male or female. Using Butler's idea's about gender performance, Ray's thesis looks closely at the Disney Princess brand and how it contributes to the idea of a gender identity through films, live performances at Disneyland, and merchandise designed for enhancing play. As media and consumerism plays an increasingly large role in children's lives, careful attention must be made to the influence of such brands, especially as the Princesses become defining models of the word female and hence confirms the validity of audience engagement with media.

2.5.3 Unit of analysis

Reviewing the literature indicates the inconsistencies in studies in determining the unit of analysis in cinematic discourse. This section is concerned with the issue of what the unit of analysis of cinematic discourse is, and how it can be analysed.

In relation to the unit of analysis of cinematic discourse, the literature demonstrates varying kinds of units of analysis. One study concentrates on film dialogue as the verbal element as its main unit of analysis, including prosodic features, intonation

rhythms, silences, pauses and non-verbal elements (Chepinchikj & Thompson, 2016). This study, although it analysed the non-verbal, including prosodic and paralinguistic elements, does not pertain to any pictures of paralinguistic elements. Many studies discuss the pedagogical features of films and thus focus on themes (race, gender and sexuality) depending on audio-visual voice and body size, interactions, song lyrics, character illustrations and accents (King et al., 2010; Lugo-Lugo & Bloodsworth-Lugo, 2009; Towbin, Haddock, Zimmerman, Lund, & Tanner, 2004; Ward, 2002), morality taught (leadership, planning) (Champoux, 2001) and lexicogrammatical and grammatical choices (Alvarez-Pereyre, 2011) in films as units of analysis. As mentioned previously in the literature, “multimodality has not only been considered quite limitedly but also largely unsystematically” in the relevant research (Stamou, 2014). Specifically, most of the studies did not employ systematic methodological tools in order to address the non-linguistic signs of fictional texts. Nevertheless, they provided short or longer descriptions of the images of the texts, as supplements of the symbolic meanings derived from the mediation of sociolinguistic style. It is worth saying that in all the previous studies, although discussing multimodal text, none pertain to a full description and transcription of ideologies and discourses in both the linguistic and visual analysis, with a special emphasis on the interrelationship between both elements in order to reflect both the macro and socio-cultural levels in films, which makes my thesis stand out from other studies in cinematic discourse analysed from a critical stance.

Other studies (Bateman & Schmidt, 2013; Bednarek, 2015; Halverson, 2010; Unger & Sunderland, 2005) have analysed scenes including shots of non-verbal behaviour and dialogue, or phases and transitions. Mujaddadi (2017) gives attention to the semiotic modes in the image and the scene as they carry great importance in the analysis nevertheless, she is mainly concerned with spoken dialogue. Of course, these

studies have incorporated verbal, non-verbal and audio-visual elements in their analyses. On these grounds, I can pose some questions and try to answer them as a basic ground for my thesis. First of all, what is the most applicable unit of analysis in cinematic discourse? To answer this question, I return to the definitions of cinematic and film discourse, as well as film dialogue, discussed in section 2.5.1. As previously noticed, studies concentrating on film dialogue only incorporate verbal and non-verbal analysis in their studies. Others focus on film discourse or film grammar and themes that are prevalent in animated films specifically. Another group concentrate on studies using shots, transitions and phases as units of analysis.

Theorists of multimodal film analysis, such as Iedema, distinguish between six levels of analysis, among which the lowest level is the frame (2001, p. 188). However, I argue that implementing a complicated analysis of six levels is by and large a very complex task, taking into account the length of films. Moreover, Baldry and Thibault (2006, p. 47) consider that the basic unit of multimodal analysis is the phase “of textual sequencing”. In other words, they support the use of shots, phases and macro phases within phasal analysis; these are useful because they show how shots can relate to phases. Pollak (2008, p. 92) also advises that the smallest unit of visual transcription is either the frame or the shot. He draws a comparison between these, “while the frame excludes spoken texts and sound elements ... the shot is the smallest unit that incorporates all video modes”.

According to Pollak, studying frames as stills helps the researcher to analyse and realise details about the actors, objects and setting of a multimodal text. Pollak (2008, p. 90) argues that following the film-analysis approach of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), shots are the lowest or most narrow filmic level and are a strong framing device that connects film elements. Following Pollak and Kress and van Leeuwen, I select

representative extracts parsed into one-second based frames using software that transfers a few-minute scene into stills as the main unit of multimodal analysis (see section 3.2.3).

To portray the issue of unit of analysis in cinematic discourse in Unger and Sunderland's terms (2005), "any profitable analysis of film must be multimodal, or must at least consider non-verbal elements in order to capture the totality of the text" (p. 1). Therefore, it is relevant to my thesis to examine the linguistic meanings in relation to those found in their attendant visual texts, as the two work together to create meaning, describing the choices made by the text producer. Cinematic texts may use linguistic and visual elements to naturalise what seems to be ideological and seek to shape the representations of people and events for particular ends.

2.5.4 Activating CDS and MDA within cinematic discourse

In addressing the presupposed question of the review (section 2.5) concerning the ways cinematic discourse can use CDS, following Fairclough's (1995) discrepancy between text and discourse practices, Androutsopoulos (2012) propounds cinematic discourse as the ensemble of film-as-text and its processes of production and consumption. Therefore, CDS and MDA identify contextualised approaches to film within cinematic representation, including production and/or reception (representation and interpretation) and the linguistic, social and ideological knowledge it communicates. Furthermore, drawing on cinematic modes of representation, such features may serve as a unique subset of features of cinematic discourse that warrant the attention of multimodal and critical discourse analysis as an analytical approach tailored to cinematic discourse. Another feature that is relevant to animated films is the anthropomorphisation of animals as a process of production and reception. Several issues that are relevant to analysing cinematic discourse, such as, the reflexivity of the researcher, the method of

triangulation and the interest of filmmakers, are given due attention in the following sections.

2.5.4.1 Reflexivity in CDS

CDS focuses its attention on the importance of human values, interests and understandings and sees extra-textual, subjective insights as valuable in analysis. Therefore, a discourse analyst must rely on available discursive ‘traces’ in the data and on their own informed insights about wider discursive and social practices. Yet, reflecting their reflexivity and documenting their stance is a practice also associated with CDS (Sunderland, 2004).

The meaning of the term ‘reflexivity’ in the social sciences is contested. Therefore, Lynch (2000, p. 26) defines it as a “well-established theoretical and methodological concept in the human sciences, and yet it is used in a confusing variety of ways. The meaning of ‘reflexivity’ and the virtues ascribed to the concept are relative to particular theoretical and methodological commitments”. Lynch’s definition of reflexivity indicates that there are many different definitions of reflexivity in the social sciences and that analysts are always and already reflexive. Furthermore, Lynch adds that reflexivity is “an ordinary, unremarkable and unavoidable feature of [any social action]”(Lynch, 2000, p. 26).

If our political commitments drive our analysis, we may miss certain things (Bucholtz, 2001). Given that, reflexivity seems an indispensable part of the theoretical position proposed in this thesis which requires making an explicit stance. As such, reflexivity should be “acknowledged, revealed and labelled” (Reinharz, 1983, p. 172) based on the notion that the discourse analyst values. Therefore, discourse analysts should adopt a notion of reflexivity which acknowledges their own commitments and reflects critically upon their own role rather than simply being the “certified

deconstructors” (Jackson, 1992) of others’ discourse. Gill (1995) further argues that reflexivity can become a powerful way of protecting one’s argument from criticism and hence, the discourse analyst, by seeking to explain and justify the basis for their analyses, becomes accountable for the social and political consequences of their interpretations (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1995).

In this thesis, my approach to reflexivity is following Heller’s approach in not ‘taking sides’ in political conflict but deconstructing it with the help of contextual detail that is structured by three principles. Firstly, critical attention needs to be focused on historical, social and cultural texts related to euphemism. Heller pays attention to the central role of language ideologies in the shaping of social and political processes through critical discourse analysis. Similarly, she conceptualises the relationship between discourse and history paying special attention to the connection between multiple discursive sites. Therefore, in this thesis, I employ the DHA approach to CDS which attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive “events” are embedded and how such historical dimension of discursive actions are related to other genres of discourse. One of the main principles of the DHA is that of triangulation, which enables the researchers to minimise any risk of being too subjective (Wodak, 2015a). This is due to its endeavour to work on a basis of a variety of different data, methods, theories, and background information (Wodak, 2011, p. 65).

Secondly, following Gill (2000), reflexivity is not an end in itself, rather a means by which I can be made accountable for my analysis through an explication of my interests and context in seeing that animated films are loaded with subliminal gendered and sexual messages as well as racial stereotypes hidden under a veil of euphemistic use of the language. In particular, I aim to discuss the fundamentals of a discourse analysis

of cinema, particularly animated films. I argue that euphemism is a struggle after meaning as it incorporates central issues that help defining a euphemistic meaning; context, connotation and denotation as well as the subjectivity of the researcher. In this thesis, euphemism is the primary linguistic device under scrutiny which leads to the ideological work in cinematic discourse. There are aspects of social life, such as the taboo of sex and race, that become naturalised to the extent that they become unseen and unrecognised. Such aspects are referred to using vocabularies or word choices that are hedged in by cultural practices, thus, language needs to be restructured. CDS provides devices to analyse texts and contexts in which euphemism performs ideologically as a persuasive device carrying out ideological and social control. The same logic underlies euphemism used in film to carry out ideological and social control, depending on the interests of filmmakers. These kinds of studies can assist in the processes of critical reflection and reflexivity in social practice.

Thirdly, reflexivity has its own limitations, however, these limitations can be compromised. As in CDS, Heller seeks to bring together the Foucauldian and linguistic notions of discourse, thereby bridging the gap between them on micro-level discourse analysis in linguistic anthropology. For Heller, this approach inevitably involves compromise, for examining the broad historical background of discourses means sacrificing detailed discourse analysis in the traditional linguistic sense. The limitation of this approach, however, is that the role of audiences' interpretations of discourse possibly being different from analyst's discourse, and the scope of analysis beyond intertextual analysis, and it is likely that they invoke multiple, sometimes conflicting, discourses at various points. Hence, discourses may not be as easily identifiable as a macro-level analysis would suggest, and the details of discourse are often the sites of such disagreements (Bucholtz, 2001). Therefore, to mitigate these criticisms, analysts

can improve their methodological rigour by, for example, applying a triangulated approach intertwining linguistics to approaches from CDS such as SFL and DHA as well as MDA, it adopts the strongest aspects of these different approaches. The triangulation of the methodological approaches of CDS and MDA as well as the synergy of euphemistic language and visual adopted in this thesis helped to a great extent to reduce subjectivity during the analysis stage. Because deciding upon various discourses and ideologies are inherently subjective, I, thus, focus on the recurrent multimodal modes of representation in films to counterbalance the linguistic micro-analysis, discursive macro-analysis as well as sociocultural level of analysis. The following section gives a detailed account of triangulation and how it is applied and used in this thesis.

2.5.4.2 Towards triangulation: from film representations to interaction, viewer's engagement and evaluation

I devote this section to the triangulation approach discussed in the previous section. Triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods or data sources in qualitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena (Patton, 1999). Triangulation also has been viewed as a qualitative research strategy to test validity through the convergence of information from different sources (Flick, 2004). Denzin (2017) and Patton (1999) identified four types of triangulation: (a) method triangulation, (b) investigator triangulation, (c) theory triangulation, and (d) data source triangulation. Theory triangulation uses different theories to analyse and interpret data. With this type of triangulation, different theories can assist the researcher in supporting or refuting findings (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014). Two salient approaches relevant to this thesis, within CDS (SFL ideational and interpersonal metafunctions), DHA (discursive strategies and intertextual and interdiscursive texts) as

well as MDA (visual representation and visual representation and viewer network), are combined to ensure an in-depth analysis of euphemism in animated films as a major micro-level linguistic device reflecting macro-level and extending to sociocultural structures in cinematic discourse.

Starting at the micro-level of texts, this stance on discourse is language-oriented, starting from a specific discursive language phenomenon. What makes such a linguistic phenomenon problematic from a critical standpoint is that euphemistic occurrences represent a self-interested version of reality by pushing a topic into the background and highlighting a particular view of a topic instead. Therefore, euphemism is a speaker-oriented tool implying the reaction the speaker intends to prompt in the audience, eventually leading to stereotyping, gender discrimination and invoking sexual desire awareness. The sample text, while not explicitly promoting such ideologies, represents an everyday manipulation tool, which lays the ground for power imbalances on the basis of gender, stereotypes certain races and invokes certain sexual suggestions. The linguistic euphemism produced at the micro-level structures the underlying ideologies that most obviously lend themselves to an interpretation in the sociocultural level. The triangulation method also includes a quantitative analysis as a starting point to guide subsequent qualitative analysis. The quantitative analysis can help provide a general map of the data, mainly in terms of frequencies of the ideological themes. Similarly, the CDS analysis can point towards themes to be examined through the DHA lens for triangulation (e.g., the history of the taboo of sex, race and gender). In DHA, triangulation is a principle which enables the researchers to minimise any risk of being too subjective (Wodak, 2015a).

In the macro-level in which the nature of the processes of text production and interpretation are specified, researchers focusing on social semiotic aspects would

analyse texts in their sociopolitical contexts in order to infer underlying ideologies, such as sex, gender and race. The combination of methodologies associated with CDS (DHA and SFL) and MDA (social semiotics) in this thesis, and their potential theoretical and methodological influence, seem to benefit both CDS and MDA. Combining methods strengthens the theoretical basis of both CDS and MDA (e.g., expressing the interplay between the discursive strategies employed in the linguistic and visual elements) to answer questions such as, how the underlying euphemisms construct the representation of social actors and their actions to meet the ideational metafunction as well as the relations between them to meet the interpersonal metafunction. Therefore, the interpretation of the euphemisms used in a particular context involves analysing the discursive practices that surround the text; the roles of, and relationships between, members of a culture or society. This part of the analysis establishes patterns of who acts as the producer of what kind of texts, who distributes them and via what medium, what audiences texts are designed for, e.g. by drawing on presumed shared knowledge and values, who actually receives and interprets the text under investigation. The role of DHA seems vital here as it allows the analyst to depart from the data in order to consult other types of information (such as dictionary definitions, film comments and criticism). For example, a fuller understanding of euphemism's significance is only available when considering the sociocultural sources which give examples of other possible ways of expressing the euphemism. Thus, euphemisms are looked up from dictionaries contributing to the historical perspective in DHA. This helps pinpoint specific events for text selection or sites of interest.

A notion that is an inherent part of the DHA and contributes to its triangulatory principle is the notion of 'context' which takes into account four levels; the immediate language, or text-internal context; the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship

between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses; the extralinguistic social variables and institutional frames of a specific “context of situation”; the broader sociocultural and historical context, which discursive practices are embedded in and related to. In the analysis, the DHA is oriented toward all four dimensions of context, in a recursive manner (Wodak, 2015a). As part of DHA, the intertextual and interdiscursive elements are important in the analysis of this thesis. I have drawn attention to the intertextual and interdiscursive elements of euphemism that analysts and viewers may use to construct such ideologies and discourses, and have tried to determine whether these serve to confirm or contest the same racial, gender and sexual stereotypes found in historical, political and cultural animated films. The linguistic analysis of euphemism tended to focus around lexical substitutes to taboo references. Therefore, the linguistic approach is most productive and interactive when accounting for what DHA calls ‘referential’ strategies (Baker et al., 2008). The DHA analysis therefore at times facilitated a more detailed analysis, taking into account larger amounts of textual context as well as the structure and characteristics of cinematic discourse.

This focus on the influence of context as well as drawing on SFL for a theoretical basis means that social semiotics makes a number of the same considerations about representation as those made in CDS. As far as multimodal analysis is concerned, film as text contains visual features such as gesture, facial expression and body postures, moving images, colour, layout and font (for written texts) in films. In addition, film as text can feature music, sound and dancing. In a systemic functional perspective, these elements are part of semiotic modes as their use is intended to meet the text’s communicative purpose meeting two of Halliday’s metafunctions in that the euphemisms linguistically referring to social actors and other objects (ideational metafunction), represent and thereby create relations between the text producer, the

receiver and represented social actors (interpersonal metafunction). DHA analysis, i.e., discursive strategies, can be applied to the linguistic euphemisms and semiotic modes and can therefore reinforce, supplement or contradict the constructions of underlying ideologies that are achieved by the various features of linguistic text. Therefore, the use of the visual representation of social actor devised by van Leeuwen (2008), contributed to strengthen the multimodal analysis even more. Moreover, Kress (2010, p. 1) acknowledges “multimodality as the normal state of human communication”, and I depart from this given in studying cinematic discourse, namely anthropomorphised films wherein the use of easily identifiable characters is represented as an extension of the viewers’ perception and understanding of human behaviour. (Adcroft, 2011). The production of anthropomorphised films as a genre of cinematic discourse relies heavily on anthropomorphisation because anthropomorphism includes personification, characterisation and narrative structure, all of which are nevertheless inseparable from the filmmaking process or production (Adcroft, 2011).

Given the importance of discourse practice context, analysing the discourse practice context informs about the scripts that discourse participants endorse or diverge from in their practices of text production. Furthermore, discourse producers and recipients can influence discourse practices to the extent that discourse participants pursue their own agendas by producing and distributing texts. Such instantiations of genres show certain linguistic and semiotic features which will be circulated through channels that are most likely to meet the agendas of their producer (Koller, 2012). From a critical perspective, repeatedly exposing text receivers to representations conveyed in texts, under similar settings of reception, may align their representations with that of the text producer (ibid.). Such representations, as demonstrated by a substantial body of literature, demonstrate that exposure to the media has, besides the impact on people, a

“dose-response effect”, such that people who have more exposure to the media are more affected by what they see, hear, and read than their peers who are exposed less to media messages (Shrum, Wyer Jr, & O'Guinn, 1998). However, the fact that text receivers dynamically co-construct the meaning of the texts' representations they are provoked with necessitates a cognitive empirical study which is not relevant to this study. Therefore, a multimodal analysis will relate the text to its contexts of production and/or processing. In summary, the multimodal approach is crucial when euphemism in AAF is to be investigated.

In the sociocultural level, following Fairclough (1992), this thesis is concerned with the discursive interpretation of language whereby language use is regarded as a form of social practice, which is “more concerned with the effects and consequences of representation – its ‘politics’”(Hall, 1997a, p. 6). Therefore, as discussed in section 2.5.2, cinema has a remarkable influence on audiences' daily language, culture and world views.

Mass media are one of the tools through which these [prejudiced] behaviours and roles are filtered and made socially visible. In so doing, they are primarily responsible for the reproduction and perpetuation of stereotypes and common places [...] Cinema has a strong power to shape people's views according to the norms and clichés that the dominant social groups impose (De Marco, 2006, p. 2).

Film as part of the mass media, specifically cinematic discourse, represents pre-existing reality and offers an ideological view of aspects of the social world (Liddy, 2017). Film, moreover, illuminates “the cultural ideas that media producers either hold themselves or believe are most palatable to mainstream audiences” (Weitz, 2010, p. 18). The

question that could be raised here is how does cinema shape audiences' views? Based on an empirical study of audience reception of a form of media discourse, there is a relationship between the consumption of entertainment genres and public connection (de Bruin, 2011). It is illustrated that popular culture can be influential in inviting audiences to reflect on the current state of society (ibid.). In this way, films constitute a procedure that can socially repeat itself; language and visual elements have dialectical and interrelated relationships with the society. Such language and visual elements shape our perceptions and world views of ourselves and others, which, in turn, are shaped in films. Ultimately, our perceptions and views that are socially shaped link back to the textual micro-level in that they help answer the question why particular social actors are represented in particular ways.

Returning to the ways in which cinema can shape audiences' views, multimodal representations and interactions relate meaning to society and instantiate ideologies to re/construct and re/create certain attitudes and practices in the minds of people at large, and children specifically. Moreover, the manipulation of anthropomorphic representations may promote specific ideologies and values. One crucial way in which language and other semiotics 'discourse' affect social actions and relations is through the normalisation of ideology (Hart, 2014, p. 3).

As far as viewers' engagement and evaluation are concerned, this section throws light on the norms and values component of social actors as well as on the related emotions. It also allows for the inference of stereotypes about represented social actors. As Denney (1957) states, Disney's influences on public perceptions and the audiences have shaped the industry. Through animal anthropomorphisation, Disney's construction of animal stars "allowed audiences to empathise with their behaviour, understand their life cycles and view their habitats, providing a view of wildlife that could be easily

understood through the human-lens”(Denney, 1974). By portraying the animal world in ways the audience could understand, Disney’s films prompted empathy from the audience.

Typically, one way of text being influential in terms of shaping ideologies is through viewer engagement. Viewers can engage with a text, here a multimodal text, through the interpersonal metafunction used in that text. For example, the viewers can be addressed directly through a character’s gaze or be required to align with a character’s point of view when a character is depicted in a medium shot. Moreover, a depiction can require the viewer to evaluate a character through a moment of speaking which says a lot about identity and attitude. Therefore, evaluation is another way of encouraging the viewer “to build bridges between the fictional and the everyday world” (Archakis, Lampropoulou, & Tsakona, 2018, p. 54). The linguistic and discursive representations of euphemism and multimodal analysis are approaches to cinematic discourse that are closely related to ideological and social practices. In addition, such approaches are realised through the evaluation and attitudes invoked by linguistic euphemism. Moreover, visual data lend themselves to means of dissemination that are dynamic and have an interconnected nature in their visual and textual data.

Two approaches, that can be applied to cinematic discourse and closely related to ideological and social practices, are the discursive and interactive representation of euphemism. In addition, such approaches are realised through the evaluation and attitudes invoked by the linguistic and visual representations of euphemism. Can, then, discursive and interactive representations of euphemisms still constitute ‘reliable’ CDS and MDA data to be exploited for cinematic discourse through representation and anthropomorphisation to invoke viewer engagement? This study presents a comprehensive linguistic, multimodal and discursive investigation of euphemism in

animated films, which have thus far not been subjected to any form of in-depth analysis. I combined different approaches from CDS and MDA depending on Halliday's metafunctional representations to elucidate the discursive and interactive elements of analysis. Based on Feng and Yujie (2014), discursive viewer engagement drawing on a social semiotic framework is a reliable and explicit framework. Therefore, the analysis of this study provides a more explicit and analytically reliable framework to explain the discursive and interactive elements of animated films. Moreover, Feng and Wignell (2011) have shown that in multimodal forms of representation such as film, filmmakers are able to predict, most of the time correctly, viewers' emotional reactions based on cultural knowledge. It is thus possible for filmmakers to 'design' emotions to enhance engagement with viewers. In TV commercials, advertisers usually present a problem to elicit negative emotions from characters and viewers, and then present the product as a solution to elicit positive emotion (ibid). It should be noted that this thesis is not concerned with audience reception, thus, empirical studies can be further carried out to measure viewer engagement.

It is evident from the above discussion that the ideological representations available in films through euphemisms, comprising the micro-level, can influence its interactive and discursive representations, comprising the macro and sociocultural levels, and thus forming and shaping social ideologies. Two aspects of cinematic discourse are significant for the present study: anthropomorphism and representation are directly connected to euphemism in this thesis.

2.5.4.2.1 Anthropomorphism

Having established a link between CDS and cinematic discourse, the discussion now turns to the genre of AAF as a significant aspect of cinematic discourse relative to this study. Characters in AAF are animals provided with human traits, sexualised, gendered

and racialised identities, which in turn shape the plots and animate the messages conveyed to the audience (Leventi-Perez, 2011). The term anthropomorphism is a Greek term, combining *anthropos* defined as ‘human’ and *morphe* meaning ‘shape’ or ‘form’. Tyler (2003) defines it as “the practice of attributing intentionality, purpose or volition to some creature or abstraction that (allegedly) does not have these things” (p. 269). The elements provided in this definition enable viewing anthropomorphisation as a form of animation that not only makes animals speak and walk on two legs, but also attributes all manner of mental states to animals (self-awareness, thought, purpose, mental images) and falling in love (ibid.).

An enquiry analysing AAFs can be justified by how pioneering animated film distributors, such as Disney, DreamWorks and Pixar, anthropomorphise or humanise animal characters and provide various stereotypical representations of gender, sexuality and ethnicity through those animals. According to King et al. (2010, p. 37), although animals are anthropomorphised in animated films, these films also “racialise non-human characters in the process”. In other words, these animals are deliberately inscribed to represent different groups of humans as ‘white’, ‘black’ or ‘Asian’. Thus, it can be implied that animal characters endure a kind of racialised anthropomorphism within animated films.

To this end, euphemism as a linguistic device has been used extensively in animated films, especially through anthropomorphic techniques, to transmit ideological and social representations hidden under a veil. The genre of anthropomorphised films will be explored in terms of how and why euphemistic representations are constructed in the discourse of such films.

2.5.4.2.2 Representation

Representation in its broadest sense is defined in the OED as ‘the description or portrayal of someone or something in a particular way’. In CDS, representation “concerns the depiction of social actors, situations and events” (Hart, 2014, p. 20). Machin and Mayr (2012) extend this definition to include “linguistic and visual semiotic resources” (p. 78). In language and other semiotic resources, “the speaker/ producer has a range of choices available to them that allow them to place people in the social world and to highlight and draw attention to certain aspects of identity or just to hide” (ibid.). To this end, it is pivotal to explain, drawing on Halverson (2010), the four modes of representation of cinematic discourse:

- Mise-en-scène refers to anything within the frame of the camera, including subject-related elements (facial expressions, gestures, body movements, and clothing/makeup choices), setting, scripted features and style.
- Sound refers to anything you hear in the film. There are three categories of sound: dialogue, sound effects and music. Additionally, sound can be classified as diegetic (in the story world, as in dialogue) non-diegetic (outside the story world, as in music inserted during the editing stage) or internal diegetic (in the story world but not in the frame, as in a first-person voice-over).
- Editing includes transitions, styles, devices (such as flashback and flashforward) and special effects.
- Cinematography refers to techniques used to alter the image seen through the camera lens, such as lighting, focus, framing/composition, angle, shot types, camera movement, duration of the image.

The four modes of representation discussed above correspond to Halliday’s three metafunctions of language and by extension the visual grammar of Kress and van

Leeuwen (2006), where *mise-en-scène* and sound relate to the representational function, cinematography relates to the interpersonal function and cinematography and editing relate to the textual function.

Halliday (1978) proposed three metafunctions “for representing the social context as the semiotic environment in which people exchange meanings” (p. 110). These metafunctions are:

1. The ideational metafunction, concerned with how language is used to represent ideas and concepts.
2. The interpersonal metafunction, concerned with how language establishes relationships between producer and receiver.
3. The textual metafunction, concerned with how language is organised in particular ways.

Euphemism, as part of the linguistic, social and ideological knowledge films can communicate, in turn, can perform two representational functions in discourse. Within the more general frame of Halliday’s metafunctions, euphemism functions at the ideational level, as it works to represent a “self-interested version of reality”, and at the interpersonal level, as it “mitigates face threats” (Crespo, 2014, p. 2).

What can the use of CDS in cinematic discourse tell us about method and theory? Although the arena of cinematic discourse within CDS is relatively new, it was established in film theory long ago (Metz, 1974). Therefore, tackling cinematic discourse from a CDS perspective with the application of multimodality as an analytical tool will facilitate the analysis of euphemisms in relation to their visual counterparts in the thesis. Cinematic texts may use linguistic and visual elements to normalise what seems to be ideological and seek to shape the representations of people and events for particular ends. In the thesis, I will shed light on those representations structured through

the use of euphemisms. I will analyse those cinematic representations where relevant and most applicable to the data, e.g. diegetic sounds, shot type, angle and camera movement.

2.5.4.2.3 Cinematic discourse representations: shaping ideology, stereotypes and social practices

CDS is interested in the interconnections between language, power and ideology and makes a clear commitment to social change (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Discourse and representation are extensively infused with ideology (Fairclough, 1989; Hart, 2014). One crucial way in which language and other semiotics ‘discourse’ affect social actions and relations is through the normalisation of ideology (Hart, 2014, p. 3). Ideology is a term in CDS that is not easy to define. Ideologies in their simplest meaning, quoting van Dijk, are “ideas” or “belief systems” (van Dijk, 2006, p. 116). Meanwhile Eagleton (1991) oversimplifies their meaning to “a schematic, inflexible way of seeing the world” (p. 3). Hart (2014) explains the idea of a ‘world view’ from a critical point of view as carrying a “pejorative meaning” and directs attention to “the promotion and legitimisation of interests of a particular social group or class” (p. 3).

Androutsopoulos (2012) argues that there is a “reflexive relationship” between language, multimodal films and society, where language “is both shaped by (dominant) language ideologies and potentially shaping the language ideologies of audiences” (p. 149). In this account, discourse and the discourse of children’s films producers, in this particular case, represent a site for the articulation of ideology and the legitimisation of sometimes harmful social actions. As this thesis is investigating anthropomorphised films, ostensibly for children, then the need to explore the ideology in children’s fiction is crucial. The discourse of children’s fiction, quoting Stephens (1992, p. 2), is “pervaded by ideological presuppositions, sometimes, obtrusively and sometimes invisibly”. In other words, ideology is never separable from discourse which can only

be more or less present in discourse (ibid.). In this thesis, I have considered the ideology (or discourse) of sex, gender and race. These ideologies are taboos which created a kind of contextually and legally offensive language: sexist, racist, ageist or religionist (Allan & Burridge, 2006).

Stereotypes extend from the meaning of ideology. Snyder and Hamilton (1981, p. 183) state that “stereotyping is an individual’s view of the social world”. For example, there may be social stereotypes about sex, race, age, ethnicity, national origin, bodily appearance, religion, sexual orientation, occupation, political affiliation and social class. In stereotyping, an individual categorises others based on their highly visible characteristics, such as race or sex, attributes a set of characteristics to all members of that category, and in turn attributes that set of characteristics to any members of that category. I argue that all these stereotypes can be euphemised and, hence, disseminated in cinematic discourse generally, and animated films in particular, for different purposes.

Van Leeuwen (1996) states that social practices are socially structured “ways of doing things”. Social practices are defined by society “to different degrees and indifferent ways, for instance, through traditions, or through the influence of experts and charismatic role models, or through the constraints of technological resources used” (p. 7). Therefore, I argue that such social practices can be violated or defied in cinematic representations, specifically, through anthropomorphised films.

2.5.4.2.4 How can euphemism shape ideologies and power through films?

In section 2.2.1, I gave an account of euphemism and explained its manipulative and discursive nature. At this point, it is vital to prioritise how euphemism is employed in films to shape ideologies. Euphemisms can “hide seemingly simple and straightforward words behind deceptive or overly complex ones” (Lacone, 2003, p. 60). Using a euphemism can be more acceptable than using a more direct term to refer to a taboo. On

this ground, referring to different ideological and social practices, i.e. referring to topics of gender, sex or race, can be rendered easier using a euphemism rather than a direct term. According to Burrige (2005), talking about “[s]till photography, film and television: these are superb media for deceptive euphemism, presenting us with a world of perfected forms” (p. 177). Therefore, different forms of manipulative references to social topics are deemed perfect but deceptive in films.

2.5.4.2.5 Euphemism and interests of filmmakers

An important characteristic of public discourses is that they are meant to be read and designed with that readership in mind. Filmmakers in cinematic discourse style their messages in a particular way so that they can be read and understood by a particular audience (Mujaddadi, 2017). Cinematic discourse operates as the “interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener, or viewer” (O’Keeffe, 2011, p. 441). Mass media are oriented to a readership or listening/viewing audience, respectively, because media discourse is a public, manufactured, on-record form of interaction (ibid.). It is not ad hoc or spontaneous like the naturally-occurring interactions in everyday life. Such aspects prompt researchers to scrutinise its making and ideologies and appraise the messages consumed.

It is vital now to explain how euphemism can be employed by filmmakers and thus serve their interests. Since language is an available set of options, certain choices are made by an author of a text for their own motivated reasons. Therefore, an analyst must analyse the primary choice of words used by a text producer, asking what kinds of words are used. For example, if an author chooses to use a metaphorical effect for the taboo topic to ‘die’, ‘pass away’, ‘rest’ or ‘waltz’, this immediately evokes certain sets of associations (Crespo, 2011). As such, using these effects show different degrees of

ambiguity and connection with the taboo referent and in the last one, the lexical choice suggests something much more joyful and indicating movement, livelihood and happiness than the first two, something much more personal. Combined with 'pass away', 'rest' signifies a discourse of peace, something appreciated and common. In an obituary, death is generally represented in a sad manner with 'RIP, rest in peace'. 'Rest' produces greater consolatory effect which conceptualises human mortality as a peaceful rest (ibid.). The consolatory effect is emanating from the concept that 'rest' is temporary and death is, therefore, connoting a temporary event ultimately leading to the denial of human mortality. Besides, the consolatory power of 'rest' is motivated by the fact that the deceased is laid to rest peacefully, far from the troubles left behind (Ruiz, 2007). From this perspective, the rest is not only physical, but also psychological. Typically, the discourse created signifies associated identities and values. The author of the obituary has not commented overtly on the fearsome nature of death, but this is signified through the associations of pass away and rest which help to place these events into particular frameworks of reference or discourses. Therefore, through using CDS and multimodality, I aim to deconstruct the euphemistic language of films to reveal the kinds of ideas, absences and taken-for-granted assumptions. Such deconstruction may allow revealing the kinds of power interests buried in the films.

Given that, this thesis would benefit from a discussion as to how filmmakers interests might intersect with or reflect and construct dominant ideologies. Racial stereotypes, sexuality and gendered ideologies are the results of a collection of factors according to Shaheen (2003). First, such ideologies are so powerful and so hard to eliminate because they are self-perpetuating. Filmmakers grew up watching repeated versions of a stereotype, sexual action or gender preferences without realising that, in so doing, they are innocently joining the ranks of the creators. Thus, filmmakers form their

opinions of people, events and actions in part, based on what they read in print, hear on the radio, and see on television (Shaheen, 2003). Second, though the majority of filmmakers are professionals, there are some who, in the interests of pursuing their own political or personal agenda, are willing to perpetuate stereotypical ideologies as they “exempt people from any further mental or emotional effort”, “wrap life in the arch toastiness of fairy tale and myth” and “make complicated understandings unnecessary” (Dowd, 2001). A filmmaker inserts a stereotypical character, sexual innuendo or a gender remark to serve as a joke rather than making up a good joke. While a filmmaker’s job is inserting ideological gags to function as jokes, the audience may feel better to see themselves as superior to a stereotypical character, the Other gender, or gazing at an objectified character. Third, some producers exploit ideologies for profit (Shaheen, 2003). Fourth, the absence of critical film criticism is another cause. A necessitous remedy against harmful ideologies would be more vital criticism originating from industry officials and movie critics (ibid.). Fifth, another factor is the silence of public opinion as to opposing stereotypes, sexualities and gender discourses.

2.5.5 Gaps in the current literature on cinematic discourse

One purpose of my review is to identify gaps within cinematic discourse in relation to CDS. As discussed in section 2.5.2, one gap pointed out is that cinematic discourse as a genre of discourse has been approached from a critical discourse analysis point of view, nevertheless, more studies are needed to proliferate in the literature. Linguists have long neglected film and cinema discourse because they were exclusively studied within a theory of their own, known as “film theory”. Metz (1974) argues that the means by which a film expresses itself to its audience constitute a language (incorporating dialogue, shots, angles and other cinematic techniques), but this cannot constitute a linguistic system. If

this is so, it can be extended to include why CDS has rarely taken cinematic discourse into account.

Although, CDS' ultimate aim is to make changes in society and to relate language to society, few of the studies I have come across so far have studied or analysed animated films and sought to unravel underlying ideologies related to the representation of gender, race and sexuality using a linguistic device as discursive and manipulative as euphemism from a multimodal critical stance. Therein lies the gap. A reason for this gap, besides the complexity of cinematic discourse analysis, could be that cinematic discourse is concerned with fiction or non-natural occurrences in which a story is told by an author who opts for imaginary characters and events.

Another gap in the literature is that while studies of euphemism are present in the literature, as far as I know, very few studies have been concerned with the field of cinematic discourse and approached it with CDS. However, there is a study concerned with euphemism from a morphosemantic perspective in animated films. Yet, there is no full access to the study through journals or databases (Gorcevic, 2013). Taking the linguistic nature of euphemisms into account, the reason for this gap might relate to the complexity of studying a linguistic phenomenon within a site of multimodal artefacts and ideological and social representations, such as cinematic discourse.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has integrated interrelated issues at the heart of this thesis. It has conducted a thorough diachronic study of euphemism as a discursive linguistic tool. It also makes a clear-cut distinction between two types of euphemism, positive and negative euphemisms. It focuses on how euphemisms can be problematic if their negative features are taken into account, as they are frequently used in politically correct discourse to eschew references to any social, sexual, ethnic or cultural trait. A link between CDS and

euphemisms is established to point out how euphemism can be a discursive tool to identify a gap within the realm of CDS, especially in the genre of cinematic discourse. Key issues regarding euphemism and how euphemism is closely tied to its context and the ways in which the interpretation of euphemism are subjective are addressed in this chapter. It is vital to highlight how euphemism is employed in films, given that films are multimodal, to shape ideologies. The final section has discussed the linguistic and visual elements used by film and how filmmakers utilise euphemism in these modes, looking through the lens of CDS.

Chapter Three

Outlining Data, Methodological Framework and Quantitative Results

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe data set used and the analytical methods employed in this thesis. The chapter conveys the motivation, challenges and process of film selection and collection. Then, it provides an overview of the films watched and examined in search of euphemistic occurrences. The methodology combines approaches from CDS, multimodality and social semiotics, in order to facilitate multimodal and critical analysis of discourse in AAFF. A methodological framework, comprising qualitative analysis with a quantitative element, serves the purposes of this thesis. Therefore, this chapter contains results of the quantitative element of the study as it is an initial stage in methodology that leads to devising the thematic framework. As for qualitative analysis, representative extracts of how euphemism is discursively exploited in linguistic and visual elements in three ideological themes namely, race, sexuality and gender, are examined and scrutinised.

3.2 Data Selection and collection

3.2.1 Initial motivation

This thesis is positioned within the core of CDS, whose ultimate aim is to achieve social change through language by addressing social problems and seeking to solve them by taking social and political action through analysis. As discussed in section 1.1, animated films, with their use of creative language such as euphemisms as well as creative visuals, are portable professors tutoring children in American and global cultural ideologies. Therefore, such films raise a social problem for parents that can be solved through analysing the language of films and then mapping out how such films influence and

change children's views on different social practices through language and visual means. It is worth noting that the initial aim of the thesis was to analyse euphemisms in the film *Madagascar* 2005. This thesis was initially concerned with audience reception and how euphemisms in such films can have an ideological impact on Arab children. However, such an endeavour proved to be a challenging step. The initial selection was made based on an initial scanning of verbal euphemisms and accompanying visual elements in *Madagascar* 2005. Then, this focus was altered to collecting more animated films in order to explore the extent to which filmmakers depend on such euphemisms to construct ideological discourses.

3.2.2 Criteria for data collection

The first sampling criteria yielded a set of data comprised of euphemisms in *Madagascar* that was expanded to include three more films. Expanding the size of the data set to four films seemed to be a logical choice in terms of how the verbal (linguistic) element in films is related, in one way or another, to the visual, which may count as a significant aspect of film analysis. The data set affords a more substantial basis for drawing broader conclusions on the extent to which animated films use verbal and visual euphemisms to hide or highlight ideological or social practices that can be presented and communicated to children as their potential viewers.

Since compiling the first data set of euphemisms, the sampling criteria have become to some extent more inclusive and formulated to accommodate three more films that fulfil the following essential criteria for defining euphemism in animated films. Therefore, I followed the following criteria for collecting the data which has passed through a process of elimination until it reached its final shape. First, I focused on films that are all rated PG. A starting point was to look for films that the IMDb reported as having PG rude humour and action. The Motion Picture Association of America rates a

film PG, “Parental Guidance Suggested”, if “some material may not be suitable for children”. Parents are urged to exercise “parental guidance” as PG films may contain some material parents might not like their young children to see, e.g. (bad) language, nudity, sex, violence or other matters (Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), 2020). Films in the PG category may be inappropriate for youth under age 13 (Nalkur, Jamieson, & Romer, 2010). Second, another criterion of film selection was that films had to be quite recent, i.e. not produced before 2000, in order to list relatively new possible euphemisms and avoid outdated ones. Third, the films are not restricted to one production company. Fourth, the genre of animated films was restricted to anthropomorphised films as they serve the purpose of CDS in employing and humanising animals in relation to race, sexuality and gender. Fifth, an assumption that needed to be evaluated is the criticism the films received in newspapers or online websites in terms of their reproduction and contestation of different discourses related to sexuality, subliminal gender messages and/or racial stereotypes. Such films can be seen as highly relevant epistemological sites for ideology and language study, i.e. CDS, given their diverse diegesis and total numbers of viewers. Over and above that, such ideologies conveyed by language are considered central to the humour of films, particularly films aimed not only at children, but adults as well. In order to test the previous assumptions, other anthropomorphised films in addition to *Madagascar* were included in the thesis. Broadening the scope of the study also served to accommodate a growing interest in the notion of anthropomorphism as a genre, and to specific features yielded by it in terms of discourse. Therefore, the criticism ignited another motivation which meant delving into euphemisms to uncover such ideological underpinnings. After collecting all the euphemisms, going back and forth between the scripts and the films, watching the films and relating to dictionaries of euphemism and other dictionaries.

When the euphemism are collected, I started the quantitative procedure. Many themes were found starting with the sampling data, Madagascar. The themes that are recurrent and frequent in all the films are four themes; racial, sexual, gendered and minced oaths, see section 3.3.1 for more explanation on quantitative considerations.

3.2.3 Challenges

Some challenges that needed to be resolved arose from the process of data collection and analysis. Listing, categorising and compiling the literal and figurative meanings of the euphemisms in all the films, as described in Appendix 2, was time-consuming; however, it adds substantial results to the present thesis. The results support answering the first question of the thesis, which is concerned with the general tendencies, types and categories of euphemisms employed in animated films.

Another point worth mentioning in relation to categorisations of euphemism is the challenge of distinguishing those categories specifically in terms of profanity, blasphemy or swear words. To a large extent, the present thesis has chosen to disregard specification of the categories and call them instead “minced oaths”, thus their original category will not be taken into account. The minced oaths function is a disguise mechanism comprised of substitutions avoiding direct references to foul or profane terms (Hughes, 2015).

One main challenge was recording the films, as it is considered a type of reproduction or reuse of copyright products. However, on the one hand, according to the U.S. law, the fair use of copyrighted work, including such use by reproduction in copies or by any other means, for purposes such as criticism or research, is not an infringement of copyright. All images from the films are reproduced under the fair dealing provision of Section 30 of the UK Copyright (Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988). Given

that this thesis is conducted for non-profit educational purposes, by including portions of films approximately equivalent to 15 minutes of total running time and having no effect on the use of these films in the market or their value, then there is no copyright infringement (Band & Gerafi, 2013).

Another challenge regarding data collection for the films was using film scripts for the initial extraction of linguistic data. First, in the process of finding film scripts online, I followed the New York Film Academy's (New York Film Academy 2020) website's recommendation of the ten websites that allow downloading professional film scripts. After finding the desired film scripts, they were first downloaded and read word-by-word, then data were extracted from the scripts. The scripts were read while watching the films to ensure the accuracy of the scripts and to spot visual data in accordance with the linguistic element. Many inaccurate details were found in the scripts, such as spelling mistakes and lacking time-lapses of films. Additionally, certain sequences of the films were watched repeatedly in cases of uncertainty in euphemism realisation. After deciding on the visual data to be included in the study, the next step was to collect visual extracts from the films, which proved to be less of a challenge than expected.

Unlike linguistic data, recording the visual extracts of the films for analysis went smoothly using the software (Movavi Screen Recorder) to record *Netflix* from a PC. However, it took time to decide on the most suitable way in which film frames could be parsed systematically. Initially, I started by screenshotting shots one by one, a way which proved to lack accuracy. Then, I uploaded the extracts to (FStudio), where they were parsed systematically and accurately into a one or two-second-based frame. Finally, they were extracted to a new folder from which I imported them into tables in a Word document. Therefore, in relation to unit of analysis discussed in section 2.5.3, I argue that

the best unit of analysis for cinematic discourse is the frame, as it incorporates verbal, non-verbal, audio and visual modes.

3.2.4 The data

The film collection process described above resulted in the collection of 12 films in total from 2005 to 2017. All these films could have been included in the list because more than two AAFs are released a year, but due to restrictions on space, eight films on the list were deleted, so the final film list consisted of four films. Including different films containing humans as the main characters, for instance, could arguably result in different findings, so the results presented in the conclusion chapter are exclusive to the data detected in the four AAFs included in the study. I argue that the selection of films is a representative selection of the euphemisms in AAFs to reveal their ideological underpinnings.

The aim in collecting a data set of four films was to find and extract different patterns of euphemisms (as linguistic traces) and the extent to which they are employed in animated films. These extracts might be representative of a whole film, and by using the linguistic traces within texts and the relationships between these films and other texts, I can identify a range of social and ideological practices, often in the same film and in other films. In other words, I gather euphemistic instances extracted from each of the films in the data set to count them and analyse the general tendency of films to use them. Then, I analyse representative instances from each of the films according to the theme under which it is categorised. The following table shows the films, their distributors, years of production and worldwide gross sales.

Title	Distributor	Year	Gross sales
<i>Madagascar</i>	DreamWorks	2005	\$532,680,671
<i>Alpha and Omega</i>	LionsGate Family Entertainment	2010	\$50,507,267
<i>Zootopia</i>	Walt Disney Pictures	2016	\$1,023,784,195
<i>Sing</i>	Universal Studios	2016	\$634,151,679

Table 1 Films included in the data set

3.2.4.1 Film plot summaries

a. Madagascar (2005)

A group of animals who have spent all their life in a New York zoo end up in the jungles of Madagascar, and must adjust to living in the wild (IMDb, 1990-2020).

b. Alpha and Omega (2010)

Two young wolves at opposite ends of their pack's social order are thrown together into a foreign land and need each other to return home, but love complicates everything (IMDb, 1990-2020).

c. Zootopia (2016)

In a city of anthropomorphic animals, a rookie bunny cop and a cynical con artist fox must work together to uncover a conspiracy (IMDb, 1990-2020).

d. Sing (2016)

In a city of humanoid animals, a hustling theatre impresario attempts to save his theatre with a singing competition that becomes grander than he anticipates, even as its finalists find that their lives will never be the same (IMDb, 1990-2020).

After collecting relevant data, euphemisms were quantified in order to reveal any obvious tendencies. First, all the occurrences of euphemisms were counted, in order to map the general distribution of euphemisms in the data set. Further, each type of euphemism was counted separately, registering the distribution of types, various themes and discursive strategies, respectively. Quantification, correlation and percentage scores were calculated for each of the categories, as well as graphs using Microsoft Office Excel (365).

All of the AAFs contained euphemistic occurrences. Euphemisms are counted depending on the definition of a euphemism, as expounded in Section 2.2. They are lexical items that hide references to offensive topics, can be manipulative, and are context-dependent. They can hide certain sensitive topics, such as sex, gender and race. Furthermore, supplementary sources were consulted to determine the meanings and connotations of euphemisms. The OED was relied on heavily to find the etymology, word origin and meaning of euphemisms. Two other dictionaries that were also used to find the etymology and types of euphemisms were the Oxford Dictionary of Euphemisms compiled by R. Holder, and Dictionary of Euphemisms and Other Doubletalk compiled by Hugh Rawson. Moreover, two books in which euphemisms are tackled in detail are authored by Kieth Allan and Kate Burridge, and these are key sources for euphemistic extractions and explanations. However, due to the dynamic nature of euphemism and given the heavy use of ‘slang’ by all classes of language users, which results in new euphemisms being innovated every day, not all euphemisms are documented in dictionaries. Therefore, I also refer to *Urban Dictionary*, which is an online website compiling slang words including cultural-specific and very recent euphemisms that cannot be found elsewhere. It is useful in terms of recontextualising slang and euphemisms that are the production of society. However, a downside of this

website is that it is compiled by amateurs, i.e. not professional lexicographers. This, then, leads to a discourse analytic approach being employed to analyse the data, which will be explained in detail in the analytical framework in sections 3.3.1.2 and 3.3.2.2.

3.3 Methodological Framework

In order to provide an interpretative framework for answering the questions of the study, a number of methods have been tentatively combined to cover both linguistic phenomena and visual representation in the wider sense.

3.3.1 Exploring the data set of euphemisms

This section presents the results of the quantitative element, which entailed counting instances of categorised data, which then led to devising the thematic framework. However, counting the categorised data was not an end in itself. This step was designed to answer RQ1: a. To what extent do filmmakers tend to use euphemisms in anthropomorphised animated films? b. What euphemisms do filmmakers construct in anthropomorphised animated films?, in order to examine the tendency of animated films to use euphemisms and devise categories. I clarify the significance of the resulting figures in relation to cinematic discourse representations and the prominence of each category in the films through qualitative analysis, which makes concrete links between verbal and visual representations in cinematic discourse, namely anthropomorphised films and their underlying ideological, social, racial and sexual practices.

As far as the data set is concerned, the quantitative considerations and analytical steps in this thesis need to be explained. Therefore, I present the criteria as follows:

1. After collecting the euphemisms, I organised them in a table for each film. Each table includes 7 columns, among which three columns are used for the quantitative analysis.
2. The theme column is the column that help devising the thematic framework (see euphemistic categories below). In this column, three themes are frequent and relevant

to this study; sex, gender and race. These themes are further categorised into sub-themes based on the historical and/or political background of each theme. Moreover, the interconnectedness of these themes are also taken into consideration in the quantitative analysis.

3. The type column is the column in which I refer to the type of euphemism (see section 3.3.1.2). In addition, the correlations between the type of euphemism and its category is taken into account in the quantitative analysis.

4. The discursive strategy column is important in the quantitative analysis as it takes the euphemism a step away from being a mere linguistic tool to a discursive working ideologically (see section 3.3.1.2). Also, the correlations between euphemistic categories and discursive strategies are taken into account.

3.3.1.1 Euphemistic categories

In addressing RQ1a, the data set shows a total of 176 euphemisms comprising twelve themes that emerged from it, namely, craziness, toilet references, cleanliness, old, fat, death, political, insults and name-calling, minced oaths, race, gender and sex (see Table 2, below). As discussed in section 2.2, these euphemisms can refer to many taboo and distasteful topics. Therefore, euphemism is closely connected to linguistic taboo, it is a roundabout way of referring to certain taboo subjects and by which they can be replaced. Moreover, as discussed in section 2.2, euphemism can have two functions, in the form of a shield or a weapon (Allan & Burridge, 1991), which activate the manipulating feature of euphemism (see section 2.2.1).

The extent to which euphemisms are constructed in animated films is closely related to the manipulative feature of euphemism, more than the politeness and shield feature. Consequently, using a euphemism can be more acceptable than using a more direct term. On this ground, referring to different ideological and social practices can be

constructed more easily using a euphemism rather than a direct term. Burrige (2005) confirms that “[s]till photography, film and television: these are superb media for deceptive euphemism, presenting us with a world of perfected forms” (p. 177). Therefore, different forms of manipulative references to social topics are deemed perfect but deceptive in films. Returning to section 2.5.3.2.1 on how cinematic discourse representations shape ideologies, stereotypes and social practices, euphemism is seen as a form of representation in cinematic discourse that potentially shapes ideologies, stereotypes and social practices through discursive constructions. Thus, Giroux and Pollock (2010) inform that special attention should be paid to the processes whereby meanings are produced in films and how they work to secure particular forms of authority and social relations.

As discussed earlier in section 2.5.3.2.2, euphemistic categories, such as race, gender and sexuality, were not specified in the RQs (cf. 1.3). However, by implementing the quantitative element, statistical salience allowed for such categories to emerge from comparisons of the whole data set of euphemisms in animated films. On exploring the tendencies and devised categories emerging from the data set, it is observed that the most frequent euphemistic category is sex (30%) (Table 2). Moreover, the category of minced oaths shows a percentage similar to that of race and gender (19%); however, because of the interconnectedness that emerged from comparisons between race, gender and sex, I chose to further develop these categories and exclude minced oaths (see p. 67 for a definition).

	Total no.	Percentage
Sexual euphemisms	52	29.55%
Gendered euphemisms	33	18.75%
Racial categorisation	32	18.18%
Craziness	7	4%
Minced oaths	34	19%
Toilet	4	2%
Cleanliness	1	1%
Old	1	1%
Fat	2	1%
Death	1	1%
Political	6	3%
Insults and name-calling	3	2%
Total	59	33.52%
Grand Total	176	100%

Table 2 Frequency of euphemistic categories

The main three themes developed in the chapters of analysis, race, sex and gender, are further categorised into subcategories. It is vital to note that these categories and subcategories are interconnected and can intersect by many means. For example, it is possible to racially stereotype a social actor by referring to their most negative regional attributes (see sections 4.3, 5.3, 6.3 for more details and examples).

The first theme, sex (52 euphemisms), encompasses sexual activity and sex acts and is the largest theme among the categories, because “the language of sex permeates all kinds of texts, genres or media in everyday language” (Santaemilia, 2005, p. 3), which explains the tremendous synonymy in English vocabulary for sexual and romantic desire, genitalia and copulation (Crespo, 2008). Sexual euphemisms, Table 3, are further categorised into sexual acts comprising (14%) sexual euphemisms. Sexual acts is a category of sexual euphemisms via which

animated films can refer to intimate experience which articulates desires. References to sexual body parts, such as privates, prevails, with 6 per cent of sexual euphemisms. While bodily functions comprise 5 per cent, referring to functions such as, peeing and pooing, sexual identity comprised 5 per cent of the sexual euphemisms referring to individuals' linguistic construction of Self and Others to determine their sexual orientation or identity construction as straight, gay or lesbian in animated films.

Sexual euphemisms	Total no.	Percentage
Sexual acts	24	14%
Sexual body parts	10	6%
Bodily functions	9	5%
Sexual identity	9	5%
Total	52	29.55%

Table 3 Subcategories of sexual euphemism in the data set

The second theme, gender (33 euphemisms), is tackled in relation to the theme of sex. The relation between the two is explained in sections 5.2 and 6.2. Gender is a social practice in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women for their biological traits. 'Sexist', which accounts for 13 per cent of gendered euphemisms, refers to an attitude of discrimination against women within their social system on the basis of sexual relationships. While male dominance and masculinity comprise 3 per cent of gendered euphemisms in the films, where gender characteristics include masculine, e.g. athletic and brave, objectifying women comprise 2 per cent of gendered euphemisms, where attractive female characters are referred to in terms of sexuality, their bodies and their reproductive system (Table 4).

Gendered euphemisms	Total no.	Percentage
Sexist	23	13%
Male masculinity & dominance	6	3%
Objectifying women	4	2%
Total	33	18.75%

Table 4 Subcategories of gendered euphemism in the data set

The third theme, race (32 euphemisms), is further subcategorised into 5 subthemes in Table 5 below. The concept of race encompasses different meanings, as discussed in section 4.2, such as physical difference, social identity of race, social status and social behaviour, and cultural traits such as language, nationality, class, position within the field of power and religious practices. Among the largest subthemes is racial stereotypes, which comprise 6 per cent of racial euphemisms. The films strongly impose racial stereotyping on Others, out-groups. Racial stereotyping is concerned with the strategic use of many linguistic markers to construct the Other via discriminatory discourses containing negative evaluations. The second largest subtheme is racial slurs (5%), by which a social actor is directly insulted; however, this insult is hidden behind euphemism. The context of most of these slurs is authoritative statements or directives used by the speaking social actor. Regional downgrading comprises 4 per cent of racial euphemisms, where euphemism helps to refer to social actors through their region's most negative attributes, very popular proper names in their region, the region they inhabit, their ethnic group and colour (mostly self-stereotyping). While racial identity constructions comprise 3 per cent of racial euphemisms, where out-groups are able to racially identify themselves, regional upgrading comprises only 1 per cent of racial euphemisms referring to New York City positively.

Racial categorisation	Total no.	Percentage
Racial stereotypes	10	6%
Racial slurs	8	5%
Regional downgrading	7	4%
Racial Identity	6	3%
Regional upgrading	1	1%
Total	32	19%

Table 5 Subcategories of racial euphemism in the data set

As discussed earlier, interconnections between different categories emerged from the data set (p. 73). These relationships between the categories are bidirectional. While the interconnection between sexual and gendered euphemisms shows a high frequency because of how women are treated as objects cue to associations to their reproductive systems and feminine body parts, the interconnection between sexual and racial euphemisms shows a low frequency, mediated by the interconnection between gendered and racial euphemisms in terms of disparaging a female by associating her with her regional area (see Diagram 1), e.g. the interconnection between Kate's racial hierarchy, as an alpha, and her gender, as a female (for the full list of interconnected categories, see Appendix 2).

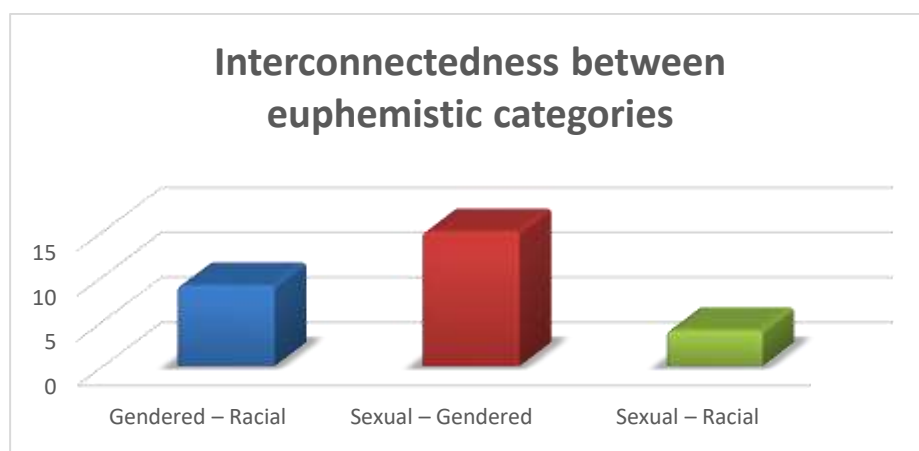


Diagram 1 The interconnectedness between race, gender and sex in the data set

3.3.1.2 Other quantitative elements

Although this study is more concerned with the statistical analysis of euphemistic categories to devise a thematic framework, other quantitative elements show significance. Two quantitative elements from the data set are important to discuss briefly, discursive strategies (section 3.3.2.2) and types of euphemism (section 3.3.2.1), of which I will refer to the most significant Table 6. As far as discursive strategies are concerned, nomination strategies are the most numerous (82 tokens) of the strategies. Moreover, when nomination strategies correlate with categories, sexual (59%) and gendered (27%) euphemisms use nomination strategies frequently. The second highest ranking is predication strategies, with 40 tokens for euphemism. It also correlates strongly with the racial category (56%).

Category	Mitigation		Nomination		Predication	
Sexual	3	33%	39	59%	7	26%
Racial	0	0	9	14%	15	56%
Gendered	6	67%	18	27%	5	18%

Table 6 Correlations between euphemistic categories and discursive strategies

As far as types of euphemism are concerned, some types correlate with different categories of euphemism, of which I will discuss the most significant Table 7. Metaphors correlate with sexual and gendered euphemisms equally (11 tokens). Metaphors are used to hide sexual taboos or to refer to female body parts based on appearance. Moreover, sexual euphemism correlates with conceptual metaphors (9 tokens) by which references to sexual acts have a high mitigation capacity by mapping a sexual taboo onto a target domain. Also, many sexual body parts are referred to via underspecification (7 tokens). Most significant are geographical adjectives and circumlocutions, used equally with racial euphemisms (6 tokens for both), to refer to the regions that social actors come from and to indicate racial slur or stereotype using words

with high mitigating capacity, i.e. peripheries. Also, the use of full omission to refer to females by their gender proved significant in the data set, though it was not that frequent, only 6 tokens, while there were no full-omission correlations with sexual or racial euphemisms.

	Geographical adjectives	Under- specification	CM	Metaphor	Circumlocution	Full omission
Sexual	0	7	9	11	4	0
Racial	6	4	1	2	6	0
Gendered	0	0	3	11	2	6

Table 7 Correlation between euphemistic categories and types of euphemism

Generally, the euphemisms in the data set show inconsistency in the types of euphemisms used to construct difference ideologies. The reason behind this inconsistency depend on how a word or sentence is considered euphemistic. Everyday language users resort to euphemisms to convey their meanings without losing face. In this context, they sometimes create new euphemisms that spread in a community and then become widespread, depending on the degree of their creativity. Further examples and discussion of the data set in relation to the categories and types are included in the analysis chapters and by revisiting the data set sections 4.3, 5.3 and 6.3.

3.3.2 Analytical Tools

I will briefly draw on the analytical framework I use to analyse the data. The analysis corresponds to a bottom-up textual approach to explain the linguistic and visual data obtained following an integration of Multimodal and CDS approaches. I display the euphemistic representations existing in AAFs and their accompanying visual representations. These are analysed using the Multimodal and CDS analytical

frameworks, including the application of certain euphemistic and discursive strategies, visual social actor representation strategies and positioning viewer strategies, and also the interrelation between linguistic euphemisms and their visual representations.

I rely on the most salient linguistic euphemistic occurrences and their visual counterparts under each of the themes, e.g. sexuality, race and gender in the analysis chapters. The analysis of each instance is divided into three parts, which are mutually complementary; the first part focuses on the linguistic euphemisms in the texts, while the second part refers to the visual element of texts. While the linguistic and visual elements are analysed separately, it should be noted that these elements work together to represent certain ideological and social practices that are discussed in a separate part following each example. Yet, some of the instances will involve juxtaposing views of visual and linguistic elements. A detailed figure explaining the analytical framework is provided in Appendix 1 (Fig. 7).

3.3.2.1 Verbal mitigation: linguistic resources of euphemism

Having given an account of the approaches and definitions that the concept of euphemism has received in Chapter 2, it is now vital to turn to the different linguistic resources by which euphemism is formed. Therefore, this section and section 3.3.2.2 will describe the linguistic analytical tools that will be used to address RQ2a: linguistically, how are euphemistic representations constructed in cinematic discourse? For the sake of the present thesis, I draw on previous works on euphemism from Allan and Burrridge (1991), Warren (1992), Allan (2012) Crespo (2008) and Crespo (2014) to make an integrated set of euphemisms formed from 25 devices.

Different propositions have been offered regarding euphemism formation. Warren (1992) proposes four main ways by which a euphemism is constructed: word formation, phonemic modification, loan words and semantic innovation. Similarly, Allan and

Burridge (1991) divide euphemism into four main categories; figurative, semantic change, remarkable inventiveness of figure or form and playfulness. By contrast, Crespo (2014) proposes that euphemism operates on two levels, word level and sentence level. At the word level, euphemisms are formed through remodelling, underspecification, understatement, litotes, circumlocution, overstatement, metaphor and metonymy. At the sentence level, euphemisms are formed using passive voice and hedging. Moreover, Crespo (2008) proposes the use of conceptual metaphor theory, henceforth CMT, for euphemising sexual taboos. The following part gives a detailed account of the linguistic resources of euphemism, with examples extracted from the animated films analysed.

As far as word formation devices are concerned, *compounding*, *derivation* and *onomatopoeia* are used to form euphemisms in animated films. Compounding is when two or more words are combined to make a euphemism, such as *dagnabbit!*, formed by the compounding of *dagnab* and *it*, which is in turn an alteration of another lexical item *God damn it*. *Derivation* is the formation of a word from its root, e.g. the euphemism *porky* is derived from the noun *pork*. *Onomatopoeia* is the formation of words imitative of sounds, such as *poop*, which is used in the nursery and slang as an onomatopoeic form of the sound of defecation (gulping).

Loan words or borrowing (Warren, 1992), learned terms, technical jargon and translation are further devices used to form euphemisms. A euphemism such as *pansy* (*pensée*) is borrowed from French and means a homosexual male. Moreover, the euphemism *latrine* is derived from the Latin *lavare* and means to wash. Learned terms or technical jargon can be borrowed from other languages and is the use of formal euphemisms (Allan, 2012), e.g. the word *rectal* in the OED is an adjective used in an anatomical, zoological or medical description of the remodelled French derivation *rectum*. Finally, translation is a strategy for forming euphemisms proposed by Allan and

Burridge (1991), through which a language user switches from one language to another to describe taboo terms or acts. This strategy is used once in the four films when a main character in the film *Sing* (2016) switches from English to Japanese to inadvertently insult some Japanese girls.

Another way in which euphemism is constructed is phonemic modification, which includes *rhyming*, *remodelling*, *omission*, *quasi-omission* and *reduplication*. Rhyming is a correspondence of sound between the endings of words (Allan & Burridge, 1991), e.g. the euphemisms *fuzzy-wuzzy* and *flopsy the copsy*. Moreover, remodelling is mainly used to avoid profanity, involving changing the shape or structure of a word (ibid.). The word *hell* is usually remodelled to *heck* in animated films. Omission is the deletion of words altogether from the context (ibid.), for example the deletion of f***er from *Mother...!* Quasi-omission is the partial deletion of an offensive word (ibid.), for example, *ma...* from which the ending of the word *mate* is omitted. Finally, reduplication is when a word is repeated twice, such as *dumdum*, which means dumb, and *Officer toot toot*, which means an oaf.

Semantic innovation is another way in which euphemisms are formed. It includes *underspecification*, *understatement*, *hyperbole*, *litotes*, *clipping*, *metaphor*, *metonymy*, *reversal*, *geographical adjectives*, *conceptual metaphors*, *circumlocutions* and *one-for-one substitution*.

Underspecification (Crespo, 2014) is a synonym of general-for-specific (Allan & Burridge, 1991) euphemisms. It is the use of a general term that must be specified in its context of use to be understood, and thus fulfil its function of hiding a taboo, e.g. the use of the word *guy* instead of referring to the taboo word *penis*. To preview my data, this euphemistic understanding of the word “guy” is emphasised through a character using the word while putting his hand in that area. Therefore, this can be understood on

the visual level. *Outdoor plumbing* as a euphemism for ‘outdoor toilet’ invokes the usual-location-where-a-specific-event-takes place. Understatement and underspecification are closely related devices. Understatement is used to present an unpleasant topic as less serious than it really is to reduce its degree of potential harm. Litotes are another device closely related to underspecification (Crespo, 2014). They are used to express an affirmative via the negative of an opposite, e.g. *unsanitary* to indicate an opposite.

Circumlocution is the use of many words to say something that could be said more clearly by using fewer words, e.g. They want you *big wolves to make a lot of little wolves* to communicate ‘repopulate’.

Hyperbole or overstatement is achieved through upgrading a desirable feature of the referent (Linfoot-Ham, 2005), e.g. How’s that for a *girl’s throw*? The protagonist in the film *Alpha and Omega* (2010), Kate, is striving to prove that she is a qualified alpha female.

Metaphor is a figurative device of euphemism for the creation of a euphemistic concept standing for taboo issues through comparison (Neaman & Silver, 1983). Euphemisms in the data may be used as lexical or conceptual metaphors. An example of the former is ‘waterworks’ for women’s tears, and an example of the latter is the use of the FOOD AS SEX metaphor, as in *my little fillet mignon*.

Metonymy is another figurative device of euphemism where both the taboo term and the euphemism belong to the same semantic field (Rabab’ah & Al-Qarni, 2012). A metonymic example is *flat foot*, which means a patrolman walking the beat, so footing (or perhaps footslogging), in the USA to keep cities safe, but it can also refer to the police in general.

There is an example of reversal in the data by which an unpleasant word is indicated by its opposite (Warren, 1992), e.g. using *clever omega* to indicate ‘stupid omega’. Clippings are formed by either end-clipping, e.g. *jeeze* from ‘Jesus’, or foreclipping, e.g. *ternal* from ‘eternal’. Also, geographical adjectives are euphemisms used if geographical directions refer indirectly to a taboo notion (Allan & Burridge, 1991), such as *Eastern dog*, which is used here in a racist sense.

One-for-one substitution is substituting one word for another even if they are semantically unrelated, for example *jumbo* to indicate a big clumsy person or animal. Having discussed how to linguistically realise euphemisms, the following section of this chapter addresses ways of realising euphemisms discursively.

3.3.2.2 Discursive Strategies of the linguistic and visual representations

On the question of how lexical euphemisms and their visual representations can be realised discursively, an analytical approach proposed by the Discourse-historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) comprised of discursive strategies is provided. A strategy is “a more or less accurate and a more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 44). This approach is relevant to the aim and scope of the present study. The DHA’s discursive strategies are mainly devised to answer the second research question (RQ2) related to how euphemism is realised discursively:

In AAFF, how are euphemistic representations discursively exploited in linguistic and visual elements?

Discursive strategies are categories of different linguistic devices. However, for space reasons, it is impossible to present all the linguistic devices via which discursive strategies are achieved. Five of these strategies are relevant to the current research.

Nomination strategies (naming and referring) are words (usually nouns) chosen to refer to agents in a film (p. 45). For example, a *meter man* is likely to activate a different gender than a *meter maid*, which refers to a female traffic warden for the sake of differentiating between male and female. Predication strategies (attribution) refers to ‘the very basic process and result of linguistically assigning qualities to persons, animals, objects, events, actions and social phenomena’ (p. 54), such as the euphemism *filthy*. Perspectivisation strategies (framing) refers to the way speakers position themselves and the events they describe in the discourse (p. 81). For example, throwing a ball from a girl’s perspective may be framed as “how’s that for a girl’s throw?” in a show of confidence; however, it may be “you throw like bunnies” from a male’s perspective where ‘bunnies’ is referring to girls. The subjective process of framing a particular event is often realised through a sentence or phrase that captures the topic, e.g. mitigation and on the other hand intensification strategies. Both may qualify and modify a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of utterances or images, e.g. *Mother ...!* is a mitigation and *to explode with major piggy power* is an intensification. These strategies can be an important aspect of the presentation, in as much as they operate upon it by either sharpening it up or toning it down (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016; van Leeuwen, 2000).

A question arises here regarding the types of euphemism and their relation to discursive strategies. The answer is that CDS is not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se, it is interested in analysing, understanding and explaining social phenomena that are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach (Wodak, 2012). With this in mind, the current study is a bottom-up study where a micro-level linguistic device is examined to reflect a macro-level discourse and extend to sociocultural structures. From a critical perspective, euphemism

is more or less constant in the lexical level of a language; however, it operates in discourse and is exploited there (Chilton, 1987). A major trait of euphemism is that it works on two levels of functioning. The first level operates at the level of ideational action, whereas the second is at the level of interpersonal action; and the latter is extended to ideological action. Ideological mode categories provide and interfere with linguistic resources (*ibid.*). So far, this section has focused on the linguistic level of analysis. The following section will discuss the visual level. More about discursive strategies and how they can be used in relation to visual representation will be discussed in section 3.3.2.6.

3.3.2.3 Visual representation

To the best of my knowledge, no other study to date has focused exclusively on how linguistic euphemism and its corresponding visual element are combined in film to represent specific ideological codes, stereotypes and values, and in turn potentially shape ideologies. Therefore, this thesis takes an instrumental view of multimodal discourse analysis, regarding it as a means rather than an end in itself, and facilitates such issues as the study of cinematic discourse and representations of race, sexuality and gender.

I present visual transcription in a table mimicking a film storyboard, in which each cell shows a single frame. Each cell contains a visual shot and underneath it three more cells describe the audio-track, camera movements and effects during the shot. As for visual transcription, I follow, where relevant, Bateman and Schmidt (2013) combined with van Leeuwen (2008), who provide the basic vocabulary for describing camera movements and posture in film shots, as depicted in the figures below (see Figs 1, 2, 3 and 4).

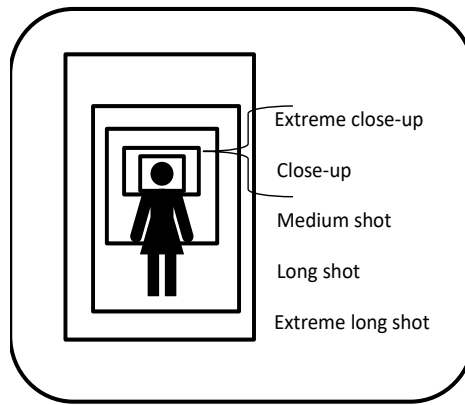


Figure 2 Framing shot type developed by Bateman and Schmidt (2013) slightly adapted

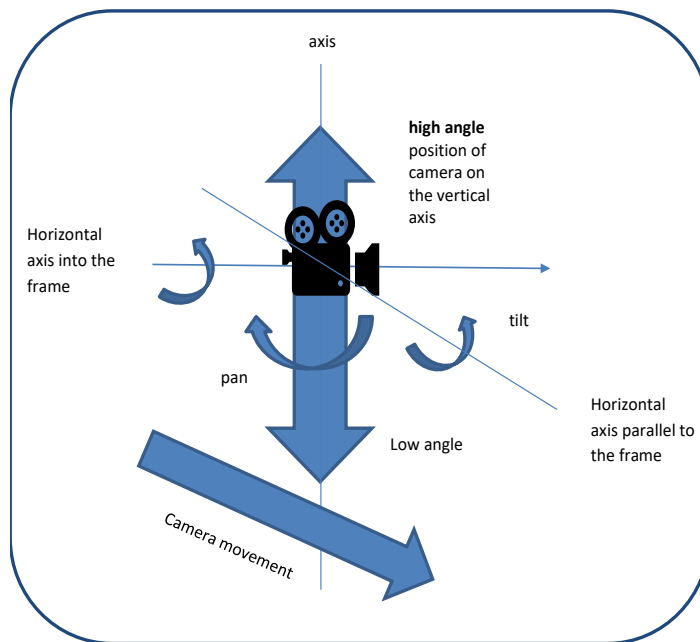


Figure 3 Slightly adapted visual transcription: basic vocabulary for camera movements by Bateman and Schmidt (2013)

This section is devised to answer RQ2b: visually, how are euphemistic representations transmitted in cinematic discourse? Van Leeuwen (2008) proposes two networks: Visual Social Actor Network (VSAN) and Representation and Viewer Network (RVN). Van Leeuwen (2008) argues that the “two networks are always co-present”. The former addresses how social actors (people, or anthropomorphised animals) are represented in the visual, whereas the latter is concerned with the viewer’s relation to the Represented Participants (RPs) in the visual. I draw on both of van Leeuwen’s (2008) networks because his primary concern is to investigate how social

actors are represented and related to the viewer “in whatever medium” (p. 142). Van Leeuwen’s networks seem to be applicable to analyse the visual data depicted in films because the networks are far from being rigid.

3.3.2.4 Visual Social Actor Network (VSAN)

The Visual Social Actor Network includes exclusion and inclusion as sub-processes of categorisation. While exclusion is the possibility of not including specific people or kinds of people in a representation, inclusion is concerned with the people or kinds of people represented in the visual. Included social actors might be represented as involved in the action or not, as generic or specific, or as individuals or a group.

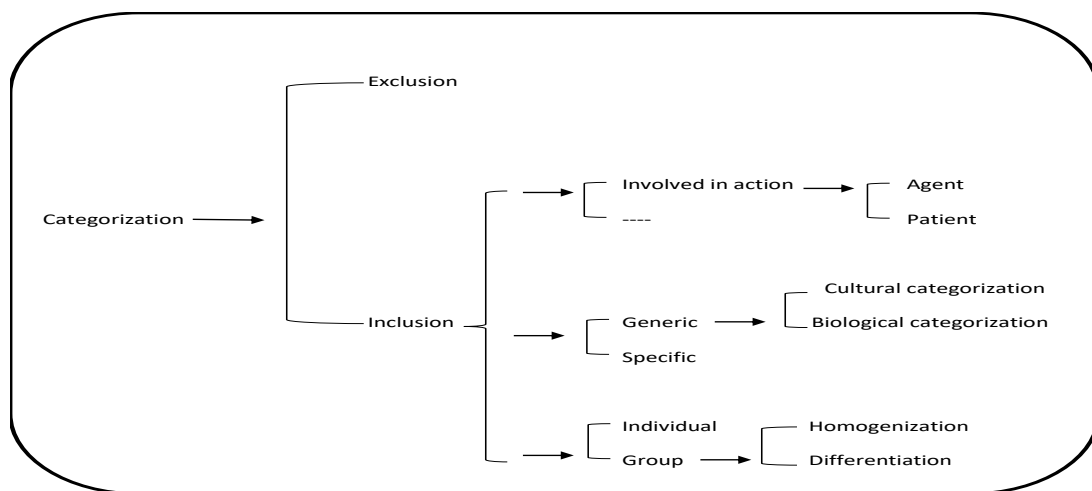


Figure 4 Slightly adapted from Van Leeuwen's Visual Social Actor Network (VSAN)

When social actors are involved in an action, they may be “agents”, doers of the action. When they are the people to whom the action is done, they are “patients”. Moreover, social actors may be depicted generically or specifically. When the visual is concentrating on what makes a person unique, this is specific. When the visual is concentrating on what makes a person a certain social type, this is a generic representation. It might also be a representation of a stereotyped depiction. People may

be depicted as individuals or groups. While people depicted in groups are being treated as if they are all similar, people depicted as individuals are being represented distinctly.

3.3.2.5 Representation and Viewer Network (RVN)

I adopt van Leeuwen (2008) RVN to analyse how visual representations communicated through actors or actions are related to the viewer. Three dimensions are considered in this network: the social distance, social relation and social interaction between the RPs, and the viewer. As a guide to transcribing these cinematographic techniques, I use Bateman and Schmidt (2013), as mentioned earlier (Figs 3- 2 and 3- 3).

In films, distance communicates interpersonal relationships. RPs shown in a “long shot”, from far away, are depicted as strangers; whereas RPs shown in a “close-up” are presented as intimate. In a social relation, the most important variable is the angle from which we see the person, and this includes the vertical angle (tilting), at eye level (personal viewpoint) or from below (low angle), and the horizontal angle (panning). These angles involve two aspects of the social relation represented between the viewer and the RPs: power and involvement. Involvement means involving the viewer, with horizontal and frontal angles, or detaching, in an oblique direction; power means that a viewer can be powerful over the RPs; with a low angle, the RPs, in turn, can have power over the viewer if depicted from a high angle, or both can be in equivalent positions on an eye-level plane.

As far as interaction is concerned, “the crucial factor is whether or not depicted people look at the viewer” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 140). When the RPs look at the viewer, this is a direct address. However, when the RPs do not look at the viewer, this is an indirect address.

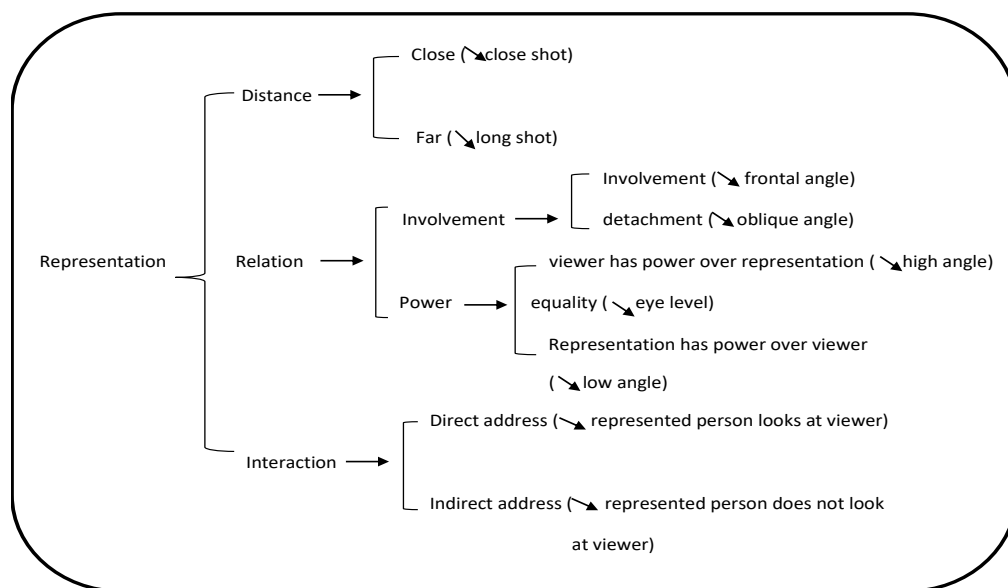


Figure 5 Slightly adapted from Van Leeuwen's *Representation and Viewer Network (RVN)*

3.3.2.6 Interrelationship between linguistic and visual representations

In the previous section, I discussed how visual representation can be read in cinema and film. In this section, shedding light on the linguistic and visual elements used by film seems to be necessary to indicate how a film containing moving images combined with other modes, such as speech, can be designed to appear together and be read together. Moreover, focusing on filmmakers' interplay of euphemism through these modes is vital. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), the relation between verbal and visual grammars is a rather complex one, as it is sometimes analogous and at other times somehow different. The realisations of visual and verbal structures may be similar in their interpretations of experience and at the same time may be differ in their forms of social interaction, or vice versa.

To decide whether a linguistic euphemism is synergetic with its visual representation I have to elaborate that the function of this section is to specifically relate linguistic euphemism to visual representation, not just to refer to whether the visual is in harmony with the verbal generally. Thus, the use of Royce's system may be appropriate

in this context. Royce's (2007) *System of Intersemiotic Complementarity* is used to show how visual and linguistic elements either converge or diverge. As this thesis seeks to study anthropomorphised films in terms of viewers' engagement through the multimodal and visual representation afforded by films, I will concentrate on the interpersonal relations that relate images and text with the reinforcement of their function of addressing the viewer and with the congruence or dissonance of their attitudinal meanings at the discursive level.

To answer RQ2c: to what extent are visual representations similar to or different from verbal euphemisms? Do visuals provide congruent or dissonant details? I will consider how words and moving images interrelate as interdependent elements to create interpersonal meaning. Two types of intersemiotic relations within the interpersonal metafunction are distinguished: *attitudinal congruence* and *attitudinal dissonance* (Royce, 2007, pp. 68-69). Attitudinal congruence occurs when both visual and verbal modes cooperate to construct parallel interpersonal content and a similar kind of attitude, for example when a taboo concept is euphemised in the verbal and likewise abstracted in the visual, then it is also mitigated in the film, constructing a visual euphemism (section 2.2.3). In turn, attitudinal dissonance is classified when the intersemiosis of images and words leads to opposite, exaggerated or ironic attitudinal meanings. Dissonance is produced when there are choices of engagement in the visual mode, for example invoking humour, then intensified, which is dissonant with highly euphemised expressions showing a lack of truth in language (Fig. 6). Therefore, for the sake of this study, two of the discursive strategies discussed in section 3.3.2.2 can be applied to visual data in terms of mitigation and intensification.

Since euphemistic discourse is utilised to suppress and camouflage social and ideological practices and to background or belittle people or ideas in multimodal texts

such as films, their visual counterparts may highlight or conceal these suppressed or camouflaged practices.

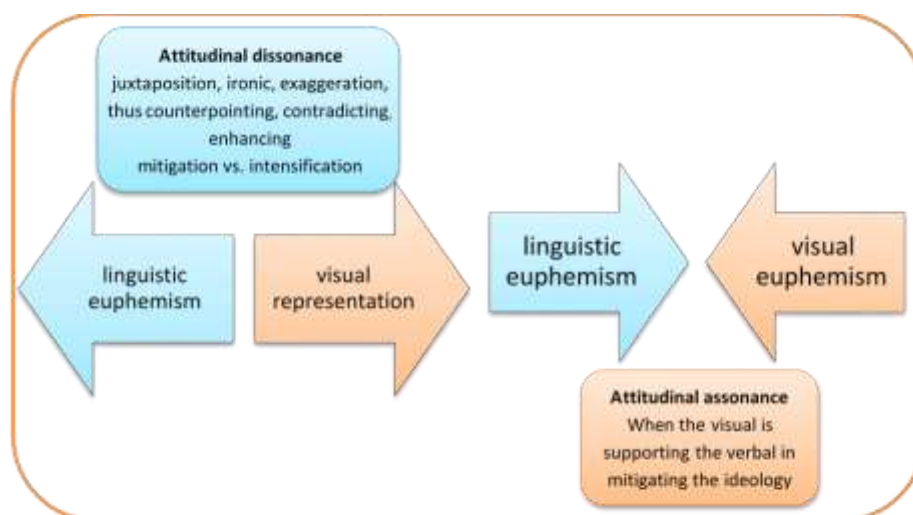


Figure 6 Reproduced, *Procedural steps in intersemiotic interpersonal analysis*, from Royce (1999)

3.4 Summary

This chapter has attempted to answer RQ1: a. To what extent do filmmakers tend to use euphemisms in anthropomorphised animated films? b. What euphemisms do filmmakers construct in anthropomorphised animated films?, through the results of the quantitative element that led to devising the thematic analysis of the data set. However, counting categorised data is not an end in itself. I clarify the significance of the resulting figures in relation to cinematic discourse and the prominence of each category in the four films through qualitative analysis, which makes concrete links between verbal and visual elements in the films and their underlying ideological, social, racial and sexual practices. Moreover, in this chapter I explain the analytical tools for the linguistic and the visual representations in order to address RQ2 (cf. 1.3) which will be tackled in the chapters of the analyses.

Chapter Four

Racial Euphemisms in animated films

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first analysis chapter in which I approach the data set via qualitative analysis of representative extracts where racial euphemisms occur. References to different races and racial stereotypes appear using euphemisms in the data set. By investigating selected samples of these occurrences, I can arrive at the underlying ideologies of euphemisms related to race in animated films. First, the chapter examines quantified examples of racial stereotyping to unravel what racial euphemisms are. Then, an analysis of scenes approaches euphemistic types related to race, in addition to discursive strategies of occurrences from multimodal and CDS perspectives. The chapter shows how linguistic euphemisms are dealt with in the visual, and how meaning is rendered to the viewers of animations.

4.2 Racial stereotyping in animated films

Given the centrality of the category of race to euphemisms in the data set, I will now clarify key terms such as race, its connection to racialisation and racism, and then racial euphemisms. The question of whether race and racial categorisation are defined in terms of biological traits, such as skin colour, hair texture and other physical characteristics, has caused much debate in different areas of enquiry over the years (Omi, 2001). Such questions have proliferated in approaches focusing on stereotyping and prejudice resulting from physical features rather than examining the notion of race itself. However, current research on race does not appear to validate such a view, as further research in this area has provided ample support for the assertion that although race may have no biological meaning when referring to human differences, it has an extremely

vital and contested social meaning relying on cultural and social sources of human behaviour (Omi, 2001; Smedley & Smedley, 2005).

Given the little attention paid to the notion of race itself, an alternative approach reinforcing the relationship between the visual perception of race and stereotyping has emerged. This alternative view proposes that race is a social process, and that the ways in which people categorise others racially can reflect people's beliefs and attitudes towards race (Eberhardt & Goff, 2005, pp. 222-223). Therefore, a definition that is almost a bridge between the social characterisation of race and the biological features of others can be conceptualised in Silverstein's definition (2005), a "[c]ultural category of difference that is contextually constructed as essential and natural—as residing within the very body of the individual" (p. 364). This definition has also led to the idea of context and how physical differences can be contextually defined by being transformed into pointers to the social identity of race (Eberhardt & Goff, 2005, p. 228). Fields (1982) describes it as "ideological context" that directs people's views and ideas of the world around them (p. 146). Race, therefore, can be seen as an ideology or world view, and it is persistent as a social category. Race characterises and stereotypes people, "their social statuses, their social behaviours, and their social ranking", thus making the process of racialisation inescapable (Smedley & Smedley, 2005, p. 22).

Having discussed race, the focus now shifts to racialisation, which is the "concept that makes it possible to understand race within different societies and, subsequently to understand the different views of racism and the racial categories discriminated against" (Mujaddadi, 2017, p. 12). Moreover, the process of racialisation is not limited to physical traits such as skin colour, or may also include many other attributes including cultural traits, such as language, nationality, class, positions within fields of power and religious practices. When such characteristics come to be normalised in societies, then

this is racialisation, defined as “the dynamic, and dialectical representational process of categorisation and meaning construction in which specific meanings are ascribed to real or fictitious somatic features” (Wodak & Reisigl, 1999, p. 180).

The process of racialisation can provide the language needed to discuss forms of racism. More relevant to this thesis is Miles’ (1989) proposition that racism should be restricted to ideology. His view includes two characteristics of racism, first, that racism uses biological characteristics to identify collectively and second, that it negatively evaluates the groups’ biological or cultural characteristics. Based on Miles’ view, Anthias (1992) describes racism as a specific instance of a broader descriptive process of racialisation. Racism also refers to a particular form of evaluative representation of race (Anthias, 1992, p. 84).

From a CDS perspective, racism is defined “as a system of social domination and inequality that is reproduced in many ways, for instance, by discriminatory practices. One of these practices is discourse” (van Dijk, 2004, p. 1). Discourse plays a prominent role in the reproduction of racism because discourse is the principle means for the reproduction of racist prejudices and ideologies. Such racist beliefs function as the basis of discriminatory practices. Hence, the strategic use of many linguistic markers to construct the Self and Other is fundamental to discriminatory discourses. It is important to focus on the hidden meanings produced through pragmatic devices such as implicature and euphemism (KhosraviNik, 2009).

4.3 Racial euphemisms in relation to different races: revisiting the data set

According to Denzin (2001, p. 245), the media and cinematic racial order are vital to the understanding of race relations in any society. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, such entangled racial orders, the media and the cinema, are themselves

products of ongoing systems of racism. Because racism is based on the belief that some human races are inherently inferior to others, racism and discriminatory practices can be fitted into the racial ranking system established in the U.S. The diverse racial populations in the U.S., including Africans, Native Americans, Asians and Europeans, led to a distinction between Whites and Blacks on the basis of their physical variation (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). The previous ranking system resulted in a non-ending inequality dilemma, even in a society that openly despises discrimination (Turner & Skidmore, 1999). Race continues to play an important role in determining how individuals are treated; when they are socially stereotyped, human potential, abilities and opportunities are likely to be hindered in relation to their racial group (Smedley & Smedley, 2005).

As mentioned in the previous section, race and racialisation are present not only in our everyday life, but also in animated films. Thus, I define racial euphemisms as linguistic resources available to “implicitly refer to any race or manipulatively used to hide offence to a specific race through commenting on that race’s physical or cultural characteristics in a way which could serve ideological ends because such euphemisms evaluate the participants negatively and relate the participants to events and actions in ways that are not inevitably stated overtly”. The data set analysis of euphemisms in animated films revealed instances of racial stereotypes related to, for example, Blacks, Japanese, French, English, Scottish, Irish and Native Americans. Also, it provided negative stereotypes of specific states in the USA, such as San Diego.

A close look at the data set demonstrated significant results about racial euphemism hidden behind creative mitigations. Racial euphemisms comprised 32 euphemisms of the total number of euphemisms in the data set (see section 3.3.1.1). First, I will compare two films, *Madagascar* (2005) and *Zootopia* (2016), as both include notable racial

stereotyping of the Self or Others and geographical names within the USA. In *Madagascar*, the underlying concept is that New York, (N.Y.), represents the Self and other states represent the Other. For example, there is the metonymy “New York Giants”, a famous American football team that constitutes a part-for-the-whole referring to N.Y. itself. On the other hand, using the geographical name *Jersey* in “you are in the *Jersey* side of this cesspool” refers to a state that is always compared to N.Y. because it is on the opposite side of N.Y. For most Americans, New Jersey invokes images of toxic waste, faceless shopping malls and tortuous traffic, the kinds of things that encourage people to disparage New Jersey, which is known as “*the armpit of America*” (Lowenstein, 2007, p. 81). Another example is using a predication strategy to refer to the geographical name “San-di-lamo”, in which the speaker is referring to San Diego zoo or the whole area with the attribute of being *lame*. Also, referring to Connecticut state via the worst connotations of Lyme disease. Moreover, the accent of King Julian, a lemur, and his behaviour can be an indication of racial prejudice towards Indians.

Finally, the issue of two colours, Black vs White, is highlighted in the film as there are two references, other than example 1 below (section 4.3.1), demonstrating the significance of colour difference in “my *monochromatic* friend”, which is an adjective referring to an animal having shades of grey, whereas black and white, Dougherty (2003) explains, has racial connotations. It is used by liberal elites like the New York Times to scorn communities that are racially homogeneous. This is an implicit accusation of racism towards those residents. Moreover, the term is used to refer to a character, Marty, who is self-stereotyped for having self-doubts about his social identity and lack of belonging to the in-group of N.Y. While *monochromatic* can carry racist connotations for out-groups, “you, in the *tux*!” cannot. Although the euphemism *Tux* connotes a black and white Tuxedo, it has other interdiscursive connotations referring

to N.Y. in-group pride. First, Tux stands for the Linux mascot, who is the world's most intelligent penguin and is conspiring with the world's greatest nerds to bring down the evil Microsoft empire. This is interdiscursively related to the penguins of Madagascar (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020). Second, the OED provides an etymology for tuxedo, including the name *Tuxedo* Park, N.Y., where the jacket was first introduced at the country club in 1886. Therefore, the two euphemisms may carry racial connotations towards people of colour difference or the out-group, though the context of the euphemism shows the degree to which each term is used to refer to Us, the in-group, or Them, the out-group.

While the euphemisms in *Madagascar* are to some extent overt, the euphemisms in *Zootopia* are much more covert. *Zootopia* represents N.Y. and the unjust racial order for non-New Yorkers, albeit the film story is saying the opposite (see section 6.4). In the context of the film, many geographical and racial references are used to insult Judy, the main female character. For example, there is the use of the euphemism *Podunk* to refer to The Podunk River in Hartford County, Connecticut, which was formerly inhabited by the Podunk people, who are North American Indian people living around the area. Such a reference to a geographical area may refer to the people living in it and as such constructs a racial Othering strategy. Another instance of racial euphemism is the word *hick*. According to the OED, *hick* is originally a nickname for 'Richard' altered via alliteration, a conventional type of name for an ignorant countryman, a silly fellow, a booby. However, according to the Urban Dictionary, it is a derogatory slang term for lower-class whites raised in rural areas, usually in trailer parks or on hog farms, it is generally used more for Midwesterners than Southerners. Moreover, the use of the euphemism *fuzzy-wuzzy*, which, according to the OED, refers to a soldier's nickname for a typical Sudanese warrior, from his method of dressing his hair, is hence a slang

term for a coloured native of other countries, such as Fiji or New Guinea. The differences between the euphemisms present in the two films can be attributed to the decade of difference between making the films. Films now tend to use more covert strategies to indicate racial stereotypes.

The film *Alpha and Omega* concentrate mainly on reflecting the Canadian prejudice towards the Canadians who are immigrants from France, England, Scotland and Ireland. Such inferiority is presented in a euphemism referring to trespassing Eastern wolves as “Eastern dogs”, and “the *low regions* of the Arctic Circle” is a euphemism for Canada East, which was formerly Lower Canada. It is inhabited by French and other populations. These immigrants, or their descendants, live in the Eastern part of Canada now known as Quebec (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2020). Another instance of racial prejudice against foreigners in Canada populating the Eastern area is the use of the name Paddy for the duck, a derogatory reference to *Patrick*, a stereotype of an Irishman, referring to St Patrick. Finally, “*some sort of weird game*” is a circumlocutory euphemism for golf. The deprecation here is not towards the game, but rather who plays the game. According to the OED, golf is a game of considerable antiquity in Scotland.

As for *Sing* (2016), the data set demonstrates different examples of euphemisms targeting a specific race or religion. Various referential strategies are used to refer to Scandinavians. Of course, those euphemisms are covert unless, upon checking their etymology, their connotations stand out as racial euphemisms, e.g. referring to Gunter, whose accent shows he is Scandinavian, as porky. To refer to someone as porky seems to be normal; however, porky, besides meaning resembling pork, pig-like, fleshy or obese, is a derogatory nickname for a Jewish man or woman. Many Jews, largely of German stock, are known to live in the Scandinavian countries (Mandel, 1967). Another

instance is the use of the name Helga to refer to a giant female elephant. However, the name Helga, according to the Urban Dictionary, is a not-so-common girl's name that is most widespread in Nordic and Germanic countries (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020). Helga is originally derived from the Old Norse "heilagr", meaning "holy, blessed". Nowadays, the name Helga carries many negative connotations because of the famous 1970s and '80s porn star Helga Sveen, and the popularity of the name in Hitler's Nazi Germany.

There is other racial prejudice towards Black Irish immigrants with a cockney accent, represented by a gang of gorillas in the film. Furthermore, there is a mouse displaying White supremacy and arrogance who scolds everyone crossing his path. From the examples provided above, it is evident that lexical choices in direct reference to race and racial prejudices are almost always connotative, and therefore euphemistic, and not denotative as would be the case with other non-taboo topics or attitudes. The following extracts are the most representative.

4.3.1 Example 1: Case of "and I don't know if I'm *black with white stripes* or *white with black stripes*"

4.3.1.1 Summary and background of the extract

One of the most popular U.S. computer-animated comedies in the last decade is *Madagascar* (2005). The film tells the story of four Central Park Zoo animals, a lion, a zebra, a giraffe and a hippo, who have spent their lives in enjoyable captivity; but without prior notice, they are shipped back to Africa and get shipwrecked on the island of Madagascar. Although popular and widely watched around the world, the film *Madagascar* has been criticised for imposing "racist stereotypes in its production" (Rose, 2014).

In the film *Madagascar*, the theme of racial difference is recurrently presented through particular characters who are different in colour, specifically black and white animals. One of the main characters, Marty the Zebra, is represented as having the dilemma of not recognising his social identity, whether he is Black or White. The theme of black and white difference is mentioned in the film in Marty's own words, expressing puzzlement over his identity, "and I don't know if I'm black with white stripes or white with black stripes", as a kind of self-stereotyping or feeling of inferiority. Also, there is Alex's reported speech of Marty's dilemma: "and then that he has black and white stripes". In Alex's words to Marty, as he was mad at him because they were shipped away from their home, "I thought I knew the real you. Your black and white stripes, they cancel each other out. You are nothing!" Finally, there is Alex trying to cover for his food starvation and pretending to be trying to solve his friend's dilemma: "...thirty. Thirty black and only twenty-nine white. Looks like you're black with white stripes after all. Dilemma solved. Good night".

The zebra-joke dilemma is not unique to the film *Madagascar*, it is found elsewhere, in *Khumba* (2013), another animated film from South Africa, in which the black-and-white theme is also highlighted. The theme of racial difference in the film, as the director of the film, Anthony Silverstone, puts it focuses on how "we grew up under apartheid and that was sort of subconsciously built into our stories". He adds, "obviously, it's a story about difference, whether it's skin colour or sexual orientation, or anything, and about overcoming that feeling of being inferior because you're different. The black-and-white stripes is such a great metaphor for that because it's a visual metaphor" (Silverstone, 2013).

Going back to the scene in *Madagascar* where the audience sees Marty the zebra, Marty on his tenth birthday does not feel happy. The audience knows that as he mentions

it in his conversation with his best friend, Alex. The reason Marty is not happy is because he does not even know if he is “black with white stripes or white with black stripes”. He also wishes to see the “world out there”, which highlights his feelings of being inferior to the world he belongs to. Marty’s concern about knowing whether he is black or white is striking to the audience and makes them want to know why Marty is so concerned. Consequently, this issue raises the audience’s awareness to racial difference and inferiority.

4.3.1.2 Linguistic Representation

I believe the case of “*and I don’t know if I’m black with white stripes or white with black stripes*” in *Madagascar* (2005) is euphemistic, referring to Black and White races. Marty’s quote can be interpreted as a racial euphemism, as when he says “black with white stripes” he means being predominantly Black, “white with black stripes” is predominantly White. In this example, there is a denotative level of meaning (black with white stripes or white with black stripes – a zebra joke); then, there is the connotative or thematic meaning (Black race or White race). In-between these two levels, there is the theme of racial difference and inferiority.

The euphemism is humorous as it is derived from the ambiguity as to whether what the audience should be understanding is the zebra joke, based on different ways of describing his skin. It is a compelling euphemism, but its meaning is highly ambiguous. It can carry more than one meaning. If the audience does not know the context, they will think it is just the zebra joke. I will shed light on this euphemism in terms of two aspects. The first aspect lies in the facts backgrounded and perceived in the audience’s minds about Marty’s identity and feelings of inferiority (being Black). The second aspect is the binary opposition between the two colours, Black and White, referring to race and signifying racial difference.

Backgrounded and perceived in the viewer's mind is the fact that although Marty does not seem to know his identity, Marty represents a Black character in the film, voiced by Chris Rock, an African American actor. This is rendered by his jive talk and his vulgar behaviour representing the stereotype of a Black man who has problems of feeling inferior and out-grouped (not knowing his identity and wanting to go into the wild) and who causes problems (his rebellious attitude leads to their being shipped to Madagascar). Concentrating on the negative aspects of an ethnic group to demean them is not an 'innocent' or 'neutral' humour. It is rather a "reinforcement of the perception that members of this group are inferior to the more dominant ethnic group" (Spector, 1998, p. 19).

Regarding colour terms referring to race, Allan (2009) explains that they have a "semantic value" not only by contrast with one another but especially by contrasting 'Black' people, ethnically African, with 'White' people, ethnically North European (p. 628). Colour terms, particularly black and white, are significant because they can refer to racial and ethnic difference and otherness. Employing Saussure's (1910) notion of language as a model of how culture works, Hall (1997) argues that ethnic and racial difference "matters because it is essential to meaning; without it, meaning could not exist" (p. 234). Moreover, he adds that black is significant because we can contrast it with its opposite, 'white'. It is not the colours themselves, it is the difference between black and white "which signifies, which carries meaning" (ibid.). Hall (1997b) advances his argument with that when saying something about others' race and colour, to point out their otherness or difference, then the difference is marked. It becomes a constant and recurring way of representing RPs who are racially and ethnically different from the majority population. Therefore, the difference and otherness are significant and marked, even though it is achieved through self-stereotyping.

For all the reasons discussed above, this is a euphemistic expression of race. In my opinion, referring to Marty's colours, putting the background of Marty's identity into mind, identifying his jive talk, the behavioural stereotype and the reference to his race being different from the others make the racial euphemism here clear.

This euphemism is formed through a circumlocution, the use of many words to say something that could be said more briefly and clearly. However, using fewer words, such as "Am I Black or White", without reference to the stripes would lose the effect of the zebra joke. According to Crespo (2014), circumlocutions are used to "disguise unpleasant realities" and as "a means to avoid direct reference to something deemed unpleasant or potentially face-threatening", in this case a reference to different races (p. 10). Marty's euphemistic circumlocution hides a reference to the opposition between the embodied characteristics of Black and White races, differentiated in their extreme opposites of these human types (Hall, 1997b, p. 243).

Moreover, the euphemism is discursively approached through a perspectivisation strategy and the use of the deictic reference 'I' with a negative form and the cognitive verb *know*, which present his dilemma through self-stereotyping. He puts it as if it is a big issue and he is characterised by a stigma, an attribute that is deeply discrediting. When a person is labelled with a stigma, then this person is dehumanised. Moreover, it is more easy for Marty to engage in a process of self-stereotyping through which he builds part of his self-image on the basis of in-group representation (Latrofa, Vaes, Cadinu, & Carnaghi, 2010). Certain minority groups are often stigmatised, which paves the way for ideological constructions to be practised by a society as well as to explain the stigmatised group's inferiority and rationalise society's hatred towards it. Moreover, the potential to rationalise a society's hatred towards a certain group will also give them ways to highlight differences using stigma. Such constructions in animated films subtly invite the

viewer, and consequently the society, to justify and naturalise the stigmatising viewpoint and to reinforce its own legitimacy in defining such racist attitudes in dialogues (Roman, 2000).

4.3.1.3 VSAN

In this scene, Marty is represented individually, which is one way to indicate that the agent in this situation acts alone. In other words, the viewer is invited to align with the events through this individual, Marty (Extract 2, below). This representational strategy is most suited to the requirements of racial difference to fit with an ideology of individualism and inferiority. Moreover, Marty is depicted as a typical black character with stereotypical representations of exaggerated physical features, white teeth and eyes (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 146). Marty has a short flat snub nose and thick full lips, characteristics which might be linked, at least unconsciously, to stereotypes held of African-Americans (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1884). Marty’s facial features are very similar to those of the actor voicing over his role who, as discussed above, is an African American actor (section 4.3.1.2). There is a fine line between basing a depiction on what makes a person unique and what makes a person a certain social type. That fine line is moving from specific judgements to prejudice and racism (ibid.). Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 143) suggests that cartoons often present social actors with stereotyped facial characteristics, thus depicted generically.

Table 8 Depiction of animation vs reality

Marty	Chris Rock
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Although the scene is dramatic, as it depicts Marty in a puzzled mood, it reflects a clown act on the part of Marty as he spins around himself. Van Leeuwen (2008) demonstrates that this kind of exaggeration is humorous. This kind of clowning attitude is concomitant of the visual racism in children's books and cartoons as a way of lessening more blatant forms of racism (p. 147).

4.3.1.4 RVN

In Extract 2, below, Marty is depicted looking at the viewer as if he is addressing them directly with his look to maintain the interaction. His gaze articulates a kind of visual “you”, a symbolic demand to feel his dilemma (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 141). His dilemma revolves around not being able to recognise his race represented by his dialogue “and I don’t even know whether I’m black with white stripes or white with black stripes”. Thus, he signifies his direct demand to the viewer to identify with his pain through his facial expressions, gestures and spinning around twice, once to the right (information salience: given predominantly Black) and once to the left (information salience: new

predominantly White), to show the viewer his skin (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

Moreover, Marty is depicted from a horizontal angle to involve the viewer in a social relation in order to have a plane that is similar to a real-life face-to-face position.

shot 1	shot 2	shot 3
		
soundtrack: Marty to Alex: and I don't	soundtrack: even know	soundtrack: if I'm black
camera movement: medium shot - direct address	camera movement: horizontal plane	camera movement: medium shot - spinning round (right to left)
effect: maintain interaction- gaze articulating visual "you", symbolic demand	effect: involving viewer in a real-life face- to- face position	effect: involving viewer in his dilemma - information salience - given predominantly Black
shot 4	shot 5	shot 6
		
soundtrack: with	soundtrack: white stripes	
camera movement: back view of RP while spinning	camera movement: medium shot	camera movement: direct address
effect: movement to maintain interaction	effect: viewer is to identify with RP's point of view	effect: maintain interaction
shot 7	shot 8	shot 9
		
depiction: exaggeration	soundtrack: Or white	soundtrack: with
	camera movement: spinning round in the other direction (from left to right).	depiction: contrast between dark right side and light left side
effect: invoking potential racist attitude towards his dilemma	effect: same effect as 3- information salience: new predominantly White	effect: body tilted to the black right side
shot 10	shot 11	
		
soundtrack: black stripes		
depiction: sad facial expressions	camera movement: horizontal plane	
effect: self-stereotyping and lost racial identity	effect: involving viewer in a real-life face- to- face position	

Extract 2 Madagascar (2005, 00:13:23- 00:13:27) "and I don't know whether I'm black with white stripes or white with black stripes"

As for social distance, Marty is depicted in a medium shot, not close and not far. In a medium shot, the viewer is not meant to consider the participant's thoughts on any intimate or personal level. Rather, the viewer is drawn more to identify with the participant's point of view.

4.3.1.5 Interrelation between linguistic and visual representations

In the above example, there is an attitudinal dissonance between the visual representation and the linguistic euphemism. Consequently, Marty stereotypically self-represents himself in the linguistic mode with a stigma associated with his identity. He is rationalised as being an inferior individual and, thus, dehumanised. In the visual mode, Marty is depicted as humanised, as he is depicted individually, spinning around, humanlike, to show the audience his black and white stripes but at the same time perform a clownish attitude. Therefore, the euphemism functions to mitigate the racial offence whereas the visual mode intensifies humour and exaggeration. The divergence between the two strategies lies in that the former is focusing on his perspective of himself, which can be a lost social identity, and the latter where the viewer is encouraged to evaluate his physical appearance depending on the metaphor of black and white and a clownish attitude. Thus, there is an attitudinal dissonance between the linguistic and visual representations, in terms of the visual enhancing the verbal.

4.3.2 Example 2: あなたたち ごく臭いよ 足の爪 一緒みたいにい 一緒みたい に臭い

Anata-da shi Sugoku kusai yo ashii no-tsume ii shoni mitei kusai

The script presents the line as

ENGLISH: You are smelly. Like toenails.

The gist: “You all are stinky like toenails” (Sing, n.d., “Scripts.com”).

4.3.2.1 Summary and background of the extract

In *Sing* (2016), the Q-Teez is a group of five female red pandas who auditioned for Buster Moon’s singing competition, imitating an American tv show, America’s Got Talent (Fandom, n.d.-c). It is very hard to differentiate between the five red pandas as they look identical and wear the same clothes, but in different colours; each panda wears the same outfit, but in red, yellow, pink, blue or green. The group seems adorable and in harmony together. Their only problem is that they do not speak English in an English-speaking community. They only speak and understand Japanese, which eventually caused Buster Moon to miscommunicate with them.

Due to their monolingual understanding, they do not realise they were not initially selected to be part of Buster’s singing competition. They were enthusiastic and persistent to participate in the competition, which led to them frequently appearing at rehearsals despite being told no and shooed away. In the end, Buster decided to keep them in the show, but only because another group had quit. The red pandas appear gullible; in one scene, they are behind thick glass and cannot understand Buster, so he wags his finger in front of them in an attempt to tell them “no” to rehearsing at his theatre. Instead, the Q-Teez see this as inspiration for a new dance move, and begin twitching their fingers and dancing in harmony. They do not know the meaning of “no” and continuously appear at the theatre until Buster finally tries to get them in the show. In a later scene, Buster stops their music during practice and tells them they can be part of the show. Realising they only understand Japanese, he takes out a Japanese language dictionary in an attempt to

translate into Japanese. Buster unknowingly insults the red pandas, which offends them. This gets him a smack on the face from the cub dressed in green and the Q-Teez quit the show.

The Q-Teez, in this instance, are represented as “Shoujo Kawaii”, a Japanese term that refers to “cute girls” aged between 15 and 18 years. In the 1980s, ‘Shoujo’ culture developed in Japan, drawing on the concept of ‘Kawaii’ (cute), and became a key influence on popular culture (Kim, 2017). As a matter of fact, the Q-teez in the film are inspired by a real-life group of Japanese girls, ‘C-ute (Twitter, 2006). The idea behind the concept of “cute” is based on the contrast between a child-like and a negative social representation of adult life, involving hard work, duty and lack of freedom. To the Japanese, cuteness is appreciated for being a symbol of freedom and a lack of responsibility (Kim, 2017). From this point onwards, the culture of cute pervaded Japanese adult culture to the extent that products that were sweet, colourful, charming and soft were all cute. Moreover, company advertising, e.g. banks, started using cute images and words (ibid.).

Cute culture is ideal material for a Japanese stereotype, as for Americans, a Japanese twenty-year-old dressing like a ten-year-old is a negative attribute (ibid.). Moreover, Japanese kawaii invokes in the mind the objectivisation of women, since it is related to dancing and gendered performances executed by women and girls for the benefit of males’ affective and sexual needs (ibid.). Moreover, the sexuality of mature Japanese women is being misperceived by acting younger than they are and wearing child-like clothes (Hinton, 2014).

4.3.2.2 Linguistic Representation

The euphemism in this instance is in the discursive insult hidden behind the Japanese translation. The use of Japanese translation might seem innocent and only used for the

sake of gags. However, on closer observation, it is noticeable that the mere use of translation may be loaded with racial prejudice towards Japanese culture. Based on Klein and Shiffman (2009), overt acts of racism are “any portrayals of a character belonging to a racial minority group that is based on stereotypes of that character’s racial groups’ physical traits. In order to be an act of overt racism, the depiction must be a disparaging and/or unflattering one.” Moreover, if the cartoon shows any character treating another character in a disparaging manner, because of that character’s race, it is also considered an act of overt racism (p. 62). In addition, Buster’s accented Japanese is meant to be racial with regard to one aspect of Japanese culture, their language. When he articulates translation, a shift occurs in the pronunciation of the sentence, where a misunderstanding happens due to mispronunciation. Much of the humour in the scene is derived from the way in which Buster speaks. This style of speech is essentially a native speaker of English mocking the Japanese language.

A deeper understanding of the process by which the use of Japanese language in this instance is euphemistic leads to translation as a means of achieving euphemism. This might be justified by Buster’s mispronunciation of Japanese which targets adults’ sense of humour in relation to understanding language, plus the rationalisation that hiding the offence by using a Japanese sentence is uninterpretable to the uneducated and, therefore, to the young and innocent (Allan & Burridge, 1988, 1991). Thus, for the purpose of humour, “you are stinky like toenail” is used in order to make the Japanese viewer laugh. Moreover, if the viewer is to understand the Japanese gag, the use of the image of a toenail in the body politic is a practice much used in political discourse. It serves the controversial purpose of body-source metaphors entailing implicitly negative irony (Musolff, 2012). Therefore, it is a conceptual metaphor, where the toenail is a BODY POLITIC element (see section 5.6 for the conventions of writing CM) , which in this case

smells because of fungus, indicating hatred towards Japanese immigrants as part of a community that is figuratively rotten or bad.

The vagueness of the euphemism rendered here by the translation falls under the mitigation strategy of discourse. This instance is euphemistic in the sense of the use of Japanese translation which hides the offence and thereby tones it down. Therefore, the euphemism is recontextualised into Japanese through using addition for humour purposes.

4.3.2.3 VSAN

Although racism is not a main theme in *Sing*, the multi-racial nature of the characters presents racism as an important background that is strongly tackled in this scene. In the film *Sing*, although the physical appearance of the red pandas is not that of Japanese people, their language and demeanour indicate that they are Japanese. This instance is an example of racial and gendered stereotypes of Japanese. First, it is stereotypical that Americans Other Japanese girls as “Kawaii” or out-groupers, cute girls. Second, Asian females tend to be portrayed as attractive and submissive, or as overtly sexual erotic beauties; in this case, they are represented as the former (Towbin et al., 2004). Third, because Asians are mostly invisible in American media, their presence highlights the different traditions and lifestyles that many Asian cultures have. Asian cultures are, thus, collectivised into one group when represented in American films (Holtzman, 2000).

The red pandas are depicted wearing the same outfit in different colours: a long-sleeved-blouse with a ruffled layer ending, leggings and bows. As an animation, the film *Sing* presents a stereotyped depiction of performing kawaii Japanese girls categorised in a group. Given that the five red pandas are wearing the same outfit, it looks like the members of the group all resemble each other closely, to the extent that they cannot be told apart. Moreover, the girls’ poses in the shots homogenise them and lessen their

individual differences. In this example, homogenisation is taken to the extreme, as the Q-teez look exactly the same (Extract 3, below).

shot 1	shot 2	shot 3
		
soundtrack: Listen, guys. Forget what I said before.	soundtrack: You're very talented	soundtrack: Please, join the show.
camera movement: Back view of Japanese girls- long shot	camera movement: side-on view.	depiction: pandas are homogenised and anonymised
effect: remote voyeur of the scene	effect: detaching viewer	effect: invoking they are all the same attitude towards the Japanese girls- no personal attachment with them
shot 4	shot 5	shot 6
		
soundtrack: Ok?	soundtrack: Yes? No?	soundtrack: Oh! Mmmmm... here..
depiction: negative depiction of the pandas not interacting	camera movement: long shot- rear view	depiction: a Japanese dictionary to translate
effect: immigrants out-groupers	effect: detachment - pandas culturally different, distant strangers	effect: enforcing their lack of competence of English
shot 7	shot 8	
		
soundtrack: Anata-da shi = あなたたち (you all) Sugoku kusai yo = すごく臭いよ (are really smelly)	soundtrack: ashii no-tsune = 足の爪 (toenails) ii-shoni mitei kusai ?? (maybe) = 一緒に臭いに臭い Hhhhh? What? No! no! wait! Wait! Don't go. Don't go.	
description: euphemism articulated in Japanese	camera movement: side-on view - no clue of insult for non-Japanese	
effect: mitigate the racial insult and racist attitude even though inadvertently	effect: remote voyeur of the scene- invoking negative evaluation of the slap	

Extract 3 Sing (2016, 00:54:16- 00:54:25) Japanese Translation euphemism

When participants are culturally categorised in terms of their clothing and behaviour, they do not need to be exaggerated or caricatured (van Leeuwen, 2008). Yet, the red

pandas seem to be silly and acting funny in an exaggerated way in all the scenes of the film, except during the slapping episode. Such a cultural categorisation highlights the negative connotations attached to Japanese kawaii culture: submissive, objectified and childish.

In all the Q-teez' scenes, the Q-teez are almost always shown as agents dancing, singing and jumping playfully, though this role shifts to them being patients, to whom the action is done, as soon as they are being shooed away from wherever they are. On the one hand, the Q-teez convey energy and fun, as if they are performing and delivering for the viewer a sense of humour that suits their age. Yet, the exaggerated extent of their silliness and gullibleness for the purpose of humour in such a depiction is a strategy associating them with negative actions regarded as deviant, thus implicitly delegitimising their actions. In other words, they are depicted in a low position; being shooed away; having wild behaviour, running around, dancing, laughing (Extract 4). On the other hand, they are also passive participants in being shooed away by Buster and Miss Crawly, his assistant, in almost every scene in which they are depicted. In terms of juxtaposition, in this scene the roles are reversed, as Buster seems to be begging them to participate in the competition but insults them unknowingly, so he becomes a patient for the slap on the face from the red panda dressed in green. Also, it is only in this scene that the viewer sees the red pandas portrayed as serious and self-contained in terms of behaviour.



Extract 4 Sing (2016) selected frames from the Q-teez' moments

4.3.2.4 RVN

Visually speaking, the social relation between the viewer and the characters in the current scene is one of detachment. The viewer is merely observing the characters as they are having a conversation. Such a situation requires the viewer to watch the action in a side-on view, which is more detached. Moreover, shot 2 depicts the pandas in a rear position or back view, which means that the viewer is seeing them from the view of a watcher (Extract 3).

Similarly, the social interaction between Buster, the red panda group and the viewer is one of an indirect address. They do not look at the viewer, who is offered their gaze as a spectacle for dispassionate scrutiny. The situation makes the viewer look at them as they would look at people who are not aware of others looking at them, as voyeurs, rather than interactive participants, henceforth IPs. Moreover, the five pandas are standing next to one another, with three of them presenting their backs to the viewer. According to Hart (2014), such a physical orientation helps to anonymise the actors and avoid any personal attachment to them. Moreover, a typical rear position of an RP is to help hide their vulnerability or emotions, here upset. Because the viewer sees the back of the red pandas in a long shot, there is a greater sense of the viewer being a more remote observer of the scene.

As mentioned previously, the shot is depicted from afar, which alienates the viewer from the RPs. As the pandas and Buster are shown from far away, they are shown as if they are strangers. The pandas, shown as culturally different, are distant strangers.

4.3.2.5 Interrelation between the linguistic and the visual representations

Thus far, both the visual and the linguistic analysis of the current example have contributed to highlight negative vibes towards the Japanese language as well as Japanese Kawaii girls' appearance, actions and attitude. Van Leeuwen (2008) suggests that for critics of racism, it may be more important to attend to visual racism in apparently "humorous", "innocent" and "entertainment" contexts than to more blatant forms of racism. This is the case in the previous example, as while the linguistic mode tends to sidestep the English viewer's understanding of the offence behind the Japanese translation itself, the visual shows an intensified reaction of the Q-teez girls in terms of the material reaction interpreted with the face slap. It also invokes negative vibes of the girls, as the viewer does not understand the gag hidden behind the translation. In terms of the synergy between the visual and linguistic modes, there is evidence of attitudinal dissonance represented in the mitigation capacity of the verbal mode and the counterbalancing intensification of the visual reaction.

4.3.3 Example 3: Case of the French/ French-Canadian

"This is not a lie. This is not a lie if you are French."

4.3.3.1 Summary and background of the extract

This is an extract from the American film *Alpha and Omega* (2010). The film is set in Jasper National Park, Canada; however, the current scene specifically takes place in Idaho, a state in the northwestern region of the USA. Idaho shares a small portion of the Canadian border with the province of British Columbia in the North. The conversation here is between a British duck, Paddy, and a French-Canadian goose, Marcel. The

conversation between them seems to carry many hidden meanings. The scene takes place after the goose is finished playing golf.

During the golf scene, the ball, i.e. a stone, reaches close to the hole, but a woodpecker pecks it just before it goes in. Marcel starts screaming outrageously, then asks Paddy to score it as a birdie. The duck refuses and explains to Marcel that they do not want to lie about scoring it as a birdie when it was not. Therefore, the goose replies, “This is not a lie. This is not a lie if you are French.” Here a quarrel starts between the two birds, with the duck correcting the goose and telling him that he is French-Canadian. From the quarrel, the viewer is introduced to a goose with a French pride as he only admits his French origin but refuses to be identified with the Canadian part. Other scenes of Marcel in the film strongly stereotype his French origin. For example, Marcel challenges a wolf chasing him, “So, you want to face the French Resistance?” A rhetorical question that elicits the answer from his friend the duck, “That’s French-Canadian, sir.” Moreover, in the last scene of the film, Marcel starts again, “When it comes to hugs, we are all French, eh, Paddy?” and gets the reply, “Well, I’m English, so we don’t hug!”

The main characters in the film speak American English, while Paddy and Marcel appear to be the only characters that are English and French. According to the background of Canadian history, there are parts of Canada that are populated by English, Scottish, Irish and French people (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2020). Hence, such a deliberate choice of characters is not random, rather it is intended to say something about French-Canadians and English-Canadians as inferior to ‘true’ Canadians. This highlighting of certain nationalities is a subtle stereotype. Considering that the film is American and is set in Canada, then the stereotype here is meant for the French and the English or, in other words, other Quebec populations.

Ironically, Marcel is a species of goose recognised in real life as a Canadian goose (National Geographic, 2015-2020). However, he is arrogant and liable to giving articulate speeches, in other words, obsessed with big and vacuous words alike all French intellectuals, a clear sign of cultural arrogance (Verdaguer, 2004). It is striking to the viewer that Marcel and his friend Paddy the duck argue that Marcel is French/ French-Canadian when this kind of goose is a Canadian goose. The argument between the two characters here shows that the term French/ French-Canadian may embed a dual identity. This identity denotes imbedded positive connotations of the term that are connected to Canada, while the former identity has a negative meaning due to its prejudiced connotations; namely, the term is intended to mark certain attributes of the French, such as pride and obstinacy (Weber, 1990). The interpretation of the term is highly dependent on its context, which contains an equally unexpected French reference. Thus, the current example will be analysed in relation to how the French are stereotyped in the film.






The trail of a long-standing French stereotype is a river with many confluences that continue to this day. The French are stereotyped as proud and prickly for many reasons, among which is that they were categorised in the twelfth century as brave heroes. This image is extracted from a prestigious endorsement from Pope Urban II, who said that “God has conferred upon you above all nations great glory in arms” (Weber, 1990). It is not so peculiar then that the French are portrayed in American films as such. Verdaguer (2004) studied the established trail of French portrayal in American films, in which the French are portrayed as proud and scornful, when they are not ‘categorically lying’. Needless to say, including such humour about a certain nationality’s traits to achieve humorous effect is scarcely a new device in animation.






4.3.3.2 Linguistic representation

As established earlier in Chapter 2, euphemism is an ideological tool through which a speaker can reinforce power. Manipulating the presentation of reality in a way that is ideologically suitable for the speaker is a choice. Thus, choosing to soften a certain message in a given context, and make it seem that the issue is not as negative as it really is, is a dominant feature of euphemism. In this instance, Marcel chooses to lessen the force of the message, which carries a negative stereotype of French people. French as an adjective is used by the English for anything they consider bogus, over-rated, illegal, immoral, or otherwise undesirable, reflecting the mutual distrust between the countries which was not lessened by the events between 1940 and 1945 (Holder, 2003, p. 188). Marcel's euphemistic sentence incorporates into the euphemism a genericisation of French as a social type belonging to a certain geographical place. Genericisation is a discursive strategy by which participants are represented as a generic type to disclose prejudice and racism (van Leeuwen, 2008). The use of such generic terms can give the filmmakers a racialised slant, even though they may distance themselves from a racist stance. However, the racial euphemism is effected by Marcel, the participant who claims to be French, yet he distances himself from the negative connotations of the dialogue (if you are French). Myers and Lampropoulou (2012) argue that a shift in pronouns from personal to impersonal can be seen as stance-taking. An impersonal 'you' is used when the speaker is presented with a rhetorical problem for instance, when one is provided with a device to negatively stereotype oneself, but the device can make the categorised member feel better about themselves (p. 1214). Moreover, the local context of the euphemism "if you are *French*" is analogous to a predication discursive strategy by which one is allowed to represent racial identity through geographical adjectives (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016).

4.3.3.3 VSAN

As established, the dialogue of the scene sketches Marcel as a racially different character who ridicules his social type. Through the use of euphemism and a predication strategy, racial difference is conveyed to the viewer (Extract 5).

shot 1	shot 2	shot 3
		
soundtrack: Paddy: You know,	soundtrack: Paddy: we wouldn't want to lie.	soundtrack: Marcel: This is
camera movement: oblique angle - medium shot	camera movement: same camera position - different head position.	camera movement: oblique angle - medium shot - off-frame: eyelines to Paddy
effect: viewer observes the argument from side-on view- viewer is encouraged to identify with Paddy's point of view	effect: power of being right	effect: voyeurs- identifying with his point of view- looking off-frame at Paddy
shot 4	shot 5	shot 6
		
soundtrack: not a lie.	soundtrack: This is not	soundtrack: a lie
camera movement: close up - oblique angle - high angle	camera movement: medium shot - oblique angle - off-frame gaze and high angle	camera movement: different head position.
effect: bringing viewer close to Marcel - viewer observes the argument from side-on view, detached with closeness to index alignment or sharedness of position	effect: draw viewer to identify with point of view - viewer is encouraged to observe him objectively - power over Paddy	effect: looking off-frame pursuing the argument
shot 7	shot 8	shot 9
		
soundtrack: Marcel: if you are French.	soundtrack: Paddy: Well,	soundtrack: Paddy: French-Canadian,
depiction: wings symbolically forming a hand pointing- direct address	depiction: argument still on	camera movement: eyelines off-frame
effect: symbolic signifying to viewer a stereotyped racial identity (French)- articulating a visual "you" symbolic demand	effect: viewing argument	effect: viewing argument

		
soundtrack: Paddy: There's a slash,	soundtrack: Paddy: not a hyphen,	soundtrack: Paddy: in between there.
camera movement: medium close-up	depiction: a finger up	camera movement: addressing Marcel off-frame
effect: enhancing humour with his facial expression	effect: making a point	effect: encouraging viewer to look for Marcel's reply
		
soundtrack: Marcel: I say French	soundtrack: Paddy: Canadian	soundtrack: Marcel: French
depiction: high head position	camera movement: argument on	camera movement: thick bushy brows
effect: indicating arrogance and obstinacy	effect: looking up at Marcel for the camera to move up next as well	effect: projecting anger and vicious hostility, involving obstinacy and
		
soundtrack: Paddy: Canadian	soundtrack: Marcel: French	soundtrack: Paddy: Canadian, sir.
camera movement: medium shot-upwards off-frame eyelines	camera movement: close-up	camera movement: medium shot-symbolic pointing
effect: to display finger up attitude making a point- looking at Marcel	effect: threatening face	effect: softening the situation but having the last word

Extract 5 Alpha and Omega (2010, 00:28:53- 00:29:07) "It's not a lie if you are French"

As discussed earlier in example 1, animations are inspired by human physical appearance. As animals do not have eyebrows, representing an animal with such a human feature is significant. The film stylises and exaggerates Marcel's thick bushy eyebrows in relation to his attitude, as well as his French accent. In representation, overly thick bushy eyebrows project anger and vicious hostility, which together with Marcel's aggressive words and movements suggest that he is always ready for a battle involving obstinacy rather than peaceful negotiations (Parameswaran & Cardoza, 2009).

Finally, Marcel is depicted in the visual representation, particularly when articulating “it isn’t a lie if you are French”, pointing to himself. The depiction of Marcel pointing to himself is what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) consider a symbolic process, i.e. symbolising what a participant means or is. Visually, Marcel’s identity is pointed at by means of a gesture, which can be interpreted as an act of pointing out a symbolic attribute to the viewer. It operates through connecting visual realisations of participants alongside their verbal realisations (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Symbolically, Marcel pointing to himself is made salient in the representation by being placed in the foreground. Moreover, Marcel is shown individually, in a way indicating the viewer should align with the events through him. Marcel is acting alone in the shot, as he poses for the viewer in a standing position, pointing to himself for no reason other than to display himself to the viewer (*ibid.*).

4.3.3.4 RVN

In the scene, there are 18 shots based on the one-second framing system, and in most of the 18 shots the camera is pointing horizontally at an oblique angle, from the left or the right, between Marcel and Paddy, for the viewer to observe the argument in a side-on view (Extract 5, above). Moreover, most of the shots are medium shots, so the viewer is encouraged to identify with their points of view rather than to consider their thoughts on an intimate level (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

From an interpersonal perspective, only four of the shots, (not a lie, French and French) focus on Marcel’s face, which seems to be in a close-up at the same oblique angle to the right of the camera. Such shots have the effect of taking the viewer closer to Marcel and his way of trying to persuade Paddy with his false ideology and identity, which is reflected in the discourse of the accompanying soundtrack. Here, the horizontal angle observes the argument between Paddy and Marcel. Watching from side on more

socially detaches the viewer, although combined with closeness to index togetherness, alignment or sharedness of his position (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Moreover, in these four shots, the camera is depicted looking vertically from a low angle to signify that the representation of Marcel has symbolic power over the viewer. Marcel occupies a higher position than Paddy, also the viewer, not as authority but as deviant, typically matching the French stereotype.

In all the shots, in the dimension of social interaction, the viewer is never addressed by both characters, except in shot number (7). Thus, both Paddy and Marcel are objectified and offered to the viewer's gaze as a spectacle for their dispassionate scrutiny (van Leeuwen, 2008). The shots are a continuation of eye-lines directed off-frame, either from Marcel to Paddy or from Paddy to Marcel. As Marcel's stereotype reads "the French are prickly and proud all throughout the scene", Marcel's off-frame gaze is directed downwards, towards Paddy, who seems to be in a lower position than Marcel. In contrast, Paddy's off-frame eye-lines are directed upwards, towards Marcel, who seems to be in a higher position than where he typically stands to represent French pride and obstinacy.

As for shot number (7), Marcel is directly addressing the viewer with his gaze, thus symbolically engaging with the viewer in this way. Then, Marcel is articulating a kind of visual "you", a symbolic demand (van Leeuwen, 2008). Marcel wants the viewer to understand that he is included in the saying "It isn't a lie if you are French". Linguistically, Marcel is distancing himself from the negative characterisation of the French, though visually he is signifying to the viewer, by his gestures or pointing to himself with his wings forming a finger, that he is French.

4.3.3.5 Interrelation between linguistic and visual representations

In the example, to reveal the underlying racist discourse, an analysis of what Marcel is represented as doing both linguistically and visually is crucial. Both the linguistic and

the visual work together to manipulate the viewer as with the use of “you”, the wing pointing and the direct address, one can think there is a reinforcement of address. However, after scrutinising the hidden racial discourse behind “It isn’t a lie if you’re French,” Marcel seems to be distancing himself from being French by constructing this clause using the 2nd impersonal pronoun ‘you’, he is provided with a device to negatively categorise himself in terms of being “French” and “lying”. Even though, Marcel’s heavy French accent is signifying his racial identity, a child viewer’s general knowledge that Marcel is a Canadian goose results in attitudinal dissonance. Thus, both the visual and verbal modes interact to produce a humorous effect through juxtaposition and irony of both elements, where the verbal mode generalises and mitigates any relation to racial identity and the visual mode highlights it by pointing to it.

4.4 Discussion

The analysis of the samples presented in this chapter focuses on a euphemistic theme that is frequent in the data set. Thus, this chapter has addressed racial euphemisms. The analysis has highlighted several observations, some of which are directly related to the particular racial euphemisms dealt with in this chapter, while others are relevant to the features of animated films in general in relation to the use of euphemism.

After examining the quantitative data set, a close look at the data reveals that racial euphemisms are frequently (19%) used discursively in AAF, as discussed in section 3.3.1.2. They tend to refer unpleasantly to certain races or to manipulatively hide offences to a specific race through stereotyping that race’s physical or cultural characteristics. Therefore, I define racial euphemisms as linguistic resources available to represent social actors or geographical areas in a way that can serve ideological ends. Such euphemisms evaluate RPs and geographical areas negatively and relate RPs to events and actions in ways that are not inevitably stated overtly.

From a linguistic perspective, racial euphemisms in the analysed samples show inconsistency in the types of euphemisms used to construct such an ideology. Three types of euphemism identified in the analysed samples are used at the sentence level: circumlocution, translation and genericisation of a geographical adjective.

The analysis of the three samples shows a tendency by filmmakers to convey racial stereotypes of selected scenes in different ways. The first set of extracts, from the film *Madagascar*, involves a humorous representation of the zebra joke, in which the senses of racial indifference are unpacked and each of the meaning components is listed. Thus, the resulting periphrasis functions as a euphemism. When deciding if a periphrasis such as “I’m black with white stripes or white with black stripes” is a racial euphemism, the context of the euphemism must be explored and identified.

The second extract from the film *Sing* contains a euphemism relying on Japanese translation. Japanese orthography utilises ideographs to represent concepts, not sounds, as found in alphabet-based language systems like English. In the case of Japanese, there are three different writing systems within a single sentence, two of which represent sounds like an alphabet. The third system, kanji, represents concepts through which a single kanji can be pronounced in five different ways depending upon what is being described and upon what kanjis it appears in combination with, in order to create a word. A kanji can appear in isolation or in infinite combinations, which complicates the reading process even further (Grainger, 2005). It is probable that Japanese is used euphemistically because filmmakers refrain from using English to hide the offence and at the same time to enhance the gag, but with the added rationalisation that the Japanese dialogue is uninterpretable to non-Japanese speakers, and therefore to the young and innocent (Allan & Burrige, 1991). A close textual analysis highlights that the chosen euphemistic strategy in the presented example accentuates the racial aspect of the euphemism, while

that aspect is restricted to the Japanese language. On the other hand, the racial euphemism cannot be ignored as it is foregrounded in the Japanese translation and the analogy of the visual mode represented by the vector of the character's reaction, the face slapping episode.

The third euphemistic type carried at the sentence level appears in the film *Alpha and Omega*. The present sample also accentuates racial difference using genericisation. Genericisation is a discursive strategy that can be used to build a basis for what sounds like a logical argument. It sounds logical that lying is not lying if you are French. Lying is legitimised, then, and anything French is naturalised as illegal, immoral and bogus. Therefore, when the euphemistic sentence is used in the present example, the text producers establish and construct what is to be known and shared. If a French person can make everyone accept that lying is legitimate, then people can be more easily persuaded that it is something that must be true. Part of the manipulation in the present example is that the viewer needs to figure out that Marcel is a Canadian goose, not a French goose, in order to conceptualise the disguised racial stereotype of the French. If Marcel was a Canadian of French origin, then, the generic category of 'French' could place the presence of French immigrants or Canadian-French into a frame where they are a contemporary problem in Canada because of their cultural Otherness.

As far as visual representation is concerned, from an ideational perspective, the strategy of individualism stands out in two examples (examples 1 and 3). The participants are visually depicted as individuals as they are making a euphemistic utterance. When representing participants alone, the producers tend to humanise them. Such individualisation is one way to indicate that the social actor is agent who is doing the action alone, thus bringing the viewer closer to the events through this individual. In both examples, the participants introduce themselves as different or inferior through a self-

stereotyping strategy which can function as an extensive manipulation strategy. This treatment of a minority individual is part of a diversionary tactic, whereby the racially stereotyped are constructed as fundamentally different to majority, mainstream society (Ashmore & Del Boca, 2015). Different social types are isolated and constructed as ‘inferior or different other’ in order to make it easier for text producers to enhance their Self supremacy in contrast to Others’ inferiority. In contrast to examples 1 and 3, example 2 depicts five Japanese girls in a group. When the producers represent a social type in a group, the individuality of members of the group is blanked out. As a result, such homogenisation makes it easier to consider stereotyped groups as Others outside society, by dehumanising them. Moreover, in order to reduce the complexity of the social world, text producers ascribe sets of beliefs about the personal attributes of groups of people from a social type (Ashmore & Del Boca, 2015).

Examples 1 and 3 provide a further explanation of the extensive use of the visual mode to convey racial difference in the thesis. From an interpersonal perspective, the analysis has demonstrated that in both examples there is a direct gaze by the participants directed towards the viewer. When the viewer is looked at directly, their presence is acknowledged and some kind of response is required from them, which is influenced by other factors in the visual. Moreover, example 2 depicts the pandas in a rear position or back view, which means that the viewer is seeing them from the perspective of a watcher and, thus, has no interaction with the viewer.

I exclusively focus on the use of euphemisms as a linguistic device, and their accompanying visual elements in films. Therefore, a close look at the interrelationship between the visual and verbal elements in the samples is crucial. Observation of the samples analysed demonstrates that in the film *Madagascar*, the relation between the two structures is one of contradiction, as while racial euphemism is used to dehumanise

the participant by mentioning the stigma in his character, the visual manages to humanise him. The relation between the linguistic and visual structures in the film *Sing* results in attitudinal dissonance between the two modes, realised by a counterbalancing relation in both modes. As for the film *Alpha and Omega*, the relation between the linguistic and the visual modes is one of attitudinal dissonance; while in the linguistic mode the RP deliberately distances himself from the negative attributes of his identity by using the impersonal ‘you’, the visual compensates for it by illustrating the social address through his hand gesture.

The analysis has highlighted observations relevant to discursive strategies of animated films in general. It focuses on how the producers of animated films construct racial euphemisms that have the potential to encapsulate stereotypes and racist ideas in the minds of young children. Moreover, the euphemisms used in the chapters analysed show the ability of film producers to make the negative appear positive, or at least tolerable, and to avoid responsibility for what is said, and the ideas hidden behind words.

In addressing RQ3, how and why the euphemistic representations are constructed in discourse related to the genre of anthropomorphised feature films (section 1.3), many general observations are made. First, it is observed that concentrating on the negative aspects of an ethnic group is not ‘innocent’ or ‘neutral’ humour. It is rather a “reinforcement of the perception that members of this group are inferior to the more dominant ethnic group” (Spector, 1998, p. 19). One of the reasons could be the ranking system applied to U.S. racial populations, in which the distinction between Whites and Blacks results in a non-ending inequality dilemma, even in a society that openly despises discrimination (Turner & Skidmore, 1999). The case of Marty’s self-doubt because he

cannot classify himself as Black or White shows that this classification is truly significant in the U.S., whether a person can have some kind of self-respect or not.

The second observation is Self-deprecating humour, which is established as being used and directed towards a minority group for the purpose of engagement with taboo topics. Self-deprecating humour involves presenting salient or criticised aspects of oneself as the target of jokes. Such salient aspects may comprise issues that are specific to the individual, e.g. physical appearance or intelligence, or to a group to which the individual belongs (Ellithorpe, Esralew, & Holbert, 2014, p. 403). When participants make fun of their own race, it results in a more positive evaluation of the film producers (ibid.). The analysis of two examples (examples 1 and 3) demonstrates the recurrent use of self-deprecating humour, achieved through self-stereotyping as one strategy of animation to racially stereotype Others by racially stereotyping oneself in the form of a joke. For example, Marty belittles black people by criticising himself, and Marcel shows anger and many of the stereotypical characteristics of French people by pointing to himself as being one.

An important observation is that animations lean more towards stereotypically criticising a specific nation or ethnic group through their language or accent. Lippi-Green (2012) suggests that characters with accents in films are more likely to be portrayed with stereotypic traits than characters with no accent. When it serves as a marker of race, accent takes on special power and significance, because the idea of perfect English and belonging belongs absolutely to mainstream culture. For example, Marcel is portrayed as having a heavy French accent. Marty is also stereotypically rendered as using a Black man's Jive talk and vulgar swear words and behaviour. Moreover, film producers may use another language to criticise specific aspects of that language or to racially refer to

its users. This might also be an indirect reference to inferior immigrants who have just migrated to a new culture and are ignorant of its language.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has attempted to answer two RQs; first, RQ2: in anthropomorphised feature films, how are euphemistic representations discursively exploited in linguistic and visual elements? The analysis of the samples above aimed to examine the underlying racial euphemisms in animated films. The results suggest that film producers have a tendency to create new euphemisms using various creative types at the sentence level. They also tend to utilise the visual mode, analogous to racial euphemism, in order to highlight the difference and inferiority of racialised RPs. Second, RQ3: how and why are these euphemistic representations constructed in discourse related to the genre of anthropomorphised feature films? Through humour and exaggerated attitudes of RPs, such euphemisms serve to naturalise the inferiority and otherness of ethnic groups other than the mainstream superior group. The following chapter addresses the way animated films deal with another ideological problem and social practice: sexuality.

Chapter Five

Sexual Euphemisms in Animated Films

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter looked at representative extracts where racial euphemisms occurred in the data set. In a quantified analysis, references to sexual discourse using sexual euphemisms prevail in the data set. By investigating selected samples of these occurrences, I can arrive at an underlying definition of the term ‘sexual euphemism’. Moreover, strategies of euphemisms related to sex in animated films and features of occurrences from multimodal and CDS perspectives are closely investigated. Two themes related to representations of sexual euphemisms in anthropomorphised films emerge from the data set. The first is the theme of discreet nudity, in which characters known to be partially or entirely nude, but their private body parts are concealed. Moreover, references to private body parts recur in the data set. The second theme is indirect references to sexual desire using innovative metaphors.

5.2 Sex and Sexuality: uncovering the terms

It is first essential to clarify key terms such as sex, gender and sexuality. In the OED, the term ‘sex’ in classical Latin is *sexus*, it encompasses three different meanings. The first meaning refers to biological, genetic sex, the genitals that distinguish between male and female. The second meaning of sex refers to socially constructed gender by assigning specific rights and duties to males and females in a society. The third meaning encompasses sexual activity and sex acts (Cameron & Kulick, 2003, p. 1; Reiss, 1986, p. 234). In hindsight, the difference between gender and sexuality lies in the fact that gender is contained within the meanings of sex, while sexuality, in its simplest form, refers to having certain kinds of sexual desires. There are two classic orientations of

sexual desires: heterosexuality, between male and female; and homosexuality, of the same sex (Allan & Burrige, 2006). Reiss (1986) thinks of sexuality as a sociological construction consisting of “those cultural scripts aimed at erotic arousal that produce genital responses” (p. 234). Therefore, sexuality is seen as a problematic term while sex is debatably little better (Phillips & Reay, 2011).

Sex is seen as less problematic than sexuality because everything related to sex is a special case (Sontag, 1969). This might be the case because sex today takes on many forms and serves an array of purposes (Plummer, 2003, p. 9). Phillips and Reay (2011) assert that sex does not only refer to sexual acts as such. It, rather, refers to their representation in written and visual discourses and their relationship to more comprehensive moral, political and aesthetic concerns. In keeping with the two terms of sex and sexuality as overlapping terms, Foucault clarifies that sexuality is a historical construction that gave rise to the notion of sex being historically subordinate to sexuality (1976, p. 157). Contrary to Foucault’s view, Weeks (2010, p. 7) ponders sexuality as a “fictional unity” that did not exist and will not exist again in the future.

In the recent past, there has been a dominant view of sexuality that an individual’s linguistic construction of Self and Others is what determines their sexual orientation or identity construction as straight, gay, lesbian or bisexual in the society (Baker, 2008; Livia & Hall, 1997). Approaches supporting this view have ignored the critical question of what sex is and have focused primarily on the consequences of the linguistic construction of a social sexual identity (Cameron & Kulick, 2003). However, approaches that connect sex to sexual identity do not explain how one’s sexuality enacted through language invites certain inferences about one’s sexual life with little or no reference to desire or sexual activity, e.g. how seeking sexual satisfaction with partners of the same/ other gender is related to sex in its reproductive and biological

sense (Weeks, 2002). Moreover, such a linguistic view concerns itself with analyses of the parameters of sexuality by the two extremes of either dominant heterosexuality or dominant homosexuality, decided by the sexual orientation of linguists (Kyratzis & Sauntson, 2006). Thus, the need for an alternative view of sex emerges.

One prominent alternative view moves away from such approaches, which concentrate on the linguistic construction of sexual identity, and towards the perception of sex as all kinds of verbal expressions of “erotic desires and practices”, that should fall within the scope of a study of language and sexuality (Cameron & Kulick, 2003, p. 1). Thus, all forms of desire, love and sexuality within historical, social and political contexts may be identified and constructed through language, which is quite firmly rooted in the discipline of linguistics (Kyratzis & Sauntson, 2006). Therefore, a broad definition that manifests the erotic construction of sex rather than an identity one asserts that sexuality “refers to the whole realm of human erotic experience. Sexuality is the universe of meanings that people place on sex acts, rather than the acts themselves” (Karras, 2017, p. 5).

What is more relevant to the current research is that scholars who propose and adopt the desire and love view of sexuality prioritise the role politics and public discourse play in producing and representing sex and knowledge in the media:

The sexual cause, the demand for sexual freedom, but also from the knowledge to be gained from sex and the right to speak about it becomes legitimately associated with the honour of a political cause, sex too is put for the agenda of the future But more important was the multiplication of discourses concerning sex in the field of exercise of power itself: an institutional incitement to speak about it, and to do so more and more, a determination on the part of the

agencies of power to hear it spoken about, and to cause *it* to speak through explicit articulation and endlessly accumulated detail. (Foucault, 1976, pp. 6-18)

The above quote highlights the history of the discourse of sex and sexuality and how it has been thought of as dangerous because it was used as a motif for challenging previous conservative regimes. As a consequence, official agencies of art such as theatre and film, allowed sexual explicitness to include a certain aesthetic quality.

Given that, production corporations started to play a significant role in producing and representing sex and knowledge in the media. In that view, sexual discourse will be naturalised in societies and become more of a lifestyle value once it is safe to be used (Machin & Thornborrow, 2006). Moreover, production corporations started to use image and language style in fiction, which resulted in sex becoming much more “culturally visible” (Attwood, 2006). Visual images of sex contributed to seeing, which constitutes a significant part of humans’ physical and emotional energy (Berger, 1970), because seen images shape our perceptions of the world and self (Berger, 2008).

5.3 Sexual euphemisms: revisiting the data

Studying sexuality through a CDS lens is vital, therefore, my purpose is to scrutinise salient sexual euphemisms represented through language and their visual counterparts in pervasive samples in the data set, such as nudity, referring to private parts related to sex and innovative sexual metaphors in anthropomorphised films, to see whether such sexual representations hidden behind a euphemistic linguistic cover are rendered explicitly in the visual or not.

Santaemilia (2005) considers sexuality as discourse which stands at the intersection of two compelling forces, the first being an “intimate experience which

articulates ... desires”; the second being “a complex process of discursive construction which is profoundly ideological and highly dependent on the morality of each historical period, on the changeable dialectics between individual values and social discipline” (p. 3). Therefore, sex can be a contested zone because within its many associations lie contrary beliefs and language: sex as pleasure, sex as ritual, sex as a cause of fulfilment, sex as fear and loathing (Weeks, 2002). In hindsight, all sex is socially taboo and strictly constrained as a topic and discourse for public display (Allan & Burridge, 2006). However, “the language of sex permeates all kinds of texts, genres or media in everyday language” (Santaemilia, 2005, p. 3), which explains the tremendous synonymy in English vocabulary for sexual and romantic desire, genitalia and copulation (Crespo, 2008). As a consequence, particular linguistic phenomena, such as euphemism, are involved by the absence of taboo, specifically in processes of naming and addressing (Adler, 1978, p. 35). When terms such as euphemism arise, they always cause unease between the addresser and addressee (Harvey & Shalom, 1997, p. 8). With that in mind, and granted that euphemism is highly dependent on the context, the present chapter’s analysis is not based on isolated words but on coherent and contextualised discourses extracted from film texts.

Many sexual euphemisms recur in the data set (52 euphemisms) and these can be divided into subcategories (see section 3.3.1.1). For example, there are sexual euphemisms related to sexual organs, while others relate to the bodily functions stemming from those sexual organs. There are also a few examples of sexual euphemisms indicating nudity. Sexual euphemisms describing taboo sexual acts are frequent in the data set. Yet, sexual euphemisms talking about sexual identity are few in the data set. In *Madagascar*, there are examples of sexual euphemisms referring to the male sexual organ, e.g. *corner pocket* and *guy*, and others that do not refer to a specific

gender, such as *yourself*, *underpants* and *rectal*, and one that refers to a female, *my little fillet mignon* with a little *fat around the edges*. There is one example in the whole set of data that may refer to masturbation, *filthy monkey*, which is given figurative meanings, such as “obscene, disgusting” by the OED and is recently used with neutral connotations of sexually uninhibited. Therefore, it implies a taboo act, such as masturbation (Holder, 2003, p. 179). Moreover, some euphemisms refer to sexual identity, such as *pansies*, which means homosexual or gay. I also found euphemisms referring to sexual acts or descriptions, such as the euphemism *jolt* which may mean to have sexual intercourse with a woman, but specifically “moving up and down in a jerky manner” (Spears, 2001, p. 197). Another instance of sexual act is the euphemism *take our women*, which connotes rape them. Many references to bodily functions related to sexual parts, such as *pee* and *poo*, and referring to toilets, such as *latrine* and *outdoor plumbing*, also exist.

As for the film *Alpha and Omega*, sexual innuendo and double meanings are two defining features of it. Many euphemisms referring to sexual intercourse are introduced implicitly, such as *moonlight howling*, explained below (section 5.6.2) referring to either howling in its literal sense or, more likely, sexual intercourse, *if Garth gets out of line, take those beautiful teeth of yours, go for the throat, and don't let go until the body stops shaking* implicitly, referring to killing or a French kiss, and Kate! *Grab my tail*. Grab your what? *Take those Alpha jaws and grab ... Owwww, my tail! My tail*. Kate, wiggle. Wiggle around. That tickles. Oh, my tail hurts! Ha, ha, ha! Oh, who knew I was ticklish there? I can't take any more. Oh, No! ; this instance is either referring to the actual rescuing act Kate was doing for him or to tail as a male's penis. As innocent as it might seem, this whole scene is sexually suggestive of a female grabbing and wiggling her male partner's genitalia. Moreover, the euphemism tickle refers to being sexually aroused. The whole scene gives an impression of giving a blow job. Other references to

sexual intercourse that prevail in the data set of *Alpha and Omega* use technical terms, e.g. *repopulate*, or underspecification, such as *this thing* and *it*, which also has a double meaning in this context. *Mate* is also rendered through quasi omission, *ma***. Many euphemisms are formed through circumlocution, such as *you two are boyfriend, girlfriend? You are an item?* and for productive sex, *they want you big wolves to make a lot of little wolves*. One example of a homosexual male is *the coyote*. Other examples referring to bodily functions are *poo*, *I have to go* and *water*.

As far as the film *Sing* is concerned, an instance of the euphemism *spicy* occurs, this has a sexually-oriented sense (Spears, 2001, p. 327). Moreover, Holder (2003, p. 359) indicates that the meaning of *spicy* is pornographic, “literally, highly flavoured, whence salacious”. An example of nudity found in the data set is *that’s a lot of skin*, which according to Spears (2001) is a euphemism for removing one’s clothing, to strip (p. 314), and has a pornographic meaning as it implies nudity (Holder, 2003, p. 347).

Moreover, the use of *are you wearing a speedo?* can imply either scorn for a male swimming suit for homosexual males or a stereotype of Europeans. According to the OED, a *speedo* is a pair of very short, close-fitting men’s swimming trunks. Moreover, the Urban Dictionary explains that, in the USA, speedos have certain racial and sexual connotations. Racially speaking, when Americans refer to speedos, they refer to them to make fun of European, South American, Australian and Asian men. However, in terms of sexuality, wearing speedos in public was banned in some areas of the USA. This ban was passed mainly because of homophobic claims that speedos were essentially worn by gay men for no other reason but to advertise their ‘goods’, genitalia, to each other (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020).

While *Sing* includes some sexual euphemisms, the film *Zootopia* registers very few. In contrast, it registers a very high number of gendered euphemisms, explained below in Chapter 6. In terms of sexual body parts, the term *tail*, referring to genitalia, recurs, as it does in *Alpha and Omega*. An example of the intersection between sexuality and gender discourses is the word *hot*, which also recurs referring to a sexually arousing woman and thus objectivisation. An example of nudity is referring to a nudist community as a *naturalist club*.

From the examples provided above, it is evident that lexical choices directly referring to sex and sexual intercourse are almost always connotative, and therefore euphemistic. They might be denotative in some cases, but this can be attributed to the manipulative feature of anthropomorphised films dealt with in the thesis. Therefore, to define sexual euphemism, I rely on the previous definition of sex provided by Phillips and Reay (2011). Therefore, sexual euphemism may encompass implicit, double meanings and manipulated references to sexual acts, sexual body parts and all forms of desire. Moreover, it includes sexual representations in spoken and visual modes and their relationships to broader moral, political and aesthetic concerns (my definition).

There seems to be no compelling reason to argue that animated films offer scenes that are sex content-free. Wells (2013) argues that animated films provide a source of confusion as they are directed at an audience of children. As such, animated films can present stigmas of multiple ideas that cannot be presented in adult film-making. For example, nudity depicting genitalia, sexual acts, marginalised codes of sexual conduct, such as cross-dressing, and cross-species coupling can be present in animated films (p. 175). Such stigmatised ideas can be rendered visually through moving images or linguistically through sexually implied language.

5.4 Nudity

The theme of nudity appears in the data set frequently. Nudity is the state or condition of being naked, as defined in the OED. There are two concerns regarding nudity. First is the fact that the genre the present study is concerned with is anthropomorphised films, which humanise animals and give them human traits. Naturally, humans are civilised and wear clothes; however, this is not necessarily the case with animals and objects. In animated films, animals and objects are sometimes given clothes, and at other times they are not. The concern, in a literal sense, is that it seems sensible for the viewer as animals in real life do not put on clothes. Nevertheless, it is a departure from the rest of the film where the animals are depicted with clothing.

The fact that animals, as humans, walk on two limbs instead of four in animated films causes their privates to be exposed, supposing their privates occupy the same place as humans. Which brings us to the second concern of the genre, whereby animals are discreetly naked. When animals are discreetly naked, they are known to be partially or entirely nude, but normally their private body parts are concealed. Even if concealed, somebody's postures and curves invoke imaginary privates more exposed than if they were really shown. There are no visible genitalia, but the areas where they should be are prominently shown. Moreover, in some cases, their privates are linguistically euphemised. An ideology is represented when giving to non-humans the external appearance of humanity by dressing them, or sometimes even by giving them a human-like shape (Collignon, 2008). Likewise, when they are dressed, and then they are undressed, this can be done to serve another ideological purpose, such as shedding light on the sexually suggestive way they get undressed.

Different attitudes towards nakedness have emerged throughout history; however, the most recent argues that representations of nakedness operate in legitimated ways that

neutralise both vulnerability and obscenity (Cover, 2003). Although representations of nakedness are considered somewhat culturally legitimate, many authorities still contemplate the obscenity of such representations, which indicates that it is not altogether accepted (ibid.). A question that may be raised here is: how can nakedness be legitimate while it displays obscenity? It is suggested that one of the means by which a naked body is legitimately gazed at by others is when naked representations are mediated in art, pornography, advertising, cinematic and fictional contexts (Grosz (1998) as cited in Cover, 2003).

Given that, it is crucial to explain how nudity is related to sexuality. Nudity has been connoted by sex and sexuality across an extensive range of representations in the history of Western culture (Cover, 2003). Sex in public has been a significant issue for studies because of how the media explicitly reflect and shape sexual representations. A multitude of media texts and practices are described as having a new and malicious impact on young viewers in terms of sexualised representations. Among those texts and practices are nude and sexual representations of music videos, pole exercises, sexy dancing and yoga poses. Nudity has been analysed within the categories of ‘sexualisation’ or ‘pornification’ (Attwood, 2012, p. 463). Moreover, nudity is one of the five categories that fall under sexually explicit material (Harris, 1994). Consequently, nakedness has been equated to “the indecent, the obscene and the immoral” (Cover, 2003, p. 55).

It is also worth noticing that nudity and sexuality are always linked to fun and pleasure. Sexuality as a source of pleasure and as an expression of love has been largely ignored by many institutions. As discussed in section 5.3, the public discourse of sex as pleasure is contested and effectively silenced by dominant institutions socioculturally.

However, the media are the only one institutions that have not ignored the pleasurable aspect of sex (Tepper, 2000).

5.4.1 Example 4: Case of the “naturalist club”

5.4.1.1 Summary and background of the extract

The scene at the naturalist club is extracted from *Zootopia* (2016). The film is rated PG (parental guidance suggested) for some thematic elements, i.e. rude humour and action (IMDb, 1990-2020). This scene provides an example of how nudity, which is closely linked to sexuality, can be activated in children’s films. The scene starts as Judy, a police officer, is investigating a crime and gets help from Nick the fox. The cunning fox wants to make Judy uncomfortable by testing her patience, taking her to a naturalist club. There, a yak comes around a reception counter and he is naked. Judy cannot but notice his nakedness and screams in shock, while Nick grins. So, she exclaims in shock, “You are naked?” He replies, “For sure, we’re a naturalist club.” The yak opens the doors to a pool area, with many naked animals tanning themselves, playing in the pool, rubbing their backs on palm trees. Judy’s eyes nearly pop out of her head while Nick revels in Judy’s discomfort over the nude animals everywhere. While they are wandering around the naturalist club, Yax exclaims, “Yeah, some mammals say the naturalist life is weird... but you know what I say is weird? Clothes on animals!”

It is argued in a commentary on this specific scene that it supports non-sexualising nudity in family-friendly media, and can positively affect how growing generations view nudity and body awareness in the future (Reddit, 2016). I counter-argue by mentioning three supporting factors, that it is not all about nudity and body awareness, rather, there are other hidden meanings which will be explained in the analysis. The first factor is that while nakedness and contexts of naked representations might once have been considered nonsexual, a new emerging approach reads such representations reciprocally

within sexual contexts as they are gazed upon and more frequently sexualised or eroticised (Cover, 2003). Cover (2003) explains that nakedness in contemporary culture is a private personal matter, but it becomes sexual due to the presence of a gazing second party.

The second factor is that, although it is argued that nudity is only sexual due to the gaze of a second party, I argue that in this example the sexuality is both and part of the RP animals in the film as a second party, as well as the viewer's gaze as a third party. Mediating such scenes to children as well as to adults may raise awareness of nakedness which is inevitably attached to desire and the urge to look and the pleasure in looking (Grosz (1998) as cited in Cover, 2003). Although the private parts of the animals in this scene are discreet, the poses invoking hidden privates leave nothing to the imagination.

The third factor is that this example represents a significant demonstration of sexuality, nudity and pleasure. The representation is of the naturalist club as a paradise for pleasure, populated by nudists as nature intended, who are naturally more comfortable with their sexuality and, hence, this can release sexuality in others (Cover, 2003). It is also demonstrated that naturist representations emanate an idea of pleasure, invoking animal bodies into displays.

Taking into account the previous discussion of nakedness, legitimacy and sexuality, it is essential not only to analyse how naturalists are depicted, but also how they are depicted from Judy's perspective, as well as Nick's attitude towards them. To begin with, Judy's attitude towards the naturalist club can be summarised in Barcan's (2001, p. 308) suggestion that non-naturists have an oppositional attitude towards legitimate naturism. Such an attitude can be justified by their tendency to see naturism as "narcissistic, exhibitionist, or sexual". Moreover, Cover (2003) adds that in a set of ritual and institutional power structures, the clothed empowered subject is positioned to

perform nonsexual gazing at an objectified naked body. Judy represents an attitude opposing the naturalist club and the naturalists inside the club. However, Nick seems to be enjoying her opposing behaviour, which emphasises that he is used to such communities.

5.4.1.2 Linguistic analysis

As nakedness is closely related to sex and sexuality, the words for ‘nakedness’ are generated using multifarious creative synonymy in English vocabulary, mainly through remodelling and figurative language (Allan, 2012). In the OED, the term nude is listed as a borrowing from the Latin *nūdus*, which means open, naked, unclothed and it is used in Art with ‘the nude’, to refer to the naked human figure considered as an aesthetic object. Allan (2012) has compiled many euphemisms that have emerged to refer to ‘nakedness’ in creative ways, such as *in the nude*, *in the nuddie*, *as nature intended*, *in one’s birthday suit*, *in the altogether* and *in the buff*, from buffalo skin.

In addition to being *as nature intended* when in natural surroundings, nudists liking to go about in the open air without clothes is the thing which explains why they are euphemistically called naturists (ibid.). In the OED, a ‘naturist’ is a person who advocates or practises communal nudity. However, another word is defined as having the same meaning as naturist: a person who advocates or practises nudism is a ‘naturalist’ (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). Ruse (2014, p. 427) reports that ‘naturalism’ is one of those words with many meanings, one of which was a euphemism for “nudism” when he was a teenager growing up in England. Therefore, the two euphemisms, naturalist and naturist, are used interchangeably as more refined terms for ‘nakedness’. However, the reason why the two terms diverged in meaning might be because of accent differences relating to American and British English.




The word ‘naturalist’ in the context of *Zootopia* is a euphemistic substitute referring to ‘nudist’. It is a one-for-one remodelled substitute in which the rhyme of the dispreferred term is matched with that of a semantically unrelated term (Allan & Burridge, 1991). Michel Vaïs also claims that the term *nudist* is regarded as derogatory by some naturists, which explains the tendency to use *naturalist* instead (Vaïs, n.d.).




In investigating the local context of the surroundings where the first euphemism ‘naturalist’ occurs, i.e. “For sure, we’re a naturalist club”, the first-person plural pronoun ‘we’ is found. ‘We’ is used to express an “institutional identity” achieved when a person speaks on behalf of an institution (Sacks, 1992). Therefore, the effect is to emphasise that Yax is identifying his party and speaking on behalf of them. The second mention of the euphemism ‘naturalist’ is when Yax exclaims, “Yeah, some mammals say the naturalist life is weird ... but you know what I say is weird? Clothes on animals!” Such a construction is hedged by being exclamatory and humorous at the same time. The effect of using hedging is to create a strategic ambiguity within claims (Wood & Kroger, 2000), avoiding directness or commitment to something, and weakening the force of statements and therefore reducing the probability of an unwelcome response (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Therefore, the use of the hedged construction ‘some mammals say’ is not needed as who the mammals are and what relevance they have to what has been said is not clear. Added to this is Yax’s humorous opinion that clothes on animals are weird. Although the animals in *Zootopia* are animated, they are representing humans and, to be precise, examples of humans living in New York City. Thus, the humour lies in the representation of animals as talking like humans, but twisting this fact by exclaiming that clothes look weird on them. Moreover, the euphemism *naturalist* is linguistically used to refer to that group of social actors practising nudism through giving them an ideological anthroponym ‘naturalist’, referring to those who practise naturalism in Art




or literature and experts in natural history. The euphemism is achieved discursively through a nomination strategy.

5.4.1.3 VSAN

After positioning the scene of the naturalist club within the context of sexual discourse, I will now draw on the visual features that the representations of the naked animals have in common. I will also relate to how such representations of naked animals can be sexually suggestive compared to the connotations hidden behind the euphemism “naturalist club”. The visual analysis will show particular ideas communicated about the participants in the scene and particular attitudes towards them.

shot 1	shot 2	shot 3
		
soundtrack: Judy's eyes pop open	camera movement: non-frontal perspective - horizontal plane - long shot	camera movement: high angle - socially empowered
depiction: in shock with her mouth open	effect: viewer are observers, given a snapshot of a reality that they are not part of, bystanders	effect: power evoked by their nudity, the pleasurable and carefree life they are having

shot 4	shot 5	shot 6
		
camera movement: distanciation - no direct address	soundtrack: Oh, boy. camera movement: long shot and an eye-level perspective	soundtrack: YAX THE HIPPIE YAK. Yeah. camera movement: frontal position, but does not see the hippos face-to-face
effect: represented far from us, as strangers - makes viewers some kind of voyeurs.	effect: indicating equality with the viewer	effect: the viewer socially detached

shot 7	shot 8	shot 9
		
soundtrack: some mammals	soundtrack: say the naturalist camera movement: disgust on her facial expressions	soundtrack: life is weird. depiction: in a self-indulgent provocative position effect: highly sexualised

shot 10	shot 11	shot 12
		
camera movement: off-frame eyelines	soundtrack: but you know what I say is weird? Clothes on animals!	camera movement: back view
effect: engaging the viewer to expect what she looks at – her eye will pop open	depiction: individualised effect: bringing the viewer closer to them and thus humanising them and highlighting their sexuality through their evocative positions	
shot 13	shot 14	shot 15
		
soundtrack: Here we go.		
shot 16	shot 17	shot 18
		
soundtrack: As you can see, Nangi's an elephant,	soundtrack: so she'll totally remember everything	soundtrack: Hey Nangi, these dudes have some questions about Emmitt the Otter.
camera movement: individualised	camera movement: long shot	camera movement: individualised
effect: bringing the viewer closer to them and thus humanising them and highlighting their sexuality through their evocative positions		effect: foregrounded and engaged in a string of evocative yoga poses

Extract 6 Zootopia (2016, 00:38:26- 00:39:06) The naturalist club

The animals, who are members of a naturalist club, are depicted in groups and individually in this scene. Shots (2–8) depict many animals in groups at the pleasure pool involved in some nudist activities, such as tanning, relaxing, playing beach pool, massaging and rubbing each other's backs and skinny dipping, all of which with their nudism seem to be deviant actions. Where depictions are collectivised, the effect is ideological because of the anonymity of the group (Ledin & Machin, 2016).

In terms of collectivisation, one shot, 2 (Extract 6), is the only one that depicts a group of animals of different species to emphasise the effect that different kinds of animals, representing different kinds of people, tall vs short, thin vs fat, black vs white, male vs female, can be members of naturalist clubs. The film, in promoting this ideology, is inviting all animals, or humankind, even marginalised ones, as if to say naturalist clubs, pleasure and sexuality are not bound to a specific race, ethnicity, body-shape or gender. Such a depiction can be positive in relation to the comment that *Zootopia* can positively affect the perceptions of nudity and body awareness in the future (Reddit, 2016).

Shots 3–7 include animals of the same species, collectivised into generic features of the group, so they are turned into certain social types (van Leeuwen, 2008). Because homogenised groups share the same ideology of naturalism, they are identified as “a naturalist club/ life” to emphasise the effect of their cultural ‘otherness’ and connote negative values and associations attached to nudity and sexuality. Therefore, the social practice of sexuality is recontextualised in the visual mode through evaluation. However, the shots of the animals depict them performing the same actions, e.g. tanning, playing beach ball, in the pleasure pool, but taking on different poses, e.g. standing, lying down, to create individualisation as well as collectivisation effects. which is typical of publicity shots for films (Ledin & Machin, 2016).

In contrast to the groups of nudist animals, four different animals in the nude are individualised in this scene. I argue that, excluding Yax, the jaguar, giraffe and Nangi are individualised, which has the effect of bringing the viewer closer to them and thus humanising them and highlighting their sexuality through their evocative positions. The first individualised animal is Yax the yak, a male who seems to be dirty, with flees flying around his head, implying that some naturists do not shower or care about hygiene, being

as nature intended. The second individualised animal is a jaguar depicted in a self-indulgent position. The jaguar is lying down on a red sofa licking itself in a highly provocative position. Because the gender of the jaguar is not known, one can infer that such sexual indulgence is not bound to a specific gender, contradicting the traditional view of women's objectivation discussed later, in Chapter 6. The third animal is a giraffe who is individualised, though partially excluded as it is depicted in a back view. The viewer cannot guess its gender; however, one physical feature that is obvious is its tallness, supporting body-positivity, and the focus on its bottom as it bends to drink water.

The depiction then shifts to be more provocative through presenting Nangi, the elephant, who seems to be of Indian origin because of the headband. The shots involving Nangi depicts her both as an individual and in a group. In this vein, though some animals appear in the background as a group of yogis, Nangi is seen in the centre as more humanised than the others, being foregrounded and engaged in a string of evocative yoga poses. Nangi is most probably presented to promote sexuality in a very fashionable new form, taking the shape of yoga instructors and practitioners. Such a representation achieves much more visibility and respectability than porn, especially as it is distributed in the form of contemporary films and texts, more specifically in animated films (DeGenevieve, 2007).

5.4.1.4 RVN

Judy is shocked to see the yak naked as she enters the naturalist club. Thus, she turns her face away, shutting herself off from seeing his nakedness. Her reaction throughout the scene is that of a disgusted female and shows how disapproving she is towards naturalist clubs and the naturalists inside the club. Throughout the scene, looking at Judy's attitude towards the naturalist club seems to be comparable to Nick's attitude.

While Judy is shocked and uncomfortable, Nick seems to be enjoying her discomfort and at the same time he seems relaxed, comfortable and happy gazing at the naked animals in some shots (Extract 6).

The viewer is looking at the scene through Judy's eyes. Thus, to summarise the shots from her perspective, it is vital to describe her general attitude throughout the scene, then, analyse the shots in-depth visually. First, Judy tends to shut her eyes, then, she puts her hand over her eyes so as not to see anything. When she opens her eyes and sees what is going on inside the club, she appears to be in shock with her mouth open. Finally, she shows her disapproval and disgust by using exclamations such as "rrrrrrrrrr", "ughhhhhh" and she closes her eyes again as she sees Nangi the elephant in a very exposed yoga position.

Through Judy's eyes, as the doors of the club open, with her eyes are wide open but her hands still on the sides of her face, she sees lots of animals tanning at the pleasure pool. The groups of naturalists appear in four shots. The first, shot 2, is of a mixed group of animals shown in a non-frontal perspective and a horizontal plane, as well as long shot from Judy's perspective. In this case, Judy as well as the viewer are observers, given a snapshot of a reality that they are not part of, possibly as bystanders (Ledin & Machin, 2016). Added to this is the fact that there is no direct address from the characters in the scene, which makes the viewers some kind of voyeurs (ibid.). Therefore, the first shot of the animals inside the naturalist club fulfils two visual discursive strategies, being represented as "others" and not like "us". First, using the strategy of distancing, they are represented far from us, as strangers. Second, by using a strategy of objectivation, they are represented as objects for our scrutiny, rather than as subjects addressing the viewer with their gaze and engaging the viewer in this way (van

Leeuwen, 2008). However, they are depicted from an eye-level perspective, which shows equality with the viewer at first glance.

The hippos are socially empowered as the viewer looks up at them, which signifies that they have power over the viewer, their nudity obliges the viewer to look at them. Their power might be evoked by their nudity, the pleasurable and carefree life they are having. As for the shots including the hippos, the viewer is socially detached; the viewer occupies a frontal position, but does not see the hippos face-to-face, but from the side or behind, and at a medium distance, an indication that the viewer is a bystander observing the participants with no direct address from them for the viewer to become involved. Shots 4 and 5 of the bears and pigs have the same strategies, but involving a long shot and an eye-level perspective, indicating equality with the viewer. Two bears are also shown closer to the viewer, but sideways on.

In the previous shots, the depicted naturalists do not look at Judy or the viewer. As they do not look at us, they are offered to our gaze as a spectacle for our dispassionate scrutiny. We look at them as we might look at people who are not aware, we are looking at them as voyeurs, rather than referring to them as IPs.

5.4.1.5 Interrelation between linguistic and visual representations

The relation between the linguistic and the visual in the present example is a very complicated one. From the very beginning of the scene, the yak indicates that all the animals are naked as they are a “naturalist club”. The manipulative use of euphemism in the language is wordplay, changing the name of the social practice from nudism to naturalism. Naturalism usually aligns with nature, i.e. plants and animals, thus the wordplay mitigates the other blunt meaning of being as nature intended, with nude animals all over the place. Visually speaking, the viewer is introduced to a kind of sexually explicit nudity accompanied by sexually suggestive moves, dances and

activities that are not related to manipulated politeness in the euphemistic discourse “naturalist”. Therefore, the attitudinal dissonance between the linguistic and the visual in terms of contradictory exaggeration is significant. The connotations behind the euphemism ‘naturalist club’ do not prepare the viewer for the set of ‘porno-chic’ poses and activities of discreet nudity intensified in the visual.

5.5 Private parts

Tabooed body parts are “somewhat restricted as to mentionability”, they are known as private parts or privates, a euphemism achieved by clipping (Allan & Burridge, 1991, pp. 54-55). A strong motivation for tabooing private parts is that they are sex organs. Therefore, this constraint could be related to how private parts, such as the vagina, anus and penis, are subject to sex-fear. Such parts are only freely and readily mentionable to a doctor, lover or close friend. The reason behind such a restriction is that “the taboos are motivated by fear of pollution, or perhaps just by distaste for certain bodily effluvia and the organs that vent them” (ibid., p. 52). Another reason for sex organ restriction is because they may be stretched from reproductive processes, and associated body parts (ibid., p.12). This explains how tabooed body parts are related to sexuality and why they are euphemistic, specifically when they are used in anthropomorphised films.

Besides the racial references present in the film *Madagascar*, discussed in Chapter 4, there are several references to sexual euphemisms, specifically, references to sexual organs or privates. Reference to tabooed body parts and images containing a literal “kick your a**” is highly humorous content, even for young viewers (ibid.). However, it is not necessarily the case that the visual reference to such organs is as implicit as it is in the language. Therefore, the following examples are extracted from the film *Madagascar* 2005, including explicit shots of “kick your a**” visually while implicitly, more specifically, politely referring to it in the linguistic representation.

5.5.1 Example 5: Case of “Would you give a guy a break?”

5.5.1.1 Summary and background of the extract

Alex is brought to Central Park Zoo and proves to be one of the most popular exhibits there. He is a protagonist in the film who has a personality very similar to that of a celebrity, because he is the star of the zoo and never misses an opportunity to show off and boast that he is a star.

After Marty leaves the zoo in an effort to take a train into the wild, Alex, Gloria and Melman pursue him to Grand Central Station, causing chaos. People start screaming, running away, and police officers gather, circling around the animals to take them into captivity again. Alex being the star decides to talk to the police and tells them that they did not mean to cause such chaos, but this is interpreted as roars, freaking out the police even more. While this is happening, Nana, an old Russian woman, sneaks up behind Alex and kicks him in his private parts, only to be pulled away by some officers. Then, the focus of the viewer’s attention in the scene is on Alex.

Alex indirectly pleads, “Would you give a guy a break?” A form of politeness in Alex’s plea is the use of the euphemism ‘guy’ to refer to the area where the Russian lady hit him hard. Alex uses a general term, in this case, ‘guy’, which must be specified in its context of use to refer to the taboo subject, ‘penis’, and thus fulfil its euphemistic function (Allan & Burridge, 1991). The following section explains the linguistic representation of the euphemism ‘guy’ and how it functions as a euphemism.

5.5.1.2 Linguistic Representation

The OED defines the word guy in its denotative sense as a word that originated in the U.S. and means a man or a fellow. However, the word ‘guy’ in this example is euphemistic in terms of refraining from mentioning a taboo concept, which in this instance is a mention of privates. According to Crespo (2008), the linguistic taboo

‘penis’ is one of the euphemisms that over the years has tended to lose its mitigating capacity to refer to taboo because it carries sexual connotations referring to the male sex organ (p. 100). Thus, new ways were formed via euphemisms to refer to such a linguistic taboo, one of which is the use of an underspecification strategy, ‘guy’. With this in mind, and granted that euphemism is highly dependent on context, I argue that the meaning of guy refers to Alex’s privates in this context-dependent euphemism for three reasons.

The first reason why ‘guy’ can be considered a euphemism hinges on the meaning it shares with the legal use of ‘person’, which is used in law for ‘penis’ (Allan & Burrige, 1991). Moreover, the general use of the euphemism ‘thing’ to refer to one’s genitals is also parallel to the use of the euphemism ‘guy’. Such a euphemism can be described in terms of an underspecification strategy, i.e. using a general term which must be specified in its context to refer to the taboo subject, here ‘penis’, and thus fulfils its euphemistic function (p. 12).

The second reason for ‘guy’ to be considered a euphemism is that, in this context, it is preceded by ‘a’, the indefinite article, instead of a specified phoric pronoun such as ‘me’, as if to say: “Would you give *me a* break?” In this question, the indefinite article plays the role of genericisation, a structure in which a social actor/object is referred to by the indefinite article ‘a’. By using such a structure, the euphemistic social object is represented as a class or type to hide a special negative ideology. Generic terms can be used to give a sexualised slant even for an animated film that is supposed to be innocent and without sexual references (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Caro (2002) suggests that concealment or obscuring of a social actor is based on pragmatic issues concerning the text producer and receiver of the discourse, or the nature of the social actor itself. The identity of the social actor may be obscured for two reasons. First, the producers may assume that reference to the social actor is uninteresting for the receiver based on general

grounds, i.e. stereotypical or universal, and thus left unspecified. Second, the text producer may wish to deliberately hide the identity of the social actor to avoid blame, which is the case with ‘a guy’.










The third reason for using the generic term ‘a guy’, referring to Alex’s privates, is the finding that the use of ‘give me a break’ is most pervasive when searching an online database of films entitled Yarn (GetYarn, 2015), where one can search for specific phrases or words in films. Another use of ‘give a break’ is with ‘the guy’ when referring to specific person. Also, ‘give him, her and us’ recur in the database. However, only one use of ‘give a guy a break’ occurred in *Spiderman 3* (2007), where spiderman’s antagonist was asking him to give him a break when caught faking photos of Spiderman. In considering the context where the antagonist used “a guy” instead of ‘me’, I noticed that because he was caught faking and lying, the antagonist, unconsciously, is not referring to himself as if in denying a reference to oneself in an embarrassing situation and avoiding culpability. Therefore, critically speaking, using the general euphemism ‘guy’ for a specific reference might be analogous to the discursive construction of social actor/ object general anthroponyms as a construction of a nomination strategy.

In terms of the local context in which the euphemism occurs, it is an indirect plea, “Would you give a guy a break?”, a form of politeness that is conventionally used in the performance of indirect directives. As a conventional form, it is inevitably recognised and the hearer does not need to figure out the intended illocutionary force of the utterance (Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1989). Opting for a mitigating modal verb such as ‘would’ is motivated by politeness so as to downplay the imposition of certain directive speech acts, such as orders or modes of verbal behaviour which are considered intrinsically impolite in social discourse (Crespo, 2005). Both the euphemism ‘guy’ and

the modal verb ‘would’ are used in the discursive context of the film to maintain the social norms of respect using indirect and mitigating strategies.

5.5.1.3 VSAN

Alex, the lion, is represented in the shot just before the one included in the analysis, as a patient of the action taken against him (being hit in the privates). In this example, however, Alex is involved in an “agent” role as he is reacting to the literal ‘kick in the a**’ action inflicted on him by the Russian woman. He is depicted roaring in pain as a reaction (Extract 7). The spot where Alex puts his hand may represent a case of visual symbolic synecdoche. He is kicked in the privates; thus, to show the viewer that he is hurt, he covers his privates. According to Wells (2003), it is a synecdoche where “‘the hand’ may become a character” when taking into account its functional aspects, e.g. its ability to indicate, which becomes the most important aspect of its personality when it is defined as a character (p. 80). Therefore, the object in this recontextualisation is represented in terms of the addition of specifying information to the underspecified information of the linguistic mode employed by Alex’s reaction of covering his privates.

shot 1	shot 2	shot 3
		
soundtrack: Just shush!	soundtrack: I will handle this!	depiction: Marty is watching her approaching Alex
depiction: Alex is an agent	camera movement: Russian woman sneaking behind Alex's back	effect: expectation
effect: authority over Marty	effect: expectation	
shot 4	shot 5	shot 6
		
soundtrack: Oh! I got him!		soundtrack: Would you give a guy a break?
camera movement: long shot – side-on/back view of Alex – over Marty's shoulder view	camera movement: Marty's facial expression	camera movement/ depiction: long shot- Alex' eyes pop open
effect: voyeurs- Marty's back view directing attention to Alex	effect: invoking "Karma" and humour	effect: voyeurs- indicating shock
shot 7	shot 8	shot 9
		
depiction: direct address – hands pointing to a symbolic human male private	soundtrack: Alex the lion: Would you	soundtrack: ... give <i>a guy</i> a break?
effect: demanding viewer to align with his pain- indicating reason of pain	camera movement: medium shot – no address	depiction: underspecification of guy in depiction because no direct address
	effect: draw viewer to identify with pain- no demand	effect: underspecification with no address cause ambiguity of referent, thus, reference probably to privates

Extract 7 *Madagascar* (2005, 00:23:03- 00:23:12) "Would you give a guy a break?"

In the film extract above, there are other social actors around Alex. However, these social actors are passivised, they are depicted doing nothing except looking at Alex and observing his reaction. Among these actors are police officers who are ready to shoot Alex but do nothing, they freeze at the moment of his reaction. Moreover, these police officers are depicted as a homogenised group, or as van Leeuwen (2008) explains it, "they are all the same". Presenting them homogenously has a dehumanising effect,

likely to lead children as viewers to view them negatively and blame them for hurting Alex, presented as an individual hero.

5.5.1.4 RVN

It seems that all the characters depicted around Alex are looking at him as if to indicate to the viewer to look at him and never lose sight of him. Most importantly, while others are standing away from Alex, the gaze they are directing at him seems to be towards the point where he puts his hand (Extract 7, above). This is a way of directing the viewer's attention to look at what all the depicted characters in the background are looking at.

It is important to mention that Alex is depicted in a medium shot. It is not a way of distancing the viewer; rather, it is a way of making the viewer capture the whole picture and get involved with Alex and sympathise with him. This is communicated through Alex's frontal gaze to the viewer. It is an explicit invitation to make the viewer feel what he feels. The depiction of Alex's medium shot is compensated by his direct address gaze at the viewer. According to van Leeuwen (2008), when there is direct contact between the viewer and the represented social actor, there is an interaction and a relationship with the viewer (p. 140).

5.5.1.5 Interrelation between linguistic and visual representations

Although there is a clausal example of interrogative mood, thus evidence of a request being made, an order is given to the viewer. Given that the visual also addresses the viewer in this way, there is therefore positive reinforcement of address realised in terms of the way that both the visual and verbal modes address the viewer (Royce, 2007). However, in the above example, the visual synecdoche is dissonant to the linguistic euphemism, as the former specifies information hidden behind underspecification of the latter. While the linguistic euphemism is hiding the real meaning of the taboo behind the word "guy", the visual is emphasising the meaning by explicitly indicating it.

Therefore, it is a case of an attitudinal dissonance where the illocutionary act is to hide the real meaning of the linguistic taboo by using a euphemism, and the locutionary act is to hide the meaning of the linguistic while highlighting the visual synecdoche to unveil the hidden meaning and engage the viewer in the humour of the literal sense of “she kicked my a**”. Dissonance is produced when there are choices of engagement in the visual mode which converge with expressions showing the opposite in language. In this case, the visual representation acts to reveal aspects concealed by the textual euphemism, i.e. the hands pointing to the privates, intensifying particularity unspecified in the verbal mode.

5.5.2 Example 6: Case of “Giraffe, corner pocket”

5.5.2.1 Summary and background of the extract

Another example is from the film *Madagascar* in which the use of linguistic euphemism refers to the literal “kick your a**” expression. However, the kicking in this example is compared to striking a ball on a pool table to put the lucky number 8 into the corner pocket. Corner pocket, in this context, is a euphemism for Melman’s privates.

The scene starts as two of the four friends, after being shipwrecked, reach the Madagascar shore. One of them, Melman, being a giraffe with features of tallness and a hypochondriac personality, which is a comic relief in the film, is stuck in a crate. Alex then grabs a log to use it as a battering ram to get Melman out, and he tells him he is getting him out of the box, then he smiles maniacally and says, “Relax. Giraffe, CORNER POCKET!” Alex then stops inches away from Melman’s crotch when the giraffe points out Gloria’s crate to him: “Oh hey! It’s Gloria,” then he faints.

5.5.2.2 Linguistic Representation

According to the Oxford Dictionary of Euphemisms (Holder, 2003, p. 137), corner is a euphemism referring to the male private parts, specifically the penis, due to its corner-

like shape in the male body. Moreover, pocket in the OED means billiards; each of the open-mouthed pouches placed at the corners and on each side of the table, into which balls are potted. Also, pocket can be used figuratively and in figurative contexts.

In terms of the figurative contexts of the phrase *corner pocket*, in the OED, it is often used to refer to a corner shot for the black ball numbered 8 in a pool game. The present example involves intertextuality as well as interdiscursivity. While the reuse of previous text present in another film is intertextual, the reuse of linguistic and visual metaphor to the billiard game is considered interdiscursive. The text alludes to ‘corner pocket’, a specific iconic phrase associated with a specific event and time, which comes originally from the phrase “Eightball, corner pocket” in the film *Mighty Morphin Power Rangers: The Movie*, 1995. This euphemism refers to the kick the ninjettti directed at the protagonist in the film which resulted in a direct shot to his protagonist’s corner pocket, privates. This intertextual allusion, coupled with the log as a billiard stick directed towards Melman’s privates, serves to direct the viewer’s attention to the area where Alex is going to strike in terms of the pool game and makes specific comparisons between the kick in the privates by the ninjettti in the film *Power Rangers* and *Madagascar*, as well as a strike on the eight ball on a pool table which is discursive.













Therefore, a corner pocket may be similar to one of the pockets at the corner of a billiard table, into which billiard balls are potted. By virtue of this, corner pocket means the penis and balls (testicles) in the pocket of the giraffe that are going to be struck by Alex using the log in his hands. It is a metaphor comparing a male’s privates to a billiard table’s corner pocket. In fact, the metaphorical image lies in the way that Alex is aiming to strike Marty’s privates like a billiard ball, specifically, an eight ball to get him out of the crate. Thus, the euphemistic metaphor ‘corner pocket’ is discursively constructed to




refer to the giraffe's privates through predication, describing it as being a pocket in the corner of a male's body.




5.5.2.3 VSAN




As far as the visual representation is concerned, two RPs are the focus of the viewer's attention in this scene: Alex, the lion, and Melman, the giraffe. Alex is individualised visually in the first few shots (1– 4) so that the viewer is invited to align with events through Alex, as in this situation he acts alone and tactically. In this scene, Alex seems to be the agent of the action to be performed as the viewer is offered access to Alex's internal mental world. This offer allows the viewer to guess what Alex is going to do next. In shot 4, Alex, therefore, is individualised and close in this shot, as the shot emphasises his abnormal and dangerous attitude. If Alex is the agent in this scene, then Melman is passive, as the action of striking is going to be done to him.

Shot 5 depicts Melman's discreet privates from the side, with an arrow pointing to his privates displayed on the box in which Melman is caged, in case the viewer misses the comic hint. Shots 11 and 12 depict Melman guessing what his friend is going to do to get him out of the crate. As he starts to understand Alex's intention, he is depicted with his eyes about to pop, fearing the pain of the strike directed at his privates with the log (Extract 8, below).

shot 1	shot 2	shot 3
		
soundtrack: I'm getting you out of the box!	camera movement: long shot – tree trunk	camera movement: long shot
depiction: individually		
effect: to align with him while acts alone and tactically	effect: detachment- visual metaphor of a battering ram	effect: expectation
shot 4	shot 5	shot 6
		
soundtrack: Relax!	soundtrack: Alex?	
camera movement/ depiction: medium shot- Alex is agent	camera movement/ depiction: oblique - arrow on the box	camera movement: close shot
Effect: viewer is to identify with Alex's intention- offered access to Alex's internal mental world	effect: to draw attention to Melman's discreet privates – symbolically pointing to his privates	effect: bringing viewers close to Melman while trying to figure out Alex's next step
shot 7	shot 8	shot 9
		
soundtrack: Giraffe,	soundtrack: Corner pocket!	
camera movement: long shot- tree trunk	camera movement: direct address- long shot - tree trunk	
effect: centre position to aim a target	effect: indicating a visual "you", demanding attention- visual metaphor of cue stick	
shot 10	shot 11	shot 12
		
soundtrack: Alex: Here goes nothing!	soundtrack: Melman: Alex! What? What? Common! depiction: far shot of Melman effect: visual metaphor of Melman's privates as lucky shot 8 in the corner pocket	soundtrack: Melman: wait, depiction: long shot effect: detachment for the humor invoked

shot 13	shot 14	shot 15
		
camera movement: funny facial expressions		camera movement: over the shoulder
effect: invoking humour		effect: looking at Alex through Melman's eyes

shot 16	shot 17	shot 18
		
soundtrack: Hold still! No! Come on! Come on!	camera movement: Melman's eye pop open – high angle	depiction: privates
camera movement: high angle	effect: expecting the shot- symbolically targeting the privates	effect: expectation
effect: symbolically targeting the privates		

shot 19	shot 20	shot 21
		
camera movement: funny facial expressions	soundtrack: Here I come! Look! Look!	soundtrack: Look, look! It's Gloria! It's Gloria!
effect: enhancing humour	camera movement: side-on view	depiction: Alex not interested anymore effect: promoting for distracting tactics

Extract 8 Madagascar (2005, 00:31:53- 00:32:13) Giraffe, Corner pocket!

5.5.2.4 RVN

This scene comprises shots from different perspectives as the viewer is aligned with Alex's point of view, looking at Melman's privates, shots 11–14, 16–19, and the viewer is also aligned with Melman trying to figure out what Alex is going to do in shot 15. Also, the viewer is invited in the shot, from a frontal angle, to become involved with the participant in the visual, as in shots 1–3, 4, 7– 9, and an oblique angle, in order to be a mere observer of the events in the scene without taking any side, as in shots 5, 10, 20,

21. In shot 4, Alex is shown in a close shot on the right of the screen, and the viewer is, therefore, aligned with his point of view on the left of the screen, as the viewer sees what Alex sees on the screen over his shoulder. Moreover, shots 5 and 6 depict Melman trying to evaluate the situation, and guess what Alex is going to do to get him out of the crate (Extract 8, above).

In shots 7, 8 and 9, with a maniacal smile on his face, Alex says out loud, “Giraffe, corner pocket,” and looks away, off-frame but directly at the viewer, while Melman encourages the viewer to observe him more objectively and consider what his thoughts are. Shots 7 and 8 depict what Alex is looking at, and his plan to get his friend out of the box. Alex’s plan is further illustrated through the arrow on the crate directed at Melman’s discreet privates. Moreover, the huge tree trunk Alex is holding serves as a visual arrow pointing towards what Alex is looking at off-frame.

In shots 5, 6, 15, Melman is shown in medium and oblique, close and over the shoulder shots, respectively, in the left of the screen, and the viewer is, therefore, aligned with his point of view on the right of the screen, as the viewer sees what Melman sees on the screen over his shoulder.

The crate looks like a billiard table and Alex standing in front of Melman looks like a billiard player holding a billiard cue. Here, however, Alex is holding a huge tree trunk. In the shots where Alex is running towards Melman (10, 20, 21), the viewer is watching the action in a side-on view, which is more detached.

5.5.2.5 Interrelation between linguistic and visual representations

In this example, the visual representation seems to contribute in larger part to constructing the engagement between the RPs and the viewer than verbal representation. The interdiscursive euphemism taken from the billiard table jargon “Giraffe, corner

pocket!” refers to private parts placed in the corner, thus referred to in terms of its location, description or predication. This indirect reference is accompanied by a direct address to the viewer, together with an indicator pointing to the giraffe. Thus, there is a negative reinforcement of address. While the linguistic euphemism is hiding the real meaning of the taboo behind the euphemistic phrase, the visual is emphasising the meaning by explicitly indicating it. In this case, the visual representation acts to reveal aspects concealed by the linguistic euphemism, i.e. the log pointing to the privates, mainly accenting the contextual particularity that can be deduced from the moving image. Therefore, the visual accentuates a form of attitudinal dissonance to the taboo object from the linguistic.

5.6 Innovative metaphors of sexual desire

In addition to nudity and private parts, the theme of sexual desire in relation to food and animals provides other examples of sexual euphemisms in animated films. This section, therefore, uses linguistic data to explore the ways in which desire and sexuality are conceptualised. In this context, the focus will be on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), devised by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), as it lends itself very well to research on euphemism in discourse (Crespo, 2008).

In a nutshell, CMT holds that metaphor is a conceptual phenomenon that is realised at the surface level of language (Koller, 2004). Moreover, a given metaphor need not be limited to a single lexical item, it may generalise a range of expressions (Geeraerts, 2006). In this vein, a metaphor can go beyond finding the similarities between entities, as it is a means for conceptualising and understanding reality. A conceptual metaphor occurs when a feature is mapped from a source domain to a target domain. This mapping makes metaphor a device with the capacity to structure meaning

grounded in our physical and sociocultural experiences in our conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

What happens in metaphorical euphemisms is that one domain is mapped onto another, creating an interesting effect. It occurs when one domain is unfamiliar, problematic or dangerous to mention directly, or when it is taboo. In this case, the more acceptable domain leads to a structuring of the other domain (Chilton, 1987). To clarify, in the conceptual metaphor SEX IS WAR,¹ the mapping is from a source domain (war) onto a target domain (sex), and the association that constitutes the metaphor maps our perceptions of war onto our perceptions of sex. The correspondence between the two domains is where cognitive conceptualisation fulfils its euphemistic function. Therefore, this mapping is unidirectional as the associative process goes from the more abstract concept to the more concrete reality (Crespo, 2006a).

The taboo of sex is productive in lexical innovation and creativity in which euphemistic metaphors play an important role. To portray the issue in Crespo's terms (2006b), a taboo term stands for an inappropriate concept beneath, therefore, the euphemistic substitution chosen moves away from its literal meaning to tone down the taboo concept, yet it shares certain conceptual traits with the linguistic taboo. As such, conceptual traits are not appropriate in social interaction, thus, euphemistic substitution is used in a figurative sense, expressions that have semantic and affective implications are very different from those of linguistic taboo. Metaphor plays a relevant role in euphemistic substitution because it constitutes a mechanism for lexical creativity and ambiguity, a characteristic that is a defining feature of euphemism as a linguistic phenomenon (p. 30-31).

¹ Following the conventions of writing metaphors, a CM is represented graphically in small capital letters, as used by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), to talk about the underlying conceptual metaphor.

5.6.1 Example 7: Case of “My filet mignon. My little filet mignon with a little fat around the edges. I like that. I like a little fat on my steak. My sweet, juicy steak. You are a rare delicacy.”

5.6.1.1 Summary and Background of the extract

This example is extracted from *Madagascar* (2005) in which Alex the lion is seen in a dark red atmosphere. He is depicted in a state of mind that can be interpreted as a dream. In his dream, Alex is speaking and rolling from one side to another, with no sign of whom or what he is dreaming about. Alex, in his dream, is explaining in great detail what he feels about his “little filet mignon”. His description does not end there, instead, he continues by describing it in a metaphorical way that seems to mitigate the fact that his steak is a woman. Therefore, I argue this scene is positioned within the sexual discourse of animated films.

According to Crespo (2008), resorting to eating and food can be useful for naming sexual organs and sex-related actions. Along similar lines, Allan and Burrige (2006, p. 190) argue that the association between food and sex can be explained on the basis that “food is often the prelude to sex” and “eating and love-making go together”. Kövecses (2006) argues that the conceptual metaphor that underlies many examples of food and sex is SEX IS EATING, where the object of SEX IS FOOD. Both metaphors are associated with the metaphors of SEXUAL DESIRE/LUST IS HUNGER (pp. 155-156).

Moreover, at the end of the scene, Alex is depicted by the giraffe as sucking his thumb and exclaims to him, “I didn’t know you suck your thumb!” whereupon Alex hides his thumb in embarrassment and seems to ignore his exclamation. According to Freud (2005), thumbsucking consists of a rhythmic repetition of sucking also called “pleasure-sucking”. Sucking is connected with autoerotic sexual pleasure, which sometimes leads to a motor reaction in the form of an orgasm. Pleasure-sucking is often

accompanied by rubbing contact with particularly sensitive spots on the body, such as the breasts and external genitals (p. 25). Thumb-sucking as such is not included in this scene in the film for nothing. It is closely related to sexuality and the theme of sex, as well as food as a form of expression of sexual desire.

To validate the argument that food can be conceptualised as sex in animated films, it is important to mention that the theme of SEX AS FOOD is not unique to *Madagascar*, it is also found in another animated film where the central theme is purely sexual: *Sausage Party*, however, it is an adult film. In the film, the metaphor of body parts as food is pervasive. For example, the penis is a sausage and the vagina is a bun. Lan (1994) suggests that these kinds of food metaphors are very often employed in the context of sex.

5.6.1.2 Linguistic Representation

As mentioned in the previous section, sex is often connected to food. Linguistically speaking, this relation between eating and food having a sexy reputation has, in turn, a great effect on ordinary language. Therefore, food and eating metaphors for sex are pervasive in every society (Crespo, 2008). In CMT, the SEX IS EATING metaphor allows us to understand one conceptual domain, i.e. different alternatives such as food/ eating, in terms of another domain, i.e. sexual taboo. With the SEX IS EATING metaphor, metaphorical expressions, different lexical alternatives to food, are associated with sex by mapping equivalent elements in both domains. Examples of how food and sex can be connected while both are in different domains are best explained by how people looking for sex partners are considered to be looking for something to eat, while passive sex partners are food that can be classified as different kinds of dishes. Moreover, the manner of having sex can be regarded as a manner of eating (Tsang, 2009). In the

example of ‘my filet mignon’, a sex partner, most probably, a woman is conceptualised as a filet mignon, a kind of French dish of delicate meat.


‘My little filet mignon’ is an example of how a male conceptualises a female as a sexual object. When creating words for women in everyday language, sex is almost always “on the mind” of speakers (Kövecses, 2006, p. 165). What is more relevant to this instance is how the basic description of the experience of hunger and eating ‘steak’ is transferred to the domain of sex. Here, Alex is the eater, and the passive absent woman is the filet mignon.



“My little filet mignon with a little fat around the edges. I like that. I like a little fat on my steak. You are a rare delicacy.” Alex starts to lust after a sexual partner, filet mignon. As he is lusting for a woman, the viewer sees Alex in a visual rubbing himself in a rhythmic pattern and rolling around from his back shown to the audience onto his front in a sexual movement accompanying his hunger. In terms of recontextualisation, such details and complexities of activities can be substituted by the abstraction of conceptual euphemism. As an extension of a conceptual metaphor, “I like that” can be interpreted as I like to have intercourse with her, especially when she has the kind of genitals he likes and which are described as having flavour, such as “sweet” and “juicy”. They are even given a more detailed description, having “a little fat around the edges” and a “rare delicacy”. According to Crespo (2008), SEX IS EATING metaphors include euphemistic and dysphemistic alternatives. In this case, ‘my little filet mignon’ is used to objectify women as merely sex objects to be enjoyed or eaten, and thus this can be considered a dysphemism for women, i.e. derogatory. This relates to how sexually objectifying women is closely related to gendered discourse, as discussed later in Chapter 6. The conceptual metaphor of ‘My little filet mignon’ fulfils the function of a nomination strategy in discourse.


5.6.1.3 VSAN

In relation to the interpretation of ‘my little filet mignon’, one can imagine that Alex is depicted eating in this scene. However, Alex is depicted dreaming with no sign of his filet mignon. Being a dream, Alex appears individually in the scene as he is the sole agent. The effect of individualisation here is to emphasise Alex’s humanisation.

The target of his dream, his filet mignon, is absent visually and linguistically, thus it is placed in an exciting and sensual fantasy world (Machin & Thornborrow, 2003). If someone or something is not represented in an image, it means there is no actor or agent and so they are deliberately excluded (Ledin & Machin, 2016). Therefore, the effect is to conceal responsibility or remove the role of some participant, in this case Alex’s lover. It is proposed that wherever abstractions replace actual places, actions and persons, the viewer must be aware that ideological work is being done (Fairclough, 2003).

shot 1	shot 2	shot 3
		
soundtrack: My little fillet (Alex's voice over)	soundtrack: My little fillet mignon	soundtrack: with a little fat around the edges.
depiction: time	depiction: back view – abstraction	depiction: dream sequence
effect: indicating temporal settings	effect: detachment – intensifying an ideology	effect: illustrating to viewer his 'inner states'

shot 4	shot 5	shot 6
		
soundtrack: I like that.	soundtrack: I like a	soundtrack: little fat on my steak.
depiction: distortion and slow motion	camera movement: side-on view	camera movement: no direct address
effect: to define mental process, i.e. affection for and infatuation with his fillet mignon	effect: to bring viewer closer to his mental process	effect: offering information of his steak

shot 7	shot 8
	
soundtrack: my sweet	soundtrack: juicy steak.
camera movement: long shot	camera movement: abstraction- long shot
effect: distanciation	effect: hiding an ideology from the visual-detachment

Extract 9 Madagascar (2005, 00:16:11- 00:16:28) My little fillet mignon

5.6.1.4 RVN

In contrast to linguistic representation, Alex is depicted lying down with his back to the audience while speaking. It is not apparent that he is sleeping until he slowly turns round, first with his back to the ground, and then on his side facing the audience. As his eyes are closed, the audience can interpret the phenomenon as a dream (van Leeuwen, 1996a). In many ways, dream sequences require psychoanalytic analysis, which is the most appropriate vehicle to illustrate 'inner states' (Wells, 2013). In regard to Alex's dream, it is hard to resist the view that it is a fantasy sequence as it is distorted through slow motion and a red colour which helps to define what kind of mental process it is, in

this case, one coloured by emotion, i.e. affection for and infatuation with his *filet mignon*. However, any interpretation of such a sequence is purely subjective, and probably indicates more about the viewer than it does the filmmaker (*ibid.*) (Extract 9).

Granting access to the mental processes of participants is one way of bringing the viewer closer to them, yet, in this case, the viewer is not brought that close, rather kept detached as a mere observer of Alex's dream through a side-on view in which Alex is represented. Likewise, regarding social distance, the viewer is distanced from Alex, not taken close to him or to his inner-state and fantasy through representing him in medium and long shots. Alex is not demanding anything from the viewer, he is rather offering them information about his *filet mignon*, giving a detailed description of it. Such a description might not be appropriate for children to visualise, thus resorting to visual abstraction.

5.6.1.5 Interrelation between visual and linguistic representations

In this example, mitigation is based on the verbal mode, as Alex uses a metaphorical device to mitigate the fact that his '*filet mignon*' is a woman associated with a CM, *FOOD IS SEX/SEX IS EATING*. In fact, this example of CM is euphemistic as much as derogatory in terms of objectifying women as sex objects. Therefore, the euphemism is abstracted in the linguistic mode, which results in a supporting image reflected in the production of the visual euphemism that might not be appropriate for children to visualise, thus it is abstracted in the visual. In this case, there is an attitudinal congruence between the linguistic euphemism and its visual counterpart. The metaphorical euphemism strongly mitigates the figurative meaning of the target of the sex act, and the visual representation abstracts both the steak and the real target as well, to avoid blame for the obscenity presented in this example.

5.6.2 Example: 8 Moonlight Howling scene

5.6.2.1 Summary and background of the extract

Opting for this example from the film *Alpha and Omega* came after a close examination of many scenes containing euphemisms in the film and after accessing online critics' reviews of their meanings. The film is said to have not only diverse subliminal gendered representations, discussed in Chapter 6, but also sexual messages. Peter Hartlaub critically commented on the condensed "sexual tension" between the two lost teenager wolves in *Alpha and Omega*, which makes an animated children's film loaded with a plot that has more in common with "The Blue Lagoon", a film known for employing strong sex and nudity scenes of two teenagers who are lost on an island, where their desire for each other plays havoc with their relationship (IMDb, 1990-2020), rather than "Bambi" (Hartlaub, 2010), an animated film describing how the lives of deer are not without inherent dangers, as Bambi, a deer, gets lost in the meadows (IMDb, 1990-2020). The film *Alpha and Omega* (2010) puts heavy emphasis on dating and mating, "in short, this is a *children's romantic comedy*—a phrase I never thought I'd have to type" (Whitmore, 2010). Such an example is informative when scrutinised for sexual euphemisms. Therefore, the moonlight howling metaphor is a sexual euphemism providing a representative scene for an in-depth linguistic and visual analysis.

Moonlight howling, as presented in this film and other films through film studies, serves a variety of functions, such as mating, social bonding and reunion (Harrington & Asa, 2003). Typically, howling is a way of communication between wolves that helps to keep wolves of a pack together physically and to signal to the pack that a member has

returned (ibid.). Furthermore, it has been proposed that each wolf in a pack has a unique tone of its own, and thus howls are used for individual identification (Palacios, Font, & Márquez, 2007). For a long time, wolf howling has been associated with danger and fear, which horror films use to signal horrific events (DiGioia, 2016). However, it is suggested in film studies that moonlight howling is a rhyme that a male wolf uses to woo a female and to propose sexual intercourse (ibid.).

Regardless of how the meaning of moonlight howling is construed in many horror films, howling in *Alpha and Omega* is employed to present a sexual atmosphere with comic effect, designed to make the audience giggle at the howling song, which utilises erotic howling and dancing. What validates the implied meaning of moonlight howling as a sexual euphemism is the considerable evidence prior to and during the scene of moonlight howling, which leads to positioning the scene within a sexual discourse. Prior to the scene, when Kate's mother sees how beautiful she looks, pinning a flower in her hair, she tells her, "Now, if Garth gets out of line, take those beautiful teeth of yours, go for the throat and don't let go until the body stops shaking." This advice from the mother to Kate sounds like a double entendre, connoting either violent killing or violent sex. Kate's eyes pop open, and then comes her dad's comment, "Ahmmmm, my little girl doesn't wanna do this. She isn't ready."

After the erotic howling song, Humphrey's friends remind him that alphas and omegas are forbidden to howl together, but what is meant is that they cannot mate. This reminder comes as Humphrey spots Kate coming up the hill looking very "hot" and he imagines himself kissing her. When Kate and Humphrey first meet Garth, Humphrey declares that Garth is big and a moose. A moose is a euphemism referring to a big man, indicating his masculinity. As Garth and Kate start getting to know each other and Kate asks him what he likes to do, he says that he likes to keep fit, to lead the pack, "but, uh,

what really gets me going is..." and then he starts howling to impress her by unleashing his inner sexual animal whose sole purpose is to please his female partner (DiGioia, 2016). After his ugly howling, Garth asks Kate in for a while displaying himself in a sexy manner, "Was it good for you?" Kate is not impressed at all by his howling as she replies "unbelievable", indicating she is not impressed by his sexual performance.

When Kate runs away and sees Humphrey again, Humphrey asks her what she is doing, so she says she is taking a break. Humphrey then replies in a sarcastic manner, "I always like to take a break ... 10 minutes into a howl." Then, he asks, "Your howling partner, he's not a ... He's not a stud, but ... A dud! A dud. That's it. Isn't he?" explaining why she would take a break from a howl unless her partner is not having a significant or the desired effect to involve her in the howling act, i.e. sexual intercourse. Of course, Kate denies it and says he is not, so then Humphrey starts giving him compliments, such as he is strong, proud and an alpha's alpha, all of which indicate Garth's sexual strength. Many bits and pieces build up to construe the hidden sexual meaning of the moonlight howling scene.

5.6.2.2 Linguistic representation

Although the word 'sex' is not mentioned explicitly in the context of the film, this use of erotic howling and lupine metaphors in *Alpha and Omega* stands as a euphemism for sex, as everything is implicitly connected to it. In this context, the moonlight howling scene achieved through metaphorical euphemism can be positioned within sexual discourse. The euphemism 'howl' does not mean sexual intercourse, yet howling, in the OED, is a noun defined as the prolonged and mournful cry of a dog, wolf or any other wild animal. It dwells upon the vowel *u* /u:/ and, thus it can be the onomatopoeic sound of a prolonged wailing cry of a human being. Such a sound may be used by humans while having sexual intercourse.

If the euphemism ‘howl’ is interpreted in terms of the conceptual metaphor LUST IS A WILD ANIMAL, closely related to sexuality and sexual intercourse, then the metaphor fits perfectly because the howling of the wolves can be associated with the sounds produced while having sexual intercourse. Consequently, the metonymy ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR STANDS FOR LUSTFUL BEHAVIOUR is utilised to connote that lustful persons’ behaviours and actions are often referred to as sexual behaviour and the actions of animals during the sexual act (Csábi, 1999, p. 39).

Moonlight howling, then, is a metaphoric euphemism for a sexual encounter or sexual act between wolves or humans or, more importantly, anthropomorphised wolves. Then, moonlight howling is a discursive name given to the natural process of sexual activity through a nomination strategy.

5.6.2.3 VSAN

The setting of the scene is a rocky mountain where there are plenty of rocks for wolves to stand on. The mountain is depicted as being full of couples scattered all around. Usually, the setting of a scene is used to communicate general ideas, to connote discourses and values, identities and actions (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Thus, in the case of the moonlight howling mountain, this coupling of wolves connotes a discourse of sexuality in a land of public copulation.

shot 1	shot 2	shot 3
		
soundtrack: Awwwww (a male wolf howling)	soundtrack: Awwwww (a female wolf howling)	soundtrack: howling along music
depiction: agent in agentive action	camera movement: side-on view	depiction: dancing
effect: to affect another entity a female partner	effect: for voyeurs to look at	effect: serves several purposes, such as entertainment, conviviality and sexual arousal
Shot 4	shot 5	shot 6
		
soundtrack: howling along music	soundtrack: howling along music	soundtrack: howling along music
camera movement: no direct address	camera movement: couples dance and howl along with the movements	depiction: duet dancing
effect: objectified "to-be-looked-at" visual pleasure	effect: function as a replacement for dialogue, attempting to hide the taboo concept, sexual intercourse	effect: reflecting an erotic relationship between dancers
shot 7	shot 8	shot 9
		
soundtrack: howling along music	soundtrack: howling along music	soundtrack: howling along music
camera movement: entirely nude duet performance	camera movement: "aphrodisiac dancing"	
effect: evoking visual pleasure but also carries visual metaphors of sexuality	effect: agent that arouses sexual desire	
shot 10	shot 11	shot 12
		
soundtrack: howling along music	soundtrack: howling along music	soundtrack: howling along music
camera movement: porno-chic dance	depiction: standing on two legs	camera movement: touch between two bodies
effect: plenty of suggestive moves and positions related to sexual intercourse	effect: humanising	effect: important to communicate the level of sexuality needed to connote a given sexual position

Extract 10 Alpha and Omega (2010, 00:15:58- 00:16:24) Moon Light Howling

The couple appear with an anonymous male wolf howling at the moon in the background, as if summoning his partner to start an erotic dance connoting sexual activity. As for role allocation, in the first shot, the wolf is depicted as involved in the action of howling, thus he is the agent occupying the agentive action, to affect another entity, in this case, a female partner (Fowler, 1991). Then, his female partner appears in the second shot, replying to his howl in a different, more feminine tone. Afterwards, when an erotic dance duet starts, the male holds her from behind to stress his dynamic force as a male. She is the patient of the moves, which foregrounds her passivity. He takes the role of being a supportive element, like a pillar, for her moves. While the male is ascribed specific gendered elements, such as energy, strength and initiative, the female is ascribed the physical features of beauty and flexibility as an overemphasis for her overtly sensual dance which highlights the role of a duet as a romantic dance form (Muntanyola, 2014). The male is depicted as reacting to the female's sensuality as if he would like to take the female, which is a sort of lust for her female body. The presence of such representations articulates a hidden discourse regarding who should be presented in what way to convey what. Hence, the representational emphasis on male strength, as opposed to female attractiveness and sexuality, reinforces two stereotypes of gender, explained in Chapter 6.

5.6.2.4 RVN

As far as multimodality is concerned, the analysis of this scene depends entirely on the different modes that collaborates: music, howling and a dance duet. All of these modes work together to deliver a hidden meaning to the audience as well as to engage them to understand the meaning. As dance and music are significant components of human expression, van Leeuwen (1999) explains that soundtracks are characterised by being dynamic and can move the listener/ viewer towards or away from a particular position.

In the case of the moonlight howling in *Alpha and Omega*, the howling along with the music increasingly compensate for the absence of a dialogue mood in the world of the viewer. Furthermore, the absence of dialogue and a music track while the couples dance and howl along with the movements function as a replacement for dialogue, attempting to hide the taboo concept, sexual intercourse (Rheindorf, 2004).

Although the analysis tackles the multimodal elements in this scene, the focus should be on the meaningful uses of the dance duet as a form of visual representation. The analysis is undertaken through the relation of dancing to movement, gaze and gesture (ibid.). As meaning is social (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), it seems that the meaning of dance in films consequently depends on both the social context and the background knowledge of the viewer (Rheindorf, 2004). Due to shared sociocultural assumptions and the nature of duet dancing as an independent form, a dance duet is conceived as reflecting an erotic relationship between dancers (Muntanyola, 2014, p. 571). This eroticism emanates from the relative positions of the dancers because of the role that each dancer has in the duet, as a small social group of two (Saura, 2009). Therefore, to perform their erotic dance duets, the two wolf couples in the scene stand on two legs while they are supposed to stand on four legs to meet a child viewer's expectation from animals. Moreover, touch between two bodies becomes important to communicate the level of sexuality needed to connote a given sexual position. Hence, such a performance invokes plenty of suggestive moves and positions related to sexual intercourse, thus taking the form of a porno-chic dance.

Hanna (1988, p. 46) indicates that sex and dance are intricately associated with a broad category described as “aphrodisiac dancing”, an agent that arouses sexual desire. This type of dancing serves several purposes, such as entertainment, conviviality and

sexual arousal. In the case of *Alpha and Omega*, the dancing might be designed to first display sexual appeal for mate selection and then to arouse desire.

As far as gesture and movements are concerned, females dancing in a male-dominated culture is intended for the luscious pleasure of men, something to look at, a matter of aesthetic appreciation, conviviality and an introduction to sexual intimacy, or even a substitute for it (Hanna, 1988, p. 56). Thus, because of the association between dance, sex and gender, it can be assumed that the moonlight howling aphrodisiac dancing contains explicit sexual messages. On top of being performed entirely nude, the duet dances used overt sexual expressions and movements. The dance is not only meant for visual pleasure but also carries visual metaphors of sexuality.

From a social interaction perspective, pleasure is carried by visual metaphors of sexuality through dancing as a visual representation offered to the viewer's gaze as spectacle. The two characters are depicted as involved in the dance, so they do not look at the viewer, rather, they are being objectified, looked at.

5.6.2.5 Interrelation between linguistic and visual representations

In relating the linguistic representation to the visual in this scene, there is an attitudinal dissonance as the visual metaphor intensifies the meaning of the sexual messages hidden behind euphemistic usage. The moonlight howling is an intrinsic behaviour performed by wolves. When mentioned in texts on sexual discourse, it is interpreted sexually. Even with the other euphemisms that occur in relation to sexuality in the film, the discursivity of the linguistic representation cannot be compared to that of the visual. The visual, comprising the erotic howling and the porno-chic dance, violates the mitigation construed by the innovative metaphoric euphemism and thus functions as a visual euphemism. The visual representation is intense, with signs of affection and eye contact between the two dancers, depicted in long shots where there is physical contact between

them. Therefore, the visual is a mere recontextualisation of the linguistic mode, but has the effect of enhancing the sexual atmosphere mitigated in the linguistic mode.

5.7 Discussion

The analysis of the samples presented in this chapter focuses on sexual euphemisms that are frequent in the data set. Thus, this chapter has addressed sexual euphemisms for nudity and private body parts and innovative metaphors of sex. These sexual euphemisms, though, are included in particular extracts which are not representative of the whole genre of feature films but can be seen as significant examples. The analysis has made several observations, some of which are directly related to the particular sexual category dealt with in the analysis, while the others are relevant to critical and multimodal analysis in general in relation to cinematic discourse.

Although the sexual euphemisms found in the data set perform different functions, the articulation of sexual euphemisms is highly creative, both linguistically and visually. This can be explained in relation to Foucault's (1976) view of sexual discourse and how it is put for an agenda of the future, to be explicit and detailed in the media in favour of social and political legitimisation and normalisation (see section 5.2). Therefore, dominant agencies in film production, such as Disney, DreamWorks and others, have repeatedly been critiqued for spreading a consumerist ideology throughout their history. They excel in offering experiences of family entertainment as well as circulating social, ideological and cultural constructions in the form of a commercial mass product as part of a consumerist ideology (Levy, 1990).

Sexual euphemisms are exploited in the discourse of anthropomorphised films. The sexual euphemisms used in the sample analysis tend towards constructing certain sexual organs, nudity and the natural process of sexual intercourse discursively. In this

vein, such sexual euphemisms are linguistic resources providing various representations. These representations are naming and referring to objects and processes ideologically. Therefore, the sexual taboo referent is manipulatively hidden behind the creative naming of such sexual representations.

From a linguistic perspective, the sexual euphemisms in the analysed samples show inconsistency in the types of euphemisms. This can be justified by the ubiquity of sex in everyday language and its extensive synonymy in the English vocabulary (Burridge, 2012). The four types of euphemism identified in the analysed samples work on the word level: remodelling, underspecification, two conceptual metaphors and one rhetorical metaphor.

The analysis of five samples from animated films has shown a tendency to implement sexual representations in selected scenes in different ways. The first set of extracts, from the film *Zootopia*, involves the substitution of a semantically unrelated word, *naturalist*, for a community of nudes, *nudists*, in which the philosophical sense of naturalist practice gives rise to semantic distortion of the sexual suggestiveness of the remodelled word. Thus, the resulting phonological substitute functions as a euphemism. I argue that the euphemism *naturalist* is a sexual euphemism replacing *nudist*, specifically upon exploring its context.

The second and third extracts from the film *Madagascar* reveal euphemisms for private parts. The close textual analysis has pointed out that the chosen euphemistic strategies in the presented examples diminish the sexual aspect of euphemism because that aspect is restricted to multimodal representation. On the other hand, sexual euphemism cannot be ignored as it is foregrounded in visual representation through hands and a log as indicators. The fourth and fifth extracts from *Madagascar* and *Alpha and*

Omega, respectively, show innovative use of CMT. The sexual suggestiveness in both examples is strongly mitigated by the use of the concepts FOOD AS SEX and ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR AS SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR, as a diversionary tactic to mitigate sexual references.

As far as visual representation is concerned, from an ideational perspective, the strategy of individualism stands out in four of the examples (examples 4, 5, 6 and 7). The participants are visually depicted as individuals as they make euphemistic utterances. Individualisation is a discursive visual strategy by which participants are humanised. Such a strategy serves to bring the viewer closer to events through the presented individuals. In the examples, individualised participants are introduced in terms of their sexual organs and sexual acts, as a playful humorous strategy. This treatment of anthropomorphised individuals is part of an ideological approach that aims to highlight their sexuality. The animals are shaped like humans, especially, when they are standing on two limbs instead of four, or lying down with their fronts facing the viewer and their privates occupying the same place as humans'. In addition to the individuality explained in example 4, the naturalists are depicted in groups in *Zootopia*. When members of a group such as the members of a naturalist club are represented in a group, this is done to collectivise them as a social type where their individuality is blanked out. As a result, they are considered Others, outside the society, by dehumanising them. Different social types are isolated and constructed as inferior in order to make it easier for text producers to enhance their Self supremacy contrasted with Others' inferiority.

In contrast to the individualisation and collectivisation strategies shown in the examples, example 8 is a solo example that shows the wolves in a moonlight howling scene dancing duets. Due to the sexual suggestiveness of this scene, it opts to present anonymous characters performing a dance duet, which reflects the intense sexual

atmosphere surrounding the participants. Although the duet dancing is in a small-scale social group, the aim behind it is not to individualise, collectivise or to represent the members of the group as a type, rather, it is meant to shed light on the eroticism emanating from the dancers through the proximity of their bodies humanised as standing on two limbs.

On the other hand, there is an interpersonal metafunction by which the depicted participants are related to the viewer through social distance, social interaction and social relation. From an interpersonal perspective, the analysis has demonstrated that as far as social distance is concerned, then, the discursive strategy of distancing prevails in three examples, but not in examples 5 and 6, where the viewer observes events as a bystander. Distancing is used with sexual euphemism in order to be a voyeur for sexual body part or naked animals such as, when Nangi the elephant was distanced to expose her “imaginary” privates. The instances of social interaction provide no sign of interaction with the viewer, except for example 5 where there is a direct address to the viewer while the other examples provide no direct address. Mainly, interacting with the viewer through a direct address is made to request something from them. In terms of social relations, the examples have involvement with the viewer as most of them are depicted from a frontal perspective on a horizontal plane at an eye-level angle, thus providing information to the viewer mostly expressing pain because of a literal (kick your a**) visual representation.

A close look at the interrelationship between the visual and linguistic representations in the analysed samples demonstrates that there is intersemiotic dissonance in four examples and assonance in one. The prevailing attitudinal dissonance can be justified by the intensification of the visual mode to enhance the humorous effect or to produce a humorous effect via juxtaposing with or contradicting the verbal mode. Such interpretations are substantiated by verbal euphemisms, which are simply

identified metaphorically as representing sexuality. In contrast, example 8 has a mitigation capacity in the visual similar to that of the verbal mode, thus performing attitudinal congruence. The high level of mitigation in the visual as well as the verbal mode may be part of the defining feature of euphemism as a manipulative tool that helps filmmakers to achieve their ideological goals without being blamed.

In relation to the above observations, to address RQ3: How and why sexual euphemisms are constructed in discourse related to the genre of anthropomorphised feature films?, the analysis has highlighted observations relevant to the discursive strategies of animated films in general.

It is important at this stage to highlight that the four general observations below fall under nomination as a discursive strategy used in animated films to highlight sexual representations with a frequency of 59%, as discussed in section 3.3.1.2. It is concerned with discursively referring to and naming the social actors, objects and events presented. Naming “says less of the named and more of the namer” (Karam, 2011, p. 14), as is frequently seen in politics, not just in the politicians’ view of the world and themselves, but also their beliefs and knowing what to say. This explains why films tend to use naming as the main discursive strategy to refer to sexuality, as it arises from a political cause aiming to make sex explicit in the media but with specific constraints.

The first observation might answer the why question mentioned above. It has been observed that one of the reasons why such linguistic taboos referring to sexual organs or acts are discursively employed in animations may be to reflect the deep concerns of the culture these taboos arise from, thus provoking emotions, pleasure and pain (Sassatelli, 2011). Some sexual euphemisms, such as those related to privates, might not be manipulative in the sense of manipulation, i.e. linguistically lying, but for the sake of

avoiding blame for mentioning the taboo. However, when it comes to the visual, and for the sake of the comic factor, filmmakers are not afraid to highlight a taboo visually.

A second observation is that AAFs provide a source of confusion as they are directed at an audience of children while having the capacity to present the stigma of multiple ideas that cannot be presented in adult film-making, i.e. nudity depicting discreet genitalia, sexual acts, marginalised codes of sexual conduct such as cross-dressing (Wells, 2013). In that vein, such representations can only be construed in animations through hidden, and partly hidden meanings. If it is demonstrated that nakedness is closely related to sexuality, then why would such representations be included in animated films? In animated films, nakedness is mostly an expression of humiliation or comic violation. Representations with the presence of nakedness are used in the publicity material for films (Cover, 2003). It is argued in a commentary of the naturalist club in *Zootopia*, for instance, that it supports non-sexualising nudity in family-friendly media, and can positively affect how growing generations view nudity and body awareness in the future (Reddit, 2016). This specific scene of nudity representation is used in the publicity material for the film, which is “one of the many reasons why *Zootopia* is going to be remembered as one of Disney’s best” (Brayson, 2016). Although the scene may seem funny, it gives rise to animal nudity and exploits it to make the audience uncomfortable with the attitude delivered to them by Judy. If the audience imagine the animals as humans, it is either disgusting or provoking to them, along with the entertainment factor. It seems that the concept of nudity is simply implied in the film, however, it is complexly executed at the story level as the depiction is related to cultural prejudices towards nudism.

It is observed that hidden messages might be latent for children, while adults understand them. Adult viewers can understand sexual connotations because they have

been exposed to heavily sexualised symbols and language, as opposed to young viewers (Weeks, 2002, p. 226). However, empirical studies in the literature on children's reception of films indicate that children engage with these media and the stories they tell because they watch these movies "more than once" (Mares, 1998, p. 125). Children's comprehension of hidden messages, jokes and double meanings intended for adults may become more comprehensible through repeated viewing (Crawley, Anderson, Wilder, Williams, & Santomero, 1999). Furthermore, due to the feature of anthropomorphism, which is appropriate content for children more than adults, child viewers are relatively more responsive as it elicits or sustains their attention (Schmitt, Anderson, & Collins, 1999).

As far as the comic factor is concerned, a third observation regarding using such hidden sexual messages might be that talk about sex is implied for the benefit of humour, e.g. jokes, sarcasm and innuendo (Fisher, Hill, Grube, & Gruber, 2004). Machin & van Leeuwen (2007) argue that it is through fun and playfulness that ideologies are most successfully communicated and where they can more easily resist criticism. When criticism is resisted, it is mainly where its critic is being portrayed as having no sense of humour or is told to spend their time addressing more serious and important issues. In the case of sexual euphemisms, it is observed that the examples provided portray sexual suggestiveness, however, this is conveyed in a fun and playful manner, which makes the ideologies implied seem trivial. Although that is the case with many depictions, the fact that such representations are inserted in children's films with all the obscenity and vulnerability afforded to them can only be justified as a kind of neutralisation of obscenity and vulnerability. For example, in *Zootopia*, the humour factor is still available but cannot justify its depiction in a film and given a PG rating.

Fourth, a modern way of explicitly presenting sexuality in animated films might be through dancing and yoga. The depiction of participants engaged in a string of evocative yoga poses could promote sex and sexuality in a fashionable new form in the media, taking the shape of yoga instructors and practitioners. This form of media is “achieving much more visibility and respectability than porn”, especially as it is distributed in the form of contemporary films and texts (DeGenevieve, 2007). Through using such trendy forms, the media representing sex would get away from the consequences of accentuating their pornographic portrayals and hiding their unrefined and murky nature. Thus, they become much more sophisticated and glossy, a kind of ‘porno-chic’ text (McNair, 2002, pp. 64-68). Moreover, dance and music appear to be significant components of human expression, van Leeuwen (1999) explains that soundtracks are characterised by being dynamic and can move the listener towards or away from a certain position. In the case of the moonlight howling in *Alpha and Omega*, the howling along with the music increasingly reaches and surrounds the world of the viewer. Furthermore, as the couples dance, the physical contact and proximity of their bodies through their movements come to function as a substitute for meaning hidden behind the dance, that of sexuality provided in a fashionable way in anthropomorphised films to invoke specific meanings in the audience.

5.8 Summary

This chapter has attempted to address RQ2 and RQ3: How are euphemistic representations discursively exploited linguistically and visually in anthropomorphised films?, and regarding the findings for RQs 1 and 2, How and why are these euphemistic representations constructed in discourse related to the genre of anthropomorphised films? As sexual euphemisms have been quantified and qualitatively analysed, the analysis of the samples aims to show how euphemisms in animated films can serve as indicators of

hidden sexual messages. The results suggest that animated films create playful and discursive euphemisms using various creative techniques. It is demonstrated from the analysis that visual representations mostly highlight the sexuality behind hidden sexual euphemisms in order to function as the main comic factor in films. The following chapter addresses how animated films deal with another ideological problem and social practice: gender.

Chapter Six

Gendered euphemisms in animated films

6.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter focused on sexual euphemism, this chapter considers gendered euphemism as an extension to the theme of sexuality. I begin with a general theoretical discussion of gendered discourse as a solid basis on which I can build the analysis of gendered euphemisms. The focus then moves to identifying a range of linked gendered discourses, i.e. subthemes under the main theme of objectifying women, in anthropomorphised films. Such representations of traces of gendered discourses are approached through euphemisms, which are put under scrutiny in this chapter along with their frequency in the data set. Following that, the focus moves to taking a close look at gendered euphemisms used to refer to these gendered themes. Then, the focus shifts to representative scenes from the data set and the synergy between visual and linguistic representations.

6.2 Gendered Discourse in anthropomorphised films

In this chapter, gender is tackled as part of much broader sex discourse. The relation between sex and gender can be informed by aspects of queer theory and feminist theory (Livia & Hall, 1997), both of which provide useful approaches for studying the power relations surrounding sexuality and gender, respectively (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

Anthropomorphised films can be seen as a highly relevant epistemological site for gender and language study, given the sheer numbers of viewers (adults and children) (Unger & Sunderland, 2005). Moreover, gendered discourses greatly contribute to the humour and plots of anthropomorphised films. Therefore, the present chapter is

concerned with the use of euphemism playing a significant role in constructing and deploying loaded language and subliminal messages of gender stereotypes in anthropomorphised films.

6.2.1 Gender

In this section, I will give a general theoretical account of gender, tackling its definitions, stating the most pioneering gender movements which have laid the ground for gender discourses and on which I will build my analysis.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2013, p. 10) discuss gender as referring to anatomical sex, but at the same time exaggerating biological differences, and carrying biological difference into areas of life in which it is entirely irrelevant. It is where gender and sex congregate, as society tries to construct ways of behaving with biological sex traits. While sex is a biological categorisation referring to anatomical binary oppositions between males and females, primarily based on reproductive potential, gender is the social elaboration and cultural beliefs of biological sex and about what actually makes someone male or female (ibid.). Sex determination establishes the basis for a lifetime process of gendering. Talbot supports gender being a process “in which people are actively involved in the process of their own gendering” (2010, p. 8).

At this point, it is essential to dig deeper into the definition of gender. The definition of gender is problematic as it reveals two main critical perspectives. The question of whether gender can be defined as biological or social recurs in many studies. Talbot (2010, pp. 7-8) provides a definition that manifests a social characterisation of gender, rather than a biological one, sex, and asserts that gender is a “learned behaviour” that is “socially constructed” and via which “people acquire characteristics that are masculine or feminine”. Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 220) support that view, defining

gender as “a social construct referring to the traits assigned to men and women. These traits are not absolute, but socially and culturally determined and learned.”

In keeping with gender conceptualisation as a social phenomenon rather than a biological one, Sunderland (2004, p. 14) proposes that gender has “shifted the focus from a grim determinism to the possibilities of unlearning and relearning, resistance to the existing order, and change, on both an individual and social level”, and hence gender is a dynamic process that people orient to and do, including in their language and discourse (Sunderland, 2004). The previous explanation supports the earlier notion that gender is far from being an absolute principle; rather, it entails strong tendencies and much variation. Therefore, men and women are social categories and the recognition of biological sex differences on which the distinction seems to rest is itself a social and cultural practice.

It is argued in research on early gender socialisation that males, both children and adults, have emerged as more engaged in enforcing gender difference than females. Males developed a sense of high valuation of male activities. In contrast, the devaluation of female activities became a common-sensical way. Such enforcements of gender roles have caused beliefs about differences in males’ and females’ natural abilities to be learned when very young and so indirectly (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013). Therefore, a definition by Walby refers to this kind of valuation of the male in a community as “a system of social structures and practice in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women” (Walby, 1990).

From biological ‘sex’ emerged the word ‘sexism’ in parallel with the term ‘racism’. It was introduced in the 1960s by women who defined themselves as a

suppressed minority stating their need to be judged and valued on equal terms to men. Therefore, 'sexism' refers to the underlying political interests of discriminated women within their social system based on sexual relationships (Wodak, 2015b). Women began to fight the legal system to end discrimination and sexual harassment and secure equal pay.

By 1980, the second wave of the women's liberation movement won some significant changes to women's rights as women started to work outside the home. The third wave of feminism resulted in the sexes being viewed as "different" rather than inferior or superior to each other. However, feminism is not about hating men, rather, it is about looking at how both overt and covert practices in different societies function to empower men rather than women in many ways, such as economically, legally, educationally, socially and linguistically. Moreover, it is about how gender intersects with other social practices and identities, such as age, class, ethnicity and sexuality (Sunderland, 2010).

Unlike feminist linguistics, which studies the use of language and concerns itself with gender differences in conversation and discourse, CDS deals with issues of culture and society. If distinctions between male and female traits are considered to be social and cultural practices, then it is necessary to analyse examples of these distinctions among different sociocultures and in different genres. Following Sunderland (2004), in the study of discourse in its interpretive sense, discourses are ways of seeing the world, with reference to relations of powers and domination (Fairclough, 2003).

From the above perspectives of discourse, a close analysis of how language and visual representations are employed in films to recreate and reconstruct real-life situations is vital. Moreover, earlier research confirmed that the discourse of animated

films affects the future speech and ideologies of viewers, forming a set of “cognitive and moral norms” and “theoretically-articulated world-views” which, in their totality, form the world of “collective representations” of any given society (Berger 1970, p. 376, quoted in Riley 2007, p. 19). These social practices can be violated or defied through cinematic representations. Representation of gender may be highly stereotypical and there may be a significant difference between representation and reality. However, the representation of gender with which I am concerned is not about gender in the sense of what men and women tend to be like in terms of their socially shaped abilities, attitudes, language use and social practices. Rather, this is gender in the sense of ideas about men and women, as well as about gender relations, and masculinity and femininity more widely (Sunderland, 2010).

6.2.2 Gendered euphemisms: revisiting the data set

Following on from section 6.2.1, it is manifested that the issue of male/female gender differences was developed by a community and some of its participants. Therefore, before attempting to analyse animated films, it is vital to explain that, in this thesis, the discussion of gender is idea-based. Following Sunderland (2010), gender then is an idea about men and women and gender relations. It also draws on the concepts of agency and language use as constructive, including language about gender and gender differences that is linguistically constructed in such a way that gender appears important.

It is arguable that early children’s fiction, including literature and films, displayed distinctly male domination and masculine orientation (Knowles & Malmkjær, 2002). Traditional gender characteristics include being masculine, e.g. athletic, and brave, while traditionally feminine characteristics are, for example, helpful and nurturing. It is suggested that attractive female

characters are passive (Thompson & Zerbinos, 1995). Besides, most of the traditional animations contained climatic rescue scenes, which were examined for the role each character played, being rescued or performing the rescue (England, Descartes, & Collier-Meek, 2011). However, recent animated films seem to portray more nuanced femininity than that in earlier films. According to Sunderland (2010), studies of modern children's fiction cannot be separated from the feminist influence on fiction. The femininity portrayed in more recent films offers more agency and female animated characters are more assertive and sexualised (King et al., 2010).

The current section is concerned with defining gendered euphemisms exclusively in relation to the present study. As mentioned before, euphemism is utilised to suppress and camouflage taboos related to social and ideological practices and can be deceiving as to how it backgrounds or belittles people or ideas. Thus, in accordance with the previous gendered taboo formation by Allan and Burrige (1991), I propose a definition of gendered euphemisms as euphemisms that “implicitly refer to sexism against females or are manipulatively used to devalue them through commenting on their physical or sexual or cultural characteristics”. Such euphemistic depictions in animated films both mirror and shape social behaviours and opinions about females, resulting in either identification and empathy to encourage harmony, or detachment and disengagement to cause a rejection on the part of the viewer. For this reason, the treatment of gender in animated films is highly substantial in terms of strengthening stigmatisation and prejudice or in terms of overcoming discrimination and intolerance.

There are several instances in the data set gender (33 euphemisms) where euphemisms are directly related to gendered discourses. To this end, as part of the gender stereotype, Judy in *Zootopia* is trapped in, many names and descriptions are

given to her that are worth looking at and categorising. Opting for parallel race and gender stereotypes, Judy has been called a *stupid, carrot farming dumb bunny*, referring to the farm she comes from, and from which people are stereotypically assumed to be dumb, while bunny refers to her gender through a metaphor of *mons venires*. Moreover, she is addressed using diminutives implying smallness, either actual or ascribed, to convey scorn, such as *poor little bunny*, a naive *little hick with good grades and a little tail between her legs*, as well as sexist endearing words for women, such as *sweetheart, bunny bumpkin* and *cute*. A number of physical descriptions of Judy or her tail are used by other animals, particularly predators and colleagues, such as *fuzzy-wuzzy, cottontail, flat foot, fluff, stuffed animal, fuzz, fluff butt, fuzzy bunny* and *buffalo butt*. Once, she is portrayed as a tommy-boy for her choice of job by calling her *Jude the Dude*. What forms the background to the euphemism bunny is usually closely tied to women, which might be valid as I shed light on how some animals in the film are sexist and scorn Judy for doing things like females do: *you throw like a bunny, you bunnies are so emotional*, meaning you throw like a girl and you girls are so emotional, both of which are gender stereotypes. Judy is gendered and racialised as a female officer by being functionalised using her job title and her physical description through terms such as *flopsy copsy, officer fluff* and *officer toot toot*.

In *Alpha and Omega*, an example of a sexually arousing female in terms of objectifying women is *Kate is hot*, while examples of male dominance and sexuality is *he is a stud, an alpha's alpha, moose*. As far as the film *Sing* is concerned, originally, the euphemism *butt* was impolite, but now it is used freely (Spears, 2001, p. 62). However, Spears adds, if 'butt' is referring to women, then, it is considered sexually as part of the intersection between sexuality and gender discourses (ibid.). In *Madagascar*,

‘my little filet mignon’ is used to objectify women as merely sex objects to be enjoyed or eaten, and thus this can be considered a dysphemism for women, i.e. derogatory.

6.3 Objectifying Women

The topic of gender differences is highlighted by Allan and Burrige (1991) as they explain how taboos related to gender are formed. First, men are typically downgraded by assigning the characteristics of women to them, because women’s weak physiological structure is seen as a disadvantage by men. But when women are ascribed the characteristics of men, they are not generally downgraded, they are credited. Second, such a disadvantage has led men to assert social dominance and even ownership rights over women, and to peculiar taboos over women’s reproductive organs and bodies that are supposedly created to protect a genealogical asset (Allan & Burrige, 1991). Therefore, women are still objectified in animated films. Objectivation is a metonymical form of impersonalisation, which refers to social actors in terms of places or objects they are typically associated with (van Leeuwen, 1996b). Women are usually associated with sexuality, their bodies and their reproductive system.

The following are four examples of female characters and how they are treated in four different films in terms of objectifying women in anthropomorphised films by looking closely at how the picture of women has changed in animated films from passive to active or from domesticating women to extremely sexualising them at the linguistic or verbal level.

6.3.1 Example 9: Case of “Alrighty, boys, fun’s over”

6.3.1.1 Summary and background of the extract

The extracted scene, from the film *Madagascar* (2005), includes Gloria, one of four runaway friends from Central Park Zoo. After their ship is wrecked, Gloria comes out

of the ocean where two starfish forming a woman's breasts and a crab on her genitalia are sucked into her body. She looks down at them and says, "Alrighty, boys, fun's over."

As part of a linked gendered discourse, the current example shows traces of gender connected to objectifying females in terms of their sexuality. However, the discourse of female sexuality has developed contradictions; a sexual female is both unacceptable as well as powerful and desired (Davies, 2003). As paradoxical as it may seem, such gendered relations can be explained. First, it is demonstrated that when a female openly displays her body and sexuality, then her virtue is questioned, as it is generally considered incompatible with the concept of female morality. The lack of female virtue is the opposite of males' sexual behaviour which is seen as a positive expression of sexuality (Haug, 1984). Second, the way a female displays her sexuality and body projects her as an object for others' gaze, given that it is a vital factor in the process of how sexuality is generally constituted (Davies, 2003, p. 81). Moreover, women with overt sexuality are considered dangerous, alluring or seductive, because such women are assimilated 'to the "Siren" figure' (Davies, 2003, p. 125), women who were able to lure men to their deaths through the beauty of their singing in Greek mythology. Actively sexual women are discursively constituted as unacceptable in both myth and current usage in texts (ibid.).

Although, in an animated film, this example counters the usual tendency to view overt expressions of female sexuality as unacceptable and instead promotes elements that position sexual women as powerful. Gloria's sexuality is used rather willingly to invite the boys, the crab and the starfish, to explore her body. She appears to be in control of how much of the boys' fun and attention she wants while she positions herself to be an object of another's gaze. Therefore, she is objectified as a woman through such gaze,

allowing her to be powerful because she is a highly valued object for the viewer and the boys in the image as well.

6.3.1.2 Linguistic Representation

This example allows a reading of sexuality as a feature of gendered discourse which relies heavily on the context in which the euphemism occurs. In the case of “fun’s over”, the OED lists fun as a euphemism originally meaning light-hearted pleasure, enjoyment or entertainment. Allan and Burridge (1991, p. 91) list the euphemism ‘to have fun/ having fun’ among the list of euphemisms for sex acts. It is categorised as a dyadic euphemism structured from a NOUN PHRASE PREDICATE WITH NOUN PHRASE which refers to enjoying oneself in a light-hearted or lively way, with specific reference to sexual activity.

Moreover, the OED lists the compound noun ‘fun time’ as a euphemism, frequently used in the language of personal advertisements, for sexual activities. Holder (2003, p. 190) also lists ‘fun’ as a euphemism meaning promiscuous sexual activity that is detached from the original meaning of fun; hoaxing or trickery, from which amusement and pleasure come. The imagery of game and sports promotes an unbiased reinterpretation of a sexual encounter as an innocent pastime. This unbiased promotion of a sexual encounter clearly determines the perception of the receiver, who is compelled to understand sexual taboo in terms of this particular conceptualisation, leaving aside other unacceptable semantic traits of the referent (Crespo, 2008). Moreover, Tsang (2009) states that shaping sex as a game may arouse the receivers’ interest towards sex, so the meaning of having fun is transported to the sex domain.

The euphemism discursively constructs the natural processes of the sex act as ‘fun’ in a nomination strategy. Therefore, the use of ‘fun’ in this context is a euphemism

related to the fun time Gloria and the boys have, with Gloria seizing power and being in control, and the boys exploring her body, which is highly valued. Moreover, the euphemism ‘fun’ is constructed in a statement declaring that the fun is over. However, the statement sounds more like a command, a request to which the boys are obliged to listen, given her authoritative voice.

6.3.1.3 VSAN




The scene of “alrighty, boys, fun’s over” is a depiction of sexploitation material included in the film *Madagascar* (2005). As mentioned in section 5.4, animated films usually include characters partially or wholly nude, but their normally private body parts are concealed. In this instance, the private body parts are concealed; however, giving Gloria a bikini gives her the outward appearance of humanity for an ideological purpose. Sexually speaking, both Gloria’s body postures and the curves given to her, in addition to the bikini, precisely invoke in the mind of the viewer her genitalia and breasts. Moreover, displaying her covered genitalia and breasts as markers of her sexuality foregrounds sexual behaviour to concentrate more closely on her female body. Gloria’s knowledge of her sexuality puts her in a position of power and authority, as she is depicted looking down at the crab and starfish and shaking them off, confirmed by her authoritative voice in “fun’s over”. As she flirts with the boys and plays hard to get, within this performance of sexuality, this also suppresses the image as it ultimately falls in line with traditional gender roles (see Extract 11).


Relating to the discourse of sexuality mentioned in the background, at first, Gloria appears in the scene individually performing an alluring action, wearing a bikini and a wig and showing her body curves. Such a depiction is closely related to objectifying women and to highlighting how they always act alone and strategically (Machin &

Mayr, 2012). However, this depiction only lasts for a few seconds and then Gloria starts dismissing the boys, and the viewer is shocked that they are other animals.

Then, the way Gloria shakes them off and calls them ‘boys’ also attracts our attention to the gender of the animals who were grabbing at her breasts and genitalia. In other words, the male characters, as referred to by Gloria, are depicted in low activities, “wild” and “uncivilised”, which is confirmed by her look down at them. Being glued onto her genitalia and breasts can be classified as an act of sexual encounter.

The crab and the starfish are represented as agents or doers of the action as part of the male role, i.e. exploring her body, while Gloria is a patient or the person to whom the sexual action is done. It is analogous with the background of how a male’s sexual behaviour is seen as a positive characteristic as far as sexuality is concerned.

Shot 1	Shot 2	Shot 3
		
depiction: dramatic entrance of Gloria wearing a bikini and a seaweed wig	soundtrack: alrighty, boys, fun's over	soundtrack: funny sound of starfish and crab unsticking themselves
effect: "Siren" figure effect – highly humanised	camera movement: high angle	camera movement: long shot
	effect: power over viewer because of her sexuality	effect: voyeurs to engage with humour invoked by the sound of unsticking and Gloria's serious facial expression

Shot 4

camera movement: no direct address
effect: object of viewer's gaze

Extract 11 Madagascar (2005, 00:32:34- 00:32:38) "alrighty, boys, fun's over"

6.3.1.4 RVN

In the still images of the scene, Gloria and her bikini animals are depicted in a medium shot. Women tend to be represented in medium shots in order for the viewer to see what the woman is wearing and to connote her acting in a modernist setting (Machin & Mayr, 2012). In hindsight, it might be connoting the sexual way Gloria is acting and the sexually suggestive scene she is promoting and encouraging the viewer to look at.

There is no direct address in this instance as the characters are not depicted looking at the viewer, yet, the starfish and the crab function here as a visual synecdoche, as they are effective in drawing the viewer's attention to the qualities and associations of a part, i.e. genitalia and breasts, and its fundamental role within the whole, i.e. attractiveness and objectifying the sexuality of the female body, working as both emotive and suggestive shorthand for the viewer (Wells, 2013, p. 80). Moreover, Gloria's body is angled towards the viewer, which means that she wants the viewer to look at her and her pretty sexy female body (van Leeuwen, 2008).

In shot 2, Gloria is depicted looking down at but not making eye contact with the other characters, which can mean a disinterest in them while being powerful over them. In shots 3 and 4, Gloria looks at a point on the horizon at a right angle, as if remembering recent experiences. It may also be interpreted as showing power and dominance over the boys to whom she has just said "fun's over".

As for social relations, in shot 1, the viewer is looking up at Gloria, as she is above eye level, which signifies that she has symbolic power over the viewer, an authority of knowing the effect of her sexy female body. Moreover, the viewer is involved in the scene as Gloria is depicted from a horizontal frontal angle, which provides the audience

with a clear view of the front of Gloria, so that her facial expression, hand gestures and body posture may be plainly seen (Thompson & Bowen, 2009).

6.3.1.5 Interrelation between linguistic and visual representations

In this instance, the interaction between the linguistic and visual modes accentuates an attitudinal dissonance. While the linguistic euphemism mitigates the elements that position sexual women as powerful and sexual playfulness as fun, the visual mode promotes a visual metaphor of the ‘Siren’ figure of Gloria and the removal of the bikini to display her nakedness and position herself as an object of the viewer’s gaze, allowing her to be symbolically powerful. Therefore, the visual mode counterbalances the idea of innocent ‘fun’ manipulatively played with through the metaphorical euphemism and links the viewer’s understanding of the meaning to intensify the effect of fun, humour and playfulness in the visual representation.

6.3.2 Example 10: Case of “a trained alpha”

6.3.2.1 Summary and background of the extract

As opposed to the previous example where Gloria deliberately exposes herself to others’ gaze, it is demonstrated that Kate, an alpha female, is objectified through other characters in the film *Alpha and Omega*. Kate tries to move away from the fixed gender role ascribed to her as an alpha female and a future leader of the pack. She is “a trained alpha” and “the finest alpha I’ve ever trained”, but she is not “an alpha’s alpha”, an alpha male who is very masculine as well as the future leader of the other wolf pack in the film. Kate, despite all the efforts she makes for the pack, is seen in the same gender role framed for women, as a sex object.

The selection of this example from *Alpha and Omega* (2010) was motivated after close examination of scenes in the film and online critics’

reviews of the film. *Alpha and Omega* (2010) is seen as a relevant source of gendered discourse, given that the film is said to contain not only diverse subliminal gendered representations but also sexual messages (Whitmore, 2010). However, it seems that this film has a mixture of contradictory views regarding gender role. It is demonstrated that the film is feminist at the story level, but not in its execution. The execution seems to support the traditional patriarchal view causing what is called a fractured story (Kuykendal & Sturm, 2007). This kind of mixing between traditional patriarchal ideologies and a modern feminist view challenges gender stereotypes only at the story level of the text. Feminist change only relies on a straightforward reversal of gender roles and the substitution of strong female characters for more passive female ones. *Alpha and Omega* is an example of a feminist film that complies with the traditional form of films but possesses apparent reversals of traditional gender roles. This use of gendered discourse about how Kate is a strong alpha female in *Alpha and Omega* stands in sharp contrast to the use of visual elements in the film to sexualise her as if she has no use other than an objectified body.

In this instance, Kate's father, Winston, enters announcing that it is time for Kate to leave. When Humphrey asks her where she is going, she replies, "Alpha school." Kate's father explains to Humphrey that he is an omega male who can never be in a relationship with an alpha female, because tradition does not allow it. Although Kate can talk about herself as a strong alpha who is going to lead the pack, the fact that Kate's father is talking about her in that way to protect her shows a glimpse of traditional patriarchal dominance.

The female protagonist in the film, Kate, seems to be undertaking the responsibilities of a male. Kate is expected to be “a trained alpha” and “the future leader of the pack”. She is a persevering leader, working hard, practising to achieve her goals and the role she is going to take on in the future. In other words, Kate is represented as an active female in terms of being an alpha, but at the same time stereotypically passive for being an object.

The scene offers insights into changes in gendered content over time within a unique scope rendered through the use of manipulative euphemisms. However, to demonstrate a full account of the euphemism, it is first necessary to explain the context where the euphemism occurs. A euphemism makes the negative appear as a positive to constitute a direct expression of implicit values and affective meaning. These meanings oppose what they seem to mitigate through euphemism.

6.3.2.2 Linguistic Representation

Interpreting the gendered euphemism “trained alpha” in various sequences depends heavily on the context. Mindful of the background about alphas, it should now be realised that the euphemisms “trained alpha” or “the finest alpha I’ve ever trained” carry traces of gendered discourse. The description ‘trained alpha’ in itself does not carry any gendered traces, however, it is the word omitted from the context that counts as gendered. The word ‘female’ is fully omitted from the scene.

The father here seems to be proud of his daughter, who is an alpha female; however, she needs training, still needs his protection, and is still

dominated by the pack to the extent that she will marry someone for the sake of uniting two packs fighting over territory. In this scene, there is a subversion of the ideology that females can be strong enough to lead a whole pack but fail in the execution because of their weak nature and their limited abilities contrary to males. If Kate is to be compared to Garth, the future leader of the other pack, who is an 'alpha's alpha', 'moose' and 'stud', then she needs his protection and help to be able to lead her pack. Nevertheless, this is implied behind the euphemism but not explicitly said, and this is why euphemisms are not trustworthy but highly manipulative devices.

It is demonstrated, in the OED, that an alpha wolf is the dominant one among others of its sex in a mixed group of social animals. Kate's dad has no male heir to become the future leader of the pack, thus Kate is his only option. Kate is not only to be the dominant one among her sex, females, but also among the other sex, males. Therefore, in opting for the description 'trained' to refer to Kate, there is a connotation of downgrading her skills as an alpha wolf. In the OED, the word 'trained' means having been given sustained instruction and practice in an art, profession, occupation or procedure. Such a description accentuates the realisation that Kate needs training as a female with no natural skills to lead the pack. Thus, in this example of gendered discourse, the euphemism is achieved through fully omitting Kate's gender to avoid an explicit act of sexism, while declaring that in a statement just offering information to the viewer as well as to the characters in the scene. It is a mitigation strategy whereby the reference to her gender is fully omitted to avoid being sexist.

6.3.2.3 VSAN











In the examination above of the way linguistic details can reveal more about the subliminal meanings and ideologies in a text, such attention to detail proves valuable. The same kind of detailed analysis can be just as useful in the case of visual representations. The example provided is visually significant as it puts under scrutiny a critical set of shots which focus on the way Humphrey objectifies Kate's body (Extract 12).

In the shots, while Kate's father refers to her as a "trained alpha", Humphrey is depicted in a very unusual state of mind, a visual mental process reacting to Kate's butt. It is considered a sexually explicit scene in an animated film as gazing at a woman's body is a sexual phenomenon. In this sequence, we see the camera zooming in on the faces of Humphrey and the father in separate shots, and then dissolving to a shot of Kate's body, before returning to Humphrey's face. As Humphrey's eyes are wide open, this might be interpreted as a fantasy, i.e. fantasising about Kate. This interpretation is rendered through the facial expressions in the opening and closing shots of Humphrey and supported by the kind of sound he is making: "la la la laaaa", and moving his head with each step she takes as if miming her body movement.

To portray the look from a gendered perspective, Humphrey's reaction towards Kate's body offers a kind of possible pleasure, i.e. scopophilia, which the OED defines as a kind of sexual stimulation or satisfaction derived principally from looking. Freud associates scopophilia with "taking other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze" (Freud cited in Mulvey 2006).

Within the theme of gendered imbalance between active/male and passive/female there arises pleasure in looking. There are many issues arising from the gaze scene. First, Kate's body, which is styled to be looked at and displays an appearance implying strong visual and suggestive power connoting "to-be-looked-at", forces Humphrey gaze to focus in it as if a fantasy. Additionally, using women as sexual objects is significant in film terms, for it can be seen as an element of an erotic scene (Mulvey, 2006). It is a form of objectifying, stereotyping and exploiting.

Second, the direction in which Kate is moving, opposite to Humphrey's, suggests independence, power and resistance to his reductive power of gaze. By depicting her from behind, the camera focuses on her swaying hips, framing them in the centre of the screen while she walks away. Kate's positioning, between the male gaze and her potential as an equal being, is a source of dramatic conflict in the film that highlights the mixture of contradictory views regarding gender role mentioned in section 6.2.1. That is why, in the fantasy sequence, the motion may be distorted in some way, through a slow-motion shot of Kate's body while moving. The visual presence of Kate's body "tends to work against the development of the storyline, to freeze the flow of action in moments of erotic observation" (Mulvey, 2006, p. 346). Moreover, the distortion of slow-motion helps to define the nature of Humphrey's reaction to Kate's body, which is coloured by emotion, desire.

shot 1	shot 2	shot 3
		
soundtrack: she will camera movement: low angle	soundtrack: be a trained Alpha, camera movement: over the shoulder view- low angle	soundtrack: The future .. camera movement: eyelines
effect: the father has power over Humphrey (class hierarchies)-	effect: to view Humphrey from the father's perspective as lower in class	effect: Humphrey is gazing at the father while he speaks trying to understand
shot 4	shot 5	shot 6
		
soundtrack: leader of the pack camera movement: silly facial expressions	soundtrack: Hahahaha (laughing) No doubt camera movement: close shot- high angle and laugh in the soundtrack	camera movement: off-frame eyelines
effect: confirming the gender stereotype, patriarchal attitude (speech is opposing what he thinks that she needs defence)	effect: interrelation between the soundtrack and visual mocking Humphrey	effect: directed towards Humphrey
shot 7	shot 8	shot 9
		
camera movement: long shot	soundtrack: you'll be a camera movement: long shot	soundtrack: (silly music in the background) clever omega camera movement: camera moving with Humphrey – off-frame eyelines
effect: detachment to evaluate the situation	effect: to indicate movement	effect: to indicate movement- directed towards Kate, thus expectation
shot 10	shot 11	shot 12
		
soundtrack: (Silly music continues) Drum drum drum with Kate's butt movement camera movement: back view	camera movement: high angle	soundtrack: learn to keep the peace (as Humphrey's head is wiggling with Kate's butt movement and his eyes are widen with joy) depiction: eyes wide open
effect: engaging viewer to focus on her swaying hips	effect: her sexuality has power over viewers- invoking to be looked at (objectivation)	effect: visual mental process fantasysing about Kate's sexuality- sexual stimulation by looking

Extract 12 Alpha and Omega (2010, 00:02:57- 00:03:12) "She is a trained alpha"

6.3.2.4 RVN

I now return to the construction referred to above, this time to examine the vantage point of the viewer concerning the action. Humphrey seems to be in his own world of fantasy about Kate's body. The perception process is realised by a disconnected transactive reaction to the phenomenon matched by Humphrey's eyeline towards Kate's body in separate shots. As Humphrey looks up in one shot, the angle of Kate's body is from below to match the angle of Humphrey's eyeline. The viewer may imagine extensions of the movement which point to a third, imagined participant (van Leeuwen, 1996a). In this case, the viewer is no longer just a witness to the scene but is asked to become a participant in the world depicted. In other words, the viewer becomes part of the meaning of the image (Extract 12).

The viewer, while being engaged in the world of the image, is free to remain a mere observer of it. Given the choice, a relationship is created between the viewer's body and the extended motions imagined as emerging from the image. This, in turn, is determined by the point of view presented in the image to the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). This is further supported by Hart (2014), who explains that a movement presents to us a particular point of view from which we are asked to see the scene depicted. This can be seen as functioning ideologically, as it brings the viewer's body into particular alignment with elements in the scene depicted and previous universal embodied experiences. Given this orientation, Mulvey (2006) explains the two levels on which displayed women traditionally function in film terms. The first level is as an erotic object for other characters within the film story, while the other level is as an erotic object for the viewer, with a

shifting tension between looks on either side of the screen. Kate performs here as the object of gaze of the viewer as well as Humphrey, which are neatly combined without apparent breaking the narrative reality. For a moment, the sexual impact of Kate's body takes the film into a liminal phase outside its own time and space (Mulvey, 2006).

6.3.2.5 Interrelation between linguistic and visual representations

At first, one might think *Alpha and Omega* is a modern feminist work defying traditional patriarchal as well as sexual views in children's films. Nevertheless, a close examination of the extract might lead to a modification of this view. Part of the conflict here is that Kate portrays more stereotypically masculine characteristics, yet she cannot talk for herself, which confirms the fact that she is incapable of doing certain things. Moreover, she is powerless when she is objectified and not willingly exposed to others' gaze. At no point in this text are we overtly told how we should interpret this conflict, yet this is indicated through visual choices. The visual can sometimes render the initial implied meaning of the verbal content unreliable.

In this instance, the verbal and visual modes interact to accentuate an attitudinal dissonance. While shots are devoted to sexualising and objectifying Kate, her father is describing her as a 'trained alpha'. The shots zoom in on Humphrey's face, showing the fantasy look on it, and the clowning sound, which indicates a kind of contradictory humorous effect compared to the denotative meaning of the text. However, if we take into consideration the connotative level of the shot where the meaning is conceptualised through the full omission of euphemism, the visual seems to be ideally confirming

gendered stereotypes in the language. Although Kate is strong and confident, she is still objectified and gender-stereotyped in the eyes of Humphrey, and by extension the viewer as well.

6.3.3 Example 11: Case of “*You’ve got to show fire and desire*”

6.3.3.1 Summary and background of the extract

This example, extracted from *Sing* (2016) provides another substantiation where women are objectified in an animated film. The discourse of the domestic sphere and love is one related to female power. Davies (2003) justifies female power in relation to domesticity as legitimate when mothers practise their authority over their children, persuading them to behave appropriately. Moreover, the image of the domestic woman is closely tied to the romantic image of beauty and love forever, as well as virtue. In the current example, the viewer sees how Rosita’s character develops from being an extremely domesticated boring housewife to an extremely sexualised singer and dancer. Thus, the current example defies the traditional discourse of domesticated women, going to the extreme, which is highly sexualised women. However, the challenge of the two extremes seems to be in promoting the fact that women cannot be both at the same time; they can only be boring unnoticed housewives traditionally domesticated and virtuous, or highly exciting and noticed sexual objects. The borderline between the two discourses is not clearly stated in the film. It highlights to the audience a case of either-or, with no further enlightenment of reality.

Within the context of the film, Rosita is a loving mother to her 25 children and a devoted wife to her workaholic husband, Norman. She is a housewife who spends all her time cooking, cleaning and childcaring. Rosita is overloaded with family chores to the extent that she feels she trapped in a vicious circle of boredom and yearns to be more than just a devoted mum and wife. Having given up pursuing her talent as a singer, she

finds moments of freedom when she starts singing to relieve herself from house-chore stress. It is a heavy cross for Rosita to bear that her family does not recognise her talent, as her kids mock her when she sings, and her husband is too tired most of the time to notice her. Rosita also proves to be a great engineer, as she manages in one night to build multiple devices that do her chores, which eventually goes unnoticed by everyone.

When a flyer for a singing competition comes past her window, she decides to audition. She sings in front of Buster, and she successfully wins a slot in the competition. However, Buster states that although she has a good voice, she is boring to watch. Therefore, he partners her with Gunter, a male singer with a fascinating character. Gunter is a Scandinavian pig with an extremely dynamic personality. He is not afraid to show his love of singing and dancing, calling his drive and passion to sing and dance “Piggy Power!” Gunter tends to adopt a very dramatic way to convey his enthusiasm to others, as well as wearing very revealing clothes, such as glittery leotards (Fandom, n.d.-b). It is he who encourages Rosita to subvert her conservative style, loosen up and let her body go with the music in this example. Gunter may be an example of a gendered discourse related to queer behaviour and sexual identity.

Contrary to the traditional view of a mother’s power and authority, Rosita cannot control her children and make them listen, nor can she make her husband love her and so has no romantic relationship with him. This is signified when she gets back home with news of her audition, excited and eager, but her children appear to be too rowdy and her husband too tired to listen. Moreover, Rosita does not feel beautiful and sexy anymore; thus, she has lost her fire and desire. Given that, Rosita is frustrated as she falls on her face during rehearsals. Therefore, Gunter tries to encourage her by telling her to loosen up and “show the fire and desire”. However, Rosita thinks she is unable to loosen up like Gunter, telling him that the fire died out a long time ago, and unhappily

quits. Then, she freely and passionately dances while grocery-shopping, which gives her the confidence to go back to rehearsals the next day. On the night of the show, Rosita and Gunter are the first to sing and dance. At first, the audience, including Norman and the children, laugh at the dance, and then they are shocked when Rosita and Gunter change into matching sparkly black costumes and perform a great dance. Rosita's children run onto the stage to congratulate her, while Norman, utterly amazed, follows them, and romantically kisses his wife after she has shown her fire and desire (Fandom, n.d.-d).

6.3.3.2 Linguistic Representation

In the current context there is a new kind of euphemism derived by combining two words using the connector 'and', in "show the fire and desire". According to the OED, the word 'fire' in its literal sense means the physical manifestation of burning, characterised by flames and the production of intense heat and light, and caused by the ignition of flammable material in the presence of oxygen. It is also described as being dangerous and destructive. However, 'fire' can be used in specific figurative uses and contexts to mean a burning emotion; a strong feeling of passion, rage, love; or as a personal quality, such as a passionate character; enthusiastic. The euphemism fire is combined with desire which, in this context, is bound to sexuality. Desire is defined as a physical or sensual appetite, lust in the OED. Spears (2001) lists desires as a euphemism which means desires of the flesh, such as food, drink and sex, usually the latter.

The euphemism is interdiscursively derived from a song by the singers Rick James and Teena Marie (1981). Going through the lyrics of the song, it tells the story of a lover who sees his ex and explains to her how it used to be when they were together. I include the part which constitutes an interpretation of the compound euphemism 'fire and desire'.

Then I kissed your lips and you *turned on my fire*, baby

And you burned me up within your flame

Took me a little higher

Made me live again, *you turned on my fire*, baby

Then you showed me what a love could do

Fire and desire, baby

Feel it comin' through

And I thank you, baby (Fire And Desire Lyrics, n.d.).

In the song, the singer implies that his lover used to turn on his sexual appetite (turned on my fire), which resulted in his desire for sexual activity. After shedding light on the meaning of the euphemism in the song, it is now vital to shed light on the euphemism in the present example, the two combined words 'fire and desire'. First, the euphemism 'fire and desire' is achieved through metaphor that carries connotations of 'burning' and 'lust'. However, what 'fire and desire' actually are and what they do is unclear in the linguistic representation. The euphemism is accentuating that fiery emotions or passionate drive transmitted through sexy dancing will cause the audience to be affected by the dancer, desire. Such social events are represented with various degrees of abstraction to avoid being specific (Fairclough, 2003). 'Fire and desire' are abstracted to a low degree, as this allows recognition of what processes are carried out with what causes, by which social actors and in which times and places. Therefore, the relation between the euphemism 'fire and desire' and its result, 'to sexually arouse someone', is instantiated through dancing as a definition of females as sex objects. Feelings and ideas about sexuality take shape via dancing, both of which share the same instrument, the human body. Dance as a medium evokes, reinforces and clarifies messages of desire and

fantasy. Moreover, dance has qualities that psychologists report arouse viewers and influence their attitudes and opinions (Hanna, 1988).

The present sample also accentuates metaphorical reference through the euphemistic unit, which has not been fully lexicalised and maintains its literal sense, coexisting with the figurative one for euphemistic reference of the conceptualisation SEX IS FIRE (Crespo, 2011). With regard to use of the HEAT metaphor as a source domain for lust, it conceptualises a wide range of emotions that appear in the metaphor EMOTION IS THE HEAT OF FIRE, which demonstrates that the meaning of the metaphor is emotional intensity (Kövecses, 2000). The FIRE metaphor constructs sex or sexual enjoyment as fire which triggers receivers' passion and tempts them to have intimate relationships with others (Tsang, 2009).

Finally, metaphorical euphemism is used discursively through an abstract command: "You've got to show the fire and desire." Here, Gunter the male dancer uses an imperative construction demanding Rosita to loosen up and let the music control her body. The command includes metaphor approached through nomination of a phenomenon. This abstract command is used to conceal the actual actions and background the real effects of gender and sexuality on the viewer. When abstraction replaces actual places, actions and persons, then, ideological work is being done (Fairclough, 2003).

6.3.3.3 VSAN

The scene starts with Rosita going onto the stage to dance but she falls. She hurts her nose, gets embarrassed and quits the stage angrily. Then, the viewer is presented with the backstage scene where there are three females, Rosita, Ash and Meena, and one male, Gunter. In most of shots 1– 6 the viewer watches the scene from over Ash's shoulder to see the conversation between the RPs. In this example, it is Gunter who is

the primary agent, being represented through verbal processes trying to encourage Rosita.

Moreover, in the scene, the three females are represented passively. Their passivity is reflected through their silence, while Gunter with his dynamicity is doing all the verbal and behavioural processes. Meena, the elephant, is available in the background watching; Rosita, is walking away hurt; and Ash, the porcupine, is sitting down chewing gum and showing an act of withdrawal from life. It is the passivity of the three females that makes them collectivised in terms of insecurities and problems in their characters, in contrast to Gunter, a male, who is very proud of his sexual identity and has no fear in showing his drive and exposing too much skin by wearing leotards. Therefore, visually, it is he who has the capacity for agentive action to affect another being. He is also represented with enthusiastic and dynamic body movements and gestures, wiggling his upper part, jumping from one leg onto the other, acting out what he is saying about 'fire and desire', and putting one hand on his waist while moving the other to stress his dynamic force. Meanwhile, Rosita is the main patient of these processes, which foregrounds her passivity.

In shots 4 and 5, when Rosita is close to Gunter, the contrast between her practical pink shirt and blue jeans covering her up against Gunter's sexy red glittery leotards exposing too much of his skin makes her passivity overt. It is also applicable to the two other females in the background, Meena and Ash. What is more, linguistically, Rosita confirms her passivity, giving in to her domesticated life by saying that, "The fire went out a long time ago."

Rosita seems to be agentive in shots 7 and 8, however her agency is directed towards Gunter in anger and despair. In both shots, Rosita appears in a pose suggesting stillness, conformity, regimentation of her body and connoting discourses of female identity,

which position her in a mother/ housewife role. Rosita confirms this view later in the scene when she declares that her body parts are not responding to loosening them up. Unlike Rosita, the viewer can see Gunter in almost all the shots, jumping in the air and waving his arms about to bring a sense of fun and energy. He also appears to be in slumped and loose postures lacking physical control of his body, which represents him as playful and cheeky, as well as confident in a sense.

		
soundtrack: you can't just sing it	soundtrack: you've got to	soundtrack: show the fire and desire
camera movement: over Ash's shoulder perspective	depiction: Gunter as agent - no direct address	depiction: jumping in the air and waving his arms about
effect: watching the conversation while aligning with Ash	effect: verbal and behavioural processes centre of attention affecting viewer with his dynamic attitude - objectified	effect: bringing a sense of fun and energy to viewer

		
soundtrack: the fire	soundtrack: went out a long time ago	soundtrack: Gunter: what?
camera movement: side-on view	depiction: confirming linguistically her passive attitude	camera movement: long shot
effect: to watch the conversation as bystanders	effect: interrelation between linguistic and visual as Gunter's facial expressions show shock	effect: detachment

		
soundtrack: look, I can't even	soundtrack: keep count of the steps	soundtrack: Gunter: ugh!
depiction: Rosita as agent- medium shot	camera movement: a pose suggesting stillness, conformity, regimentation of her body	depiction: women passive- Gunter agent
effect: directing her anger to Gunter - to identify with her view and evaluate her personality	effect: connoting discourses of female identity, which position her in a mother/ housewife role and interrelated to soundtrack	effect: passivation of women in terms of their silence and insecurities, in contrast to Gunter's enthusiasm and confidence

Extract 13 Sing (2016, 00:54:16- 00:54:25) "Show your fire 'n' desire"

6.3.3.4 RVN

The whole scene is an argument between Gunter and Rosita, in which the viewer is merely an observer from side-on, a view that is more detached as it is seen from farther away (shots 1–6). In some shots, the side view changes with the turn taken by the participant; for example, as Gunter is speaking in shot 9, the viewer observes from over Rosita's shoulder; while as Rosita and Gunter speak in shots 1–6), the viewer observes from over Ash's shoulder. In two shots, 7 and 8, Rosita is represented individually and the viewer is encouraged to evaluate her personality while she recounts her worries and irritation (Extract 13).

In almost all the shots, Gunter is visually represented as 'other', not like the viewer, following a strategy of distancing, representing him as not close to the viewer but in a long shot as a stranger (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). Such distancing of Gunter can be related to his sexual identity, symbolised by his clothing and skin exposure, focusing on his difference and giving the viewer an impression of distancing themselves from him. With too much skin exposed to the viewer and such glittery tight clothing, Gunter is also being represented as an object for the viewer's scrutiny, rather than as a subject addressing the viewer with his gaze and symbolically engaging with the viewer.

Shots 7 and 8 show Rosita in close-up as she explains her worries and irritation. When women are represented in close-up, it is for the viewer to imagine them as agents of the feelings expressed in the text (Machin & Mayr, 2012). In shot 7, Rosita appears to be looking off-frame and slightly downwards because she is worried. Linguistically, she conveys her worries through saying that she cannot count her steps while dancing. Therefore, the linguistic mode here aligns with the visual representation. In shot 8, she looks irritated as she looks at Gunter side on, and waving both her hands which makes

her appear remote, struggling and a failure to the viewer (Machin & Mayr, 2012). In terms of language and visual, the viewer is encouraged to evaluate Rosita's personality. Moreover, Rosita is represented in a medium shot, which is not an intimate viewpoint.

6.3.3.5 Interrelation between visual and linguistic representations

'Fire and desire' is a euphemism that is abstracted linguistically and visually, thus, there is an attitudinal congruence. The visual euphemism supports the linguistic in terms of mitigating the ideology. However, the visual representation seems to be producing humour through Gunter. His exaggerated attitude in the visual mode contributes to intensifying the effect of his dynamicity and enthusiasm but not the effect of the euphemism. Such attitude may serve to make the viewer understand what Gunter means by acting the metaphor out, wiggling his upper part and jumping from one leg to the other. It is his enthusiasm, dynamic body movements and gestures that highlight his dynamic force and foreground his allocated agency in the scene.

6.3.4 Example 12: Case of "I'm not just some 'token' bunny".

6.3.4.1 Summary and background of the extract

This example is extracted from the film *Zootopia* (2016). Despite its animal characters, the film *Zootopia* by Disney discusses racist and sexist profiling among police officers and remarkably manifests gendered stereotypes in a skilful disguise. Three core issues are to be discussed under the umbrella of gender stereotypes in the film *Zootopia*. These issues are significantly manifested in the film by opting to parallel race and gender, which helps Disney to "to talk about serious issues and yet avoid the harassment faced by a more open discussion" (Selby-Green, 2016).

The first core issue is that *Zootopia* advances a critique of two parallel social structures: race and gender stereotyping. In the film, *Mammal inclusion initiative* is introduced as a euphemism that is very similar to the so-called politically correct

Affirmative action. Affirmative action is a term initiated in America, denoting preferential treatment for specific classes of people, attempting to promote black people and women (Holder, 2003, p. 78). In other words, it is directed towards minorities or the disadvantaged to promote gender and racial equity, usually in employment or academic admissions. However, affirmative action seems to be a controversial euphemism as it is sometimes said to be a euphemism for *positive discrimination*, which suggests an intended prejudice (Noon, 2010).

Through the mammal inclusion initiative, Judy overcomes prejudice against preys, Others, and proves herself a worthy officer. She passes many difficult tests as she is physically much smaller than her colleagues. Furthermore, being a female and a rabbit, Judy is subject to bullying because she is seen as smaller and incapable of the same achievements as her larger colleagues. However, Judy successfully passes the tests and becomes the first of her class, not because she is preferred due to her minority status, but because of her perseverance.

The second core issue treated skilfully in *Zootopia* is Judy's gender and race. Opting for Judy to be a female and a rabbit, not a male or any other species of animal, is deliberate. Rabbits as animals are meticulously aligned with sexism against women throughout the film. Judy is "told 'to go back to the farm' in the same way that women are often told to 'go back to the kitchen'" (Selby-Green, 2016). Despite that, Judy challenges male dominance and racial segregation and becomes a very talented and smart police officer. However, she is bullied for being a prey animal with predators calling her names and variously addressing and highlighting her gender. Nevertheless, by using an animal cast and aligning these social structures with the divide between predator and prey, the film ensures that the audience can precisely conceptualise what it is criticising, despite the animal cast.

The third issue lies in the fact that Judy, a female and a rabbit, is not made the sole hero of the story, despite the countering of social structures of race and gender involved in her depiction. She is shown as driven to reject prejudices and display a keen sense of diversity, yet is not allowed to be the main protagonist. Ultimately, Judy has to seek the help of a male and a predator to solve the case of the night howlers. Though Judy is an active female character who defies the old male rescue concept in older animations, she still cannot succeed in her task without the help of a male character.

Given the three core issues portrayed in the film *Zootopia*, the following linguistic and visual representations of the example will clarify the subliminal gendered and racial discourses disguised behind the use of the euphemism ‘token bunny’.

6.3.4.2 Linguistic Analysis

In the current example, two euphemisms are used to portray the issues of gender and race profiling in the police. The first euphemism is token while the second is ‘bunny’. A “token minority” is someone hired to avoid the appearance of discrimination. The word token is defined as a “nominal or ‘token’ representative of an under-represented group” in the OED. Similarly, Holder (2003) defines token as a euphemism for the female or black member of a committee whose presence is politically correct, whereby tokenism is making such an appointment for reasons other than merit (p. 318). The adjectival term ‘token’ referring to token minorities is a circumlocution, a politically correct term that is euphemistic in the sense of being political rather than a common term.

The other euphemism to be considered linguistically is ‘bunny’. There is a long-standing relationship between rabbits, bunnies and cunts, a relation that can be interpreted in two ways. First, one of the variants of the word rabbit is the word ‘coney’,

which means the fur or skin of a rabbit. Moreover, coney was used earlier as a pet name for a woman, which is considered derogatory. Coney is, in turn, a variant of ‘cunny’, which occurs in passages punning on the use of ‘coney’ denoting a rabbit as defined in the OED. Furthermore, ‘cunny’ is usually a term of abuse when ascribed to a woman, because it is reinforced in this sense by association with ‘cunt’+ ‘y’, which means the female genitals, the vulva or vagina, and hence a woman, or women collectively, as a source of sexual gratification, sexual intercourse with a woman. According to the OED, it has been argued that the Germanic base of ‘cunny’ or ‘cunt’ is ultimately derived from Latin *cunnus*, which is probably a euphemism. Allan (2012) informs, though the evidence is unclear, that the word ‘bunny’ was a euphemistic remodelling of ‘cunny’ dating back to the 17th century. Bunny was a term for rabbits, rabbit tails and bony lumps on animals, which is similar to women’s mons veneris, the fatty cushion of flesh in human females situated over the junction of the pubic bones, as well as an affectionate name for a woman (ibid.).

The second long-standing set of links between cunnies and bunnies comes in relation to women. The pubic hair on a woman’s mons venires, which is both visually and tactually salient and erotic, is an instance of a network of associations established between cunnies and bunnies. Furthermore, one of the reasons for many names of furry animals, such as bunny, pussy, ferret, or rat, becoming slang terms for the genitalia of women and men is the salience of pubic hair on the human body (ibid.).

Discursively speaking, the use of the euphemism ‘token bunny’ in this instance is achieved through a perspective statement, in this case, refusing to be treated as a ‘token bunny’ is expressed. The purpose of the perspective statement is to position Judy’s point of view and express distance from this

point of view, as well as to make the statement genericised so as to impersonalise and disseminate social stereotypes (Hart, 2014). There is a tendency to use lowered modality hedging, ‘not’ ‘just’ and ‘some’; when just is used with a negative it is to offer information emphasising that something is true, but it is not, at the same time, the whole truth (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

6.3.4.3 VSAN

Zootopia is not about patterns of racism and its actual causes, but rather about gendered discourses. Therefore, the viewer sees that it is Judy’s dilemma as a female and a prey that is emphasised, as opposed to what she actually does. Hence, in terms of visual representation, as soon as she joins the police department, Judy is oppressed and excluded from certain roles, e.g. being a detective, and her smallness is always compared to her bigger colleagues. Instead, Judy is confined to other roles, such as cooking, selling carrots and being a meter maid.










In this scene, Judy appears in a moment where she is speaking, which says a lot about her identity, character and attitude. Such sequences encourage the viewer to implicitly evaluate participants, to attribute particular kinds of meanings to their utterances (Machin & Mayr, 2012). As a way of defiance of the female and prey gender and racial roles Judy is boxed into, she is an agent, as she speaks up to her Chief, asking to be given a chance to participate in the missing animals case.

In shots 1 and 2, Judy is depicted as an individualised and functionalised female. She is individualised in the visual representation so that the viewer can understand that she is making her perspective clear to them as well as to her chief, denoting her self-confidence. Moreover, she is functionalised by being depicted in terms of what she does through her police clothes. Such depictions are highly personalising, because they highlight her active female gender role, defying stereotypes and racial profiling. The

linguistic representation, however, is not aligned with the visual, as she says, “I’m not just some token bunny.” While stating that fact, Judy is making an offer to the viewer and the chief that is depicted through her posture and tone of voice. She looks irritated as she looks slightly upwards at the chief, with one hand behind her back while the other is pointing to herself, which makes her appear to be struggling to the viewer due to the unjust treatment of her gender (Machin & Mayr, 2012). There is also a demand that is interpreted through her direct address to the chief and the viewer. However, her demand is influenced by her raised brow and slight frown, that seem to be unwelcoming and keep the viewer at a social distance (ibid.).

In shots 3–7, the viewer is watching Judy and the chief side on in order to emphasise the size difference between Judy and the chief, highlighting race and gender differences as well. Judy is petite, with feminine softness indicated by her innocent big eyes and the tiny bump of her breast, while the chief is huge, masculine and has the same bump as Judy, but indicating strong chest muscles. Moreover, the chief’s attitude seems to be very tough, dominant and empowering.

In shots 8–9, she also appears to be looking off-frame, which tends to encourage the viewer to observe Judy more objectively and consider what her thoughts are. Judy’s head is tilted upwards, in dignity and power, and she seems to be in control of her body posture as she decides to challenge the number of tickets the chief told her she can collect. She decides to stand out by collecting 200 tickets instead of 100 a day.

shot 1	shot 2	shot 3
		
soundtrack: Judy: Sir, I'm not just some camera movement: off-frame eyelines – low angle effect: directed to her Chief – indicating her smallness	soundtrack: token bunny camera movement/ depiction: direct address – a moment of speaking effect: demanding viewer as well as her Chief to change unjust treatment of her gender – to encourage the viewer to implicitly evaluate participants, to attribute particular kinds of meanings to their utterances	soundtrack: Chief: Well, camera movement: side-on view effect: to emphasise the size difference between Judy and the chief, highlighting race and gender differences as well.
shot 4	shot 5	shot 6
		
soundtrack: then writing camera movement: contrast of information salience effect: masculine toughness vs. feminine softness is highlighted	soundtrack: 100 tickets a day camera movement: side-on effect: to watch the argument and make ideas about the world	soundtrack: should be easy camera movement: long shot effect: detachment
shot 7	shot 8	shot 9
		
camera movement: back view – long shot effect: hiding feelings of vulnerability and exasperation from the argument – indicating loneliness and isolation	soundtrack: Judy stomps her foot. depiction: functionalised anger effect: highly personalised, highlighting her active female gender role, defying stereotypes and racial profiling	soundtrack: Judy: 100 tickets...? I'm not gonna write 100 tickets... I'm gonna write 200 tickets! camera movement: off-frame eyelines effect: encouraging viewers to evaluate her objectively and considering her thoughts

Extract 14 Zootopia (2016, 00:16:28- 00:16:41) "I'm not just some token bunny"

6.3.4.4 RVN

In shots 1 and 2, Judy seems to be socially relating to the viewer as she seems to be confronting them face-to-face in a frontal plane, which suggests involvement of the viewer. She is looking upwards at her chief at a high angle, highlighting the power he has over her. However, as well as looking at the character off-frame, Judy seems to be looking at the viewer in a direct address. Judy is socially interacting with the viewer,

articulating a visual “you” and a symbolic demand. However, her demand is influenced by her raised brow and slight frown, that seem to be unwelcoming and keep the viewer at a social distance. What Judy wants from the viewer is signified by her hand gesture, pointing at herself to make a point from her perspective, that she is not just a ‘token bunny’. Judy is asking for respect from the chief, as well as from the viewer.

In terms of power relations, she appears to be disempowered by the viewer, as well as the chief, because she is represented as below the viewer’s eye level. This disempowerment might be justified by her status as a ‘token bunny’.

As for social distance, Judy is represented in a medium shot, which is a strategy to draw in the viewer to identify with her point of view more than with her chief, who is positioned in long shots. Because Judy is not that close to the viewer, the viewer is not asked to sympathise with her, they are asked to evaluate her perspective and anticipate it. In addition, medium shots are used when it is important for the viewer to see what Judy is wearing and predict how she is going to deal with a situation in which she is surrounded by racial and sexist attitudes from her chief and colleagues (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

In shots 3–7, as Judy and her chief are arguing, the viewer is watching the action in a side-on view which is more detached. The viewer is furthermore detached as the chief and Judy are represented slightly from behind. Such an angle can serve to offer the viewer their point of view, their perspective on the world (Machin & Mayr, 2012). In hindsight, the chief’s point of view visually confirms that Judy, being a female as well as a prey animal, is hired to avoid the appearance of discrimination. As the viewer sees the back of Judy, the viewer is seeing her from the view of a watcher. She might also be hiding feelings of vulnerability and exasperation from the argument with the chief. In

shot 7, to the viewer's shock, the chief ends the conversation with Judy, exits the room and slams the door as a sign of disrespect and dominance.

Shots 8–9 present Judy's reaction to the chief's words. At the beginning, the frontal angle of Judy shows her facial expression, frowning in anger, then, her right foot movement; stomping in frustration. Moreover, she is shown in a long shot, indicating loneliness and isolation.

6.3.4.5 Interrelationship between visual and linguistic representations

In this example, the visual mode is counterpointing the linguistic euphemism, thus the mitigation is solely based on the verbal mode. Although, in this example, Judy's perspective of herself is that she is "not just some token bunny", it does not contribute to affect her Chief who thinks she is. The intensified reaction of the Chief to her words made him even angrier and assigned her to be a meter maid. To him, the conversation was over, thus he slammed the door behind him. Such an attitude can be considered racist towards Judy. Thus, it is attitudinal dissonance in terms of how Judy appears in a speaking moment expressing specific ideologies concerning social and gender stereotypes through the euphemism and its context, to encourage the viewer to align with her perspective but without sympathising with her. However, the visual representation confirms the racist prejudice hidden behind "I'm not just some token bunny".

6.4 Discussion

The analysis of the samples presented in this chapter focuses on a euphemistic theme that is frequent in the data set, gendered euphemisms (19%), as discussed in section 3.3.1.2. I identify a range of discourses through traces of linguistic euphemisms. These gendered euphemisms are included in particular extracts which are seen as significant examples. Although gendered euphemisms found in the data set perform different

functions such as sexism, animated films portray more nuanced gender roles. Such euphemisms are used for socialisation to reinforce or convey ideologies (King et al., 2010).

Within the broad theme of gendered discourse, and through micro-linguistic traces of gendered euphemisms, the linked gendered themes that prevail in the samples are: female domestication in *Sing* and *Zootopia*; privileged femininity where gender intersects with race in *Zootopia*; women's objectification in *Sing*, *Madagascar* and *Alpha and Omega*, where women's objectification is closely tied to sexuality and visual explicit sexuality; women's need of protection and rescue by male characters in *Sing*, *Zootopia*, and *Alpha and Omega*. As for other gendered discourses related to males, masculinity and patriarchy are found in *Alpha and Omega* and homosexuality in *Sing* and *Madagascar*.

Based on Sunderland (2010), gender is an idea about men and women and gender relations. Consequently, it is observed that all four female characters analysed in this chapter are construed in gender-stereotypical ways. Such representations are achieved through gender and sexual stereotyping. The gendered euphemisms used in the sample analysis tend towards referring unpleasantly to women through stereotyping their physical characteristics or manipulatively hiding offence to them. Gendered euphemisms are linguistic resources available to represent participants in a way that can serve ideological and political ends, because of their devaluation of women and objectifying them in terms of their sexuality in ways that are not stated overtly.

From a linguistic perspective, gendered euphemisms in the analysed samples show inconsistency in the types of euphemisms. The four types of euphemism found in the

analysed samples are performed at the word level: two conceptual metaphors, deletion, circumlocution and one-for-one substitution.

The euphemism in example 9, from *Madagascar*, involves the euphemism *fun*, which activates its euphemistic sense ('sexual activity or playfulness') in a more effective way if the viewer associates it with the conceptual metaphor SEX IS A GAME.

Example 10 from *Alpha and Omega* shows a euphemism that is performed by deletion of the word 'female'. Linguistically, both constructions, *she's a trained alpha* and *she's the finest alpha I've ever trained*, conceal an attitude that downgrades Kate for being a female, exploiting the domination over her because of her anatomical structure. The word *female* is omitted from both constructions, precisely after the word 'alpha' constituting the euphemism. This choice can be explained following the 1970s' non-sexist language usage in communication advice issued to different communities to choose gender-neutral alternatives rather than man when referring to human beings in general. However, such alternatives as female/ lady/ woman doctor were considered less valued by women and were dysphemistic. Therefore, neutral alternatives are preferred for female referents (Allan & Burridge, 2006). On these grounds, opting for the use of the word 'female' to categorise Kate seems dysphemistic and the viewer will feel she is less valued in that context. Consequently, full omission might be the most suitable solution to manipulate the downgrade linguistically.

In example 11, a new euphemistic type appears in the film *Sing* by combining two nouns, fire and desire, with the connector 'and'. The present sample also accentuates the metaphorical reference through the euphemistic unit SEX IS FIRE (Crespo, 2011), constructing sex or sexual enjoyment as fire. It is a conceptualisation of a wide range of

emotions that appear in the metaphor EMOTION IS THE HEAT OF FIRE, which demonstrates that the meaning of the metaphor is emotional intensity (Kövecses, 2000).

Example 12 involves two euphemistic types performed at the word level from *Zootopia*. The gendered euphemism in this example is achieved through ‘token bunny’, in which ‘token’ is a circumlocution and ‘bunny’ is a one-for-one substitute for ‘cunny’, meaning cunt. Circumlocutions are comparatively verbose and sometimes politically correct expressions (Allan, 2012). Furthermore, ‘bunny’ is an appearance-based metaphor based on body parts and also a one-for-one substitution. Bunny is a euphemistic remodelling of cunny, a term for rabbits similar to *mons veneris*, as well as an affectionate name for a woman.

From a visual perspective, in the analysed samples, a strategy of individualism stands out in examples 9, 10 and 12, while example 11 provides an instance of collectivisation of females in terms of their insecurities from a representational perspective. As for role allocation, three of the analysed samples show women as passive, 9, 10 and 11, while example 12 shows agency.

From an interpersonal perspective, the analysis has demonstrated that visual discursive strategies are used in the visual representation to highlight certain ideologies, namely gender as a way of objectifying women. As far as social distance is concerned, the viewer is distanced from the female RPs, usually for the purpose of capturing the whole picture where their sexual body parts are “to-be-looked-at”. In contrast, the viewers are encouraged to align with the RPs point of view, particularly when they appear in a speaking moment expressing their feelings of inferiority or lack of confidence through medium shots. In terms of social relations, the participants seem to be empowered in the analysis through their sexuality, such as Gloria and Kate’s swaying butt depicted in high angles. However, the other RPs though are not empowered in the

samples, their characters will develop and will practice empowerment later on as when Rosita practices for the competition and become highly sexualised thus empowered. Also, Judy's success as to be accepted by her fellow male police officers.

I exclusively focus on the use of euphemisms as a micro-linguistic strategy of discourse, and their accompanying visual elements in films. Therefore, a close look at the interrelationship between the visual and linguistic representations in the analysed samples has demonstrated that, in the film *Madagascar*, the relation between the two structures is one of attitudinal dissonance. The relation between the linguistic and visual structures in the film *Sing* results in attitudinal congruence. As for the film *Alpha and Omega*, there is attitudinal dissonance. Finally, *Zootopia* shows attitudinal dissonance.

The euphemisms analysed in the present chapter demonstrate features of manipulation and suppression. They focus on how animated films can construct euphemisms that have the potential to encapsulate stereotypes and gendered ideas in the viewer's mind, whether the minds of young children or adults. Therefore, it is important at this stage to highlight the general observations regarding the discursive strategies used in animated films to highlight gender. These are concerned with discursively devaluating and objectifying women as the presented social actors. In relation to the above observations, how and why are gendered euphemisms constructed in the discourse related to the genre of anthropomorphised feature films? The analysis has highlighted observations relevant to the discursive strategies of animated films in general.

In answering why gendered euphemisms concerned with objectifying women are discursively constructed in the discourse of anthropomorphised feature films, it has been observed that animations are bound to a Western consumerist lifestyle ideology (Ray, 2009). There is a direct relationship between consumerism and a female's identity which

is limited by her gendered body. Such a relationship can be interpreted in terms of how these production companies offer powerful sociocultural lessons hiding behind “the mask of promotional innocence” (Giroux & Pollock, 2010). Therefore, it is vital to relate gendered euphemisms that are concealed within innocent productions of international companies such as Disney, Dreamworks and others to consumerism. As such, production companies which influence multifarious aspects of children’s lives are capable of heterogenous teaching, and ideas about morals, behaviour and world views, which have a great impact on children and help them construct their identities (Ray, 2009). With previously constructed narratives embedded with gender stereotypes in animations, such an impact might be a reason for females, in particular, to be associated with an emphasis on display and presentation of their bodies. Therefore, animations where women use their bodies or they are presented as objects of lust by filmmakers to present a desirable image of female sexuality for men are identified as engaging in objectification.

A second observation might answer the question of how gendered euphemisms are exploited discursively to objectify women in anthropomorphised films. It is observed in the extracts that representations of animals are often given human characteristics (Sunderland, 2004). However, the sex of many animals is not obvious visually but is denoted stereotypically via anthropomorphic gendered accessories, such as hats for males, wigs, dresses or bikinis for females, or more physical details bound to females, such as exaggerated lashes, wide eyes, long hair. Specific to this study, it is found that the objectification of females is a significant technique for differentiating between male and female characters in three films, *Madagascar*, *Sing* and *Alpha and Omega*.

It is observed that *Zootopia*, as an example of a Disney film, aims to shed light on the issue of racial profiling in disguise, without hindering such a sensitive issue in the US

social order. As much as the *Zootopia* example reflects an important social issue concerning minorities, it might be an example of false positivity. False positivity as King et al. (2010) put it is a very powerful articulation of representation of difference ideologies which aims to cause sanitisation in public discourse. However, its exploitation in animated films remains problematic as such representations are distorted and dehumanised renderings, the values at heart still involve dominant framing, and the audience forgets the difference that difference makes and enjoy the delusion of a society without racism and sexism. Moreover, traces of a sexist discourse such as “I’m not just some token bunny” might be included precisely so that the discourse can be contested, through Judy arguing with her chief. The dialogue allows for a range of alternative and oppositional discourses, as well as dominant ones, and for the former to constitute an implicit or explicit challenge to the latter (Sunderland, 2004). Hence, the overt message may be positive, but other readings of the film are still possible. The perceptions of films are not controlled by filmmakers, rather the perceiver may interpret films in many ways other than the maker anticipated (Bordwell, 1991).

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have attempted to address RQ2 and RQ3 discussed in section 1.3 concerning: 2. How are euphemistic representations discursively exploited linguistically and visually in anthropomorphised films?; and concerning the findings of RQs 1 and 2, 3. How and why are these euphemistic representations constructed in discourse related to the genre of anthropomorphised films? I aimed to show how euphemisms in animated films can serve as an indicator of a gendered ideology in a manipulative way through gender role constructions. As gendered euphemisms have been qualitatively analysed, the results suggest that film producers have a tendency to create new euphemisms using various creative types. They also tend to utilise a visual mode analogous to gendered

euphemism in order to objectify women participants. The following chapter comprises comparisons and contrasts of the three analyses and discussion chapters related to racial, sexual and gendered euphemisms and how they are represented in animated films linguistically, visually and discursively.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I first present a brief summary of the introduction and the literature reviewed in Chapters 1 and 2 in relation to the findings emerging from the analysis. Then, the chapter lays out the main analytical observations of the thesis linked to the research questions in the analyses in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. The limitations of the thesis are considered and suggestions for further research are made in the final sections of this chapter. Finally, I describe my methodological contribution that sets my thesis apart from other studies in the summary of the conclusion section.

7.2 Revisiting the aim and research questions

In this section I revisit the research questions. The research questions that were postulated in section 1.3 are as follows:

1. a. To what extent do filmmakers tend to use euphemisms in anthropomorphised animated films?
b. What euphemisms do filmmakers construct in anthropomorphised animated films?
2. In anthropomorphised feature films, how are euphemistic representations discursively exploited in linguistic and visual elements?
 - a. Linguistically, how are euphemistic representations constructed in cinematic discourse?
 - b. Visually, how are these euphemistic representations transmitted in cinematic discourse?

c. To what extent are visual representations similar to or different from verbal (linguistic) euphemisms? Do visuals provide congruent or dissonant details?

3. Concerning the findings for RQs1 and 2, how and why are these euphemistic representations constructed in the discourse related to the genre of anthropomorphised feature films?

The research questions focused on the linguistic phenomenon of euphemism in anthropomorphised films, thus the investigation of euphemism was central to my analysis. Discursive euphemistic categories, such as race, gender and sexuality, were not specified in the RQs. However, by implementing the quantitative element, the statistical salience allowed for such categories to emerge from comparisons of the whole data set of euphemisms in animated films. Moreover, another main relevant aspect of the euphemistic categories that emerged from the statistical analysis was the interconnection between race, gender and sexuality in films.

7.3 A Critical Approach to Euphemism in Cinematic Discourse: anthropomorphised films

Exploring euphemism and the ideological and social aspects it suppresses is one of the main aspects of the thesis and proved crucial to explore the power of cinematic discourse. Chapter 2 demonstrated that the reason why euphemism emerges in language is to cover for sociocultural taboos prevailing in a language, which is a significant contributory factor to the development of linguistic taboo. A linguistic taboo reflects social, cultural and ideological patterns and attitudes (Burgen, 1997). Therefore, with euphemism and its vital function, it is easier to avoid referring to linguistic taboos and embarrassing, or unpleasant topics.

Focusing on the meaning and function of euphemism required identifying key issues regarding euphemism which could be intrinsically problematic in their

interpretation. First, euphemism has been highlighted by many scholars in different approaches, including lexical-semantic, pragmatic, cognitive and discursive approaches. Although these approaches differ in their disciplinary backgrounds, they share the same general principle of euphemism having a mitigating function. Second, euphemism is context-dependent; context is the concept that makes us understand the different meanings of euphemisms and their underlying referents. For example, some euphemisms are not clear and thus not seen as euphemisms unless they are read in their context of use. Third, euphemism tends to be subjective, and by the same token, its interpretation can vary from one person to another. It is important to identify the key issues, but an objective classification of euphemism is “a grey area, and judgements may differ from one person to another”, so it should be borne in mind that even within its context, “the classification of a term as ‘euphemistic’ is difficult” (Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p. 229).

After looking at the approaches to euphemism broadly, the scope was narrowed down to discursive and critical approaches to euphemism. Research on the discursive approach focuses on the manipulative feature of euphemism (Crespo, 2005), which is most helpfully regarded as a verbal discursive strategy mitigating and deceiving the hearer. The hearer is manipulated when their attention is directed to specific opinions deliberately chosen by the speaker. Choosing not to say something means it is pushed into the background and a specific detail or opinion is highlighted, promoting a negative euphemism. The negative feature of euphemism is frequently used in politically correct discourse to eschew any reference of a social, sexual, ethnic or cultural nature (Abrantes, 2005). In contrast, other approaches regard euphemism as both a social and an emotional figurative conceptualisation of taboo topics without upsetting others, to maintain the appearance of civility (Linfoot-Ham, 2005).

Therefore, instead of focusing on the manipulative feature of euphemism, many scholars focus on how euphemism conforms to conventions of politeness and face concerns (Crespo, 2005). This focus then involves a major discrepancy between the two distinctions: while negative euphemism falls within the realm of critical discourse studies, positive euphemism is considered a mere pragmatic and lexical tool. Therefore, euphemistic discursivity can make a link between euphemism and the application of the critical approach, which was examined in section three of Chapter 2.

A link between CDS and euphemism was established to show how euphemism can be a discursive tool. In addressing RQ2 on how euphemistic representations are discursively exploited in AAFF, the literature review on the manipulative feature of euphemism showed an inclination of CDS scholars to focus on analysing different media institutions, such as newspapers, news- broadcasters, political magazines, political TV shows and policies. This focus indicates that although CDS's ultimate aim is to make changes to society and relate language to society, in-depth scholarly research on euphemism in cinematic discourse has not yet been conducted. This gap highlights the importance and necessity of studies on euphemism in cinematic discourse and animated films within the realms of CDS. Therefore, as the CDS lens that aims to look at social problems (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), and given the fact that animated films shape children's ideologies, then the discursive manipulation of euphemism in animated films is in need of exploration. Consequently, this thesis is the first large-scale attempt to examine euphemism as a linguistic tool in cinematic discourse, and AAFF specifically, vis-à-vis the social, sexual and political practices implicitly targeted behind verbal manoeuvres.

It was vital to scrutinise how euphemism is employed in films, given that films are multimodal. Therefore, the last section of Chapter 2 discussed cinematic discourse to

point to the lack of cinematic discourse studies within the realm of CDS. Animated films can be examined from perspectives of CDS and multimodality because they fulfil the main function of discourse, being “socially shaped” by filmmakers, but also “socially shaping” audiences of children, as through their use of visual elements, films have the potential to affect children’s perceptions of reality. Such narratives provide their audience, particularly children, with audio-visual reinforcement of ideologies which make these stories powerful agents of socialisation. Having established animated films as the area of investigation in cinematic discourse, special attention should be paid to anthropomorphisation, the process whereby meanings are conveyed in these films through various stereotypical representations of gender, sexuality and ethnicity using portrayals of animals. The final section of Chapter 2 is devoted to discussing the linguistic and visual elements used by film and how filmmakers play with euphemism through these modes. It is vital to scrutinise how euphemism is employed in films, given that films are multimodal. I draw upon MDA as a discourse analytic approach in my thesis because multimodal texts such as films incorporate interaction across a variety of semiotic modes, i.e. verbal, visual and aural. Therefore, multimodal analysis is considered to be an important endeavour in contemporary studies of cinematic discourse (Piazza et al., 2011). Understanding these semiotic modes adds to an understanding of how euphemism may potentially affect and shape audiences’ perceptions of social or ideological practices, particularly children as the implied viewers of animated films.

In Chapter 2, I discuss cinematic discourse by reviewing its literature and thus settle on its controversial issue of terms. Therefore, I distinguish between cinematic discourse, film discourse and film dialogue. Then, I postulate the most applicable term and definition that best serves the approach of this thesis. I use the term cinematic discourse which is how “filmmakers guide viewers’ attention, shape their perspectives,

colour their perceptions, and steer their inferences about the unfolding narrative”(Janney, 2012). By reviewing the literature of cinematic discourse, I aim at establishing a link between cinema studies and CDS. The literature shows that cinematic discourse is a relatively new area in CDS as a branch of mass media discourse which can represent real-life social, ideological and cultural practices. Reviewing the literature from a critical perspective allows mapping how CDS contributes to the proliferation of more cinematic discourse studies. As far as CDS is concerned, two important factors raise from the literature. First, CDS is generally concerned with non-fiction or authentic data rather than fiction or non-authentic data. However, there may be an exception where a CDS analyst may pursue an analysis or critique social or ideological representations of cinematic discourse. Second, a whole strand of critical sociolinguistic studies arguing for the usefulness of cinematic discourse as fruitful epistemological site are mainly concerned with the stylistic analysis of characters. Other empirical studies measuring children’s perception, concerned with critical linguistic awareness of style, followed from the critical stylistic analysis of characters. Other studies are mainly focused on the noticeable employment of race, gender and sex in children’s films. Others are concerned with how animated films are received by children and thus examine children’s views on popular cartoons and TV series. Such studies may provide a methodological addition to tools used for investigating language attitudes and ideologies. This thesis is merely concerned with how euphemistic representations and their underlying ideologies play a vital role in shaping children’s views of the world. One of the limitations of this study is that it does not investigate audience reception. Therefore, studies concerned with audience reception are much needed in the literature.

Moreover, reviewing the literature indicates the controversy on the issue of the unit of analysis of cinematic discourse, and the way it can be analysed. Studies highlight

the inconsistencies in the relevant literature because of varying kinds of units of analysis that differ according to the realm of study the researcher is interested in, for example, film dialogue, film discourse or cinematography. Specifically, most of the studies do not employ systematic methodological multimodal tools in order to address the non-linguistic signs of fictional texts. Nevertheless, they provide short or longer descriptions of the images of the texts. Although many studies in the literature tend to conduct multimodal texts, none pertain to a full description and transcription of ideologies and discourses in both the linguistic and visual analysis, with a special emphasis on the interrelationship between both elements. Therefore, this study stands out from other studies in cinematic discourse as it is concerned with a multimodal and critical stance.

The last section of Chapter 2 is devoted to discussing the ways cinematic discourse can use CDS and multimodality. Therefore, I focus on the recurrent multimodal features of films that can play a vital role in studying cinematic discourse by drawing on cinematic modes of representation and anthropomorphisation as two features that may serve as unique subsets of cinematic discourse that warrant the attention of multimodal and critical discourse analysis as an analytical approach tailored to cinematic discourse. I also discuss the issue of reflexivity and the approach I used to avoid bias in analysing the euphemisms used in the films. I draw on the method of triangulation by which theories from both CDS and MDA as well as cinematic discourse are combined to avoid the subjectivity of the researcher. DHA plays a great role in drawing on the historical, cultural and political contexts of the euphemisms which serves to eventually link them to their discursive functions. Through these discursive functions applied to the visual analysis, the underlying ideologies in the visual in relation to the linguistic are conveyed and thus serve as another way of avoiding subjectivity. In addition, I use the quantitative approach in order to devise the thematic framework as a way of avoiding subjectivity.

Moreover, I shed lights on the ways and means by which filmmakers play with euphemism through these modes. Seemingly, the interest of filmmakers in using euphemisms might intersect with or reflect and construct dominant ideologies. Such are the results of a collection of factors; e.g., self-perpetuating ideologies; the pursuit of one's political or personal agenda; inserting an ideology being much easier than using a joke; making the audience superior by adding a stereotypical character; making profit; the absence of critical film criticism; the silence of public opinion as to opposing stereotypes.

Finally, this chapter discusses the most significant theories in the core of this thesis. It also indicates the gap in the literature of cinematic discourse in relation to CDS and MDA. A discussion of how studies tackling euphemism is also needed in cinematic discourse is inserted in this chapter. The following section discusses the analytical methods used in the thesis, the data and methodological framework.

7.4 Exploring the data set and Methodological Framework

In this section, I outline the analytical methods utilised to analyse euphemism in animated films. I combine approaches from CDS, multimodality and social semiotics to facilitate a critical analysis of euphemistic representations in animated films. Chapter 3 addressed RQ1, and the euphemisms in four films were quantified to allow thematic analysis in subsequent chapters. Four dominating themes emerged from the quantitative analysis of the data set of euphemisms. The themes generated from the data set share common manipulative and dissimulative discourses of race, sex, gender and minced oaths, on which basis I organised the chapters of the thesis to consider racial, sexual and gendered euphemisms.

In addressing RQ2a, the data set showed that five discursive strategies are exploited in discourse in the animated films *Madagascar*, *Alpha and Omega*, *Zootopia*

and *Sing*; however, strategies referring to the names of social actors, events, objects and phenomena are most frequent in the sexual category. Moreover, while predicational strategies are less frequent than referential ones, they are, however, used consistently for the racial theme.

As for the qualitative analysis, representative extracts showing how euphemisms are discursively exploited in linguistic and visual elements are examined and scrutinised. The different ways in which euphemisms are formed, following work by Allan and Burridge (1991), Allan (2012) and Crespo (2014), are central to this chapter.

7.5 Summary of findings and discussion

RQ2, concerning how euphemistic representations are discursively exploited in linguistic and visual elements and the extent to which visual representations are similar to or different from verbal (linguistic) euphemisms, was addressed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, as follows.

7.5.1 Racial Euphemisms in animated films

Through the analysis in Chapter 4, I found different euphemisms related to stereotypical representations of different races. RPs self-deprecate themselves through self-stereotyping of their negative cultural or physical characterisations or associating them with negative actions regarded as deviant and implicitly delegitimising their actions into a frame whereby they are a contemporary problem because of their cultural Otherness. Thus, such euphemisms are not ‘innocent’ or ‘neutral’ humour. This is rather a “reinforcement of the perception that members of this group are inferior to the more dominant ethnic group” (Spector, 1998, p. 19). Individualisation is a visual discursive strategy which brings the viewer closer to the events through RPs. Such constructions, linguistic and visual representations of race,

in AAF will subtly invite the viewer, and consequently, the society to justify and naturalise the stigmatising viewpoint and to reinforce its own legitimacy in defining such racist attitudes (Roman, 2000).

7.5.2 Sexual euphemism in animated films

The analysis in Chapter 5 focused on different euphemisms related to sex, emphasising the imposing of sexual discourse in AAF. Based on the data set, this chapter was organised into nudity, private body parts and innovative metaphors of sex as the most prevalent categories of sexual euphemisms. After looking at the data set, I analysed five representative examples by taking a multimodal and critical approach looking at the interactive and discursive relationship between euphemism and visual representation in films. A close textual analysis of euphemisms for private parts pointed out that the euphemistic strategies in the examples presented diminish the sexual aspect of euphemism because that aspect is restricted to the visual representation by which the sexual euphemism is foregrounded. Therefore, when it comes to the visual, and for the sake of the comic factor, filmmakers are not afraid to highlight taboos visually. Such representations of nakedness and privates operate legitimately when gazed at by others and are mediated in art, advertising, cinematic and fictional contexts to neutralise both vulnerability and obscenity (Cover, 2003).

7.5.3 Gendered euphemisms in animated films

The analysis in Chapter 6 approached different euphemisms related to gender which emphasise gendered portrayals of more nuanced gender roles. The RP female characters analysed are construed in gender-stereotypical ways. Such representations are achieved through gender and sexual stereotyping. Gendered euphemisms devalue women and objectify them, in terms of their sexuality, in ways that invariably are not stated overtly, but rather through visual euphemism where the illusion is very effective.

Visual euphemism is rendered through dancing, yoga and humour, which are all parts of diversion away from sociocultural taboos. Such visually euphemistic depictions in animated films both mirror and shape social behaviours and opinions about females, resulting in either identification and empathy to encourage engagement, or detachment to cause rejection, on the part of the viewer. For this reason, the treatment of gender in AAF is substantial in terms of strengthening inferiority or in terms of overcoming discrimination.

7.6 How and why anthropomorphised films employ euphemism in discourses

Having established animated films as the area of investigation in cinematic discourse, special attention should be paid to anthropomorphisation, the process whereby meanings are conveyed in these films through various stereotypical representations of gender, sexuality and ethnicity using portrayals of animals. In addressing RQ3 concerning how and why euphemistic representations are constructed in discourse related to the genre of anthropomorphised feature films, I will relate to some general aspects of the genre of AAF and how employing euphemism can serve to give some leeway purpose to such a genre and include different ideological discourses. Therefore, the following observations from the analysis chapters may help clarify how employing euphemism in cinematic discourse to mask charges of racism, sexism and gender stereotypes.

On the interpersonal and interactive level, many discursive strategies closely related to euphemism and the multimodal aspect of AAF were found in the analysis. For example, closely related to sexual euphemism is the discursive strategy of nomination, which uses manipulative names and references to sex that may serve as an abstraction of such ideology. Moreover, the discursive strategy of predication is used with racial euphemism in order to implicitly lead the audience towards negative evaluations and stereotypes mostly invoked by the racialised RPs themselves.

Closely related to sexual, gendered and racial depictions of RPs, who are self-stereotyping or want to draw attention to their individual sexuality, is the visual discursive strategy of individualism. In addition, accompanying individualisation is the socially interactive relation between RPs and the viewer, which is concerned with addressing the viewer directly. The discursive strategy of perspectivisation, which requires seeing the RPs through moments of talking to understand their identity and attitude, recurs with self-stereotypes of RPs and socially distanced medium shots in order to make the viewer align with their point of view. Conversely, collective depictions are used for RPs who are different or have deviant actions.

As far as females are concerned, where there is mitigation of their gender, there is visual sexualising of their valued sexual organs. Moreover, when they are visually sexualised, they appear to be empowered in their depictions by looking down at the viewer, invoking the idea that they are stronger through their sexual playfulness. When it comes to the interrelation between euphemism in verbal and visual representations, attitudinal dissonance is more prevalent where the verbal is mitigated by euphemism, and the visual is intensifying it through counterpointing, contradiction or exaggeration, mostly to enhance the humour of the ideology. Thus, the manipulation of the euphemism is pursued and mitigated on the linguistic level while highlighted through humour to serve ideological purposes on the visual level. That said, it is important now to draw attention to the benefits gained in making such manipulative and persuasive attempts.

Euphemisms are used in animated films, with an audience of children who are still forming their moral vision, to construct those children's views of the world. Although the analysed euphemisms have demonstrated the features of manipulation and dissimulation, animated films construct underlying euphemisms that have the potential to encapsulate gender stereotypes, sexual messages and racist ideas in the

minds of young children. Moreover, the euphemisms considered in the analysis chapters show the ability of filmmakers to make the negative appear positive, or at least tolerable, and to avoid responsibility for what is said, with ideas hidden behind words but highlighted visually. Hence, animated films can articulate the ideological and social legitimisation or normalisation of a particular view of race, sex or gender.

As discussed in the discussion sections 4.6, 5.6 and 6.6, euphemistic representations may be constructed in the discourse of AAF to eliminate the local and impose the global through “globalisation” (Matusitz & Palermo, 2014). Globalisation is a form of globalisation that imposes the extensive implementation and enforcement of Western culture. It can be related to consumerist ideology through the means by which multinational corporations such as, Disney, DreamWorks and others, seek to achieve their imperialistic goals, desires, and needs and to enter diverse markets worldwide so that their supremacy, impact, and profits can grow (Ritzer, 2007). According to Booker (2010, p. 32), the Disney company does not only convey such sexist, racist ideas or suggestively sexual implications but also literally believe them, accepting these messages as part of their marketing plan. Their marketing plan is dictated by an extent to which such discourses have been accepted by the American public. Therefore, “[T]o consume Walt Disney was to ingest the qualities essential to Americanness that were required for its reproduction in subsequent generations” (Sammond, 2005, p. 113). That said, big production companies aim for internationalisation of the entertainment values of US mass culture to promote the idea of bigger, faster and better entertainment with an overarching sense of uniformity worldwide (Campbell, Davies, & McKay, 2005). Therefore, discourses produced by American production companies are aiming to spread American ideas, Americanness, throughout the world. The consumerist ideas of sexualising women, the sexualising

cultures and exposing the public to sex and nudity, to invoke negative attitudes and frame minorities or Others as a problem for their cultural Otherness are very much ideas that seem to be promoted by American filmmakers seeking to be empowered by spreading worldwide.

Euphemism in animated films may be exploited to pursue hidden agendas. I argue that in many modern animated films, racial, sexual and gendered euphemisms have ideological underpinnings that are represented in a camouflaged manner, which may be an example of *false positivity*. False positivity aims to achieve sanitisation in public discourse through the representation of different ideologies. As such, false positivity, can also be a part of the production companies' marketing plans. A defining feature of all animated films is the evaluation of social relations in conflict with the principles of democracy, then exploitation of false positivity in animated films is problematic as such representations are distorted and dehumanised renderings of non-human characters. The exploitation of nature and the animal kingdom afford an escape for legitimating hierarchies of gender and race, and physical inequalities as part of the natural order. Hence, the overt message may be positive, but other readings of the film are still possible whereby the perceiver may interpret the films in many ways other than the maker anticipated (Bordwell, 1991).

One reason euphemistic representations, are used in the discourse of AAF, is to serve the 'interest' of filmmakers, what they are interested in focusing on and the communicative aims they are interested in achieving. Filmmakers use the linguistic and visual language of film to communicate whom the RPs in films are, what values or beliefs are associated with them and what social or cultural context they highlight (van Leeuwen, 1996a). Therefore, separating moving images from speech is impossible and

the viewer must perceive all these elements in combination and interact with each of them to understand the text.

Moreover, the interplay between verbal and visual texts is a parameter closely related to a film's age group(s). It suits filmmakers' interest to involve different age groups when producing an anthropomorphised film, as AAFs are ostensibly aimed at children, though this remains an ambiguous category because adults, especially parents, may enthusiastically watch films intended for children (Sunderland, 2010). In this context, the synergy of sound and image in anthropomorphised films has extraordinary power to shape different discourses for their targeted aged groups, as well as keeping the factor of humour at a high level to entertain an adult audience (Sabatini, 2016). With that in mind, euphemism as a linguistic tool that can play with words, and by extension might cause interplay from the visual element as well, can successfully serve the purpose and interests of filmmakers.

Another reason euphemism is exploited in AAFs is the humour factor. Humour is closely related to euphemism in animated films so that hidden ideological messages are easily construed through the presence of humour, e.g., jokes, sarcasm and innuendo (Fisher et al., 2004). Machin and van Leeuwen (2007) argue that it is through fun and playfulness that ideologies are both most successfully communicated and can most easily resist criticism. It is argued that to interpret the significance of the meaning of such humour, one should be cautious because it is from such animated films, in which gender, sex and race are socially constituted, that children learn the discursive practices of their society.

7.7 Limitations and strengths

In this section I reflect on the challenges and downfalls I encountered while conducting this thesis. One limitation of the study is that it did not investigate audience reception. This was part of my original plan, but proved to be methodologically challenging and outside the scope of this project.

Another possible limitation of the study was the absence of any previous framework for the study of euphemism in animated films, thus I had to overcome and challenges that arose myself, which might in future be modified by subsequent work. For example, I had difficulty in deciding on the boundaries between certain categories, which further research might inform.

Another limitation of the study is its scope, future work could cross-check the findings through investigations of more AAFF. Empirical studies of audience perception are in need of exploration to widen the scope of the impact of the ideological underpinnings reflected.

While this research has limitations, it also benefits from at least four strengths. The first strength of this thesis can be in terms of the data extracted from animated films. animated films are considered a valuable public culture source due to several important features, such as its double plane feature not only between the character but also between the characters and the audience (Bednarek, 2015). In addition, another feature of animated films is anthropomorphisation, the attractive talking animals, which can serve as a good representation of reality (Giroux, 1994). Second, this research has examined the bottom-up linguistic device ‘euphemism’ in animated films from a critical and multimodal perspective focusing on its discursive and interactive functions, contrary to the relevant existing research which has focused on the critical sociolinguistic elements

of AAFF. Cinematic discourse research now requires the attention of researchers, especially from critical and multimodal approaches. Third, the synergy of the methodological approaches of CDS and MDA adopted in this thesis helped to a great extent to reduce subjectivity during the analysis stage. Fourth, MDA tools facilitated uncovering filmmakers' views and representations as well as the discursive strategies deployed in those representations. These findings would not have been easily identified through mere linguistic analyses.

7.8 Further research suggestions

This research has focused solely on euphemism employed in animated films through the analysis of a micro-linguistic phenomenon and multimodal and critical analysis of the interactive and discursive relationship between euphemism and visual representation. However, it has not analysed the impact of any ideological practices resulting from viewing these films on children's language and behaviour, in part because of the difficulty of doing research with young children. Therefore, I suggest that a socio-semantic cognitive study of euphemism in relation to visual representation be conducted with children.

What could also be relevant to the initial motivation for this study is research on the effect of euphemistic expressions on the English language of non-native English speakers from Arab children, specifically, the religious aspect of minced oaths. Such a study should lead to very interesting results.

Another research suggestion is to conduct a comparative study of Arabic and English euphemisms in an Arabic dubbed version of a collection of Disney films. Interesting findings could emerge from such a study by examining how euphemisms are rendered in the Target Text and what their ideological underpinnings might be.

Moreover, it could shed light on the sociocultural differences between the Source Text and the Target Text.

7.9 Summary of the Conclusion

This thesis represents a unique, comprehensive and exhaustive, quantitative and qualitative, linguistic, multimodal and discursive analysis of euphemism in animated films, which has thus far not been subjected to any form of in-depth analysis. Two methodological aspects distinguish this research from previous studies. First, the data set of euphemisms comprises many themes. This necessitated an additional step of narrowing down the themes so that the ideological practices in question were relevant to euphemism. Such an analysis of themes other than minced oaths and taboo topics in everyday language marks the birth of a totally new way of studying euphemism through a critical and discursive lens. Second, the research demonstrates a more integrated approach to combining CDS and multimodality to examine cinematic discourse in two respects. The first is how I utilise the quantitative analysis of euphemism as a starting point to guide subsequent qualitative analysis, thus the quantification was not an end in itself. However, the quantification was referred to throughout the analysis to determine the extent to which euphemism as a linguistic resource is present in the discourse. The second is how I utilise in-depth qualitative analysis of a specifically linguistic, discursive and multimodal orientation. This study applies a comprehensive combination of linguistic methods to films. Studies of films typically conduct content analysis on small-scale data sets or do pedagogical analysis of films. Besides combining CDS and multimodality, this study contributes to the canon of research on cinematic discourse within the realms of CDS.

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Appendix 1

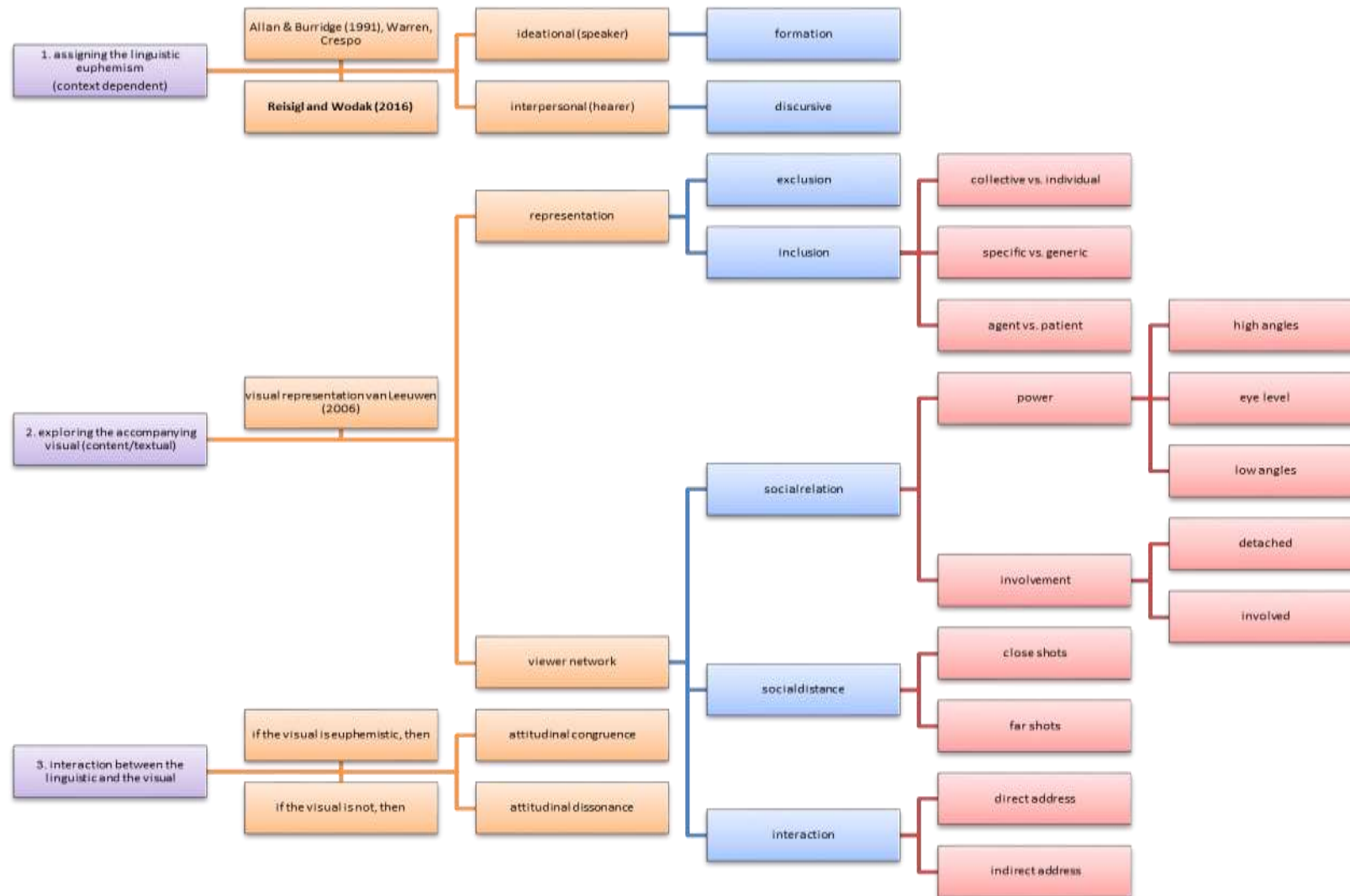


Figure 7 Linguistic and visual analytical tools

Appendix 2

In this appendix, there are four tables including all the euphemisms extracted from four film scripts comprising the data (Madagascar 2005, Alpha and Omega 2010, Sing 2016 and Zootopia 2016). In each of the four tables, there are seven columns entitled euphemism number, euphemisms, direct/unpleasant expression, theme, type of euphemism, discursive strategy and description. The second column, euphemisms, gives the euphemism as it is used in the film, whereas the third column explains the direct meaning of the euphemism. Then, the fourth column refers to the theme under which each of the euphemisms falls while the fifth clarifies the linguistic resource: the type of each euphemism. The sixth column explains to which discursive strategy of the DHA the euphemism belongs. Finally, the last column, description, explains the meaning of the euphemism, sometimes its etymology, sometimes how it is formed as a euphemism and its meaning from different sources.

List of Euphemisms in the film *Madagascar* (2005) retrieved from the film script

Euphemism number	Euphemism	Direct/unpleasant expression	Theme	Type	discursive strategy	Description
1	that was my first <i>rectal</i> thermometer	Anal	Body parts	Learned term remodelled from French <i>rectum</i>	Predication	The word <i>rectal</i> is a more formal way to refer to the anal use of something in the OED. In this context, it is the use of a rectal thermometer. The word <i>rectal</i> in the OED is an adjective used in the anatomical,

						zoological or medical description of the <i>rectum</i> . According to Allan and Burridge (1991, p. 20), the use of learned terms or technical jargon instead of common terms is euphemistic.
2	I got up to <i>pee</i>	Urinate	Bodily functions	Clipping	nomination	“Pee” refers to the act of evacuating urine. The OED suggests that the humour intended in using the euphemism pee relies on the use of the letter <i>P</i> which is the first letter of <i>piss</i> (Holder, 2003, p. 294), apparently punning on this word.
3	well of course we're going to throw a <i>poo</i> at him!	Defecate	Bodily functions	Clipping	Nomination	Poo is a short form of poop (v.). Both words refer to the act of defecation. According to the OED, poop is used

						in nursery and slang as an onomatopoeic form of the sound of defecation (gulping) originally taken from Belgian.
4	if you have any <i>poo</i> , fling it now!					
5	Giraffe <i>corner pocket</i>	Male privates	Body parts	Metaphor appearance-based	Nomination	According to the Oxford Dictionary of Euphemisms (Holder, 2003, p. 137), a corner is a penis. Moreover, pocket in the OED means billiards, specifically, each of the open-mouthed pockets placed at the corners and on each side of the table, into which balls are potted. Also, pocket can be used figuratively and in figurative contexts (OED). Therefore, a corner pocket could be similar to one of the pockets at the corner of a billiard table into which billiard balls are potted. In this context, giraffe

						corner pocket means the penis and balls (testicles) in the pocket of the giraffe that are going to be struck by Alex.
6	You mean like "living in mud hut, wipe <i>yourself</i> with leaf" type wild?	Private parts	Body parts	Underspecification	Nomination	“To make oneself comfortable” can connote activities around defecation or urination (Zhang, 2005, p. 228). Therefore, in this context “to wipe oneself with a leaf” refers to cleansing one’s private parts after defecation or urination.
7	You, <i>filthy</i> monkey	Masturbation euphemism	Sexual acts	Metaphor	Predication of negative characteristics	The OED gives figurative meanings for ‘filthy’, such as “obscene”, “disgusting”, and in more recent use with a neutral connotation of sexually uninhabited or wanton and so implies a taboo act such as masturbation

						(Holder, 2003, p. 179).
8	Come on now baby. <i>My little fillet, my little fillet mignon</i>	Woman's privates	Body parts	Conceptual metaphor	Nomination	This is an artful euphemism potentially understood as sexual through its synthesis of possible sexual expressions and creative use of links between food and sex. Food and sex complement each other. Both are delicacies. Some words such as "come" and "juicy" can be used in the context of sexual activity, "suggestive, especially in a sexual way; piquant, racy, sensational" (OED). The imagery of a fillet steak with fat around the edges can be taken as suggestive of the clitoris, the pink part of the vagina that is the meaty centre of goodness.
	<i>my little fillet mignon with a little fat around the edges, I like that.</i> I like a little fat on my steak, <i>my sweet juicy steak</i> . You are <i>a rare delicacy</i> .			Metaphor extensions		

9	they are aliens. Savage aliens. From the savage future. They've come to kill us! And <i>take</i> our women!	Rape	Sexual acts	One-for-one-substitution	nomination	One of the meanings of <i>take</i> in the Oxford Dictionary of Euphemisms is to copulate with (Holder, 2003, p. 374). However, the meaning in context indicates that the aliens would seize or grasp their women unwillingly, thus carrying the meaning of rape.
10	and I don't know if I'm <i>black</i> with white stripes or <i>white</i> with black stripes	Black as race or white? euphemism of colour and difference	Racial identity	Circumlocution	perspectivisation	This euphemistic expression can be interpreted in terms of the physical opposition between two races (white vs black). The ambiguity of this euphemism lies in the humour it is derived from.
11	they are just a bunch of <i>pansies</i> .	Homosexuality	Sexual identity	Borrowing from French <i>pensée (OED)</i>	Nomination	The Oxford dictionary of euphemisms indicates that pansy means a male homosexual (like a

12	Let's go and meet the <i>pansies!</i>					delicate flower) (Holder, 2003, p. 291). It has disparaging and offensive connotations for homosexuals.
13	Welcome giant <i>pansies</i> .					
14	give them a little <i>jolt!</i> You know what I'm talking about?	Drinking or drug-using but also sexual intercourse	Sexual act and drug terms euphemism	Metaphor	Nomination	<p>A jolt is anything taboo that gives you a shock or impetus according to the Oxford Dictionary of Euphemisms (Holder, 2003, p. 234), such as alcohol, injection of heroin.</p> <p>It also means to have sexual intercourse with a woman, but specifically "moving up and down in a jerky manner" (Spears, 2001, p. 197).</p>
15	Are you <i>nuts</i> ?	Crazy	Craziness	Metaphor	Predication: negative	Nuts means a mentally ill person according to the Oxford Dictionary of Euphemisms

						(Holder, 2003, p. 279).
16	My <i>monochromatic</i> friend	People of colour	Racial identity	Metaphor	Predication: negative	In the OED, monochromatic is an adjective for an animal having one colour. Also, an animal having different shades of grey; black and white. However, Dougherty (2003) describes racially and/ or ethnically homogeneous communities as monochromatic (p. 66). Moreover, Cheng (2013) discusses “monochromatic theology”, which is characterised by opposing themes to those of queer rainbow themes. Therefore, monochromatic themes are forms of oppression that LGBTIQ people of colour experience. Thus,

						monochromatic may include homosexual people of colour who are oppressed (p. 14).
17	<i>You in the tux</i>	New York in-group	Regional upgrading	Metaphor: appearance-based	Nomination	Tux is a shortened form of tuxedo and stands for the Linux mascot. He is the world's most intelligent penguin and is conspiring with the world's greatest nerds to bring down the evil Microsoft empire. This is interdiscursively related to the penguins of <i>Madagascar</i> (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020). The OED provides an etymology for tuxedo as the name of <i>Tuxedo</i> Park, N.Y., where the jacket was first introduced at the country club in 1886. It is a short

						jacket without tails, for formal wear.
18	just went a little <i>cuckoo</i> in the head. Hey!	Crazy	Craziness	Metaphor	Predication	In the Oxford Dictionary of Euphemisms, it means mentally unbalanced, it is taken from cuckoo which has the reputation of being a silly bird (Holder, 2003, p. 142).
19	Don't be calling me <i>cuckoo</i> in the head!					
20	What the <i>heck</i> is this doing here?	Hell	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Nomination	“Heck” is a regional and colloquial euphemistic alteration of hell in assertive and emphatic expressions (OED).
21	I don't know where he's at, but he is missing one <i>heck</i> of a party!					
22	and do whatever the <i>heck</i> you wanna do all day long					
23	who the <i>heck</i> do you think it is?					

24	To <i>heck</i>					
25	<i>dagnabbit!</i>	damn it	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Mitigation	“Dagnabbit” is formed in English by the compounding of <i>dagnab</i> and <i>it</i> , which is in turn a variant or alteration of another lexical item, God damn it. It is a U.S. colloquial euphemism often humorous or in representations of rural speech. It functions to express annoyance or amazement: ‘darn it!’ (OED).
26	<i>Sugar, honey, iced tea.</i>	Shit	Minced oaths	Reversal of initials	mitigation	“Sugar” is regarded as a euphemism for shit. It is formed in English by conversion, reversal. The identity of the initial sound converses with that of shit. It functions as a mild substitute for a swear word, especially expressing annoyance or disgust

						(OED) (Holder, 2003, p. 370).
27	darn you! <i>Darn you all to heck!</i>	Damn	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Mitigation	“Darn” is a colloquial U.S. euphemism formed by the alteration of <i>damn</i> that is used in profane use: ‘confound’ (OED).
28	Yeah, what a <i>dump!</i>	Defecation	Bodily functions	Onomatopoeia	Nomination	An obvious and rather distasteful male usage as a noun (Holder, 2003, p. 162). According to the OED, the sense of the word has evidently received onomatopoeic modification, from its suggestiveness of a dull abruptly-checked blow or thud, and of the action producing this.
29	They should call it the <i>San-di-lamo zoo!</i>	Lame San Diego	Regional downgrading	Remodelling	Predication: negative	It is a contextual euphemism targetting San Diego, which is remodelled to connote its

						lameness. <i>Lame</i> in the OED is a figurative adjective that means halting or lacking in effectiveness.
30	<i>A latrine.</i> Nice work Melman.	Lavatory	Toilet	Borrowing from Latin	Nomination	“Latrine” is derived from the Latin <i>lavare</i> , to wash. Usually denoting primitive and communal structures, as in the army (Holder, 2003, p. 242).
31	it's not a latrine. It's a grave.					
32	<i>Outdoor plumbing.</i>	A primitive lavatory – plumbing which is outdoors	Toilet	Usual-location-where-specific-event-takes-place	Predication	It is an American euphemism denoting the humorous use of a shed with a seat, a hole, but no water or drainage (Holder, 2003, p. 287).
33	<i>Underpants</i>	Underwear/ or genitals	Sexual parts	Compounding under+pants	Nomination	A euphemism which means the genitals, either male or

						female (Spears, 2001, p. 362). It also means an undergarment covering the lower part of the body (OED).
34	<i>Hoover Dam!</i>	Damn	Minced oaths	One-for-one substitution	Nomination	It is a contextual euphemism achieved through using a one-for-one substitute, replacing the original name of the dam by swearing. Swearing, here, is through the use of an intertextual phrase referring to a large dam on the river on the border of Nevada and Arizona. The name was changed in honour of the U.S. Colorado president Herbert Hoover.
35	It's <i>unsanitary</i>	Filthy	Cleanliness	Litotes	Predication	It is a euphemism achieved by negating the opposite of 'sanitary'. Sanitary means pertaining to

						conditions affecting health, especially with reference to cleanliness and precautions against infection and other deleterious influences; pertaining to or concerned with sanitation (OED).
36	<i>Mother..!</i>	Mother f***er	Minced oaths	Full omission	Mitigation	Mother is an American term of vulgar abuse, a shortened form of motherf***er, but those who use it are unlikely to know that Oedipus was said to have sired four children by Jocasta in a complex story. It is used as an insult, but an intimate object may also be so criticised (Holder, 2003, p. 266). It also refers to any despicable person or thing (Spears, 2001, p. 235).

37	<p>We're not all nocturnal you know!</p> <p>I'll <i>knock yer "tarnal"</i> right off, pal!</p>	Knock yer tarnation	Minced oaths	Clipping of <i>eternal</i>	Mitigation	<p>It is a dialectical and regional pronunciation of <i>eternal</i> made into a euphemism by clipping the e and l of eternal. It is chiefly used in U.S. slang. It is used as an expression of execration, passing into a mere intensive. It is also said to express extreme abhorrence in the OED.</p>
38	It's <i>seniors'</i> day, you know.	Old people	Old	One-for-one substitution	Predication	<p>A senior citizen is a euphemism for an old person. However, Holder (2003) suggests that because senior comes from the Latin <i>senex</i>, it is arguably not a euphemism, rather merely a cloying evasion (p. 338).</p>

39	Come on. What would <i>Connecticut</i> have to offer us? <i>Lyme disease</i>	Othering and disparaging Connecticut	Regional downgrading	Underspecification	Nomination	Connecticut is a state in the U.S. that is related to Lyme disease because the emergence of Lyme disease in the U.S. coincided with expansive American landscapes, with the first documented outbreak occurring in 1975 in Old Lyme, a low-density town of New London County, Connecticut (Janicki, 2018).
40	That side <i>stinks!</i> You're on the <i>Jersey side of this cesspool!</i>	Othering and disparaging New Jersey	Regional downgrading	Underspecification	Nomination	For most Americans, New Jersey conjures up images of toxic waste, faceless shopping malls, and tortuous traffic, the kinds of things that encourage people to disparage New Jersey, which is know as " <i>the armpit of America</i> " (Lowenstein, 2007, p. 81). Jersey is also on the opposite side of New York state

						which makes it open to comparison with NY. Therefore, for New Yorkers, the Jersey side stinks.
41	Would you give <i>a guy</i> a break?"	Personalising private parts	Body parts	Underspecification	Nomination	The word guy in its denotative sense is a word that is originally from the U.S. and means a man or a fellow in the OED. The first reason why 'guy' can be considered a euphemism is based on the meaning it shares with the legal use of 'person', which is used in law for 'penis' (Allan & Burridge, 1991). Moreover, the general use of the euphemism 'thing' to refer to one's genitals which is similar to 'guy' in the maximally general use of euphemisms. Such a euphemism can be described in terms of

						a general-for-specific euphemistic strategy, i.e. the use of a general term, in this case 'guy', which must be specified in its context of use to refer to the taboo subject, 'penis', and thus fulfil its euphemistic function (p. 12).
42	Alrighty, <i>boys</i> , <i>fun's over</i>	Fun is a sexual act	Sexual act	Conceptual metaphor	Nomination	Allan and BurrIDGE (1991, p. 91) list the euphemism 'to have fun/ having fun' among the list of euphemisms for sex acts. It is categorised as a dyadic euphemism structured from a NOUN PHRASE PREDICATE WITH NOUN PHRASE which refers to enjoying oneself in a light-hearted or lively way with specific reference to sexual activity.

						<p>Moreover, the OED lists the compound noun 'fun time' as a euphemism, frequently used in the language of personal advertisements, for sexual activity. Holder (2003, p. 190) also lists 'fun' as a euphemism meaning promiscuous sexual activity that is detached from the original meaning of fun, hoaxing or trickery, from which amusement and pleasure come. Sexual activity as fun can be categorised as a metaphor, by which the imagery of game substitutes a sexual encounter with an innocent activity.</p>
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Table 9 List of euphemisms extracted from Madagascar (2005)

List of Euphemisms in the film *Alpha and Omega* (2010) retrieved from the film script

Euphemism number	Euphemism	Direct/unpleasant expression	Theme	Type	Discursive strategy	Description
43	Oh good, cuz I'm gonna <i>lose mine</i>	Vomit	Bodily functions	Circumlocution	nomination	Lose your lunch is a euphemism that means to vomit (Holder, 2003, p. 253; Spears, 2001, p. 216). According to Holder (2003), it usually happens when someone is drunk or through seasickness. Chances of losing other meals in this sense are possible as well (p. 253).
44	But by next spring, she will be a <i>trained</i> Alpha,	A trained female alpha /gender	Sexist interconnected with racial class	Full omission	Mitigation	The description 'trained alpha' in itself does not carry any gendered traces, however, it is the omitted word from the context that counts as gendered. The word 'female' is fully omitted in both scenes. the euphemism is achieved through fully omitting Kate's gender to avoid an
45	the future leader of the pack.					
46	She's the <i>finest alpha</i> I've ever trained					

						explicit act of sexism while declaring that in a statement just offering information to the viewer as well as to the characters in the scenes.
47	No doubt you'll be <i>a clever</i> Omega. Learn to keep the peace. And Humphrey, remind us all to have fun.	Class hierarchy	Racial slurs	Reversal	Predication: negative	This contextual euphemism is achieved through reversal. The father here intends to scold Humphrey for being from a lower hierarchy than an alpha.
48	Alphas and Omegas can't <i>ma...</i>	Deleted mate	Sexual act Interconnected with racial class	Quasi-omission	Mitigation	To mate is to copulate. It literally means to pair, of animals and, less often, of humans (Holder, 2003, p. 259). In this case, there is a deletion of the last two letters of the word and replaced by “uhhh ... mmmm” (Allan & Burridge, 1991). This is an example of a euphemism where sex and race intersect.

49	You better <i>set your sights over</i> there.	Flirt with	Sexual act	Circumlocution	perspectivisation	To set one's sights on someone or something is a figurative idiom that means to regard having someone or something as one's purpose (Long, 1979). In the context of speech between the omega wolves, the omegas are advising their friend to set his sights sexually or choose female omega wolves.
50	<i>Holy ...</i>	Name of god	Minced oaths	Full omission	Mitigation	Euphemistic full deletion of the name of God. The naming is understandable from the context as the word Holy is not omitted from the context.
51	Hey, what's your problem, you stupid <i>Eastern dog</i> ?	From the East	Racial slurs	Geographical adjective	Predication	Eastern refers to Canada East (formerly Lower Canada) which used to be occupied by French Canadians, Indigenous people, whose ancestors had lived there for thousands of years, and Loyalist settlers who formed the core of an English-speaking community. Their numbers expanded rapidly through waves of English and Scottish immigration. Canada East is now known as the province of Quebec (The

						Canadian Encyclopedia, 2020).
52	You better listen to the <i>girl</i> .	Female social inferiority – gender	Sexist	Hyperbole	Nomination	It refers to a woman or a girl, however, it is found quite objectionable by members of some Women’s Liberation movements. Otherwise, it is in wide usage for females of all ages (Spears, 2001, p. 155). Moreover, Holder (2003, p. 15) adds that the literal sense of the euphemism means a female child or servant, whence a sweetheart. It also refers to any female less than 50 years old. It is always used in the form of hyperbole seeking to imply that the ageing process is reversed. The OED also adds that girl referring to a female is frequently with connotations of social inferiority.
53	Now, if Garth gets out of line, <i>take those beautiful teeth of yours,</i> <i>go for the throat, and don't let go until the body stops shaking.</i>	Detailed description of a French kiss	Sexual act or violence	Conceptual metaphor	Mitigation	A French kiss is a kiss during which the tongue is sensually inserted into another’s mouth to explore that mouth (Holder, 2003, p. 189; Spears, 2001, p. 139). Teeth here is a part for whole metonymy of the mouth.

54	Kate is <i>hot</i> .	Gender	Objectifying women interconnected with sexuality	Conceptual metaphor	Predication	The euphemism hot originally comes from the increased body temperature and flushing caused by excitement (Holder, 2003, p. 217). Kate is hot means, she is inducing sexual arousal in others.
55	You're not allowed to <i>howl with</i> her. She's an Alpha.	Sexual act	Sexual act Interconnected with racial class Interconnected with racial class	Conceptual Metaphor	Nomination	The OED defines to howl as to utter loud and doleful inarticulate cries in which the sound of <i>u</i> /u:/ prevails. In this context, it is used as a euphemism connoting the sound uttered when having sexual intercourse with somebody. This euphemism is understood from with and together, and also from the “you know” expression that follows “we can’t.”
56	But we can't, <i>you know</i> . . . <i>howl together</i> .					
57	Your <i>howling partner</i> , he's not a . . .	Sexual partner				

58	Come on, Kate. <i>Howl at the moon with me.</i>	Sexual act				
59	<i>Howling with an Omega</i> , are we? -I, I was just..	Interconnect ed with racial class				
60	Wow. You are a.. . You are a <i>big one</i> , aren't you? Wow. You're practically a <i>moose</i> . Where you hiding them <i>antlers</i> ?	Masculine and strong Gender	Male masculinity and dominance	Metaphor: appearance-based	Nomination	According to the OED, a moose is the largest extant kind of deer, found widely in northern North America and northern Eurasia, and characterised by a long snout, a shoulder hump, and in the male, broad antlers. Colloquially, the euphemism moose is used more generally to refer to a person likened to a moose in size or strength. Moose is a nickname for a big man (Spears, 2001, p. 233).
61	Who's the <i>coyote</i> ?		Sexual identity		Nomination	

	Humphrey: Who's the <i>coyote</i> ? I get it. That's good, 'cause I'm, like.. .	Homosexual/ Pussy		Metaphor: appearance-based		The OED lists coyote as the prairie wolf of the Pacific slope of North America. In this context, coyote is a euphemism meaning having less manly qualities. In other words, it means an effeminate male or pussy (Spears, 2001, p. 87).
62	Lilly, why don't you take little <i>coyote</i> Humphrey and run along?					
63	But, uh, what really gets me going is.. . Was <i>it</i> , uh, good for you?	Sexual act	Sexual act	Underspecification	Nomination	According to Holder (2003), it is a euphemism for anything that is the subject of a taboo (p. 231). Moreover, Spears (2001, p. 190) adds that it is a euphemism for sex appeal; the ability to sexually stimulate persons of the opposite sex, i.e. turn them on. It also means copulation; however, it is a very old euphemism.
64	Your howling partner, he's not a.. . He's not a <i>stud</i> .	Male viewed sexually Gendered	Male masculinity and dominance Interconnected with sexuality Interconnected with sexuality Interconnected with sexuality	Metaphor: appearance-based	Nomination	A stud is a U.S colloquial and slang euphemism for a male emphasising one or more of the following characteristics: virility, stylishness, sex appeal, sexual success with woman (Spears, 2001, p. 336). In the OED, it is a noun inherited from Germanic and originally meant a horse kept for breeding.
65	Not a <i>stud</i> but, like,					
66	it's like " <i>stud</i> " but.. .					

67	<i>An Alpha's Alpha.</i>	Maleness and domination Gendered	Male masculinity and dominance Interconnected with racial class	Hyperbole	Nomination	A euphemism that contextually means an alpha of an alpha. In the OED, an alpha male is a noun that is used originally and chiefly in Zoology. It means a male individual that is dominant among others of its own sex, in a mixed group of social animals. However, in extended use, sometimes with humorous or depreciative connotations, it refers to a man tending to assume a dominant or domineering role in social or professional situations, or thought to possess the qualities of and confidence for leadership.
68	<i>That's right. He is An Alpha's Alpha.</i>		Interconnected with racial class			
69	Uhhh! You got <i>water</i> ? Humphrey: Nope.	urine	Bodily functions	Metaphor	Nomination	Water as a euphemism for urine has been used in this sense since the 14 th century, even though urine differs significantly from the clear and potable compound of hydrogen and oxygen forming water (Holder, 2003, p. 400).
70	Definitely not <i>water</i> !					
71	The golfing goose from the <i>low regions</i>	Othering populations	Regional downgrading	Geographical adjectives	Predication	The <i>low regions</i> of the Arctic Circle is a euphemism for Canada East which was formerly Lower Canada. It is

	of the Arctic Circle is leading the pack.	from Canada East				inhabited by French and other populations (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2020). However, what is meant here by low regions is to refer to French Canadians as the goose is French in the narrative.
72	Um, could you do me a favour, Needles, and <i>shut the hole that makes the words?</i>	Shut your mouth class hierarchy	Racial slurs	Hyperbole	Intensification	The hole that makes the words is a euphemism for the mouth.
73	Looks like they're playing <i>some sort of weird game.</i>	Golf	Regional downgrading	Circumlocution	Predication	By some sort of a weird game, golf is meant. The depreciation here is not for the game, rather, for who plays the game. According to the OED, golf is a game, of considerable antiquity in Scotland.
74	You know, we wouldn't want to lie. Marcel: This is not a lie. This is not a lie if you are <i>French</i> .	French	Racial identity	Geographical adjective	Predication	French is a euphemism used by the English for anything which they consider bogus, over-rated, illegal, immoral, or otherwise undesirable, reflecting the mutual distrust between the countries which was not lessened by the events between 1940 and 1945 (Holder, 2003, p. 188). In this case, Marcel is reinforcing the
75	When it comes to hugs,					

	we are all French, eh, Paddy?					stereotype by saying that a lie is something that is overrated if you are French.
76	So, you want to face the <i>French Résistance</i> ?	Racial identity	Racial identity	Hyperbole	Intensification	This euphemism is interdiscursive to a real-life historical event. The OED defines the French Résistance as an underground movement formed in France during the Second World War (1939–45) to resist the authority of the German occupying forces and the Vichy government.
77	Oh, he's a <i>goner</i> for sure.	Dead	Death	Hyperbole	Intensification	A person about to die or who has just died (Holder, 2003, p. 201).
78	You were relocated to, <i>hmmm, hmmm, hmmm, repopulate</i> .	Productive Sexuality	Sexual act	Learned term	Mitigation	The OED gives repopulate the meaning of to populate again; to supply with new inhabitants; to form a new population in (an area).

79	They want you <i>big wolves to make a lot of little wolves</i>	Productive sexuality	Sexual act	Circumlocution	nomination	A peripheral euphemism in which the taboo is explained by means of easy language.
80	So, you two are <i>undomesticated partners</i> ?	Having an affair outside a marital relation	Sexual act	Litotes	Predication	A domestic partner in early use meant a spouse; however, later on it started to be used for a person with whom one lives as though married, cohabiting. In the OED, undomesticated is a U.S. word that means a person officially registered as such, and so entitled to some of the same legal rights or employee benefits as a spouse.
81	<i>You are an item?</i>	Sexual relation outside of marriage	Sexual act	One-for-one substitution	Nomination	Being an item is a euphemism for a continuing sexual partnership between two people outside marriage. Holder (2003) suggests that the euphemism is merely taken from an item of news or gossip (Holder, 2003, p. 231)
82	So, why is this called Rabbit <i>Poo</i> Mountain?	Defecate	Bodily functions	Onomatopoeia	Nomination	Poo is a short form of poop (v.). Both words refer to the act of defecation. According to the OED, poop is used in nursery and slang as an onomatopoeic form of the sound of defecation (gulping) originally taken from Belgian.
83	Because this is where rabbits like to <i>poo</i> .					

84	I have to go.	to the lavatory	Toilet	Full omission	Mitigation	It is a full-omitted euphemism from which is omitted: to the lavatory (Allan & Burrige, 1991, p. 17).
85	Drove <i>me nuts</i> .	Crazy	Craziness	Metaphor	Predication	Nuts means a mentally ill person according to the Oxford Dictionary of Euphemisms (Holder, 2003, p. 279).
86	<i>Geeze,</i>	Jesus	Minced oath	Clipping	Mitigation	Gee is a euphemistically clipped form of Jesus. The OED defines it as the expression of any of a number of feelings or emotions, esp. surprise, enthusiasm or exasperation. Also used for emphasis.
87	<i>Oh, geez.</i>					

88	<p>Kate. Kate! <i>Grab my tail.</i></p> <p>Grab your what?</p> <p>Take those Alpha jaws and grab.. .</p> <p><i>Owww, my tail! My tail.</i></p> <p>Kate, wiggle. Wiggle around.</p> <p><i>That tickles. Oh, my tail hurts!</i></p> <p>Ha, ha, ha! Oh, <i>who knew I was ticklish there?</i></p> <p><i>I can't take any more.</i></p> <p><i>Oh, No!</i></p> <p>Humphrey!</p> <p>Humphrey!</p> <p>Uh! Aaaaah!</p> <p><i>Your tail.</i> I'm so sorry.</p> <p><i>My tail's actually fine,</i></p>	<p>Male sexual part</p> <p>Sexually aroused</p>	Sexual act	<p>Metaphor: appearance-based</p> <p>Metaphor extensions</p>	Nomination	<p>According to Spears (2001, p. 342), the euphemism tail has many meanings. However, as here it is referring to a male, then, the meaning it refers to is his penis. As innocent as it might seem, this whole scene is sexually suggestive of a female grabbing and wiggling her male partner's genitalia. Moreover, the euphemism tickle refers to being sexually aroused (ibid. p. 348). The whole scene gives an impression of a blow job.</p>
89	<p>How's that for a <i>girl's throw?</i></p>	gendered for female	Sexist	Hyperbole	Perspectivisation	<p>It refers to a woman or a girl, however, it is found quite objectionable by members of some Women's Liberation</p>

						<p>movements. Otherwise, it is in wide usage for females of all ages (Spears, 2001, p. 155). Moreover, Holder (2003, p. 15) adds that the literal sense of the euphemism means a female child or servant, whence a sweetheart. It also refers to any female less than 50 years old. It is always used in the form of hyperbole seeking to imply that the ageing process is reversed. The OED also adds that girl referring to a female is frequently with connotations of social inferiority.</p>
90	Paddy	Irish	Racial stereotype	Underspecification	Nomination	<p>Paddy is a stereotype for an Irishman. Frequently used as a derogatory form of address, a pet form of the male forename Patrick (Irish Pádraig). In the OED, Patrick (Irish Pádraig) is the name of the apostle and patron saint of Ireland; it is one of the commonest Irish names.</p>
91	Well, I'm <i>English</i> , so we don't hug!	English	Racial identity	Geographical adjective	Predication	<p>In the OED, English refers to people from England, however, for Americans it denotes or pertains to sexual deviation (Holder, 2003).</p>

						Holder (2003, p. 168) explains that as in the coded advertisements for English arts, discipline, guidance, treatment, none of which have anything to do with pronunciation or any other kind of instruction in the most useful of languages.
92	So, you want to start <i>this thing</i> or me?	Copulation	Sexual act	Underspecification	Nomination	Thing is any taboo object to which you refer allusively (Holder, 2003, p. 379). Moreover, it also refers to an illicit romance or an affair (Spears, 2001, p. 347).
93	Aaahhh! It's that <i>darn</i> disk in my back.	Damn	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Mitigation	The OED lists 'darn' as colloquial U.S. euphemism formed by the alteration of <i>damn</i> that is used in profane use: 'confound'.
94	Ohhh, <i>darn</i> . 'Cause I wanted to tell you something.					
95	<i>My gosh</i> .	God	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Mitigation	The OED defines Gosh as an oath or exclamation, (by) gosh! my gosh! However, Allan and Burridge (1991) demonstrate that it is a euphemistic expletive which is a kind of exclamatory interjection having an expressive function (p. 138).

						It is used to avoid using the word God. Gosh is perhaps remodelled from Go- as in god, + sh “be quiet, say no more” (p. 38).
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Table 10 List of euphemisms extracted from Alpha and Omega (2010)

List of Euphemisms in the film *Zootopia* (2016) retrieved from the film script

Euphemism number	Euphemism	Direct/unpleasant expression	Theme	Type	Discursive strategy	Description
96	<i>Bunny cop</i>	Honey cop used for a Girl cop	Sexist Interconnected with sexuality	Metaphor: appearance-based	Nomination	There are two senses in the OED for the word bunny in which one of them means a pet name for a rabbit, and a term of endearment for women and children in the other. Moreover, Holder (2003, p. 109) further explains that it is descriptive of females, in many phrases denoting a venue, such as jazz bunny.
97	They really did hire a <i>bunny</i> .	Girl	Interconnected with sexuality			

98	The next time you think you will be anything more than just a <i>stupid, carrot-farming dumb bunny</i> .	Stupidity	Interconnected with sexuality	Metaphor: appearance-based	Predication	Away from bunnies being lower animals which are not able to articulate speech and hence, dumb, dumb bunny also means foolish, stupid, ignorant (chiefly of persons); specifically, dumb bunny, a stupid person in the OED.
99	You are a <i>stupid, carrot-farming dumb bunny</i>		Interconnected with sexuality			
100	You're dead, <i>bunny bumpkin!</i>		Interconnected with sexuality		Nomination	
101	<i>The beauty of complacency</i>	Farming and stupidity	Racial stereotypes	Hyperbole	Intensification	The OED defines it as an over-exaggeration for the fact or state of being pleased with oneself; tranquil pleasure or satisfaction in one's own condition or doings, especially with your own abilities or a situation that prevents you from trying harder.
102	<i>Fluff butt!</i>	Insulting names	Sexist	Onomatopoeia	Nomination	The word fluff in the OED means the soft fur of a rabbit or other animal. It is

			Interconnected with race			an onomatopoeic modification of the word ‘flue’, imitating the action of puffing away some light substance. Spears (2001, p. 135) also adds that it means a young woman. This expression is followed by the noun ‘butt’ in an insulting context, it definitely has racial as well as gendered implications.
103	<i>Fuzzy bunny!</i>	Fluffy bunny (stupid girl)	Sexist	Rhyme	Predication	A fuzzy bear is an American form of euphemising and referring to a policeman because of the threat and violence the officers of the law are thought to have in common (Holder, 2003, pp. 91, 190). However, for the word fuzzy to be accompanied with a bunny, it has some intertextual implications (see an educational documentary entitled “Fuzzy Bunny's Guide to You Know What”) (Fandom, n.d.-a) as well as an insult as rabbits are known for their timid
104	<i>Fuzz</i>			Full omission	Mitigation	

						behaviour. Judy is a female bunny, so this is a sexist insult meaning fluffy bunny with no use for anything.
105	<i>Mammal Inclusion Initiative</i>	Mocking positive discrimination	Political Interconnected with race	Circumlocution	Nomination	This euphemism is very similar to the so-called politically correct <i>Affirmative action</i> , meaning a preference for minorities or the historically disadvantaged, usually in employment or academic admissions. This term is sometimes said to be a euphemism for reverse discrimination, or in the UK positive discrimination, which suggests an intentional bias that might be legally prohibited, or otherwise unpalatable.
106	<i>Let's see those teeth!</i>	Smile Class hierarchy of white supremacy	Racial stereotypes	Circumlocution	Intensification	The OED lists it as an authoritative way of saying smile by uncovering the teeth by withdrawing the lips from them to a prey animal which indicates a beast in readiness for biting or

						attack; usually figurative to show hostility or malice, to behave in a threatening way.
107	<i>Oh, for goodness sake</i>	God's sake	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Mitigation	Not to say God's name in vain.
108	Here come the <i>waterworks</i> .	Tears	Sexist	Metaphor	Intensification	Tears especially those of women or child thought to be producing them to obtain sympathy (Holder, 2003, p. 400). It is a metaphor as both have the same function of transporting liquids (Warren, 1992).
109	O-M goodness!	Oh my God!	Minced oaths	Abbreviation	Mitigation	Not to say God's name in vain.
110	And city hall is right up <i>my tail</i> to find them.	Ass, butt	Body parts	Metaphor: appearance-based	Nomination	It is an idiomatic expression which applies a one-for-one substitution of the word ass. The substitution is done to avoid the dispreferred term 'ass' and to fit to the context of animated films. in the OED, the expression means to work extremely hard.

111	I'm not just some ' <i>token</i> ' bunny.	Politically correct referring to minorities	Sexist Interconnected with race	Circumlocution	Perspectivisation	Appointed other than on merit. A female or black member of a committee whose presence is politically correct (Holder, 2003, p. 381).
112	<i>Meter maid</i>	Female profession	Sexist	Circumlocution	Nomination	A meter maid is a female traffic warden in the OED. Gendering a profession for the sake of differentiating between male and female.
113	It's called a <i>hustle</i> , sweetheart.	ideology	Political	Underspecification	Nomination	To cheat, rob, or involve another in a taboo activity. Literally, to push or crowd, whence to sell at an inflated price by skilful banter (Holder, 2003, p. 220).
114	I just naturally assumed you came from some little carrot-choked <i>Podunk</i> , no?	Disparaging and othering	Regional downgrading	Geographical adjective	Nomination	The OED locates the Podunk River in Hartford County, Connecticut formerly inhabited by the Podunk people who are a North American Indian people living around the area.
115	Naive little <i>hick</i> with good grades.	Lower class people	Regional downgrading	Colloquial term	Nomination	According to the OED, the word hick refers to an ignorant countryman; a silly fellow, booby. However, according to the

						Urban Dictionary, it is a derogatory slang term for lower-class whites raised in rural areas, usually within trailer parks or hog farms. Generally used more for Midwesterners than Southerners. General defining characteristics of a hick: Protestant upbringing, usually Baptist; racist and sexist opinions; does not attend college; dumber than a post (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020).
116	Go back home with that cute <i>fuzzy-wuzzy</i>	Othering and disparaging	Racial slurs	Reduplication	Predication	It is a soldier's nickname for a typical Sudanese warrior, from his method of dressing his hair; hence a slang term for a coloured native from another country, such as Fiji or New Guinea, according to the OED.
117	<i>little tail between her legs</i>	Private parts	Body parts Interconnected with gendered sexism	Metaphor: appearance-based	Predication	Little tail between her legs could mean her female private part between her leg as tail means the female genitals or buttocks (Spears, 2001). It can be considered a double

						entendre referring to something, and at the same time could mean something totally different.
118	Holy cripes	Christ	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Mitigation	According to the OED, it is a euphemistic alteration of Christ.
119	Cottontail	Disparaging	Objectifying women Interconnected with sexuality	Metaphor: appearance-based	Nomination	In the OED, cotton-tail is the common rabbit of the United States, which has a white fluffy tail. However, according to the Urban Dictionary, cottontail is a female's buttocks that are noticeably whiter than the rest of her body, often due to lack of sunlight in that area (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020).
120	<i>Flat foot</i>	Female police officer disparaging	Sexist	Metonymy	Nomination	Both the Oxford English Dictionary and Merriam Webster Dictionary agree on the meaning of flatfoot as referring to police officers. However, Merriam Webster Dictionary gives a further explanation of it to refer to a patrolman walking a regular beat. Flatfoot is especially used for those

						who are footing the USA to keep cities safe, but it can also refer to police in general (Merriam-Webster Dictionary).
121	Officer <i>toot toot</i>	Stupid	Sexist	Reduplication	Nomination	A fool, an oaf (Spears, 2001, p. 353)
122	<i>Fluff</i>	Disparaging homosexuality	Sexual identity	Underspecification	Nomination	Fluff indicates many meanings, one of which is a young woman or a lesbian with feminine traits (Spears, 2001, p. 135).
123	Officer <i>fluff</i>					
124	We're a <i>naturist</i> club	Nudist	Sexual act	Remodelling	Nomination	In the OED, it is a person who practises or advocates a natural way of life, especially as characterised by the practice of communal nudity.
125	<i>Pleasure pool</i>	Pleasure house where sexual acts take place	Sexual act	Usual location where a specific event takes place	Predication	A pleasure house (pool) is a brothel where pleasure, or copulation, might be enjoyed, or as the case might be (Holder, 2003, p. 301).
126	Darn it.	Damned	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Mitigation	“Darn” is a colloquial U.S. euphemism formed by the alteration of <i>damn</i> that is used in profane use: ‘confound’ in the OED.

127	<i>Oh, sweet cheese and crackers.</i>	Sweet Jesus Christ	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Mitigation	A respectful alternative to, "Jesus Christ!" (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020).
128	You are one <i>hot</i> dancer	Sexually arousing /gender	Objectifying women Interconnected with sexuality	Conceptual metaphor	Predication	Hot means sexually aroused or arousing, taken from the increased body temperature and flushing caused by excitement (Holder, 2003, p. 217).
129	<i>Emotionally unbalanced</i>	Crazy	Craziness	Circumlocution	Predication	Emotional is a euphemism that means when a person displays excitable and sentimental behaviour (Holder, 2003, p. 167) and unbalanced is a euphemism referring to a person of unsound mind (Holder, 2003, p. 389). Therefore, an emotionally unbalanced person is a politically correct euphemism referring to lack of emotional stability.
130	<i>Buffalo butt</i>	Fat butt	Sexist Interconnected with race	Metaphor: appearance-based	Nomination	To refer to a woman as a buffalo chick means that woman is fat (Spears, 2001, p. 56). Thus, buffalo butt means one with fat buttocks. It also refers to the incredibly huge buttocks of a woman

						(usually black) (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020).
131	Oh, <i>mutton chops!</i>	Sheep's head	Minced oaths	One-for-one substitution	Mitigation	In the OED, mutton chops refers to a piece of mutton intended especially for grilling or frying and also to a man's sideburns shaped like mutton chops, being narrow at the ear and broad and rounded at the lower jaw. However, in this context it is a euphemism of a minced oath. It can also refer to a sheep's head in an interjection meaning good grief. Though the meaning of mutton chops is provided in both the OED and Urban Dictionary, its meaning as an interjection is not found in both. This is a subjective interpretation depending on the context.
132	<i>While we are young,</i> Smellwhether	Now authoritative sound of White supremacy	Racial stereotypes Interconnected with gendered sexism	Hyperbole	Intensification	Contextual euphemism displaying authority to urge someone to do something as fast as possible to them.

133	<i>dumdums</i>	Stupid	Insults and name-calling	Reduplication	Predication	A cleverer way of saying that something is dumb-ish or someone is "dumb", only that the b-sound is deleted, and the newly formed word is repeated twice, dum-dum, to accent the state of being dumb (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020).
134	Who have <i>gone off the rails</i> <i>crazy</i>	Savage	Craziness	Hyperbole	Predication	In the OED, it means outside the proper or normal condition, of the usual or expected course. Engaged in reprehensible conduct, criminal or sexual, of someone hitherto considered above reproach, and implying a continued pattern of bad behaviour (Holder, 2003, p. 281).
135	Oh, <i>Jeeeeeze!</i>	Jesus	Minced oaths	Clipping	Mitigation	In the OED, Jeez is a euphemistically clipped form of Jesus. It expresses any feelings or emotions, esp. surprise, enthusiasm, or exasperation. Also used for emphasis.

136	Are they all different <i>species</i> ?	Races	Racial stereotypes	Borrowing from Latin	Nomination	Aside from its animal-related meaning, which is a group of animals having certain common characteristics which distinguish them from other groups. In the OED, it connotes the common attributes or essential qualities of a class of persons or things as distinguished from the genus on the one hand and the individual on the other. It is a contextual euphemism related to humans inhabiting Zootopia (or implicitly New York city).
137	But it is irresponsible to label all <i>predators</i> as savages.	Different races	Racial stereotypes	Borrowing from Latin	Perspectivisation	Aside from its animal-related meaning, which is an animal that preys on other animals, in the OED, a predator is a person who plunders or pillages; a ruthlessly exploitative or rapacious individual; a depredator.
138	Jude <i>the dude</i>	tomboy as an example of a lesbian attitude	Sexual identity	Clipping	Predication	Probably formed in English by clipping or shortening of doodle

			Interconnected with gendered sexism			(silly). It is an adjective that means having the characteristics of or resembling a dude in the OED. According to the Urban Dictionary, sometimes it is used in reference to tomboys (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020). Jude is being referred to as such because she is a police officer that is a prey (animal), let alone being a female.
139	I'll be <i>darned</i>	Damned	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Mitigation	"Darn" is a colloquial U.S. euphemism formed by the alteration of <i>damn</i> that is used in profane use: 'confound' in the OED.
140	I had a <i>lotta self-doubt that manifested itself in the form of unchecked rage and aggression.</i>	Psychological problems of white supremacy	Racial stereotypes	Circumlocution	Perspectivisation	A circumlocutory euphemism of bullying and practising it.
141	You <i>throw like a bunny</i>	Girls	Sexist	Full omission of girls	Mitigation	The OED defines it as a term of endearment applied to women and children. Therefore, the

142	You <i>bunnies</i> . You're so emotional.					meaning being mitigated here is “you throw like a <i>girl</i> ” and “you <i>girls</i> . You are so emotional.”
143	<i>Flopsy the copsy</i>	The cute cop	Sexist	Rhyme	Nomination	Flopsy is one of a group of rabbits in the children's stories of Beatrix Potter (1866–1943); hence, a sentimental designation of a rabbit and an interdiscursive use of the euphemism as referred to in the OED. It is also an implication of cuteness. Copsy is a euphemism referring to a female policewoman (Spears, 2001, p. 133). Copsy is derived from it to rhyme with flopsy.
144	It was a classic “ <i>doing the wrong thing for the right reason</i> ” kind of a deal.	Justifying a lie of white supremacy	Racial stereotypes	Circumlocution	Perspectivisation	This prolonged circumlocutory expression is a typical euphemism used by politicians and people of power in order to cover for their mistakes. It is an indirect way of saying I lied for the good of the people.

Table 11 List of euphemisms extracted from *Zootopia* (2016)

List of Euphemisms in the film *Sing* (2016) retrieved from the film script

Euphemism number	Euphemism	Direct/unpleasant expression	Theme	Type	Discursive strategy	Description
145	<i>Holy moly!</i>	Holy Moses	Minced oaths	Reduplication	Mitigation	The OED defines Holy Moly as a U.S <i>humorous</i> word or <i>euphemism</i> . It is a reduplication of holy, with a variation of the initial consonant, after <i>holy Moses!</i> used to express surprise or dismay.
146	<i>Holy moly!</i>					
147	What <i>the</i> ...	What the hell or the f***	Minced oaths	Full omission	Mitigation	Allan and Burridge (1991) refer to this kind of idiomatic euphemism as full omission of the dispreferred term hell or f*** (p. 17). Such expressions express dismay or incredulity (p.133).
148	<i>Oh my gosh</i>	God	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Mitigation	Gosh is defined as an oath or exclamation, (by) gosh! my gosh! In the OED. However, Allan and Burridge (1991) demonstrate that it is a euphemistic expletive which is a kind of

						exclamatory interjection having an expressive function (p. 138). It is used to avoid using the word God. Gosh is perhaps remodelled from Go- as in god, + sh “be quiet, say no more” (p. 38).
149	Look at her <i>butt</i>	Ass	Body parts Interconnected with gendered objectifying women	Clipping	Nomination	According to the OED, butt is a clipped derivative of <i>buttocks</i> . The bottom or thicker part of anything. Sometimes taboo even in this sense. Originally impolite but now used freely (Spears, 2001, p. 62). Moreover, Spears adds, if ‘butt’ is referring to women, then, it is considered sexual (ibid.).
150	Namby-pamby	A person who is sentimental A racial stereotype of white supremacy	Racial stereotypes	Reduplication	Predication of negative attribute	This euphemism refers to a proper name; Ambrose. According to the OED, Namby Pamby is a disparaging alteration, i.e. a reduplication with variation of the initial consonant and suffixation, in imitation

						of childish speech, of the name of Ambrose Philips (1675–1749) who was an author of sentimental poems (especially concerning children). Philips's poems were ridiculed in print by Henry Carey, John Gay, Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift; the nickname Namby Pamby was used by Carey as the title of his satire of Philips's verse. In another sense in the OED, the euphemism Namby-Pamby is a characteristic of a person or group of people inclined to weak sentimentality, affectedly dainty.
151	Humpty	Sexually desirable	Sexual act	Derivation from humpy	nomination	Humpty is originally derived from humpy who is a short, dumpy, hump-shouldered person. Humpty dumpy is a well-known nursery rhyme or riddle commonly explained as signifying an egg referring to its shape. It

						is, then, suggestively used to refer to persons or things which when once overthrown or shattered cannot be restored in the OED. As such, Spears (2001), then, explains humpy as sexually desirable and sexually aroused (p. 186).
152	Helga	Females with huge physical appearance German	Racial stereotypes Interconnected with gendered in terms of beauty	Underspecification	Nomination	According to urban dictionary, Helga is a not so common girl's name that is most widespread in Nordic and Germanic countries. Helga is originally derived from Old Norse "heilagr" meaning "holy, blessed". Nowadays, the name Helga carries many negative connotations. The reason behind such connotations can be partly because of the famous '70's and '80s porn star Helga Sveen, and the popularity of the name during Hitler's Nazi-Germany. Another negative connotation of the name

						<p>Helga can be because of the popular myth that suggests the name is synonymous with an unattractive and/or unfeminine woman. Of German ancestry, Helga means strong, vibrant and determined. While historically “Helgas” have been large and busty.</p> <p>Helga is also a term often used to refer to females that are on average, 6 foot 2, 240 pounds and possess facial hair. This word was first used to describe the principal in the motion picture Matilda. However, this term has been used to describe other females that are similar in physical characteristics to the principal in Matilda (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020).</p>
153	Which one of you is the <i>girl</i> ?	He cannot distinguish between her	Sexist	Hyperbole	Nomination	It refers to a woman or a girl, however, it is found quite objectionable by

		and her boyfriend. Their voices indicate their gender, however, their looks do not.	Interconnected with race in terms of beauty			members of some Women's Liberation movements. Otherwise, it is in a wide usage for females of all ages (Spears, 2001, p. 155). Moreover, Holder (2003, p. 15) adds that the literal sense of the euphemism means a female child or servant, whence a sweetheart. It also refers to any female less than 50 years old. It is always used in the form of hyperbole seeking to imply that the ageing process is reversed. The OED also adds that girl referring to a female is frequently with connotations of social inferiority.
154	<i>Oh geez</i>	Jesus	Minced oaths	Clipping	Mitigation	Gee is a euphemistically clipped form of Jesus. In the OED, it expresses any of a number of feelings or emotions, esp. surprise, enthusiasm, or exasperation. Also used for emphasis.

155	Gonna drive me <i>nuts</i>	Crazy	Craziness	Metaphor	Predication	Nuts means a mentally ill person according to the Oxford Dictionary of Euphemisms (Holder, 2003, p. 279).
156	<i>Spicy</i>	Sexy, hot	Sexual act	Conceptual metaphor	Predication	Although the literal sense of spicy is having the characteristic qualities of spice or mixed with spice in the OED, the context implies that the word spicy is used in its euphemistic sense to refer to how sexy, smutty the mom looks. Thus, spicy has a sexually-oriented sense (Spears, 2001, p. 327). Moreover, Holder (2003, p. 359) indicates that the meaning of spicy is pornographic, “literally, highly flavoured, whence salacious”.
157	Fire you	Unemployment	Political	Metaphor	Mitigation	It is a U.S. slang pun conversion from the noun which means to “fire someone”. It is euphemistic by punning on discharge, which is standard English. To

						<p>discharge someone means to dismiss from employment, and describes the rapidity with which the deed of discharging is usually done (Holder, 2003). According to the OED, it is probably an allusion to the speed or force with which a bullet is propelled from a firearm.</p>
158	Worked his <i>tail off</i>	Ass, butt	Body parts	Metaphor: appearance-based	Nomination	<p>The OED defines it as an idiomatic expression which applies a one-for-one substitution of the word ass. The substitution is undergone to avoid the dispreferred term 'ass' and to fit the context of animated films. The expression means to work extremely hard.</p>
159	You're at rock bottom	Epic failure	Political	Compounding	Intensification	<p><i>At rock bottom</i> is a figurative expression used to describe failure in the U.S., it means the lowest possible level one can reach. The expression is formed in</p>

						English by compounding (OED).
160	The heck	Hell	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Nomination	“Heck” is defined as a regional and colloquial euphemistic alteration of hell in assertive and emphatic expressions in the OED.
161	Sell out	Betray	Political	Colloquial term	Perspectivisation	To sell someone out is a euphemism of ‘to betray’. A sell-out is such a betrayal, or any agreement of which you happen to disapprove, but not for cash (Spears, 2001). According to the OED, to sell out is a colloquial phrasal verb that was originally used in the U.S. in political jargon and slang.
162	<i>That’s a lot of skin</i>	Nakedness	Sexual act	Circumlocution	Perspectivisation	According to Spears (2001), skin is a euphemism which means to remove one’s clothing; to strip (p. 314). It is also given another meaning that is pornographic as it implies nudity (Holder, 2003, p. 347). Thus, a lot of skin means stripping

						or showing too much of one's skin, close to nudity
163	Hey <i>porky</i>	Fleshy or Jewish pork	Racial slurs	Derivation: from the noun pork	Predication	The OED lists it as a euphemism formed in English by derivation of <i>pork</i> + <i>y</i> , which means resembling pork; pig-like; fleshy or obese. A derogatory nickname for a Jewish man or woman. It also means a very fat person. It is also a term of address and a nickname, supported by the cartoon character named Porky Pig (Spears, 2001, p. 276).
164	<i>Artsy-fartsy</i>	A person who is fond of art	Insults and name-calling	Compounding	Perspectivisation Othering/ distancing oneself	The OED suggests that it is formed in English by compounding of <i>artsy</i> and <i>fart</i> , as a rhyming pair and is frequently <i>depreciative</i> . According to Spears (2001, p. 12), it explains having an affinity for arty things.
165	<i>Oh, for Pete's sake.</i>	For Peter's sake	Minced oaths	Clipping	Nomination	The OED lists it as an exclamatory phrase with various forms (chiefly as a euphemistic replacement for <i>God</i>),

						expressing exasperation or annoyance, as for Pete's sake from a proper name <i>Pete</i> , pet-form of the male forename <i>Peter</i> .
166	That's a <i>heck</i> of a trunk	Hell	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Nomination	“Heck” is a regional and colloquial euphemistic alteration of hell in assertive and emphatic expressions as defined in the OED.
167	Are you wearing a <i>speedo</i>	Male swimming suit for homosexual males or Europeans	Sexual identity	Underspecification	Nomination	The word speedo is a brand name for a make of swimming costume. However, the OED includes it in a more colloquial use, the word ‘speedo’ is used more widely to refer to any swimming costume, especially, a pair of very short, close-fitting men’s trunks. Moreover, the Urban Dictionary explains that in the United States of America, speedos have certain racial and sexual connotations. Racially speaking, when Americans refer to speedos, they refer to

						<p>them making fun of European, South American, Australian, and Asian men. However, in terms of sexuality, wearing speedos in public was banned in some areas of the USA. This ban was passed mainly because of homophobic claims that speedos were essentially worn by gay men for no other reason than to advertise their ‘goods’, genitalia, to each other. The ban was finally lifted in April 2005 (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020).</p>
168	She’s <i>loaded</i> .	Rich	Political	One-for-one substitution	Predication	<p>It is a euphemism originally used in U.S. slang meaning rich; extremely wealthy.</p>
169	<i>Darn</i> thing keeps poppin’ out	Damn	Minced oaths	Remodelling	Mitigation	<p>“Darn” is colloquial U.S. euphemism formed by the alteration of <i>damn</i> that is used in profane use: ‘confound’ in the OED.</p>

170	You almost killed me <i>jumbo!</i>	Fat	Fat Interconnected with gendered in terms of beauty	One-for-one substitution	Nomination	The OED defines Jumbo as a big clumsy person, animal especially as the individual name of an elephant, famous for its size, in the London Zoological Gardens, subsequently sold in Feb. 1882 to Barnum. Therefore, it can be applied to an individual that is big of its kind or to a person of great skill or success.
171	<i>Anata- da shi. Sugku kusai yo ashii no-tsume, ii- shoni mitei kusai.</i> (Japanese translation of you are smelly. Like toenails.)	you are smelly. like toenails.	Racial slurs	Translation	Mitigation	The mere use of translation may be loaded with racial prejudice towards Japanese culture. Based on Klein and Shiffman (2009), overt acts of racism are “any portrayals of a character belonging to a racial minority group that is based on stereotypes of that character’s racial groups’ physical traits. In order to be an act of overt racism, the depiction must be a disparaging and/or unflattering one.”

						Moreover, if the cartoon shows any character treating another character in a disparaging manner because of that character's race, it too is considered an act of overt racism (p. 62).
172	So long. <i>Suckers.</i>	Gullible	Racial slurs	Metaphor	Nomination	Sucker refers to a child sucking at the breast. However, sucker, in the OED, is a euphemism used in North America which has a figurative meaning; a person who is a greenhorn or a simpleton. Sucker means a dupe; a gullible person (Spears, 2001, p. 337).
173	With this <i>old fart</i>	Worthless person	Insults and name-calling	Metaphor	Predication	It is a euphemistic term of contempt implying that the addressee is worthless (Spears, 2001, p. 126).
174	To explode with <i>major piggy-power!</i>	Fat and unattractive but productive	Fat	Hyperbole	Intensification	Piggy-power is a term to describe a group of fat people doing something productive (Urban Dictionary, 1999-2020). The OED relates it to a figurative meaning of

						someone or something that is unpleasant; stubborn, greedy, unattractive, dirty. Thus, piggy-power here refers to a group of fat people who are unattractive but demonstrating productivity and sexuality by dancing and singing attractively in the film.
175	Three <i>nasty</i> – <i>looking</i> bears	Filthy annoying	Racial slurs	One-for-one substitution	Predication	The OED suggests that the original force of the word denoting what is disgustingly dirty or foul, has been greatly toned down or altered in modern usage. However, this has proceeded more rapidly in British than in U.S. usage. Moreover, the OED adds that the noun form of nasty is originally formed by the conversion of NASTY <i>adj.</i> punning after NAZI <i>n.</i> in humorous use historically.

176	You've got to show <i>fire and desire</i>	Gender stereotype	Objectifying women Interconnected with sexuality	Conceptual metaphor	Nomination	According to the OED, 'fire' can be used in specific figurative uses and contexts to mean a burning emotion; a strong feeling of passion, rage, love, or as a personal quality such as a passionate character; enthusiastic. The euphemism fire is combined with desire which, in this context, is bound to sexuality. Desire is defined as a physical or sensual appetite; lust in the OED. Spears (2001) lists desire as a euphemism which means desires of the flesh, such as food, drink and sex, usually the latter.
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Table 12 List of euphemisms extracted from Sing (2016)