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WHEN 'SHE' COMES KNOCKING. A COGNITIVE ANALYSIS OF METAPHORICAL TERMS LINKED WITH DEATH IN ENGLISH AND POLISH OBITUARIES.

GDY 'ONA' ZAPUKA DO DRZWI. KOGNITYWNA ANALIZA METAFOR ŚMIERCI W ANGIELSKICH I POLSKICH NEKROLOGACH.

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

CMT – Conceptual Metaphor Theory

EB – Encyclopaedia Britannica

EE – Encyclopaedia Encarta

E.Mod.E – Early Modern English

INED – Institut National Etudes Démographiques.

INSEE – National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies

INSERM – Institut national de la santé et de la recherche médicale

Mid. E – Middle English

Mod.E – Modern English

MWOD – Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary

OALD – Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary

ODO – Oxford Dictionary Online

O.E. – Old English

OED – Oxford English Dictionary

O.J. – Old Japanese

RSDS – Rzeszów School of Diachronic Semantics

WHO – World Health Organization

TABLE OF TYPOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

Quotation marks are used for:

Meanings/senses/sense-threads of lexical units and phraseological units (e.g. 'to kill somebody').

Capitals are employed for:

Names of conceptual domains and metaphorical mappings (e.g. DEATH, DEATH IS BIRTH).

Italics are used for:

Lexemes, expressions and clauses under investigation (e.g. *to kick the bucket*).

Bolded text is used for:

Elements of importance and new concepts (e.g. This is **the only** one, Let us look at the concept of **metaphor**).

INTRODUCTION

Language is a fascinating tool, we utilize it every day, yet very frequently we fail to see how beautifully intricate its workings are. One of the elements that is the foundation of modern speech is indubitably metaphor. Contemporary linguists such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) or Kövecses (2000, 2002, 2005) not only believe that metaphors are just a tool we use to enrich the language, but that they are an intrinsic part of linguistic expression. In fact, the way we conceptualize the world around us is very often metaphorical in nature and a large proportion of these expressions are used subconsciously.

This study acts as a contribution to the ever-growing lineup of interdisciplinary research on the subject of death with some prominent authors including: English-oriented Bultinck (1998), Arrese (1996), Turner (2000), Fernández (2006) and Polish-oriented Jasik (2009), Dąbrowska (1993, 2009), Krzyżanowska (1997) and Czerwińska (2014) to name but a few. The following study was inspired by the fact that while language specific studies are readily available, there have not been any major publication that would provide a contrastive study of English and Polish with regards to the metaphorical language of death.

Writing about death in this day and age seems like an absurd idea, yet one may not admit that death is around, and it is not going away. The moment we learn to "live" with it, brings us closer to understanding the complexity of this multi-faceted phenomenon. I do not mean for this work to be an upsetting reference guide, but merely to pinpoint the colors of death (depressing as they may be) and to show that dying is an intrinsic part of life clearly represented in linguistic forms of expression.

Death is clearly a fascinating topic, for numerous reasons; it induces fear, respect and in many cultures it is closely related to religious rituals. It also opens up an engrossing linguistic spectrum, which, while sharing numerous similarities in all cultures, is prone to cultural change to a large extent. Upon analyzing death, we come across not only a plethora of linguistic variety, but also the deep and ingrained vulnerability of mankind that has its roots in the dawn of time. People have always feared death, and while the modern days have proven to be much more "sedated", we still revere death as a concept and an inevitable cessation of life.

Scrutinizing death might seem like a "dead end", yet in reality it is a phenomenon that is still very much "alive" not only in our subconscious, but also in interdisciplinary research. While thanatology was established for the primary function of studying death, numerous other fields have attacked the topic in question, including philosophy, science, statistics, anthropology, history, social studies or medicine, and taken a keen interest in its workings. Despite thousands of publications on the subject of death. there are still moral, biological, linguistic and historical questions, that remain unanswered, making it a perfect subject for interdisciplinary research. Death surpasses time and space, it is a concept that has no clear definition, and most importantly, its consequences still remain a mystery for all the living. Countless philosophers and wise men attempted to establish boundaries and systems, that could encompass death as an identifiable and palpable phenomenon, yet so far, only dubious theories were created that have no real explanation and are not backed up by extensive empirical evidence. For that reasons, death is a synthesis of two distinct worlds, one that is purely speculative in nature and the latter being the one which we cannot experience while alive.

Linguists, anthropologists and historians, on the other hand, have a somewhat bigger spectrum of options for analysis. While the consequences of death as a spiritual concept remain largely unknown, history, religion, folklore, mythology and others are rife with reports on the language and social aspects of death. Death varies among the different peoples of the world. It may be portrayed as a strictly religious ritual, it can bring upon disease and bad luck, or if treated with proper respect, bring prosperity for the family or the whole community. The following study acts as a glimpse into the fascinating world of death around the world and across the centuries followed by an analytical, contrastive part on how it is conceptualized today. I believe that this study will bring about a number of interesting observations on tendencies, universals as well as differences between the languages under investigation and that it will prove valuable for future research on death.

The work is conveniently divided into six chapters, of which the first five act as a theoretical background for the last analytical chapter.

Chapter 1 presents a short outline of various approaches towards death from philosophical, historical, social and cultural perspectives. First a brief overview of how philosophers perceived the act of dying over the last three centuries is made to extrapolate any potential universals which are still present in the ways death is metaphorized today. The initial subchapter touches upon the visions of major philosophers including the Greek, ancient philosophers Socrates and Epicurus, the classical Chinese thinker

Zhuangzi, the contemporary political philosopher Thomas Nagel and numerous other prominent figures who took a keen interest in the topic of passing away. Next a conceptual context of death shall be discussed followed by scientific and non-scientific approaches to the act of dying. Afterwards, I shall discuss various historical approaches associated with death by presenting miscellaneous approaches among researchers, historians and anthropologists. Yet another issue included within this chapter is the brief characteristic of funeral rites over the centuries, followed by the allegorical images of death through the ages. The third section of Chapter 1 focuses on death as an integral component of society starting with a short presentation of different attitudes to the act of dying among the major cultures of the world. Another part is devoted to how different religious societies look at the concept of passing away, after which the idea of anxiety towards death is discussed. Finally, the section delves into the controversial issue of euthanasia and then moves on to discussing the three major places of death in the modern world. The last section of Chapter 1 approaches the different cultural aspects of death, starting with examples of this phenomenon in selected works of cinematography. Last but not least, the work analyzes the importance of the concept in question within the arts of photography and literature.

Chapter 2 focuses on the scope of the euphemization processes, and attempts to briefly discuss its sociolinguistic ramifications. It first presents a historical background of euphemization and provides its definition. Next, it juxtaposes the process of euphemization with related terms and concepts such as jargon, slang, metaphor, buzzword, taboo, political correctness, propaganda, circumlocution, doublespeak, evasion, genteelism, neologism, Newspeak, periphrasis, weasel words and synonymy, in order to stress the differences and similarities among these linguistic devices. Then the work attacks the concept of euphemization from a linguistic point of view providing a classification of euphemisms, followed by the principles governing their creation. Finally, it discusses the basic mechanisms used when creating evasive terms and finish with properties of such terms.

A substantial part of Chapter 3 is devoted to the concept of Field Theory established as part of the seminal research done by Ipsen (1924), Jolles (1934), Porzig (1934) or Trier (1934) in the second and third decades of the 20th century. The Theory itself and the linguistic movements associated with it, inspired the future development of cognitive linguistics. All major breakthroughs and concepts within Field Theory has been discussed, together with the most significant research associated with lexical domains.

The final subchapters address the tradition of componential analysis in both America and Europe, followed by a short outline of publications on field research by members of the Rzeszów School of Diachronic Semantics. Last but not least, the chapter will discuss the shortcomings of componential analysis.

Chapter 4 outlines the main assumptions of the cognitive movement which acts as a methodological background for this research paper. Contemporary cognitive linguistics is a continuation of previous linguistic theories based on the idea of 'psychologism' and 'antropocentrism', but mainly the American anthropological movement of the mid 20th century represented by Sapir and Whorf and the German School of Neo-Humboldtism represented by the previously mentioned Ipsen (1924), Jolles (1934), Porzig (1934) or Trier (1934). All the major principles, including: construal, perspective, foregrounding and frames, have been aptly exemplified. Due attention was also given to the concepts of metaphor and metonymy, although the latter is a rare occurrence in the investigated corpus and is present only in metaphtonymies. In both cases, a thorough theoretical background was given (terminology and typology), with due attention given to providing examples. Furthermore, a brief comparison between the two phenomena is presented, followed by the definition and the taxonomy of metaphtonymy.

Chapter 5 constitutes a methodological introduction for the final analytical part, starting with aims and the methodology employed across the research process. It specifies the motivation behind the material selection, the goals of the analysis, the methods and expected results.

Chapter 6 is aimed to deliver a contrastive English-Polish scrutiny of DEATH-related metaphorical expressions within sixteen different metaphorical mappings including: UP, JOURNEY, CALL, REST, SLEEP, DEFEAT, GIFT/REWARD, EMBRACE, LIFE AS A SUPERNATURAL ENTITY, REUNION, BIRTH A RELEASE, A CELEBRATION, A SYSTEM SHUTDOWN, VICTORY and HAPPINESS. The data under investigation was acquired mostly from online obituaries, yet some examples were extracted from various, prominent, lexicographic sources, as well as tombstones and gravestones of local cemeteries. Internet sources also played an important part, delivering a few curious instances of DEATH-related metaphors and slang terms, which could act a spark for an additional study in a separate publication. The acquired language data has been separated into respective metaphorical projections and compared side-by-side in form of tables. Such form gives a possibility of making thorough inspection in terms of different aspects such as grammatical form, number of

terms, length, ways of conceptualization, choice of phraseological units, etc. The section ends with a number of conclusions drawn from the research and is supplemented by a table with quantified data. What is more, suggestions on further research are provided.

One point that needs to be mentioned is that due to the specified time frame and the length of this research, analyzing the entirety of metaphorical projections within the field of DEATH is in fact impossible. The reasons for this is not just the sheer amount of such terms, but also differences among various time periods, local communities, religious denominations, countries, social positions and others. Therefore, the research focused on data based on obituaries from 2012 to 2016 only and I believe that the size of the corpus under investigation is enough to support the observations, tendencies and conclusions made at the end of this work. I also intend for this work to act as a representative referential source for DEATH-related metaphorical projections in both Polish and English, yet more research into this phenomenon would indubitably bring about further, valuable insights.

Finally, while every possible effort was made to deliver an analysis that is devoid of imperfections in terms of the methodological background, as well the editorial side, few errors, misquotes, or omissions may have taken place. It is the author's great hope, that if any mistakes arise, they will not have a negative impact on the final conclusions made in the following thesis.

I would like to take the chance to extend my profound gratitude to my supervisor Professor Pavol Štekauer of the University of Rzeszów, whose invaluable insights and feedback made this work come to fruition. I also wish to thank the reviewers of my PhD thesis dr hab. Réka Benczes and dr hab. Robert Kiełtyka (Prof. UR) for their constructive criticism and suggestions. I would like to thank Professor Grzegorz A. Kleparski for being a guiding light in the early stages of composing this study. Last but not least, I would like to express my deepest appreciation for my family who bravely tolerated my morbid endeavors.

CHAPTER 1
PHILOSOPHICAL, HISTORICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL APPROACHES TO DEATH

1.1. The conceptual context of death

1.1.1 Defining death.

Defining a phenomenon such as death seems to be a rather difficult task at hand. It is after all something debatable and of ambiguous nature. According to Stanisław Rosiek (2010:5) death is a universal topic, for it is present in our everyday existence: *[...] pojawia się w codziennej rozmowie, w banalnej refleksji przy czytaniu gazetowego nekrologu [...], ale też w filozoficznej rozprawie [...][1]*. It is indubitable that death reaches all human beings, however, the ways of dealing with it are varied among individuals (See Sydow 2004[2]) as it may be and individual or a group experience. In the old Polish culture, a person died surrounded by relatives and friends within the walls of his/her home, holding their close ones' hand. Death was then perceived as a deep, metaphysical experience. Nowadays, the sacred image of death has evolved, with the phenomenon becoming more and more mechanized – the aim being to make it completely pain-free[3]. People die in hospital rooms, frequently alone, without the support and care of loved ones, which may magnify the fear of death itself[4]. One must remember, however, that regardless of how we choose to deal with death and what the attitude towards it is going to be, it eventually happens to all of us and it is imminent.

As noted by Ostrowska (1991:5) death is indeed universal in its nature. It is in the centre of focus in various scientific and non-scientific studies. While biology has taken

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[1] (Translation mine) *[...] it appears in everyday conversations, i a banal reflection while reading a newspaper obituary [...] but also in a philosophical study [...].*

[2] See Sydow, K. 2004. *Ryzyko a śmierć. O różnych strategiach życia* [in] Kuligowski, W., Zwierzchowski, P. *Śmierć jako norma, śmierć jako skandal*. Bydgoszcz: Akademia Bydgoska im. Kazimierza Wielkiego

[3] A. Kaczmarek, *Śmierć. Poszukiwanie znaczenia w kontekstach kulturowych, społecznych i politycznych*, http://www.pan-ol.lublin.pl/wydawnictwa/TPol4/Kaczmarek.pdf (21.10.2013), s. 168

[4] See A. Kaczmarek, *Śmierć. Poszukiwanie znaczenia w kontekstach kulturowych, społecznych i politycznych*, http://www.pan-ol.lublin.pl/wydawnictwa/TPol4/Kaczmarek.pdf (21.10.2013), (168).

the keenest interest into the phenomenon of death, other fields of study are trying to understand its ramifications and convoluted nature as well. It can therefore be said that providing a homogenous definition of death is not possible. First we shall look at a short historical overview of the main philosophical ideas regarding death and then move on to other fields of expertise, both scientific and non-scientific.

1.1.2   What is death? A short philosophical overview.

Death is the great unknown, it is an intrinsic component of our existence, yet no one experienced it and survived to tell the tale. Scientists, researchers and philosophers alike have been dwelling on the subject in questions for millennia and none of them has been able to provide a cohesive answer, one that would once and for all satisfy the curiosity of us all. While death seems like a morbid topic to discuss, one needs to acknowledge the fact, that obfuscating its evident "presence" by means of evasive language or sheer silence, does not make it go away. Fear of death is a natural reaction of human beings, for it stems from the lack of knowledge regarding the aftermath of one's demise, what happens to our mind, or our soul? Is there a soul at all? What does it look like? These and numerous other questions have been part and parcel of both ancient and modern studies regarding the essence of dying. Philosophy has been a major driving force in the race to possibly uncover and explain the meaning of death, yet much like any other field of study it lacked the capacity to find answers to questions it framed to tackle. For as said by Kübler-Ross (2009:1) *[…] the key to the question of death unlocks the door of life*. Therefore, as the great Socrates claimed *The true votary of philosophy […] is always pursuing death* (Taylor 2009:1). What needs to be said is that the field of philosophy deserves credit for attacking the subject of expiration from a plethora of various directions, with seminal works of Camus and Heidegger, analytic scholars, including Parfitt and Nagel, the more exotic concepts found within the pages of the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* and indubitably the unquestionable influences of Wester philosophy represented by Lucretius, Epicurus or Nietzsche (See Malpas and Solomon 2002). Death is a multifaceted phenomenon that is abstract and heterogeneous, it is feared and revered, some demonize it and some glorify it, some try to summon it and others to drive it away. In various cultures *[…] death may be seen as triumph or tragedy, ultimate fulfilment or frustration, irretrievable loss or a happy release, the end of life or the gateway to a new one, a semicolon in existence or the final full-stop, a moment for lamenting or for*

celebration, an adieu or an au revoir (Scarre 2007:22). Frequently within our own society, death can be portrayed and conceptualized in different ways for *[...] there is a huge range of metaphors, emotions rituals and practices through which people understand bereavement and mortality* (Tarlow 1999:xii). The reason behind it, is partly due to the lack of a uniformed eschatology, with a number of different competing approaches toward the act of dying.

The following subchapter will be a short overview of selected pivotal hypotheses made by some of the greatest thinkers of our time. Its aim is therefore purely referential and no attempt will be made to answer the questions phrased above, but rather to show that while philosophy (and any other field of study for that matter) is unable to cope with death related questions, it creates a diverse yet somewhat cohesive foundation for how is death conceptualized, processed and acknowledged by modern society. Additionally, since the current study is grounded in linguistics, presenting all philosophical approaches to death would be impossible and would require a separate study. As a result, only the major trends in philosophy regarding the subject in question, will be discussed, with special focus on those that act as a direct link with modern sociolinguistic standards and tendencies.

1.1.2.1 Socrates

Socrates was a Greek philosopher who is frequently said to be one of the founding fathers of Western philosophy. He took on countless important topics in his life including knowledge, politics, virtue and of course expiration. The Greek philosopher was sentenced to death in 399 BC in the wake of a transitionary period during which Athens was undergoing a change of its political system from hegemony to democracy. Socrates was rather skeptical about governing a city in such way and would frequently comment upon the decisions undertaken by the state in direct and offensive ways. Finally, he stood trial for as his opponents claimed, he was *[...] a thorn in the side of Athenian government and a critic of the traditional gods of Greece as well as a dangerous man who had poisoned the minds of the youth of Athens with philosophical nonsense* (Cooney 2015:46). Socrates, however, did not yield and would defend his stance up until the very last moment, which contributed directly to his eventual demise. Yet even when standing face to face with his own impending death he would express no fear. In fact, he postulated the existence of two possibilities, both that would partially go hand in hand with how we conceptualize and metaphorize death. Upon talking to his terrified students, prior to his

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death, Socrates assured them that there was nothing to fear. After all, he was a philosopher and even such emotions could not beat his ability to argue. As he himself claimed:

Why should I be afraid of it? I have lived my life, I loved it and it was beautiful. I have known it, but there is no need to go on repeating it forever! Now something new-death, is at hand. I am enchanted at the prospect of taking on this great adventure. Now I would like to see what death is.

Base on the quote we may observe that Socrates does not fear death, but in fact longs for it and sees it as another stage in his journey. In fact, he was never fully convinced whether there is an afterlife or not, but he saw only two likely scenarios, neither of which being something to dread (See Cropsey 1997).

I do not know. I do not understand why people are afraid of death. If atheists are right that one dies totally and nothing is left, there is nothing to be feared. Socrates will not be there, so why be afraid? I was not there before. I was born and I do not feel any fear about it. I will be disappearing if the atheists are right. So what is there to fear?

And then he starts questioning himself by saying:

Or maybe theists are right. They claim that even after physical death, one continues to be there. If I'm going to be there why should I be afraid. The fact is I am thrilled at the prospect of finding out the truth of death myself, which is going to be a new field of knowledge![5]

While Socrates questioned the actions of the gods (much like everything else), he did encourage his friends to live a pious life, in order to reap the rewards in Hades. Interestingly, however, despite his recommendations, Socrates was not convinced that a person's soul migrates to an otherworldly paradise, in fact, he believed that the souls of believers and *[...] of the philosophers among them, do go to paradise once they are dead [...]* but that *[...] they go to an earthly paradise* (Ahrensdorf 1995:193). Not only did Socrates believe that the final resting place for the soul is earth, but he was also a keen believer in that we shed our physical body (which he saw as a real nuisance, due to its

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[5] Quotations from Raghunandan (2004).

constant need to be maintained) and that only minds travel around and engage in eye-opening (mind-opening?) conversations with others. In this way death is also a form of release from the physical, earthly human shell allowing for the everlasting possibility to self-development and endless philosophical debates. Therefore, if there is an afterlife, one should maximize the time spent on earth, looking after the mind, for it is the only part that is kept forever.

The second scenario that was supposed to mitigate the fear of death was to conceptualize it in terms of sleep. As Socrates said:

If it is a complete lack of perception, like a dreamless sleep, then death would be a great advantage. For I think if one has to pick out that night during which a man slept soundly and did not dream, put it beside other nights and days of his life and then see how many days and nights had been better and more pleasant than that night, not only a private person but a great king would find them easy to count compared with the other days and nights.[6]

On deeper analysis, this vision seems to bring no comfort whatsoever, since Socrates never mentions anything about waking up from this dream (the main premise behind the contemporary DEATH IS SLEEP metaphor). It is hard to notice anything positive in an unconscious, dreamless state of nothingness (See Kenny 2010 or Ahbel-Rappe and Kamtekar 2009).

1.1.2.2 Epicurus

Yet another Greek philosopher who tackled the subject of death, and in particular the fear of dying was Epicurus. As opposed to Socrates, his opinions were grounded in physics and while being pious, his remarks on death were completely devoid of any religious elements. He believed that the fear of dying, frequently associated with the anxiety about the unpleasantness of the afterlife is largely unfounded and should be dispelled. The simple idea behind his reasoning was that death is annihilation and that *[...] a person's mind is composed of a group of atoms that disperse upon death* (Taylor 2009:175). If this is to be true and death is in fact complete annihilation, as quoted by Epicurus, then the phenomenon itself is nothing to all of us. We tend to look at death

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[6] Quotation from Feldman and Johanon (2015:188).

evaluatively and see it as intrinsically bad for us. Yet, a question may be framed, who is it bad for? Based on the Epicurean view, death cannot possibly have a negative impact on the living for they are not dead, nor for the dead, for they do not exist. It seems, that compared to some other philosophical views on the act of expiration, Epicurus, devised a straightforward, black or white approach for a topic that frequently has plenty of grey in-between. For an extensive criticism of the Epicurean view of death see Rosenbaum (1993:117-134).

1.1.2.3 Thomas Nagel

A more modern look on the topic of death is provided by the contemporary, American philosopher Thomas Nagel. Life is indubitably precious and *[…] it can be said that […]* it *[…] is all we have and the loss of it is the greatest loss we can sustain* (Nagel 2012:1). Nagel evaluates death as evil for it takes away everything good contained within life. He also claims that the fear of death derives from the failed attempts of individuals to *[…] imagine what it is like to be dead […]* which frequently *[…] leads to the conviction that death is a mysterious and therefore terrifying prospective state* (Nagel 2012:3). Nagel postulates that we fear death, for it takes away our capacity to experience life which is ahead (See Benatar 2009). While missing out on the future may be adding even more negativity to the already ambivalent array of emotions surrounding expiration, the secret lies in the past. Nagel tries to provide some comfort by suggesting that if one does not obsess over not having been able to experience certain event before one was born, it is pointless to obsess over the upcoming future. This particular view was confronted by Fischer (2009) and Brueckner and Fischer (1986) who claim that death is in fact evil, for it deprives one in ways that pre-natal non-existence does not, since we are indifferent to the past.

1.1.2.4 Zhuangzi

It is interesting to point out that up until now the fear of death was self-centered, yet what about the fear of losing the ones we hold dear? Is it equally futile to feel anxious about your loved ones passing away? After all, *[…] we are social animals, we are characteristically involved in a host of different, crisscrossing and overlapping relationships with other people, some intimate and private, others more impersonal and public. When we die, our death disrupts this extensive set of relationships, forcing*

a greater or lesser reconstruction of the social web (Scarre 2007:19). The Classical Daoist Thought represented by the philosopher Zhuangzi makes a number of interesting observations on the subject of death. In Daoism, the process of change is of paramount importance, with both humans and nature undergoing constant transformations. Hence, if one is able to understand the continuity of natural phenomena, it is possible to avoid fear. Understanding and reason can both be used to counteract emotion (See Down 2000). For instance, a person of understanding shall not be cross when the lack of snow prevents him from going skiing, yet a small child will. As accurately noticed by Spinoza '*In so far as the mind understands all things are necessary, so far has it greater power over the effects, or suffers less from them*'[7].

Zhuangzi, much like other philosophers managed to distance himself from the concept of death and decried the practice of mourning. He was able to understand nature and changes within the world had no effect on him. After his wife's passing, one of his friends Hui Shih met him sitting on the ground, playing on the pots and singing. When asked by the friend, how he can be so emotionless after his wife's death, Zhuangzi replied:

> *When she had just died, I could not help being affected. Soon, however, I examined the matter from the very beginning. At the very beginning, she was living, having no form, nor even substance. But somehow or other there was then her substance, then her form, and then her life. Now by a further change, she has died. The whole process is like the sequence of the four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter. While she is thus lying in the great mansion of the universe, for me to go about weeping and wailing would be to proclaim myself ignorant of the natural laws. Therefore I stopped!*"[8]

Zhuangzi compared the act of passing to the changing of the four seasons, which is a series of transformations and transitions. Therefore, grieving or fearing death is pointless and illogical, for we can never go against what is natural. What we can do, however, is employ various perspectives on a given experience. He believed that '*Death and life are never-ceasing transformations. They are not the end of a beginning. If we once understand this principle we can equalize life and death*'[9]

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[7] Quotation taken from Lawhead (2014:271).
[8] Quotation from Leaman (2002:106-107).
[9] Quotation from Critchley (2008:49).

1.1.2.5 Other Philosophers.

Analyzing and understanding the essence of death has always been part and parcel of philosophical study. Countless philosophers have tried to answer the biggest questions, yet there are still no satisfying answers, ones that would provide comfort for all who fear the imminent (See Gimbel 2007). What philosophy does provide, however, is a complex (yet convoluted at times) picture of how human beings portray the act of dying, what emotions they have and how they go about dealing with the pain and fear associated with it. Much like certain individuals, some philosophers fear death and some embrace it, some teach us to accept and understand it, while others dissuade us from that futile task. The list goes on and on, yet there is some logical conclusion to be drawn from this seemingly, contradictory philosophical picture, as we shall see at the end of this section.

Since discussing all the major philosophical movements and individual philosophers would be a metaphorical never-ending story, I shall resort to identifying the most crucial key points within the teachings of some of the greatest thinkers from present and past. What is more, the focus of this work is linguistic, hence delving into existential deliberations about death would prove futile and supply no valuable answers. The aim of this section is rather to extrapolate the essence on how philosophy and hypotheses within, have shaped the way we conceptualize the topic in question.

Death can have many names, for **Empendocles**[10], it was 'the great avenger', for other such as **Hegesias**, death was the greatest good and the cure for evil. **Diogenes** provided an interesting outlook on the subject, claiming that we are all equal in the eyes of death and it makes us all cynical. **Lucretius** follows into the footsteps of his master Epicurus and says that '*death is nothing to us [...]* for *[...] one who no longer is cannot suffer*' (de May 2009:73). The compound/componential structure of human nature has been a common topic among the philosophers. **Confucius** for instance believed that birth and death are just boundaries and that nothing shows more respect for the value of life than mourning. **Stoics** held the view that humans are made up of a body, as well as a soul, and upon death, both are separated from one another. Their vision of the soul was somewhat different from the one present in the Christian tradition, and it was referred to as the 'divine breath' present in a person's rationality (See Reydams-Schils 2005). **Marcus Aurelius** is yet another philosopher that recommends warding off the fear of dying by means of reason and understanding the natural course of things, for death brings

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[10] All the philosophers have been bolded for easier reference.

terror only upon those who fail to live in the present. Christianity brought numerous philosophers into the field holding various views on the subject of expiration. **St. Paul** postulates that a true Christian should only think about death, since there is no other way to salvation, but to meditate mortality. **Cassian** follows this idea to the extreme by claiming that nothing is important, even family relationships, for the true believers are already dead (See Okholm 2014). **Augustine**, on the other hand, believed in the duality of souls, i.e. that two individuals joined by love share a single soul. After a close person perishes, the soul is sundered and one is forced to live a half-life. This made Augustine fear death, yet not as much as another philosopher **Bede** (the Venerable) for whom the idea of the separation of soul and body and the prospect of being judged by God gave him a nervous breakdown. **St. Anselm** found an easier way to rid himself of fear by claiming that grasping such difficult concepts as God or death is beyond human capacity. In contrast **Ficino** believed that meditating and contemplating upon death will in the end restore us to the likeness of the Lord. In his fictional manual for running a country **Machiavelli** advises the Prince to utilize the fear of death to increase political control over the citizens, a suggestion that seemed to have been taken quite seriously over millennia. **Luther** provided an interesting observation, by claiming that death as such died with the death of Christ heralding the onset of eternal life in the Lord (See Waltke and Houston 2010). While some philosophers tried to ameliorate the process of dying or at least make it seem neutral, others made no such attempts. **La Rochefoucauld** for instance noted that death is dreadful and philosophers are simply wasting their time analyzing and pondering it extensively. Pondering extensively the ones who departed is something **Hobbes** would not recommend, for there is much more mourning ahead and one should not dwell on a single death forever. Fatalism was part and parcel of **Pascal**'s philosophy whose vision of humanity can only be expressed by his own words: *Let us imagine a number of men in chains, and all condemned to death, where some are killed each day in the sight of the others, and those who remain see their own fate in that of their fellows, and wait their turn, looking at each other sorrowfully and without hope. It is an image of the human condition* (Belliotti 2001:154). A more optimistic vision is provided by **Geulinex** for whom life does not end in death and eternal life can be achieved by turning one's mind to God. **John Locke** also believed in eternal life, yet it was not knowledge or reason that would brought upon salvation, but faith. Yet another thinker who believed that fearing death is pointless was **Radicati**, who claimed that the fear of death may not be grounded in experience for it is impossible to experience death twice.

He was also a keen believer in suicide, postulating it is an honourable deed to put an end to a state filled with pain. **Hume** follows suit and adds that since neither an immortal soul nor God who can punish us exist, then what is there to stop anyone from suicide (See Russel 2008)? **Goethe** was more optimistic and opted for the concept of personal immortality. The idea was based on the fact that if we are unable to conceive of death, then life is endless. **Fichte** saw all death as birth, declaring that by life and death, life struggles with itself so that it may seem eternally transfigured. **Schopenhauer** utilized the basics of economics when commenting upon death, postulating that our life is merely a debt and death is the creditor with daily interests paid by means of sleep. He also claimed that the life of human beings was a complete and utter restlessness (See Vandenabeele 2015). The Danish existentialist **Kierkegaard** draws inspirations from the likes of Luther and St. Paul claiming that overcoming the fear of death happens only upon departing the world through faith in the Lord. For **Nietzsche** death was the constant companion, following the unsuspecting traveler upon every journey. The metaphorical imagery is present in his words: *It is always as in the last moment before the departure of an emigrant's ship* (Babich 1994:286). **Freud** would follow in the footsteps of Schopenhauer saying that human life is an inert state where everything ceases to be. He also lucidly accepted reality, as well as the pain associated with it. **Rosenzweig**, on the hand, saw death as a poisonous sting and that one could ward off the fear of it by thinking beyond the earthly existence. **Wittgenstein** also ridded himself of the dread of passing, by believing in that those living in the present are ones experiencing eternal life. What is crucial is living in the now and being indifferent to time (See Pradhan 2008). **Heidegger** discredited the relevance of questioning the existence of God and encouraged one to confront death and accepting one's finitude. He also believed that the deaths of other people are secondary to his own death, which he saw as of primary importance. On the contrary, **Stein** sees great value in following other people's demise for it teaches us about our own anticipation of the unknown. Dwelling on the unknown according to **Levinas**, was futile, for *[...] death is something that cannot be predicted, represented or even understood* (Critchley 2008:250). **Sartre** follows that by saying: '*Death? I don't think about it. It has no place in my life, it will always be outside*' (Dollimore 2013:170), for he believed that upon death, one has no past and that his/her memory *[...] is frozen in the minds of those persons who remember him or her*[11]. The final thinker who elaborated on

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[11] Quoted after http://www.deathreference.com/Py-Se/Sartre-Jean-Paul.html

the subject in questions is **Derrida**, who strongly opposed the Freudian idea of "normal mourning" which is based on the premise that our ego regains its integrity after recovering from a loss of someone we held dear. Derrida believed in something he referred to as "impossible mourning" where we never really recover from the death of our beloved and that they keep on living in our memory. It seems that according the philosopher the spirits of the departed live on within their living relatives stuck between the worlds of the living and the dead.

To sum up, death is clearly a topic that generates a number of questions, questions that remain unanswered among all fields of study. As evidenced by the following section, philosophy has taken a keen interest in the subject of dying over the last two millennia, with numerous thinkers from different continents and different schools of thought trying to conquer it and explain it to the masses. Up until today, however, there has been no cohesive theory regarding the act of expiration, that would address the fundamental questions. What differentiates philosophy from scientific subjects, is its capacity to provide various hypotheses that can act as a point of reference and be debated upon indefinitely. Philosophy is also a building block of modern cognition and how we conceptualize different topics, values, emotions and concepts. One could argue that hypotheses created hundreds of years ago have no place in today's reality, yet surprisingly there is more relevance to them than meets the eye.

As shown by the examples in this section, the spectrum of visions regarding our demise is diverse to say the least. While some philosophers try to conquer the fear of death and persuade other to do the same, others stress our vulnerability against death and the natural course of things in nature. What is curious, however, is the fact that numerous references are made to metaphorical projections, which are part and parcel of our modern ways of conceptualizing the phenomenon in question. References to metaphors such as: DEATH IS SLEEP, DEATH IS A JOURNEY, DEATH IS BIRTH and others are present across the discussed philosophers. Whether they were direct inspirations for modern day euphemisms and metaphors that remains a question, but they definitely provided a strong foundation for shaping modern day phrases regarding death. It also provides some comfort with reference to the afterlife, for if there is one, it is filled with joy and acts as a reward for the departed. What was striking about the above mentioned deliberations, was that death was frequently thought as in terms of the self and rarely about others. It would seem that we fear the passing of our beloved, but it is more connected with the fear of being left behind rather than death itself. And while saying the final goodbyes may seem

like a harrowing experience it is one's own life that is the focus of philosophical debates. In fact, modern society appears to be built on such egocentric model, where death surrounds us all yet we tend to separate ourselves from it by following the death of others. Diogenes was right when he said that we are all cynical when it comes to death, because deep down inside we all fear it and revere it, which is evident in the language we use on a daily basis.

1.1.3 Scientific and non-scientific approaches to death.

The aim of this section is to provide the reader with a picture of death as presented by various scientific and non-scientific fields of study. Before, however, delving deeper into the comparison itself, let us first start with the concept of thanatology.

Thanatology is the study, which focuses on analysing and understanding the essence of death, its reasons, as well as the grief it is accompanied by. The term itself came into existence at the end of the 18th century. Namely in 1795 when it was first used by doctor Salomin Anschel in his work entitled: *Thanatologia sive mortis naturam, causas, genera ac species et diagnosis disquisitions* (See Thomas 2010[12]). The most distinctive feature of this publication was the presentation of some revelatory test result connected with the mortality of animals as well as the hibernation process in frogs. It also incorporated the etiology of terminal illnesses as well as the semiotics of death. In 1832 French dictionaries embraced thanatology defining it as the theory of death. Nowadays, thanatology has expanded the scope of its research and it can be described as more of a study of death discourse. It is important to note, however, that thanatology does not possess a specified object of study yet, that could be deconstructed or reconstructed, as well as any particular method of study (See Meagher and Balk 2013). What can be specified, are the non-scientific disciplines, which co-create the knowledge, linked to the concept of death.

One of such disciplines is philosophy, which contemporarily places death in the realm of ideological dispute. Its aim is to understand the essence of death by confronting it with the antonyms of the concept in question, such as continuity or infinity. In this way, philosophy presents death as a picture of ontological breach that is the abandonment of humanity. Yet another discipline with an interest in the subject of death is indubitably

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[12] See Thomas, L. V. 2010. *Tworzenie tanatologii* [in] Dmochowska, D., Swoboda T. *Wymiary śmierci*. Gdańsk: Słowo/Obraz Terytoria

theology. Not only does it scrutinize the idea of death, but also its sense, origin, symbolism, the effectiveness of its rituals, as well as eschatology[13]. The Christian theology distinguishes three conceptualizations of death:

a) Death as the separation of soul, which is the border between the spiritual being and the physical body that undergoes decomposition.

b) Death as a break, the result of the original sin

c) Death as a transition, due to which the physical aspect alters into the spiritual one.

According to Louis Vincent Thomas (2010:3), theology today wants to present death in a different conception – namely one which is unrelated to sin. It is also frequently interested in *[....] sensem cierpienia, prawem do wyboru śmierci – eutanazją, samobójstwem, reformą rytuału, wspieraniem umierających[14].* Theology is also trying to show the new idea of eschatology connected with the reinterpretation of resurrection.

Other fields of study that analyse the essence of death are art and literature, both of which possess a very unique way of presenting this phenomenon. This is due to the fact that they use numerous materials, styles, messages, which come together in various forms, images and representations of the act of passing away, as well as life after death. One of the branches of art is painting, which presents the subject of death by means of portraits that depict the deceased and paintings of the Judgment Day, the apocalypse, hell, heaven or death itself (See Townsend 2008). Another example is sculpture, which addresses the topic in question through skulls, their castings, sculptures or busts. Images of death can also be found in architecture in forms of tombs, cemeteries, mausoleums as well as funeral houses. Music plays an important role in portraying death as well, employing funeral marches, symphonies, requiems and meditations connected with the end of the world. It is also crucial to mention comic books, which illustrate completely new and surprising images of death present in *[…] w przestrzeniach pozaziemskich, w sytuacjach konfliktów międzyplanetarnych oraz śmiercionośnej seksualności[15]* (Thomas 2010:27). Last but not least, one must not forget about literature, which deals with the subject of death in the most unconventional ways present in poetry, essays, novels and

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[13] MWOD (2013) defines eschatology as: *a branch of theology concerned with the final events in the history of the world or of humankind* as well as *a belief concerning death, the end of the world, or the ultimate destiny of humankind; specifically: any of various Christian doctrines concerning the Second Coming, the resurrection of the dead, or the Last Judgment*

[14] (Translation mine) *[…] the sense of suffering, the right to choose death – euthanasia, suicide, rituals reform, supporting the dying.*

[15] (Translation mine) *[…] extraterrestrial spaces, in interplanetary conflicts, as well as deadly sexuality.*

dramas, to name only but a few. It also worth noting that the literary craft is the expression of both fear and courage with regard to death.

Yet another aspect discussed in the previous section of this work is related to the disciplines, which deal with the subject of death. Most of the fields of study that try to understand the essence of death, are closely associated with statistics and demographics – mainly surveys and research carried out by INED[16], INSEE[17] and INSERM[18]. These disciplines provide some crucial and accurate information connected with mortality rates and life expectancy in specific epochs. They also determine the relations between death and sex, age, social status, religious denomination, nationalities and the place of living (city/village). What is more the research is aimed at establishing the essence of death with regards to its causes, circumstances, the place, the budget for funeral purposes, the final resting place, as well as the way how death and the deceased are talked about. Correlating the following data with graphs, tables, scales and curves can be extremely helpful for scientifically and non-scientifically-oriented researchers alike.

And so an example of a discipline that deals with the subject of death are bio-medical sciences. These scrutinize occurrences in which life and death happen simultaneously, seeking some type of borders between the two analysing the reasons for aging, prodromes and causes of extinction of certain species, stages and conditions of dying, which is seen as a process. One might therefore pose a question: Does every discipline dealing with the subject in question, perceives the essence of death in the same way? The answer is no, for every bio-medical discipline and the specialists involved the concept of death is important in various ways. Physiology for instance sees death as important in the context of an irreversible cessation of all life functions, the result of which is the breakdown of cells and tissues. A geneticist on the other hand will focus on the genetic inheritance, which at the moment of death stops being the source of orders and symptoms, hence causing the cessation of life. The termination of bioenergetic processes is also of great importance, as well as all the functions linked to them. One cannot downgrade the role of a doctor when dealing with death. The presence of a specialist is crucial for they frequently encounter various diseases, pathologies, senility, and eventually death – they are able to identify its symptoms making them a reliable source of facts and experiences. A doctor is also important from an administrative point

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[16] Institut National Etudes Démographiques.
[17] National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies
[18] Institut national de la santé et de la recherche médicale

of view, since he/she is the one who puts the signature on the death certificate, thereby allowing for cremation or burial. In extreme cases doctors decide whether to permit or disallow euthanasia, linking their activity with the field of ethics. Bio-medical sciences frequently need support from other disciplines in order to carry out research on the subject of death. The analysis of ancient mummies turned out to be extremely beneficial and ground-breaking, especially concerning aspects such as the time, the way of preparing the body as well as the reason for dying itself. One such example involves the mummy of Ramses II, which underwent a number of analyses between 1976 and 1977. As a result of these studies, the scope of knowledge about death has significantly expanded, making yet another small step in order to understand its complexity.

Humanistic and social disciplines contributed significantly into the deeper understanding of death. One such discipline is history, thanks to which the knowledge on the concept of death has been supplemented with key data as a result of mentality research and periodization. It is important to understand that each historical epoch tries to find a proper formula for its difficulties. The end of the Middle Ages, the 17th century Baroque, the 20th century and the romantic movement of the aforementioned century were times during which death played an important role. It was believed that death was an experience, a form of expression, but on occasion it was something that beleaguered people. The role of a historian is studying the subject of something, which exists on so many different dimensions and about finding sense through numbers and reasons for specific periodization. He/She also specifies the characteristics of the current state of death: its fortuity, the lack of acceptance, presence in the mass media, gruesomeness during wars and conflicts, immediacy. As it turns out death is often slow, bureaucracified and institutionalized. There are also historical disciplines that deliver a vast amount of information on mortality rates in specific regions or cities, cemetery descriptions, cemetery statues, wills and even masses intended for the souls atoning in the purgatory (See Corr and Corr 2012).

Another discipline dealing with the subject of death is social and cultural anthropology. Its aim is to juxtapose the ways in which death is experienced and presented in various places and societies. Anthropology has two main aims. The first is to reach differentiation through comparison. Namely to show the contrast between societies where […] *dobra śmierć to śmierć sędziwego starca, ojca wielu dzieci i zarazem człowieka, który potrafił zgromadzić dobra, częściowo spożytkowane na potrzeby uroczystości pogrzebowe, oraz społeczności wojownicze, ceniące śmierć młodego*

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bohatera na polu bitwy[19] (Thomas 2010:48) and those for whom death is just an everyday occurrence. Another result of such observations is the confrontation between two societies – the rural societies of Africa and Asia, and the people from western countries. The former is characterized by a richness of symbols, much greater than technical developments with people being the biggest capital and death perceived as an accepted phenomenon among all the members of the community. Death is also heavily ritualized and celebrated among them. The latter, is focused on accumulating wealth as well as technological and scientific inventions, seeing people in a: manufacturer – consumer – product manner (See Hård and Jamison 2013). These societies fail to accept death, which is scandalous or indecent, as opposed to the first group where all of the rituals become minimalistic and simplified, and death is embraced regardless of how it occurs. The second aim of anthropology is looking for and identifying some universal and set elements that are the same for most societies. Such elements indicate the common features of death interpretation in various myths and legends. To give but a few examples, one can mention Job's myths focusing on a man's guilt, Adam's myths depicting the abandonment of God, or Oedipus's ones suggesting the existence of fate and coincidence. Apart from myths, one can distinguish various attitudes towards *[…] the transition into a cadaver and the decomposition of corpses* (Thomas 2010:52). Two main attitudes are common here and that is concealment and rejection. The former is realized through placing the body of the deceased in the ground and burying it or placing it in a tomb. The latter involves the retention of remains through processes such as mummification and embalming, or on rare occasion triggering mortification. Anthropology creates standards, patterns, rules of organization as well as the laws of evolution; it studies various experiences, and everyday life.

Another discipline that expresses keen interest in the subject of death is psychology. The problems it deals with involve: the influence of death and its elements on people's psyche, experiences and feelings triggered by death, the examination of mourning – what the dying person feels and those who are left behind, what is the role of mourning and what actions it results in. It is also worth mentioning that psychology (from the perspective of genetics) specifies the ways of perceiving and understanding death on respective stages of life. Comparative psychology on the other hand, as one of the many

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[19] (Translation mine) *[…] a good death is that of a venerable, old man, a father of many children and at the same time a man, who was able to gather wealth, partially utilized for the needs of the funeral, as well as for warlike communities, valuing the death of a young hero on the battlefield.*

psychological disciplines underlines the existence of attitudes during mourning in time; those being normal and pathological. Psychology is also strongly aided by psychoanalysis, which examines the relation between the human psyche and death, with its main focus on the functioning of basic, mental mechanisms (See Brown 2012). One of them is drive, which determines our biological instinct. They reflect the dynamism of processes terminated by tension. The result of the action of a specific drive is to focus the attention to a given organ and its functions, as well as to adapt it in order to reach pleasure. Other crucial mechanisms are phantasms – made-up scenarios, where the subject imagines himself as a participant and an observer of a particular situation. These mechanisms frequently indicate the existence of subconscious desires. Such instances should be treated as psychic, contrary to real behaviour. Some other mechanisms include defensive mechanisms, which act against anything that threatens the integrity and psychic stability of individuals or groups. Identification, regression and symbolization are a few examples of such mechanisms. Psychoanalysis provides the attitude towards death, in that human unawareness fails to comprehend the idea of time, therefore believing in immortality (See Razinsky 2013). It also shows the mental processes associated with dying and after the loss of a close relative.

Yet another discipline, which takes keen interest in the subject of death, is surprisingly economy. The idea of death here is mostly about costs incurred by the relatives of the deceased. These expenses comprise the services such as: doctors, a priest, an undertaker, a carpenter, ordering flowers, workers of funeral homes and the people involved in the cremation process. One can also distinguish economic operations, which encompass the costs of various services (See Thomas 2010):

1. Operations connected with the threat of death – e.g. buying all sorts of insurance policies.
2. Operations connected with the process of dying – hospitalization costs or home care
3. Other operations connected with death and burial – this includes the funeral ceremony, flowers, the undertaker, the coffin, the grave and an obituary.
4. Operations connected with inheritance – notarial costs, taxes, legate
5. Operations associated with the cult of the dead – purchasing flowers and vigil lights to commemorate the memories of the deceased.

Therefore, based on the aforementioned deliberations on economy and its relations with the subject of death, one can notice that not only the spiritual spheres play a major role, but also economic ones, which more or less are an inseparable part of the act of dying.

In conclusion, what has to be noted is that the knowledge on the subject of death is provided by both scientific and non-scientific disciplines. As a result of their contribution one can realise that the subject in question can be analysed in various ways and on countless levels. The knowledge provided by the aforementioned disciplines aids thanatology in creating a complete picture of death as a concept. The subject of death itself is connected with numerous approaches and methodologies. It can be analysed historically, socially as well as culturally, the subject matter of which will be debated in the following chapters of this work.

1.2. The historical interpretation of death

1.2.1 Miscellaneous approaches towards death.

The idea of death evokes various feelings. It can cause the sensation of fear, anxiety or retreat. People prefer not to openly discuss about a subject that has negative connotations or is controversial. This is mostly because the subject in question is perceived to be problematic, for it is […] *zakopany jest w głębokich warstwach podświadomości, w jakiejś pierwotnej pamięci, do której dostępu strzegą mechanizmy obronne*[20] (Żelichowska 2004:4). Based on the opinion of Żelichowska (2004), one can deduce that the awareness of death becomes repressed and somehow concealed by these mechanisms. It morphs into something of a secret. It has to be remembered; that death has its history and stretches in time, despite the fact it is universal in nature and touches upon all human beings. This means, that we can distinguish various approaches towards the deceased, as well as attitudes towards death itself. Such variety results from the influence of such external factors as for instance: changing social relations, the development of technology, the privatization of life, more individuals dying in hospitals rather than at home (See Żelichowska 2004).

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[20] (Translation mine) *[…] buried in the deep layers of the subconscious, in some primal memory, guarded by defensive mechanisms.*

One of the main representatives of French historical thanatology is Philippe Ariès, who presents the history of death in time (c. f. Ariès 2007). In his studies he distinguished the following profiles of death:

- Tamed death
- One's own death
- Chronic and near death
- Thy death
- Death reversed

He analyses the following profiles based on a range of factors, quoted earlier by Żelichowska (2004). These include:

- Awareness of oneself
- The defence of society against nature
- Belief in the afterlife
- Belief in the existence of evil

The first profile is what Ariès refers to as tamed death, which is reflected through the awareness of the fact that everyone dies; it is a collective death. Passing away was never something unexpected; an individual is on most occasions aware that the imminent end is approaching. Therefore, it was crucial to prepare beforehand, for instance one should remain in bed and if it was impossible, on the ground, with the head turned to the east – towards Jerusalem and the hands on the chest. After that one could proceed to perform the final activities, which preceded the advent of death; first, one grieved for the beings and items with emotional value. Next, one was supposed to ask for forgiveness of the witnesses and the companions who frequently gathered in large numbers (c. f. Ariès 2007). Upon the last moments, a dying person would ask God to bless the living, after which a prayer was said repenting sins and asking for the salvation of the soul. After the prayer, one awaited death in silence; even if took longer than expected. This kind of death is a collective experience, with most members of a society or group present. It has not by any means, an individual character, with great solidarity between the participants of the act of dying and the and the individual who is soon to die. The existence of such strong bonds can be evidenced by the example of the late 18th century when doctors acquainting themselves with the basics of hygiene, were constantly complaining about the presence of too many people in the room where the dying person was placed. Yet another example

indicating a high degree of integrity of the dying and his companions, comes from the early 19th century, when random pedestrians upon observing a funeral procession would join the group and proceed to the place where the sick resided[21]. It was of great importance for relatives, acquaintances and neighbours to be present, with instances of children being brought along. A dying individual did not have to bear the burden of death alone.

Considering the second factor mentioned by Żelichowska (2004), tamed death manifests itself as a strong community act, that is supposed to contain it and turn it into a ceremony. Nature then becomes entangled in tradition, ceremony and ritual, whereas death morphs into a cultural phenomenon. Life after death is a continuation of life on earth, while the understanding of evil is associated with the essence of death. And so tamed death is one with which and individual shares a type of intimacy and has no fear of it. What is more, accompanied by people, such death acquires a more public profile (c. f. Ariès 2007).

The next profile discussed by Ariès (2007) is one's own death. It is characterised by the fact that a person is beginning to have a more individual and personal attitude towards death. The community does not play a major role in here, as opposed to the previous type. Instead there is a *[...] passionate attachment for things and creatures possessed during one's lifetime*. An individual in this case seeks a place for himself/herself in spiritual means. Death *[...] became the occasion when man was most able to reach an awareness of himself [...]* (Ariès 1974:46), with wills having a major role in the whole process. These usually contained requests for prayers, so that their souls would get redemption. The document manifests itself here as an assurance of connection between life and death[22]. It is also worth mentioning how life after death looks like according to this profile, focusing yet again on individualism. After death, a person divides into a body, which dies, and a soul that is immortal and individualized. These changes may also be observed on both the personal and social levels. This is done through the concealment of a body in a catafalque, a veil or a shroud, leaving the image of the deceased exclusively to the imagination (See Żelichowska 2004).

The third profile mentioned by Ariès is chronic and near death, which came into existence in the 18th century, portrayed as something extraordinary and fascinating. The reasoning behind such approach can be found in the previous visions of death, which used

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[21] See P. Craven, *Récit d'une soeur. Souvenir de famille***, (1866:197:V2).
[22] See P. Ariès, *Pięć wariacji na cztery tematy*, [in] *Antropologia śmierci. Myśl francuska*, (1993:284 – 300)

to be hidden and concealed. People yearn for discovering the undiscovered. Death ceases to be tamed becoming wild and mysterious. What is more, with social progress comes the urge to understand what happens after death, the search arousing both fear, but also considerable curiosity. Finally, ideas suggesting the existence of a state between life and death start to float.

The penultimate profile is what Ariès describes as thy death. This time the picture is of a romantic death, which refers to the sphere of feelings. Somewhere from *[…] the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, countless scenes and motifs in art and in literature associate death with love, Thanatos with Eros* (Ariès 1974:57). Similarly to earlier, the dying is surrounded by a group of people, yet it is significantly smaller, and would include the family members only. The custom of dying in one's bed did not change with close relatives around. What changed, however, were the attitudes of the contemporaries towards the act of dying itself. The past saw death as an *[…] event as banal as seasonal holidays […]*, but *[…] in the nineteenth century, a new passion stirred those present. Emotion shook them, they cried, prayed, gesticula*ted (Ariès 1974:59). People are agitated by the situation, and contemplating and commemorating the memory of the deceased arouse strong emotions. As a result, the fear of death is felt not only by the ones who are passing away, but also the gathered observers. The latter become anxious about the final destination of their loved one. The image of hell and the belief in evil are replaced with feelings. Life after death is a meeting of individuals, who were disconnected on Earth.

The final type of death quoted by Ariès is what he refers to as reversed death. With progress comes the privatization of the public sphere, with people existing in solitude. The individualization of men leads to the dissolution of many bonds. Interpersonal relations fade, as people start perceiving each other as *[…] nośniki pewnych kwalifikacji bądź cech*[23] (Żelichowska 2004:17). Most strive for financial success and distance themselves from any inconveniences. At the same time death becomes a source of income, with services connected with taking care of the body and transporting it to the cemetery, as well as psychological help for the family of the deceased. The mysticism of death is gone. Relatives frequently misinform the dying person about the imminent death. The warmth, love and kindness of the family is replaced by hospital equipment. Death becomes veiled with coldness and oblivion by all, despite having to experience it in the future.

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[23] (Translation mine) *[…] media for certain qualifications or qualities.*

To sum up the deliberation on the history of the images of death in time, it can be noted that the awareness of mortality has always been present. Based on the aforementioned observations it seems that the awareness of death has always been present. This short debate proves that death, which a person shares with others is tamed, natural and does not induce fear. On the other hand, when a person experiences death alone, the entity feels significant individualization and separation. The idea of death becomes horrifying, anxiety inducing and even cast into oblivion. Through obviousness and reality of death, its naturalness is taken away (See Żelichowska 2004).

1.2.2 The funeral ritual of the expiration act

The purpose of this section is to show the funeral rites over the centuries. First and foremost, it is key to mention that funerals in any society are an intrinsic part of a deep-rooted tradition. Society once held the belief that life on earth is a small part of human existence, and that death of a man moves him into another dimension – life (See Ostrowska 1991). One should pay attention to the enormous diversity of funeral rituals in the following considerations. The civilizations of the old world considered the funeral rights to be one of the main elements of human life, which is why they were surrounded by wealth and splendour. Modern day funerals show the differences between social classes, family position and place the deceased occupied in the public space.

Ostrowska (1991) draws our attention to the fact that funerals can serve not only as burial, but can also have many different features including political ones. Thus, the functions of funerals can be divided into explicit and implicit. Explicit ones are focused on the deceased and include:

- Hygienic/Sanitary activities (referring to the disposal of the body)
- The transition to the other side (earthly life is replaced by a spiritual life)

Implicit functions are focused on the community, which remains in the world of the living, and they can be divided into:

- Therapeutic (help to the family and friends of the deceased)
- Social (strengthening the identity of the society)

Following the preliminary discussion about the funeral, one should pay attention to the way funeral ceremonies looked like over time. In the ancient world funeral rites

were often rich and could be perceived as too emotional and exaggerated. They could even be grotesque for some, yet they helped men tolerate death more, relieve their emotions and integrate with the rest of the community.

One of the civilizations of the ancient world, which paid great attention to the funeral ceremony, was ancient Egypt. Despite undergoing a series of political crises and natural disasters, it managed to survive for more than 3000 years (See Kerrigan 2009). Ancient Egypt was heavily focused on its interests due to the fact that it was separated by deserts and mountains on the south side. The River Nile was the one dictating the rhythm of the economy, creating the continuity of cultural existence.

The Egyptians treated life and death as one. After death, life still existed in the grave, in both symbolic as well as literal senses. Before the creation of the pharaoh state the deceased were buried in the ground. At the beginning the body was washed, then it was put into the grave in an embryonic position, so that it was ready to be born in the other world. In the Old Kingdom, that is from 2686 B.C. the body was laid on its back, facing east so that it could greet the rising sun.

Before the deceased was placed in a grave, wealthy Egyptians conducted the embalming processes, in order to avoid the decomposition of the body. The reason being that they believed the soul would continue as long as the human body survives. Embalming of bodies was an extremely demanding technique and was a very mystical ritual (See Kerrigan 2009). At the beginning a curved hook made of iron (and later on bronze), was used to remove the brain through the nostrils. Then an incision was made in the groin region to pull out the guts. After that the body was washed and stuffed with various oils, fabrics and sawdust. Subsequently the body was sewn and covered with layers of linen bandages. Each layer of bandages had various amulets placed on them for good luck. The whole process lasted fifteen days, and the final touch was a mask placed on the mummy to make it more human-like.

Then it was put into a wooden coffin, resembling the shape of the human body and placed in a sarcophagus. After performing all these activities preparations for the funeral ceremony could commence. The sarcophagus was placed on a boat-like shaped sled and placed in a tomb. Food, statuettes and other everyday items were also enclosed. The attendees of the funeral comprised the family, women who wept for the dead and a priest (See Kerrigan 2009). Poor Egyptians, however, were buried in the sand, which protected the body from decay (See Kerrigan 2009).

Yet another civilization that flourished in ancient times was Ancient Greece. It left its mythology, as well as stories about Western culture behind for future generations. The Greeks approached funerals solemnly. They feared that they could remain on earth in form of ghosts. Funeral ceremonies showed differences according to the place of residence or the passage of time. There were, however, some universal elements, which were not subject to change. The first stage of the ritual was **prothesis** (Kerrigan 2009:64), or lying in repose. The body was washed, rubbed with oils, covered in a shroud and exposed. The deceased were visited by their relatives, friends, and if it was a person of higher social standing a large proportion of the population would gather to pay their respects. The next step was **ekphora** (Kerrigan 2009:64 - 65), i.e. transporting the body. A dead person was placed on a cart and taken to the cemetery accompanied by the procession, which often included musicians. The family would openly mourn their loved ones, tearing clothes or hitting their heads, in order to express the pain and sorrow for the dead. The ritual of crying and articulating pain proved the value of the deceased within the society. It even led to the development of professional mourners.

The body of the deceased was placed in the grave or on the stake and subjected to the process of cremation. The ashes were buried, and confined in urns or vases. There were also significant differences, which were related to the complexity of the graves. In the classical period graves were simply pits in the ground. In the Aegean civilizations they were more sophisticated, whereas during the Mycenaean period, the bodies were buried in the ground, caves or pits. Much like in Egypt, food and water was placed inside the grave. Bodies of important personalities were buried in beehive-shaped tombs (See Kerrigan 2009). During democratic times great attention was paid to simple graves, whereas the wealth of the family was visible in the sculptures which covered the gravestones.

The Romans followed the Greek traditions, including the funeral rites. They strongly believed that death must be approached with caution. The Romans placed their deceased in cemeteries, which were located on the outskirts of the city, close to major roads. It was believed that unburied people were wandering around the earth haunting the living by night. Those who were buried united with the divine community (See Kerrigan 2009). The Romans also believed that the deceased are dependent on the living. Immortality of the dead lasted until the family prayed for them and celebrated rites. During the holidays celebrated in memory of the dead between the thirteenth and twenty-first of February (Parentalia), families visited the graves of the deceased, made an offering

of gran, wine and oil, which were poured on the slab or into the grave. During the first century AD the Romans built simple and modest tombs. At the same time, however, the successful middle class was buying shares in the mausoleums construction industry. They housed hundreds and sometimes, even thousands of urns. They were divided into rows and later catacombs were built to resemble them.

In the middle Ages the church had an immense impact on human life, and its various aspects, including the funeral rites. The head of the deceased was wrapped in the shroud with the face unveiled[24]. Then came the priest, said a prayer, and everyone together with the funeral procession set off to church. The gathered had their heads covered with hoods, a symbol of burial and mourning. In the temple itself the body was confined in the coffin and then it was sealed. After the Mass the people progressed to the cemetery. If the deceased was poor, the body was placed in a regular grave in the ground. If the deceased was rich, especially if it was a person connected with the Church, they were buried under the floor of the church[25]. Later on, numerous masses were held in their intention e.g. Gregorian Masses.

During the Renaissance, the funeral changed its nature to that of sophistication and glamour (See Ostrowska 1991). The Baroque funeral was full of opulence and magnificence[26]. The funeral of the deceased nobleman was a memorable event; his family would spend a great deal of wealth to celebrate his death. Such funerals at times used to morph into real spectacles, with preparations for the funeral of the deceased lasting about a month. Much like before, the body was embalmed earlier, in order to avoid decomposition. Then it was clothed in festive attire and transferred to the palace chapel.

During the preparations the church was decorated, the guests were invited and both the speeches ,as well as funeral sermons were written[27]. The priests themselves would often fall into this frenzy of great splendour, giving speeches that were pompous and elevated. The funerals usually attracted plenty of priests who not only came for spiritual reasons, but primarily financial ones, counting on the fact that the deceased bequeathed part of his wealth to them. The funeral procession consisted of officials,

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[24] See A. Bednarczyk, *Życie religijne i kultura chrześcijańska*, http://www.arekbednarczyk. republika.pl/kul.shtml (27.10.2013).
[25] See A. Bednarczyk, *Życie religijne i kultura chrześcijańska*, http://www.arekbednarczyk. republika.pl/kul.shtml (27.10.2013).
[26] See B. *Žuromskaitė, Pompa funberis. Teatralność pogrzebu sarmackiego*, http://www.racjonalista.pl/kk.php/s,5090 (27.10.2013).
[27] See B. *Žuromskaitė, Pompa funberis. Teatralność pogrzebu sarmackiego*, http://www.racjonalista.pl/kk.php/s,5090 (27.10.2013).

priests, monks, family and friends. One of the important aspects of the funeral ceremony was a theatrical performance delivered to the gathered just before the funeral itself. The servant rode on horseback dressed in the clothes of his late master, and then after a moment, fell from his horse, symbolically showing the triumph of death over life. Then there were the prayers by the coffin of the deceased followed by the burial. The day after the burial ceremony, a memorial service with a solemn sermon[28] was conducted.

Upon considering death, it is worth looking at the period of the nineteenth century, which brought huge changes in the funeral ceremony. Funerals of individuals who have achieved success for the nation or its culture took form of manifestations. During the war, despite countless conspiracies, funerals and graves were an expression of patriotism (See Krzywobłocka 1986).

The twentieth century on the other hand, brought enormous simplification of funeral rituals, with many customs simply disappearing. Civil ceremonies began to appear; that is ones where the religious aspect was more or less laid aside. These were mostly connected with people who somehow distinguished themselves in life. During such events, a military orchestra, standard-bearers and speeches were present. Civil ceremonies also involved ordinary men, yet in these cases they were much simpler and the primary role was played exclusively by gravediggers (See Ostrowska 1991).

Summing up the considerations made above, it should be stressed once again that the funeral rites taking place over the centuries have differences on various levels. Funeral rituals discussed before in the respective epochs are to express the holistic aspect of understanding death and the rituals associated with it. Regardless of the era the burial process reinforces the essence of death, as well as its reality. However, the emptiness the families of the deceased feel cannot be fully accepted. The funeral is also the outlet of human feelings and emotions. Burials show people who are grieving and in mourning, a certain pattern of conduct, so that death becomes more acceptable. Burials carry a therapeutic role, but also bring participants together - an opportunity to renew relationships, and a place where shared reminiscences and collective memories are formed (See Baker 2016). Funerals provide thoughts on life and social order. It should also be noted that the funeral becomes a value when it is emotional, when it is not for show, no artifice in it, but it is filled with ordinary human feelings.

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[28] See B. *Žuromskaitė, Pompa funberis. Teatralność pogrzebu sarmackiego,* http://www.racjonalista.pl/kk.php/s,5090 (27.10.2013).

1.2.3. Allegorical images of death through the ages

The considerations made in this part of the work will focus on different visions of death, which were imagined by people in various time periods. People replaced the deceased with different embodiments of death, and that is because they wanted to ward off demons (See Courtois, M. 2010). The vision of the deceased in the form of an allegory would not induce fear in people. However, the envisioning the dead as a skeleton, or even in their own body led to anxiety and terror. Allegorical visions of the dead were devoid of fear among the people, because men were aware that it was only a picture, and not something that really exists. Through the symbolic representation of death, its reality was transformed into a pipe dream.

In the Antiquities death was represented using a wide variety of visions. For example, in Ancient Greece death was depicted in the form of a charming **Thanatos** – the God of Death. He was an endearing boy with wings, bringing back and escorting the dead, but not killing them. Death, which was brought by Thanatos was like a dream. The ancients imagined the god with two attributes, the first being his wings, by means of which he could cause consternation among the people and take them with him. The second was the net which he used to catch the selected individuals (See Coulter and Turner 2013). Yet another vision of brutal death, or even macabre, was represented by means of a **Mermaid**, who lured people with her enchanting voice. Early embodiments saw mermaids as half-woman, half-bird, however, by the end of the Antiquities, it was a vision of a half-woman, half-fish creature. Mermaids would lure travelers with their beautiful voices. They would sing on the meadow surrounded by bones and rotting corpses of the fallen who were mesmerized by their singing. The next vision of death was that of a kidnapper personified through the repulsive creatures, **Keres** and **Harpies** (See Courtois, M. 2010). Accoding to Parandowski's definitions, Keres were *[...] istoty piekielne, wiecznie spragnione krwi ludzkiej, wydostają się na ziemię, ilekroć posłyszą odgłos wojny. Gdy żołnierz pada ranny, rzucają się nań, wbijają mu w ciało pazury, chłepcą gorącą posokę, dopóki dusza z niego nie wyjdzie[29]* (Parandowski 1992:149). Keres had black wings and were the equivalents of vampires. Harpies on the other hand, were creatures that had a woman's head and a body of a predatory bird, hence a woman-

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[29] (Translation mine) [...] hellish creatures, constantly hungry for human blood, coming out on the surface of the Earth every time they hear the sounds of war. When the soldier falls, they jump at him tearing his body with claws, drinking the hot crimson liquid until the soul leaves the body.

vulture. They were sometimes referred to as the kidnappers for they had very strong beaks and sharp claws, which they used to grab and lift people up. The wings of Keres and Harpies were used for the new early personification of death on the west (See Sewell 2012). It was a vision of a woman with bat wings and feet with claws. Another personification of death, which resembles the idea of the antiquity kidnapper, is the Corsican black-foot thief (See Courtois, M. 2010). Her task was to catch people and then rob them. Other personifications of death present in Ancient Greece were **Moirai**, the daughters of the night; Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos respectively[30](See Wilson 2013). They spin the thread of human life with Clotho spinning, Lachesis controlling its length and Atropos cutting it at the right time. They were the ones responsible for how long an individual would walk on the face of earth. The three goddesses would often be summoned during childbirth by the future parents, and on wedding day they would make offerings to please them. Altars and temples were built in their honour for they were the protectors of peace and order on earth and the whole universe. The offerings included anything from water and honey, to flowers and fruit. According to Parandowski (1992) the Moirai legend remained virtually unchanged in the imagination of contemporary Greeks. They see them as elderly, wrinkled women dressed in black living in Olympus or in caves. When a baby is born, the Moirai come to it on day three, stand by the bed and tell its fortune. People believe that for the Moirai to be favourable for the baby it is essential to make offering by *[...] kładzie się przy noworodku wino, trzy kromki chleba, ciastka i pieniądze[31]* (Parandowski 1992:158). If the offerings are taken, it is a sign that the baby will have a happy life. The Roman equivalents of Moirai were the **Parcae**, who likewise decided on human life, particularly on its termination.

Further personifications of death include the Flat-nosed and the Angel of death (See Courtois, M. 2010). The French **Camarde** (the Flat-nosed) first appeared in Scarron (1648) – a 17th century French poet, born in Paris. It is also worth pointing out that the death in the form a skeleton initially appeared in Italy during the 15th century (See Koutny-Jones 2015). It is therefore evident that the then image of death was that of a grim reaper – death devoid of a body and a nose, only the bones. Depending on the language the gender of death may differ and so in Polish the article (ta śmierć) suggests it is a woman, however, the German death (der Tod) is masculine. In the 19th century, the

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[30] For more information, see J. Parandowski, *Mitologia. Wierzenia i podania Greków i Rzymian*, (1992:157 – 159).
[31] (Translation mine) *[...] putting wine, three pieces of bread, cakes and coins by the newborn.*

vision of the Flat-nosed was replaced with the **Angel of death**. It was presented in various different ways; an archangel with black wings or the rider of the Apocalypse with an aureole filled with light and a sword lifted towards sky. Death was also the guide of souls, escorting the dead to their final resting place. The Angel of death was sometimes embodied in the form of a woman, frequently a young one, or even a pubescent boy of significant grace. The gender of the angels was not precise, the reason being the fact that the western cultures could not ultimately decide upon the sex of death (See Guthke 1999).

Yet another form of death is the one personified by the Widow. This vision pertains to a specific set of objects such as the gallows and the guillotine. The expression *to marry a widow* first came to use in 1628 France (See *OED*). Since the widow stands for the gallows, it roughly means to marry the gallows. In 1830 the widow becomes a guillotine, whereas the gendarmes - the military police - start to be called *the hussars of the widow*. During the first World War the soldiers sometimes used the expression *widow-pine* to refer to a coffin. In 1887 Jules Jouy created a musical piece with the imagery of a guillotine – a femme fatale who will kill her husband upon coiling him:

> *Wtedy, wyciągając swe długie ramiona,*
> *Wymalowana, jak nowa,*
> *Czeka nowego męża[32] [...]* (See Courtois, M. 2010)

The widow in question is making preparations for the wedding (read death). Everything is in place, the car and a basket filled with sawdust. After the nuptials, the widow washes off the makeup and comes back to her place to *digest the blood of her loved one* Such wedding is a rather depressing death ritual, especially since the execution was a public act. While the contemporary idea of a widow lost some of its public aspect, it has acquired, especially in the folk paradigm, a certain degree of eroticism, present in various expressions and visions.

Last but not least, death may be presented in a form of a character playing a game with people (See Courtois, M. 2010). The prize for winning is life, and loosing is death. What has to be mentioned, however, is that the person playing stands no chance of winning. Most of the time the player is just an instrument in the game. In the game of

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[32] (Translation mine)
And when she streches her arms,
Done up like new
Waiting for her new husband [...]

cards for example, death always uses marked cards, always winning as a result. It is also worth mentioning that death was part of the terminology in various games. For example, one such game was chess, where the lexemes *check* and *mate* were borrowed by the Spanish from Persian and simply meant 'the king died'. Apparently death was tormenting its victims until they were *checkmated* which meant the player 'lost'. Yet another example of a game using the image of death is cards, where the word *kaput* is used (See Delahunty 2008). Some other expressions used in cards which pertain to the imagery of death is the English *to be shuffled out of the deck*, which can be used metaphorically or it simply means that one cards fell out during the shuffle.

Discussing the above-mentioned personifications of death is supposed to show a certain adjustment process among various societies in different times. It also shows that through the ages individuals have tried to embody death mostly due to the fear of the unknown. Death personified in form characters, phenomena or activities, was not death that induces fear. It was something that could have been tamed or even accept, despite the fact that it is, was and will be the part and parcel of our existence. The way people and societies will deal with death is only going to depend on them. One of the ways is to show it as an allegory, for it provides an image of a somewhat less terrorizing nature.

To sum up the deliberations in this part of work, it can be stated that the historical interpretation of death contains a wide spectrum of data, connected with the subject in question. The following issues have been discussed so far:

- Various attitudes towards death
- Funeral rites
- Allegorical visions of death

The above-discussed issues were considered from various timeframes, which allows for a deeper analysis of each one, as well as, to better notice the changes which took place in the process. The problems of the historical interpretation of death more or less overlap with the subsequent issues, described in the next chapters. These issues include the social and the cultural aspects of death. The overlapping of these three aspects makes establishing some ultimate conclusions rather difficult. Some observations which can be made, however, are as follows:

- Death is a phenomenon, which is imminent in nature. There are various approaches towards death, some of them expressing acceptance and tolerance, while others showing fear and anxiety.
- The second conclusion is that, funeral rites are an intrinsic part of our existence, playing a major part in the life of each individual. Despite the evolution and changes, the rituals have undergone over the ages, their value and the need for them is still substantial. They also help people to release negative emotions and on many occasions they carry a hope for a better life, especially when referring to the deceased.
- Finally, it can be noted, that societies have the need to create allegorical visions of death, in order to limit the negative emotions attached to the subject in question. The allegorical image does not erase it from people's awareness, however, it does become something more acceptable and tamed.

1.3. Death as an integral part of society

1.3.1. Death as a social phenomenon

A question raised in this part of work relates to the social aspect of death. As already mentioned, death is a phenomenon that functions on various different levels, i.e. historical, social and cultural. These fields are constantly interrelated which makes it difficult to determine a clear boundary between them. Death touches every person and every society regardless of whether it is accepted or not. The essence of every form of life is death. According to Ostrowska (1991:9-10) *Dzięki niej odczuć można wolność od wszelkich sporów czy też emocji - takie podejście do śmierci powinno być nieświadome i do takiego podejścia powinno się dążyć[33]*. Today, death and the process of dying is perceived by society in very cold, but also mysterious ways. These topics, which evoke a number of different emotions: shame, embarrassment, frustration, fear and terror. A natural death is one that nobody talks about and acknowledges. However, it is worth asking a question: Why is death not perceived as a taboo, and a topic that arouses so many emotions as before, despite being constantly talked about in the mass media? Every single day, we are bombarded with news regarding the death of people from various parts of the

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[33] (Translation mine) *Thanks to death one can feel free from any conflicts or emotions – such attitudes to death should be subconscious and one should strive to achieve it.*

world. Rarely do we feel any discomfort associated with such news, and frequently we even pass them on. Death in the media is often presented in extremely brutal, violent and even drastic ways. Based on the following considerations it is worth considering why such drastic image of death propagated by the mass media does not offend or disgust anyone? Why does society react naturally to death that is brutal and inhumane, yet death that is a result of disease is frequently seen as unnatural? The way one can answer these questions is that contemporary society is incapable of getting the right perspective on the process of dying and accepting it. Reasons for such behaviour are present everywhere and are extremely diverse. One of the reasons could be the development of technology. The elderly and the sick are often placed in various institutions: hospitals, nursing homes or hospices. They undergo different treatments and their life is frequently maintained by medical equipment. It is, however, worth looking at the issue from another perspective, even if it seems radical. Due to a substantial development of technology and the evolution of society, people started to become alone. Family members and friends frequently separate themselves from the dying person, for he/she is provided with care by a hospital or a hospice. The burden of helping the dying is transferred from close ones and relatives onto public institutions. As a consequence, society is vastly unaccustomed to the phenomenon of death, with medical facilities assisting the dying in most cases. Such attitude creates the foundation for a claim that death which is destined to all people brings about fear and unnatural reactions.

Avoiding the subject of death mentioned in the above paragraph was referred to by Gorer (1965) as "modern pornography". The concept is based on the fact that death today is frequently censored by people within thoughts and conversations. Over the last two centuries, it was sexuality, which generated controversy, whereas death was a natural and intrinsic part of any society. There were few individuals in the 19th century who did not see a cadaver or borne witness to ones passing. It was common during funeral ceremonies to uncover the body of the departed, which is rarely the case today. Cemeteries would at those times be placed in the centre of a given community. The 20th century, however, saw an immense shift, the results of which can be observed today. While sexuality has become a common phenomenon, discussed publicly, death has become an awkward topic, one that embarrasses and evokes discomfort (See DiMatteo 2015). Death also becomes a taboo during the last moments of a dying person, during which close ones frequently avoid thinking and talking about it. After the person perishes, the language used to refer to him/her is always softened by means of euphemisms or

metaphors such as *passed away* or *no longer with us*. Calling death 'modern pornography' (See Gorer 1965) stems from the current system of values. Nowadays, individuals focus more on appearance, clothing, physique, but also intelligence, whereas we tend to reject disability, old age, terminal illnesses deformities, etc. Consequently, people with the latter set of characteristics are often stigmatized and humiliated. As quoted by Ostrowska (1991:26) *Nie pozwala się osobom w podeszłym wieku na odczuwanie dumy z osiągniętych lat, nikt nie cieszy się ze spokojnej i godnej śmierci[34]*.

Modern society may lack the acceptance of death for another reason, and that is the desire to live an easy comfortable life. Individuals tend to avoid complications and problematic situations that require substantial sacrifices and self-denial. It is worth noting, however, that death requires such steps and these are somewhat ingrained in human existence regardless of our preferences.

The issue of coming to terms with death may stem from the influence of wars on human life, especially The Second World War. Individuals who survived the war wanted to erase the memory of death, which claimed millions of lives. Living with an awareness of such tragedy is jarring to say the least. People who experience the cruelty of war and survived made every attempt to live normally, however difficult it was. Simple kitchen utensils, such as a knife, was no longer associated with its primary function i.e. cutting bread, but it was more associated with eliminating other human beings. Dramatic experiences connected with war are hard to live with. People wanted to forget everything they saw at all cost, they wanted to forget death.

There may be numerous reasons for the contemporary lack of acceptance of death and these may have various dimensions. It is worth noting that even if death is pushed back into the furthest edge of our memories, it is still impossible to avoid. It can bring about reflections, Release emotions, fears and sometimes even bring hope. Death is always associated with ambivalent feelings regardless of whether an elderly person or a child passes away. No one can be convinced that death is a phenomenon that does not concern him or her. Death is an intrinsic part of society, but also of individuals and it is impossible to avoid it.

It is also worth mentioning that death has a strong presence in the world of entertainment. Games, film, music and recently the internet, are rich in violent content connected with death and dying. The vast majority of people are desensitized when it

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[34] (Translation mine) *The elderly are not allowed to be proud of their age, nobody cherishes a peaceful and graceful death.*

comes to seeing or hearing about the subject in question. Modern life is fast and focused on success, rather than on the basic and primal aspects of life.

Children are the fundamental building block of our society, creating the foundation for future generations. Ostrowska (1991) mentions an interesting study done on children by Sylvia Anthony[35], which showed that adolescents who are healthy and develop in a proper way often think about the death but their thoughts are frequently naive. The question is, can research carried out in the 20th century have any relevance today? We live in very interesting times where technological development is constant. Mass media have a huge impact on children today, especially television and the Internet. Their opinions are constantly being changed, also the ones pertaining to death. Unfortunately, this makes them an easy target to manipulate by toy companies and corporations. One example is the Monster High series, which is a collection of highly controversial dolls. The reason for their controversy is that they seem to be the offspring or relatives of such characters as: Frankenstein, Mummies, Dracula, zombies, werewolves. They all have–grey-blue corpse-like faces, their limbs can be removed and their bodies are covered in bolts and stitches. Instead of sleeping in typical toy beds, they rest in toy coffins. The whole series inspired a number of related accessories including: pencil cases, stuffed toys, clothes and books. The TV series inspire children to recreate funerals, killings and this may or may not lead to the creation of negative role models, which they could follow in the future. Supporters on the other hand, claim, that toys such as these are nothing to be afraid of, since they help children understand the meaning of death, thereby decreasing their level of fear. This is merely one example, but modern life is full of such ambivalent cases. What can be said is that a doll itself should never be criticized, yet its primary aim is lost when it is used to replicate (and in some ways desecrate) funeral proceedings. Using the symbolism of death has a purely commercial aim in this case, and in the world of business it acts as a game-changer. Implementing such ideas in toys, may within a few decades take away the importance and mysticism associated with death.

Summing up the considerations made in this part of work, it can be concluded that death is a phenomenon that is still not fully accepted by society. People do not wish to talk about death because it is a controversial topic, one that raises too many questions. We live in the age where commercialism permeates every aspect of human life including

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[35] See S. Anthony, *The Child's Discovery of Death*, (1940).

the mystical field of death. Such tendencies may or may not push the topic in question into oblivion in the foreseeable future.

1.3.2 Death rites and traditions across the continents.

Regardless of geographical location, death touches us all and in most cases we fear it, for it […] *is regarded as a disturbance of the social order, a laceration of the social body, and a gap in social and family networks* (Robben 2009:13). Death may have a devastating impact on the structure of the society, yet it constitutes a fundamental building block of our humanity. Some might hate it, while others yearn for it, some demonize it, whereas others glorify it. Few phenomena arouse such ambivalent feelings and penetrate literally every social stratum imaginable. As a result, death is not a homogeneous concept, but a multi-faceted, ethnically-varied, culture-specific, religion-based, morally-ambiguous and very frequently ruthless biological process. Yet death *[…] is not exclusively a biological reality or confined to the individual sorrow, but that […]* it *[…] evokes moral and social obligations expressed in culturally determined funeral practices* (Hertz 1960:2). That is why people across the globe treat the act of dying and its aftermath very differently from one another. Ariès was among the few researchers who managed to create a systematized psychological model for approaching death. In his seminal *The Hour of Our Death* (1987) he distinguished four major themes, which are part and parcel of every community, present or past, i.e. the sense of the self, the society's defense against the unpredictable nature, belief in the afterlife and finally the belief in the existence of evil. In fact, each component is present across traditions and rituals associated with the act of dying regardless of geographical location or social development. While differences between continents, countries, villages, communities or tribes may be aplenty, the core principles and standards are very much alike. The following chapter is to present a short outline of some major traditions across the globe to show that there are numerous similarities among different cultures, and hopefully to extrapolate a number of universal features shared by most of them.

1.3.2.1 Africa

Death is a natural phenomenon on a continent where statistically 15% of children do not live to be five, 30 million never get to experience their 8th birthday, more than 30% have some type of congenital disease and where individuals are lucky if they get to live

past the age of 40[36]. Natural death, however, does not exist in African culture, for it is believed that people continue to live in another place after perishing. Existence is perceived as a dynamic process which involves the ever changing fluctuations within something the Africans refer to as the "life force". If one is sick for instance, the level of his force may be low, in which case a more powerful, outside agent (circumstances, people or objects) can use this weakness against this individual and cause death. African cultivate the tradition of the so called 'ancestors', i.e. people who passed away, yet continue to 'live on' among the living (see Ephirim-Donkor 2012). Becoming one requires proper burial rites, that frequently act as protective measures for the surviving family, rather than assistive means for the departed. When it comes to attitudes, the peoples of Africa are ambivalent towards the dead, the reason being that it is believed, the dead possess a stronger life force than the ones who are alive. As a result, due efforts are expended to make sure that the spirits of the dead do not come back in form of wandering spectres, haunting the ones left behind.

While the Western societies adhere to the premises of dualism *[...] in African metaphysics, the dichotomy of "soul" and "body" is not applicable such that at death, the soul separates and inhabits another body, "the man" still exists as this person in a spiritual invisible form* (Mawere 2011:32-33). In fact, most Africans focus more on living in the present looking at life in materialistic ways and hoping that in the afterlife their "life" will be devoid of hunger or suffering. Furthermore, the afterlife has no correlation with earthly existence, in that it is not "discretionary" by any means. The only exceptions are when proper burial is not provided, or when the deceased was engaged in witchcraft or criminal activity. While Africans do not believe in hell as such, being excluded from the community of "ancestors" is frequently synonymous with eternal damnation. Reincarnation is another phenomenon, that is still cultivated among numerous tribes in Africa, yet it is quite different from the 'world-renouncing' approach found in Hinduism (See Baumgarten 1998). Another major difference is that in Hinduism a soul can migrate to a body once at a time, whereas in the African beliefs a given community's destiny *[...] is fulfilled through both successive and simultaneous multiple reincarnations* (Anderson 2016[37]). Animal symbolism and significance is also present, and so one can inhabit a powerful lion or the greatly revered snake after leaving one's earthly body.

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[36] Statistics taken from WHO, found at: http://www.afro.who.int/en/clusters-a-programmes/frh/child-and-adolescent-health.html
[37] Quotation from http://www.deathreference.com/A-Bi/African-Religions.html

When it comes to funeral proceeding, it is important for the Africans to send the departed away properly so that his/her soul does not come back and cause problems among the living. In fact, rites associated with death are frequently to celebrate life on earth and at the same time to bid farewell to the ones who passed away. Frequently a person's belongings are placed in the grave to accompany him/her in the last journey. In some houses, people spread ash on all windows and turn around all reflective objects (TVs or mirrors). Mourning in Africa is a minimum, seven-day process, during which it is strictly forbidden to engage in social contacts or sexual intercourse. Black is frequently the color of choice to symbolize sorrow, and some may shave their whole body, for *[...] life is concentrated in the hair,* shaving *the hair symbolizes death, and its growing again indicates the strengthening of life* (Echema 2010:44). Funerals in Africa are a community event where all the proceedings are aimed at soothing the suffering of the family and friends, as well as providing a safe passage for the departed.

What has to be said is that while some of the above mentioned traditions are still cultivated and obeyed in modern day Africa, *[...] It is impossible to generalize about concepts in African religions because they are ethno-religions, being determined by each ethnic group in the continent* (Anderson 2016). What is more, over the last few decades, there has been a major influence of Christianity and Islam in most parts of African and only a fraction of the original religious concepts are still maintained.

1.3.2.2 India

The vast majority of the population in India are Hindus, and cultivate beliefs and traditions which are the effect of the last four thousand years. It is hard to pinpoint one particular set of rules governing religious conduct in India, for there is no unified set of rites and proceedings, differing slightly or significantly across different communities. When it comes to death, however, certain basic steps are always taken to properly part with the dead. Most Hindus believe is rebirth, referred to as **samsara**, yet one is able to escape it and enter the ultimate state of salvation called **moksha** (see Hazen 2003). From there the soul may be absorbed to the **Brahman**, which is believed to be the ultimate reality.

Death is a strict taboo in India, and unnecessary physical contact with the dead is perceived as impure (see Abram 2003). In fact, people who constantly touch the deceased (e.g. the lowest caste responsible for the cremation process) are frequently regarded as

the untouchables. Funeral proceedings should commence as quickly as possible, usually within 24 hours after one's demise. After washing the body of the deceased, ash is applied on the body, while holy mantras are being chanted. Flowers may be placed on the body, together with coins in one's hands and rice in one's mouth to provide the symbolic food for the soul. Another common concept is placing a lamp in the place of demise, in order to light the way for a relative's soul. Almost everyone in India undergoes cremation and it is not utilized only in very specific circumstances. Death raises fear and anxiety among the people, and solace may be brought only by the fact that the soul is immortal. The soul remains on earth at all times and only the vessel is changed upon reincarnation. After the cremation has taken place, the ashes of the deceased ought to be immersed in the Ganges and a thirteen-day process of mourning should start. During this time the family performs the so called **preta-karma**, which is supposed to aid the spirit of the departed to find a new body after reincarnation.

Modern funeral rites in India are loosely based on the Aryan tradition with its oldest records dating back to 1200 BC. The more important aspects of their customs included the worshiping of the sky and the powers of nature, for they believed the combination of both made up the world around them. The Aryans were more likely to glorify personal gods rather than a unified set of deities, and believed that they would frequently manifest themselves as animals (See Kumar 2003), yet instances of anthropomorphism were also documented. The Aryan languages used the word **Asu** 'breath of life' to refer to a soul, and believed that it lives within a human heart. Interestingly, Asu was believed to leave the human body upon death, but also on a temporary basis during sleep in order to function on its own. Much like in modern day India, death rites and funeral traditions were of crucial significance among the Aryan peoples. The body was expected to be buried or burnt followed by a series of intricate customs. After the funeral took place, feasting would commence, with the soul of the departed acting as the host and accepting gifts from the guests. It was also believed that the souls of the departed wander in between the world of the living and the world of the **Pitris** (the ghosts of the dead ancestors). As a result, food was often provided for the visiting spirits so that upon return their ancestors would be properly nourished.

1.3.2.3 East Asia

Much like in the case of Hinduism there is no one uniform set of rules and concepts, which apply to the act of dying. There are, however, a number of conventional

behaviours linked to the act of passing. The most common religions followed by the peoples of East Asia are Confucianism and Taoism, yet the funeral proceedings are likely to be community-specific (See Rayburn 2004). According to Confucian thinkers, very little focus is placed on what happens to the deceased, but rather on how the living go about bidding farewell to the dead and how much respect is paid to them upon their departure. It is believed that if proper burial proceedings are not provided, it may bring misfortune upon the family. The dead are extremely revered in the Asian culture, especially if they are older members of a community. Depending on a family's wealth, the funeral rites may last up to 49 days, yet these can take less if the financial means are insufficient. White is the conventional colour of mourning in Asia, whereas anything red is strictly prohibited (See Cheu 1993). Due to the unquestionable influences of Western culture black clothing is occasionally used. Only the closest family is expected to mourn and cry out loudly to express their sorrow, which is not customary for other members of the family or friends.

1.3.2.4 Native American Indians

While death is a universal phenomenon, the North America Natives are a varied ethnic culture with a variety of beliefs and rites connected with the act of dying (See Crawford and Kelley 2005). There are, however, a few common elements which can be observed across different communities. The first major similarity is that death is a communal experience, which is supposed to bring people together (See Irish 2014). Both the sanctity of life and death are held in high esteem, therefore human remains, burial grounds and the act of dying itself are sacred within every community. There are numerous ways in which a body is prepared for burial, it may be covered by a special hide or cloth and then put in a grave, a cabin or a pit, but instances of placing the dead on trees and canoes are also possible. Frequently the name of the deceased becomes a taboo, all his belongings are disposed of either by burning or burying them together with the body and the closest family is likely to cut their hair (See Lee 1999). Hair plays a major role in Native American Culture for it represents the loss of someone close, a loss within the self or a relationship. There is a strong belief that after death, the spirit of the deceased is reunited with nature, yet it never dies away and is retained within a specific facet of nature i.e. birds, plants or animals. It is also of crucial importance among some tribes to bury their loved ones in their motherland so that their soul can join in with their ancestors. Finally, it is important to mention that within the funeral rites cultivated by Native

American Indians there is plenty of symbolism with circles (which stand for the life cycle of a spirit) and corn, which is a *[…] great metaphor for the seasonal cycles and the human cycle of birth and death* (Crawford and Kelley 2005:303).

1.3.3 Death among religious societies.

Earlier deliberations were mostly aimed at the general issues pertaining to various social attitudes towards death. However, since the subject in question is rather wide, the following will focus on the ways in which death is perceived among different religious societies. One religion that had a particularly strong influence on the East Asia region is indubitably Buddhism. It stresses the importance of passage and morphing of different entities, as well as pays attention to the never-ending cycle of birth, death and reincarnation. What is more it supports the idea of **Nirvana**, which is an internal, holy state devoid of time and suffering (See Gielen 2001).

Followers of Buddhism believe in the doctrine of rebirth, despite dropping the Christian element of the soul. An individual is created from a set of states of character, which are then replaced by the only state, that is Nirvana (See Smart 1973). An individual does not exist in this state, because he is the consequence of all these states joining. Therefore, in Buddhism (Burmese or Ceylonian) the character of Buddha is not present. He cannot be contacted and therefore people do not adore and worship him. It is also worth mentioning that a rebirth is perceived as another death. It is also the consequence of birth (See Smart 1973).

Buddhism sees death as a symptom of suffering and the changeability of the world, as a result it encourages to meditate. One such drastic form of meditation is when monks prey in the crematorium surrounded with skulls and bones. Death is treated as the unhappiness of human existence. According to Buddha, happiness can be discovered by pursuing a journey. Such act is to overcome the next death which suppresses happiness and achievements (c. f. Smart 1973). The teachings of Buddha tell us that one has to accept death, for it is the liability of hope. If an individual does not fear nor miss death, it means that they are close to passing the border between life and death. They will then attain something that is eternal.

Hinduism is another religion, which has numerous denominations. Some different forms, consider the entirety of the world, the absolute, and the soul; others are either atheist or theist in nature. Some worship Vishnu, others Shiva. It is worth pointing out, however, that practically all of Hindus beliefs share the doctrine pertaining to rebirth,

hence creating a common view on death (c. f. Smart 1973). Reincarnation is of crucial importance in Hinduism, for it allows changing one's social status. Death is perceived as a state of happiness, thanks to which one can change their caste. The aim of human existence is to achieve holiness, however, it can only be done by becoming a Brahmin, who is considered to be the most perfect human being. Being one entitles numerous duties and it is far from easy. In Hinduism death is not the end of life; it is the beginning of a new existence in a different form. Such attitude gives plenty of hope to the living, that their deceased family members continue to coexist with them in another way. Winning over death and rebirth are manifestations of surpassing religious conventions and the empirical world (c. f. Smart 1973).

Yet another religion, which is part of the following considerations, is Judaism. Two of the most crucial commandments here are: the commemoration of the dead and the comforting of the mourners (See Levine, E. 2001). The deceased in the Jewish tradition are commemorated by means of paying respect, reminiscence, as well as, by accompanying the perished individual in his journey to the cemetery. The mourners are to be supported both emotionally and physically. They should also be given the opportunity to grieve and engage in prayer that is most suitable for them. What is interesting, however, is that the same Jewish traditions vary in different areas in the world. When the Great Jerusalem Temple was destroyed in 463 BC the Jewish community spread over to various places around the world. As a result, they started to assimilate with specific cultures. Consequently, however, they rejected their initial habits and customs, accepting traditions of places they were in. In the Jewish tradition the human existence is measured by deeds and the use of given opportunities. Upon death Jews analyse their life and ponder, asking themselves numerous questions in order to make sure they led a righteous existence. Death is meaningful only if the life was meaningful too (See Levine, E. 2001).

In the Jewish tradition there is a custom of composing moral wills; a formal document written by the dying person for his family. Frequently it includes some lessons on values, hope, deliberations, somehow hoping that his close relatives will lead such life. It is also to pass on warmth, gratitude and provide comfort for close ones remaining on earth. Judaism sees death as a natural end of life, which is part and parcel of the existence process of all living creatures. It also allows a man to appreciate his life. The Lord created death and it is something natural. The fact that people are aware of the transience of life makes them live the life to the fullest and when death comes they do not fear it but rather

judgement. When a man dies his soul goes to the Lord. It is immortal and has an identity as well as conscience. There is also a view that at the time of the departing and after it, the soul positions itself next to the body and observes the funeral. Then comes the cleansing which erases the sins committed by the soul during life; the process varying in length depending on the person (See Levine, E. 2001). Souls, which led a shameful life, can go through the process of cleansing for more than a year, however, for the righteous souls it could just be a moment. After the process the soul lives happily by the Lord, without suffering and sorrow. It is worth noting that the customs associated with dying and death itself are to help the mourners and the dying to designate a place they occupy among the Jewish people. In the Jewish tradition death is seen as the process of transition from earthly life to a life that is to come. Life, even the one that is ending should be treated with respect and reverence. Therefore, great attention is paid to visiting the sick and providing them with peace. Help can also be provided with regards to the funeral, the will and wealth distribution. It is of grave importance to dispose of any objects, which cause noise, so that the dying can go in peace. This also applies to avoiding life support and saving the patient in hospital. Jews can also pray for the death of another person, but only if one is in serious medical state and in this way he/she can be relieved from suffering. It is crucial that after death, the body of the deceased is taken care of for it proves its sanctity. Watching over the body prior to death is also an expression of respect (See Levine, E. 2001).

So far the considerations seem to indicate that regardless of the financial position, one is bound to die. Everyone is equal in the Lord's eyes; it is not the wealth that matters, but the soul.

Another religion, which addresses the question of death, is Christianity, largely based on the teachings of Jesus Christ whose holy mission began in about 30 A.D. and who was crucified by the Romans at the request of the Jewish priests. During his life he taught and healed the sick. Then, after the crucifixion, people believed that he had risen from the dead. His teachings were recorded in Acts of the Apostles and the Gospels. These volumes were gathered and treated as the New Testament, as well as included in the Jewish Bible. The basis of the Christian faith is the premise that Jesus is the Son of God who was sent by his father to save the people from sin and to die on the cross to show his great love for them. People who will repent their sins and receive forgiveness after death, will reside by the Lord. It is worth emphasizing that Christianity was divided into various denominations. In the Christian religion, death is the end of the biological

life of the body on Earth. Death teaches people in the most real way, how to look at reality, shows a hierarchy of values, as well as, contributes to finding the meaning of life. It is also a liberating experience, during which the souls leaves the body and becomes immortal and eternal. As believers claim, death brings them to the Lord; therefore, it is filled with love and hope. It signals the end of the earthly journey and the final judgement in front of God, where all sins will be settled. The souls, which must atone for their misdeeds, are sent to the purgatory. On the other hand, the ones, which belonged to the righteous or those who lived according to the teachings of the Lord, will go to heaven, whereas the evil ones are condemned forever. The moment of death is knowing the true face of the Creator, seeing his unconditional and absolute love, but also learning about one's own shortcomings.

Summing up the considerations undertaken in this part of the work it should be noted that despite the fact that there are many different religions in the world, the phenomenon of death plays a significant role in all of them. For each religion, its essence is somewhat different. For some, death may give solace, peace, joy, and freedom, and for others it may be the quintessence of suffering and pain, touching upon individuals on Earth. Death may be the hope for a better life and faith in the fact that human life does not stop with death, but on the contrary, it only just begins.

1.3.4 The fear of death

Fear is closely linked with the phenomenon of dying, which is simply human. People are afraid of death and show the fear in front of it in different ways. There are also different causes of anxiety in relation to death. According to Antoinette Ostrowska (1991:33): *Akceptacja intelektualna śmierci nie zapewnia akceptacji emocjonalnej*[38]. Human emotions connected with the phenomenon of dying play a very important role. Fear of death may be associated with the transition from one world to another. People are afraid of the unknown, for it may be a new world of nothing on "the other side". One can therefore as a question: What is the real reason for the fear of death? There may be multiple answers to this question and these may be dictated by various circumstances. Perhaps mankind is not afraid of another life and hell, not even what they see at the end. The fear may result from the otherness, they might experience. At the same time having no comparison whatsoever of life on the other side to everything that surrounds us here

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[38] (Translation mine) *The intellectual acceptance of death does not guarantee emotional acceptance.*

(See Jankélévitch 2005). Fear of death can also result from a desire to stop temporal life, here and now. Contemporary society denies death from their life; they prefer to live in the now. Death is a phenomenon that will occur in the future, so it is not worth analysing it and thinking about it. As a result, people are more preoccupied with earthly life, various issues, problems or pleasures, so they push death to the background, and therefore forget about the phenomenon of death, which leads to fear (See Sydow 2004) The fear of death may be related to a very strong desire to stop earthly life and therefore living ones lives righteously and to the fullest. After all, the willingness to take up dangerous challenges can be observed in human life. The reasons for taking risks are many, they may result from the pursuit of immortality, controlling one's own life, or to get away from the stereotypical existence. According to Edgar Morin'a (1993: 119): *Narażenie się na śmierć jest największym paradoksem człowieka wobec śmierci, jest bowiem zupełnym, dogłębnym zaprzeczeniem strachu przed śmiercią[39]*. It can therefore be concluded that the entirety of life threatening ventures taken on by people seems to be in complete opposition of logic and come across as something of a paradox.

Sometimes human departure - death can be seen as salvation, for the dying can suffer from a variety of reasons. Such attitude can lessen the fear. Often, however, an act of extinction of life is associated with anxiety and fear. It is therefore worth considering where it comes from and what its sources are. Psychiatry professor Richard Schulz quotes several reasons, which are the source of the fear of death (See Schulz, 1979):

• The first reason is the suffering associated with the pain of the body - the physical. Often the process of dying is accompanied by pain. Additionally, continuous bed rest and constant pain triggers fear. It is also accompanied by the sense of meaninglessness and lack of hope for improvement.

• The second reason is humiliation. The physical suffering is often related to physiological problems. They cause shame and humiliation in the patient.

• The third reason is related to the changes to the body. Very often the sick suffer from deformations, emaciation, surgeries or change in face or voice. As a result of these

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[39] Translation mine) *Provoking death is the biggest paradox of man towards death, for it is a complete, deep denial of the fear of death.*

changes, the dying person may feel fear and terror. The family who observes the patient may experience the same emotional states.

• The fourth reason is the dependence on others. People are afraid not being able to take action or perform activities on their own.

• The fifth reason for the fear of death is the result of the death of a person for those who remain on earth. The fear here is associated with pain, that will accompany the living, and that they will have to incur costs connected with the funeral ceremony.

• The sixth reason is withholding from very important tasks. Often death occurs suddenly; people die before fulfilling important tasks such as: upbringing children, paying mortgage, etc. Premature death evokes fear in the living relatives.

• The seventh reason is the lack of existence. Emptiness, nothingness, the awareness that a man stops to exist arouses fear. The experience of life without the person who has passed away causes anxiety.

• The eighth and final cause of the fear of death is the penalty for all kinds of sins. Such anxiety can occur predominantly in believers. If they consider their lives to be imperfect and the fact that they hurt others during life, this kind of fear of death may occur.

Thus, the fear of death is something that occurs in human life. Many researchers have already tackled the issue in question, but it is still a problematic subject matter. It is not known to what extent the medical history, experience with the dying, family status or religious beliefs affect anxiety towards death (See Ostrowska 1991). The problem of fear of death includes many unknowns. It is individual for everyone and depends on a number of various factors.

Yet another problem regarding the issue of death is euthanasia. It will be discussed in the next section of this paper.

1.3.5 The desire for death – the issue of euthanasia

One of the major problems of modern society is the issue related to euthanasia. In today's world sacrificing one's life for someone is deemed heroic. While negative opinions are attached to activities that are designed to terminate someone's life. There are

constant debates on the value of human life and the opposition towards the interference in its length. However, it is worth to consider cases of medical conditions that are considered incurable. Is God the only one who can interfere with people's lives? There are plenty of questions related to the problem of euthanasia. Commenting upon it, one must be very careful not to offend one side or the other. At this point of the discussion it is worth emphasizing that the attitude towards euthanasia and in fact a lot of its elements have been formulated by the Christian ideology (See McDougall and Gorman 2008). There are three main arguments opposing euthanasia:

- Human life belongs to God and only he has the right to terminate it.
- People should accept suffering, for it is God's will.
- One needs to remember about the fifth commandment – thou shalt not kill.

In this regard, there are also a lot of questions. If God determines the length of human life and only he can stop it, why apply artificial life support through medical equipment? Pope Pius XII was of the opinion that the physician's task is to alleviate the pain, but not maintain life, which causes pain[40] (See Ostrowska 1991). As for the substance of euthanasia, it can be divided into: active euthanasia on demand or passive. Active euthanasia on demand, is based on: *[...] pozbawieniu życia człowieka w związku z jego wolą, pod wpływem żywionego do niego współczucia[41]* (Wiatr 2013: 141). In contrast, passive euthanasia occurs when a death is the result of giving up treatment, which was to extend the life. If that decision was in line with the will of the patient or at the time of death medical action would not be effective, then the decision about euthanasia can be justified[42]. One can also distinguish active euthanasia not on demand. Its essence is to kill a man without his will and knowledge, for his own good or the family, as well as using the doctrine of double effect. It involves the treatment, which aims to alleviate the continuous symptom, despite the risk of death. The main purpose here is to control the pain, and death is the result, which cannot be excluded[43] (See Wiatr 2013).

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[40] See E. G. Laforet, *The Hopeless Case. Archives of Internal Medicine*, (1963:112).
[41] (Translation mine) depriving one of life according to their will, influenced by compassion.
[42] See A. Zapaśnik, K. de Walden – Gałuszko, Z. Żylicz, *Ogólne zasady leczenia i opieki w daleko zaawansowanym okresie choroby nowotworowej*, (1998:22 – 23), [in] M. Hebanowski, K. de Walden – Gałuszko, Z. Żylicz, *Podstawy opieki paliatywnej w chorobach nowotworowych*.
[43] See A. Zapaśnik, K. de Walden – Gałuszko, Z. Żylicz, *Ogólne zasady leczenia i opieki w daleko zaawansowanym okresie choroby nowotworowej*, (1998:22 – 23), [in] M. Hebanowski, K. de Walden – Gałuszko, Z. Żylicz, *Podstawy opieki paliatywnej w chorobach nowotworowych*.

The most controversial type of euthanasia quoted above is indubitably active euthanasia on demand. There is a very likely risk that it could be subjected to the process of legislation. Providing all the situations in which this law could legally exist is virtually impossible. It should, however, be noted that if euthanasia was sanctioned, its practice would be greatly expanded. Currently, one can see more and more cases of sustaining human life by medical apparatuses. This caused a kind of a gap between the ideas and patterns connected with the act of expiration. The view of a person connected to a device, suffering, unable to communicate raises a lot of questions and observations. Hence, there are voices that want to grant (after appropriate deliberations) the right to people, to speed up the end of their own life, and the suffering (See Cavan 2000).

Another important issue concerning the subject of euthanasia is the strong attitude of some people towards performing (if possible) active euthanasia on demand. The reasons for such ideas, and even desires can be aplenty. One of them is the suffering of the elderly, which results from physical pain, sometimes even from mental health. Here is how one hospice patient justifies her opinion (Wiatr 2013: 141): *Takie jest moje zdanie. Jak to jest, zwierzęta się usypia, a ludzie się muszą do końca męczyć[44]*. In this statement one can find the echoes of fatigue, sadness, loneliness, which to some extent turn into frustration. You can also sense anger, which results from the inability to make decisions about one's own fate. Yet another stationary hospice patient Henry believes that human existence should be terminated when he himself is incapable of handling it. The moment one's life is at someone's mercy it should end: *Człowiek, [...] powinien żyć dotąd, dokąd sobie sam w życiu daje radę. Dokąd nie potrzebuje czyichś łask. Nie być komuś ciężarem. Bo co z tego, że ja żyję, no co z tego?[...] człowiek meczy się, [...] przeżywa, bo on by nie chciał żyć, bo on tylko komuś życie utrudnia* [45](Wiatr 2013:141-142). The statement quoted here is clear that the desire of death in this case stems from a sense of burden for the other person. No one wants to be a liability for someone close. Additionally, no one wants his or her life to be dependent on someone else. On the contrary, one hospice patient Jadwiga believes that *[...] człowiek powinien żyć tak długo, jak długo jest potrzebny sobie i ludziom. [...] powinien tyle żyć, ile jest w stanie coś działać[46]* (Wiatr 2013:142).

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[44] (Translation mine) *We should have euthanasia on demand. This is my opinion. Why can we put down animals, and people must suffer until the end*.

[45] (Translation mine) *A man, [...] should live as long as he can do it on his own. As long as he does not need someone's mercy. Not to be a burden for someone. What does it change if I am alive ? [...] a person suffers, [...] survives, despite he does not want to, he only causes problems for others.*

[46] (Translation mine) A person should live as long as they need themselves and are needed by others [...] they should live as long as they can do something.

The concept of euthanasia, as already mentioned, is a very difficult and complex problem. When commenting upon it, one has to be extremely prudent in order not to offend anyone. A puzzling case, however, is when people who want death, loudly express their views. One can postulate a question in such situation: Are people wishing for death, as was the case with hospice patients, think about their loved ones and their feelings when they express a desire to end their life here on earth? There is no doubt that the answer to this question is difficult. But it is worth considering: Why do completely healthy, elderly people or slightly disabled ones have a death wish? Where do they get the idea from? Once can provide numerous answers to these questions. Such thinking may be to a greater or lesser extent due to the lack of contact with other people, the society. It is not about contact with family, relatives or friends. It is more about the contact with the public and the desire to establish relationships and contact with other people, the desire to meet with them, talk, spend time together and share different insights. Sometimes the death wish can be caused by helplessness, economical problems, or the lack of any care.

Janusz Świtaj was the first person in Poland, who in 2007 issued an application to the court to terminate the therapy which was keeping him alive (See Krzyk, Madeja 2007: 12.13, No. 8/719). In 1993 he experienced a serious motorcycle accident. As a result of this event his spinal cord was crushed and his vertebrae were broken. He saw no opportunities for further life, where he would be a burden to everyone, especially his already elderly parents. His death wish was justified by their ill health. He feared that if one of them dies, or both, no one will be able to look after him (See Krzyk, Madej 2007: 12.13, No. 8/719). Janusz's request touched many people in Poland, who offered to help him and become his friends. With so much happening around him, Janusz stopped thinking about death. He learned about the meaning of life again. In October of that year he was a student of psychology at the University of Silesia. He chose this path and not the other because he wants to help other people.

The aim of the discussion here was to show the essence of the problem of euthanasia. It creates a lot of controversy and gathers both supporters and opponents. Before, however, expressing one's opinion on someone's request or action, one should consider all the reasons for such behavior. Sometimes a death request can be expressed by a person who really suffers physically and mentally, but sometimes a request for euthanasia may be an expression of human helplessness and lack of interest in a given entity of society - as was the case with Janusz Świtaj. It should be emphasized that, society should not be passive towards the issue of euthanasia and requests related to it. Before,

however, any steps are taken to perform euthanasia, each case should be analysed individually and extensively.

1.3.6   Places of death

Death is a phenomenon that is closely associated with a person's place of demise. In the modern world the dying process becomes institutionalized. It is of crucial importance for the person who is dying, where it happens, and more specifically, its organizational structure and the layout. These affect the atmosphere that prevails during this important moment and accompany death itself (See Ostrowska 1991). Death at home or in a hospital is different from each other, but one should not pinpoint the exact boundaries between the passing at home or in the hospital. This is because the place of death may change. Dying at home can have its end in the hospital or the person may be taken home from the hospital and depart there. In this way, there is something referred to as '*przestrzenna płynność*' (spatial fluidity) (Wiatr 2013: 69), which is associated with different places and experiences. The considerations in this part of the work will focus on such places of death as: home, a hospital and a stationary hospice.

One of the places of departure is one's home. It is worth noting that this place cannot strictly prevent hospitals or hospices from helping. They can help the patient by providing: hygienic equipment, anti-decubitus mattresses, physiological care, rehabilitation and around-the-clock assistance. Home is a place where a dying person is usually surrounded by people close to him. He receives support from them, and a twenty-four-seven care. Caring for the dying at home requires a lot of sacrifices from the people who deal with it. These obligations include, among many others: being psychologically prepared, extensive planning and organizational skills, dosing medication, as well as being financially able to purchase all sorts of products: medicines, clothes, cleaning products, food, etc. Home significantly affects the mental state of the dying person. It is worth mentioning that the rejection or acceptance of the awareness of death is important. If a dying person does not accept the state he is in, or that he will leave this world, being at home around relatives might not be of much help (See Wiatr 2013). Passing at home contributes to the fact that the dying is not alone. They are surrounded by relatives and friends, who watch over them and tend to their needs as much as possible. Often the mere presence of another person is reassuring for the person departing from earthly life. Staying at home gives them a sense of security, and sometimes even a peace of mind. Being

among relatives, in a room that they know well, not hospital equipment with a specific smell and the coldness of white rooms can really have an uplifting effect on the dying person. It should also be noted that, the process of dying at home requires specific preparation from the people tending to the sick. It is extremely important for the members of the household to have the right attitude to the dying person, for they must understand the fact that the dying requires a lot of care on their part, both physical and mental. One should also remember, that caring for the dying does require devotion, and learning how to be understanding and patient in order to provide around the clock attention.

Dying at home requires a lot of sacrifice on the part of loved ones who live with the dying. It is necessary, however, because by spending time among relatives, in a homely atmosphere can significantly reduce stress and discomfort associated with death. Being among close ones has a positive impact on the dying. It evokes peace, a sense of security and the ability to say what has not been said before. Passing in the house can greatly affect the strengthening of family ties.

This is not always possible, however, for the dying person to stay at home. One of the places where he/she can be transferred is a hospital. The hospital is an institution that serves many functions such as: rehabilitation, nursing and therapy. It is also a unit that has a hierarchical structure and formalized relationships between the staff (See Ostrowska 1991). The work of the hospital staff is interdependent. The results are the sum of work of many people and they cannot be separated. Experts and specialists of the hospital depend on the support staff, which in terms of the hierarchy is below them. As for the patients, it should be emphasized that hospitals should have an individual approach to each patient and if necessary modify it. They should be flexible and this flexibility must be controlled according to some principles. A death of a person staying in a hospital is a big failure, because the hospital system is aimed at providing help on the road to recovery. It is important, however, to consider the question: Are hospitals appropriate places for a person who is soon to depart? The answer to this question is not easy. It may happen that the family of the dying person cannot handle both physically and mentally, the idea of their dying relative to stay at home. It is worth reiterating that this is a crucial decision, which requires sacrifice. While in the hospital, the patient is provided with twenty-four-seven, modern, specialized and continuous care, which involves diagnosis as well as therapy. Additionally, hospital employees are expected to follow high professional standards, and fulfil the most important goal - to restore the health of patients. For dying patients this objective cannot be realized, therefore, frequently they

stop being a priority of the hospital. They require, not only physical care, but also mental. As for the psyche it is worth considering whether staying in a hospital helps the dying to feel less anxiety towards death? The hospital is a place where the dying cannot see their belongings, rooms and often people with whom they spent their lifetime with. As a result, they may become anxious and suffer from the lack of security against the impending death. The view of ill people, a specific odour and hospital room decor may adversely affect the psyche of a person dying, making him/her question the sense of life. Additionally, patients frequently experience the cold and formal approach of hospital workers. In connection to this, it is worth considering whether the person departing from this life must actually remain in the hospital. There is no doubt that guaranteed, professional medical care will be provided, but their mental state may raise numerous questions. After all, it seems that being in a place that familiar and among loved ones, evokes a lot more positive emotions than the cold and institutionalized walls of a hospital.

The last institution, which will be deliberated upon here, is a stationary hospice. This institution can be defined as a *[...] miejsce pomiędzy domem a szpitalem*[47] (Wiatr 2013: 71). Patients arriving in the hospice are provided with continuous medical and psychological care, but also a home-like atmosphere of kindness and understanding. One crucial benefit of the hospice is its great focus on spiritual and psychological care of the patient, allowing them to openly talk about their fears and phobias, as well as the fear of death itself. Honest conversations about death make the patients understand in their own way and in their own time the condition in which they are (See Wiatr 2013). In hospitals, the ultimate goal is to cure the disease of the patient, while in the hospice the aim is to improve the quality of life of the patient, through, among many others, understanding the disease and maintaining dignity in their last moments. Hospices provide care which is holistic in nature and is based on: medical care, nursing, conversation, prayer, psychotherapy, legal advice, as well as preparing to cope with difficult situations. It should be emphasized that the work of the hospice relies heavily on the mental preparation of the dying. It strives to make death a surprise-free phenomenon full of peace and happiness.

Dying is a very important event in a person's life and in the lives of his relatives. The place he will find himself at the end of his life mainly depends on the financial and psychological predispositions of his and his family. Deciding upon the location requires

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[47] (Translation mine) *a place between home and the hospital.*

extensive considerations. The most favourable places of residence are: home or a hospice, but not all, for various reasons can cope with that. One should also take the psychological aspect into consideration. After all the family may feel remorse connected with not taking care of the dying person and not being with him in the last moments of his life.

Summing up the considerations undertaken in this part of the work, it can be concluded that death is a necessary part of society. In different cultures or communities, it is treated and interpreted differently. Although the phenomenon of death arouses various feelings and emotions, it is inevitable, and each community has its own way of dealing with it. The considerations in this part of the study relate to the following issues:

- The social aspect of death
- Death across the continents
- Death among religious societies
- Fear of death
- The issue of euthanasia
- Places of death

The following conclusions can thus far be made:

- Death is a phenomenon, which is intrinsic in human life much like birth. Today, it is treated with great distance. In pursuit of money, career and a multitude of different things people tend to forget that it is inevitable and can happen at any time of human life. Death is treated by society in many different ways. It can arouse fear, terror, anxiety, or it may be completely forgotten. You may also notice the phenomenon popularizing death, which involves the production of various products, even children's toys, which are based on the essence of dying. Increasingly, it becomes commonplace and no one even notices that death begins to take on a whole new meaning.

- Despite different religions and funeral rites, death is treated with respect across the majority of communities. While we may observe a number of differences within different communities around the world, the core beliefs follow similar principals. A strong element of symbolism and metaphorization is present in most cases, upon bidding farewell to the departed.

- Death is an indispensable part of different religious denominations. Various beliefs perceive it in different ways. It can be soothing, moving on to a new life,

but can also be emptiness, nothingness or endless wandering, which brings pain and fear.

- Death also brings fear. People are simply afraid of leaving the earthly life. The fear of death may be due to various reasons, and it is different for each individual member of society.

- Death is closely related to the phenomenon of euthanasia. This is a problem that affects almost all societies of the modern world. It is impossible to clearly determine whether euthanasia is needed or not. Certainly before it is used, the reasons must be carefully considered. After all, it may turn out that it is an escape from the hardships of everyday life.

- The dying process is closely related to the place where it takes place or is yet to happen. This is a problem that is very complex. After all, one cannot assume in advance whether someone should depart from this world at home or in a hospice. Making a decision about the whereabouts of the dying person depends on the predisposition of the family of the dying as well as himself. However, one must be aware of the consequences brought about by the decision.

1.4 The cultural aspect of death

1.4.1. Death in cinematography

Death is a phenomenon which also has a cultural aspect to it. Although culture can be understood in different ways, it is part of human existence and cannot be detached from the concept of death. One of the places where one can observe it is the art of film. It is very hard to depict death on screen, the reason being that the actors cannot, stop breathing - which always has to be camouflaged in some way (See Lenne, G. 2010). It is much more difficult to show death as the main hero of the film. Modern heroes in order to deserve this title must fight with others, frequently with themselves or to overcome various natural elements, dangers and life threats. A person who wants to be a hero must be cruel, ruthless and tenacious. They must face death and defeat it (See Dyrga, M. 2004). It is interesting, however, to consider how do modern people imagine death as the main character? The phenomenon of death has been in the center of interest for millennia, therefore, the images vary among different cultures and societies. Most often people imagined it as a skeleton with a scythe. Its image over time underwent some

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modifications, with elements such as a black cape and a hood added (See Dyrga, M. 2004). It is worth noting that the art of film rarely uses the personification of death. Frequently the hero brings death upon someone else with a gunshot or a knife stab, etc. Contemporary film productions make use of the devil, vampires, demons, imps, ghosts, but rarely death. However, there are some exceptions and those will be the subjects of discussion in this paper.

One of the films, which shows the personification of death, is the *Meaning of Life* by Monty Python. The film was directed by Terry Gilliam and Terry Jones. Its premiere was held in March 1983. The film shows the traditional image of death, which appears in part seven entitled Death. Death is shown here as a figure who has protruding ribs, dressed in a long black cloak with a hood and a visible ribcage. In addition, he has the indispensable attribute, the scythe. Death depicted in this film has human traits, he even comes to the door of the farmhouse and knocks on them. After the host opens the door, death enters the household and introduces himself with the words: I am the Grim Reaper. Upon seeing the chattering crowd death starts to show impatience, since he came for all of them and they seem to be rather ignorant of his presence. Some of them even behave as if he was not there. One of the guests proposes death a glass of sherry, which makes him very upset and he remarks that Americans talk non-stop without any control. In turn, he describes the English as pompous and overly earnest. By uttering these words, death seems to have knowledge of the characteristics of people he wants to take away. Death also shows another human feature, namely, kindness, as he allows the guests to take the last journey by cars. Finally, in the last scene he appears to be satisfied with himself and starts jumping like a little child (See Dyrga, M. 2004).

Another example of a film, where it plays a major part is *Meet Joe Black*, directed by Martin Brest. Death portrayed in the film is not a traditional vision of the Reaper, whose task is killing people. In here, it is a being from another world, which takes the name Joe Black and the form of a handsome young man who was killed in a car accident and then enters the life of a rich businessman William Parrish. Joe Black shows up in order to take the businessman and at the same time taste human life. The plot focuses on the affirmation of life; all of its unpleasant aspects are secondary. Death learns about life by strengthening ties with William and experiences even the banal activities such as eating peanut butter. He also looks at different human behaviors, tries everyday pleasures, and even falls in love. (See Dyrga, M. 2004). Death here can joke, relieve pain, but also inflict pain and cause fear. Much like a person, he can be loving and keep his word. In

the end, he gives back the boy's body - brings him back to life and allows the daughter of the businessman to engage in a relationship with him. At the end the businessman organizes a party during which he bids farewell to the gathered and leaves the ceremony with death - Joe Black.

The next film in which death is portrayed is *The Final Destination* directed by James Wong. The image of death in this film is quite different than in the productions mentioned above. Death is depicted here as a gust of wind or a group of shadows, and while it does not have any specific form, it has a precise plan. Its aim is to cause a plane to Paris to crash, however, the plan is not completely fulfilled. The reason being, that one of the passengers, has a premonition about a possible explosion on the plane and after causing a scene, is escorted out of the deck together with his friends. As it turns out, the machine does burst into flames closely after take-off and all the passengers and the crewmembers perish. Then death decides to finish the initial plan. At its disposal there is plenty of power and strength. It frequently reminds the heroes of its presence by various actions aimed at terminating their lives. Death in the film dictates the rules of existence, is very cunning, cannot be fooled, has a lot of ideas and is consistent. One by one it kills the existing survivors through overly complex accidents, failing to eradicate only the main character. (See Dyrga, M. 2004). The other parts in the series do not show mysterious death, her strength, and horror. It is just something inevitable and emotionless, compared to its original predecessor.

The examples quoted above would indicate that the contemporary art of film shows death, which manifests human qualities. It feels, behaves and makes decisions in the same way human beings do. Perhaps creating death, which is similar in behavior and even in appearance to people, is a way of getting used to it and not fearing it.

Today, gruesome, scary, intimidating visions of death can be found in one of the genres in particular, namely, horror. From its inception to present day it does not hold a high reputation among critics. Although many claim horrors to be kitsch and to lack any substantial value, they do show the emotions that are hidden deep in the human consciousness (See Majchrzak, P. 2004). These emotions are the basis for the viewer's emotions including fear, which can have numerous faces. One of the most terrifying sensations is the fear of death, and everything unknown. It is depicted by gory images that enhance the anxiety of the unidentified interfering with earthly matters. What form does death take in horror films? Its image can be shown by the supernatural, which is centered around the person of the living dead. It is a living corpse whose physicality or

more specifically, the carnality shows death (See Majchrzak, P. 2004). The motif of the living dead was already present in the nineteenth - century literature of horror, and continued through film, which made it an icon of present culture of terror. It should be noted, however, that such characters as Dracula, The Mummy and Frankenstein evoke laughter rather than fear, however, they are among the classics of film and they have created a basis for the development of today's fearsome, gruesome beings. It is also worth mentioning that modern attempts to film the winning over death, which produces the illusion of a rational approach to the problem, are fairly unconvincing and appear as kitsch. The findings, which are to help people overcome death frequently, oppose their creators. The infantile game of God usually shows no possibility of creating a creature that would be perfect in its eternity. It is worth paying attention to the elements, which in this genre show the reality of death. These are as follows:

• Items remaining after someone's life: crossbones, skulls, and skeletons.

• Places associated with death: dissecting-rooms, cemeteries, tombs, crime scenes

• Items and tools associated with death or inflicting death: crosses, coffins, grave plates, axes, knives, cleavers.

• Animals of prey: rats, flies, worms.

It needs to be stressed that the terror present in horror is built on people's fears regarding death, which are fixed somewhere in our consciousness. The art of film uses them in order to give viewers a visual macabre, unfortunately such imagery often enters the realm of kitsch. Creating fear, which is based on the macabre frequently, entails the film to encompass the elements of grotesque (See Majchrzak, P. 2004).

As trivial as it may sound, the concept of the body as such is also present in the horror genre. The body of a dead person, i.e. a corpse arouses great interest today. The body becomes an object of disgust, fear, but on many occasions awe, hatred or even love (See Thomas 1991). Often in movies, there are also situations in which a person is about to die, yet before that happens the torturer torments their bod by i.e., stabbing, cutting, charring, etc. These psychopathological situations focus on putting as much life into the executioner as possible (See Nowakowski, J. 2004). The art of film also contains the confrontation of dead bodies with the bodies of the living. After all, eternity, immortality and humanity are achieved through objectification. The higher the amount of the macabre carrying strong feelings, and disgust, the more memorable it becomes.

The aim of the considerations in this part of the work was to show the cultural faces of death. Due to the fact that death is closely related to human existence, it

penetrates into its various aspects and elements that are created by people. One example could be the art of film, which shows the miscellaneous creations of death. On many occasions these visions are too gruesome, therefore, instead of calling for reflection they evoke a sense of embarrassment and kitsch.

1.4.2. The art of preserving shadows as a trace of death

Photography is an art that can be interpreted in different ways. For some, it can capture human emotions or life, and for others it may show death. Indubitably, however, it should be stressed that since the inception of photography and the camera, photography has been treated as an art form. One of the people who contributed to the promotion of photography is William Fox Talbot. Because he referred to photography as *the art of preserving shadows* (See Herzog-Majewska, 2006: 12), the shadow of any person or object becomes an image. Is it worth considering the importance of photography with regards to the phenomenon of death? According to Roland Barthes – a highly regarded semiologist and hermeneutician of photographic image, death may be present in a photograph, while still maintaining life (See Barhes 1995). Capturing a deceased person in the photo puts them in some type of an intermediate state, somewhere between the living and the dead. This is a place where death does not exist. After all, it can also affect people who look at the picture of the deceased. Roland Barthes was said to have great respect for human life. His life was not devoid of tragedy, with his mother passing away in 1977. As a result, he wrote his most prominent work on photography between 1977 and 1979. Writing for him was a kind of therapy after the loss of his mother. His most valuable photograph shows him and his mother from his childhood, which was made in 1898 and was called the Greenhouse[48]. As claimed by Barthes, he finds the essence of his deceased mother in this photograph (See Pąkowska, B. 2004). When experiencing mourning through photographs he goes on a kind of journey into the past; the point of reference being the photo of his birth giver. According to Barthes, the fact that photography is a still image allows for deeper considerations. Barthes sees hope in the photo, which distances him from the phenomenon of death. This is due to the fact that the photograph often reveals those who have departed. Consequently, the deceased are more present among the living. Photography makes the deceased metaphorically present in the

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[48] See S. Jasiński, *Rolanda Barthesa uwagi o fotografii,*
http://www.woak.torun.pl/index.php?aid=12962174674d42b57b7c7fa, (08.12.2013).

world of the living recipient. According to Barthes colour photography seems to be inauthentic, therefore, he favours black and white photography, which seems to make everything more real[49]. It is also important to emphasize that the photograph should include an explanation, simply because it is unable to describe exactly what it presents. It also requires reflection and distance, which are scarce in modern society. This results from the fact that the world is bombarded by a huge number of images that are taken almost every day. People forget what should be the main essence of taking pictures; what counts today is where a person was, not what they saw[50]. It is also worth mentioning that a single photograph cannot give up the personality of the deceased, each photo shows one trait of an individual (See Pąkowska, B. 2004).

Roland Barthes described the two elements of the images, which are characterized by different rules of reception. One of them is *the studium* (See Pąkowska, B. 2004) being a conscious awareness of interest affected by culture and good manners. The studium influences the interest of people in photographs, as well as their perception of them. Using culture one is able to distinguish various gestures, realities and faces. The second component, which was mentioned, was *the punctum* (See Pąkowska, B. 2004) a metaphorical wound that a person receives. *Punctum* finds an individual and inflicts a wound upon him; it is present between the photograph and the viewer. The punctum can only hurt a person if there exists sensitivity towards the image. Each person can be affected differently by the punctum, because for each individual, the person in the photograph may relate to different spheres of life of the viewer. Another important element in our life is family photography. According to Jan Kurowicki (1999: 107), family photography is a personal mythology. People, places, and objects present in the photos acquire a sacred dimension. As a result, a personal sacred space is formed with subjective characteristics. Back in the day, society nurtured memories, they were immortal much like the object which expressed death. Today, however, people tend to ignore these values. Photography on the one hand is the evocation of persons or places that no longer exist, and on the other hand the individual/location in it really existed.

Upon discussing the nature of photography and its relation to death, however, it is worth to mention yet another important issue. Indeed, in the modern world death is

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[49] See S. Jasiński, *Rolanda Barthesa uwagi o fotografii,*
http://www.woak.torun.pl/index.php?aid=12962174674d42b57b7c7fa, (08.12.2013).
[50] See S. Jasiński, *Rolanda Barthesa uwagi o fotografii,*
http://www.woak.torun.pl/index.php?aid=12962174674d42b57b7c7fa, (08.12.2013).

present everywhere: in the streets, in shops, in homes that is in various areas of human life. One of the people who capture death by means of photography is Diego Levy – an Argentinian photographer working in Latin America. Death and blood are a commonplace in this part of the world, carrying no stigma or taboo as in other countries. Through the medium of his pictures, he shows the world the true life in Latin America (See Surmiak - Domańska 2007). He focuses on the promenades, where several bodies can be seen on a daily basis, despite it being rife with wandering tourists. His pictures have appeared in various magazines around the world and while their publication is not easy, they do surface. Levy's photos show death, however, by shooting it he wants to draw the world's attention to the fact that death in Latin America, is present everywhere and is far from shocking (See Surmiak - Domańska 2007). Photos of the Argentinian photographer are compelling for various reasons, one of them is that he resides in a district where death is commonplace and can literally happen next door.

In summary, the considerations in this part of the study were to show that photography is an art form, which can capture death. Indeed, using photography one can in some way seize the existence of a deceased person. Photography can somehow help you overcome the pain of losing a loved one, because thanks to it one can feel the presence of the person who is gone. Photographing death can also draw attention to the problem of violence or inequality, so prevalent in different corners of the modern world. Last but not least, it is worth mentioning, that the world today is besieged by millions of images, which due to their mass nature, frequently lose the true meaning and essence.

1.4.3. Death in literature

Death is one of the motifs, which has repeatedly been undertaken by literature. After all, it stems from the fact that death is an issue, which has puzzled individuals of different backgrounds, from philosophers to average people. Death is a mystery, which requires enormous effort to grasp and it is in fact almost impossible. Death shown in past literature is different in many respects, compared to its contemporary image. Today it manages to morph and camouflage itself much more effectively than before. It frequently takes the form of an ordinary man and is no longer a skeleton dressed in black carrying a scythe. Death today can be anything from a policeman to old wine or a freezer (See Carroll 2001).

Today, death does not always bring happiness, nor deliverance. Often it causes fear among people and changes their lives completely. Such literary image of death can be found in Jonathan Carroll, an American writer who lives in Vienna and is preoccupied with the motif of death. Most of his books, contain elements of death, which is why they are often called *deadly page-turners* (See Varga 1995). The characters created by the writer die in strange circumstances, e.g. Due to laughter or brain cancer, contracted from the wife. In one of his novels entitled *From the Teeth of Angels*, Jonathan Carroll shows death in such a manner as he sees it himself. One of the characters in the novel is Ian McGann, who in his sleep talks to death impersonating his late friend Larry. Ian can ask death questions that relate to dying, but he must understand the reply. Every time the answer is incomprehensible scars – stigmata appear on his body. Eventually, the main character is able to grasp the knowledge passed on by the reaper with all his wounds becoming smaller. Paradoxically when it seems he has beaten death, Ian unexpectedly dies.

Yet another hero from Carroll's novel is Wyatt Leonard, who received the opportunity to talk with death. This is a character that was the creator of the famous program intended for children and who is struggling with a deadly disease - leukemia. At some point in his life he agrees with death and decides to explore it more deeply. In order to hide his fear, he decides to purchase a mask. Death appears before him as a policeman, which allows him to ask questions about dying. Initially, he does not agree with this proposal, however, he soon decides to meet one more time. Shortly after it comes again in the form of his friend Phil Strayhorn. Wyatt beats death by solving all its riddles and receives the gift of distinguishing the identity of the deceased in nameless graves (See Puchowska, K. 2004).

Another character is Arlen Ford – an actress who at the height of fame gave up her career. She left Hollywood and permanently settled in Vienna. The reason for this decision was fatigue, loneliness, and the feeling of ever-growing emptiness. She decided to come to Europe to begin a new stage in her life. After some time, she meets Lelend Zivic – a photojournalist, a man she has been waiting for all her life. From that moment her whole life is filled with love and care for Leland. She does not stop loving him even when he tells her that he is infected with HIV. On the contrary, her love becomes even stronger. For Arlen, Leland is a man of extraordinary personality, he enchants her and then destroys everything she had and loved. The man turns out to be death. He deprives her of everything, everything that mattered to her and had value, e.g. poisoning her dog

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or giving her a diary that belonged to her mother - thus destroying what Arlen thought was a perfect relationship. Moreover, after some time, Arlen learns that her close friend was beaten by her former partner. What is interesting, however, is how the woman finds out who her beloved really is. When she is ready to sacrifice her health and give herself to him fully, he shows her a picture of how she might look like in the future – she has AIDS, and is slowly dying as a result of the disease.

Death in Carroll's novels is frequently personified. It appears as a policeman, a friend, a lover. It is extremely tricky and cunning in order to obtain the confidence of the characters it tries to talk to them and even gives them the opportunity to ask questions about dying. Death plays the role of a tempter who wants people to learn secrets, yet in return sends them to hell after passing away (See Puchowska, K. 2004). Much like people death has its antipathies and sympathies, which is why it is so cruel to Arlen and treats everyone in the novel differently. Arlen is the least favourite, hence the pain inflicted is much greater than in the case of others. She loses everything she has loved and made her happy. In his novel, Carroll points out that death can be fooled to some extent; one must simply forget about it in order to eliminate the fear. Death cannot take away the joy of life; man does not have to agonize about what happens to him in the future.

In his *From the Teeth of Angels* the American writer shows death, which has evolved. It has a human form, which makes it even more cunning. It also has emotions, however, they are negative such as anger, fury or hatred. In turn, positive emotions are faked (See Puchowska, K. 2004). It is versatile, not only depriving of life, but also performing human activities. Death is also characterized by volatility, which makes it change its actions adjusting to the circumstances.

Yet another image of death considered in this work is present in the literary depiction of gulags. Writing about death, which was present in the camps poses great difficulty, for in order to understand its meaning one would have to experience such extremes oneself (See Sucharski, T. 2004). Those who lived in these places have long since departed; therefore, humanity will never fully learn the essence of how life and death looked like there. The only glimpse that was left of those places are the testimonials of a small number of people who survived, however insufficient they may seem. Therefore, it verges upon impossible to create the complete picture of these horrific times using the available data. One of the authors, who describe death in the camps, is Varlam Shalamov. He is the author of the acclaimed *Kolyma Tales*, which depict everyday life in the camps, including death. The whole compilation contains only one story, which has

the word death in its title, namely, *the first death.* In the story the author does not describe the process of dying, but the death of a free person killed because of jealousy of a uniformed man. Only two stories in Shalamov's collection very accurately show the essence of death. One of them is *the Seraphin*, which shows the suicide of a man who works in the gulag. Because he is incapable of living in this place he decides to take his own life. The second story is *Sherry Brandy* depicting the death of Osip Mandelstam, a famous poet and a keen believer in immortality and freedom. His physical death personifies immortality, the victory against imprisonment. It is also worth emphasizing that in the camp literature, it is important to pay attention to the death of the individual, rather than that of all (See Sucharski, T. 2004). Another story is entitled *The Last Battle of Major Pugachev*, in which the title character commits suicide. He is trying to escape from the camp, but is pursued by the guards. With no way out of this situation, he decides to shoot himself in the mouth, thus ending his life in the gulag. Death in Shalamov's stories turns out to be omnipresent, lurking behind a tree, hiding in the food pot or shimmering like gold between river stones. Its breath can be found in the threats of guards, or curses of people in the mortuary. Another and perhaps the most important place where you can find death is inside a man, especially in the fear just before falling asleep (See Sucharski, T. 2004). Death is present everywhere, every place can be marked by its presence.

Much like other artists describing the reality of gulags, Shalamov does not describe death in detail. There is a brief mention of it, which may appear unexpected for the reader. Therefore, one can pose a question: Why do works that relate to the deadly reality of gulags contain so few descriptions of death? The answer to this question turns out to be not so simple. One reason for sparing descriptions of death may be that during the process of dying a person can present a clearer image of it through contractions, gestures, looks, facial expressions; elements far more powerful than words (See Sucharski, T. 2004).

Another piece that depicts death camps is *A World Apart* by Gustav Herling - Grudzinski. Much like other works on this subject, Gustav's masterpiece contains a rather scarce number of death descriptions. *A World Apart* brings back faith in humanity, not forgotten even with prevailing inhuman conditions. The novel is divided into two parts, which describe the prison, various methods of interrogation of prisoners working in the camps and the living conditions. The question of the psychological situation of prisoners and their so-called rehabilitation, which takes place through work, is also of great

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importance. The issue, which is emphasized by the author is the fact that even in extreme situations or conditions basic moral principles should be obeyed. In one of the chapters, namely *Nightfall*, the author describes the prisoners' fear of death and dying in the camps (See Sucharski, T. 2004). In his work Herling - Grudzinski describes the ability to sacrifice one's own life for universal values. Two of the heroes who did it are Mikhail Kostylev and Yevgeny Feodorovna. The first consciously had his hand burnt to save his humanity through suffering, refusing to work for the perpetrators. His struggle and resistance became the cause of his departure from earthly life. To prevent his departure to Kolyma camp, Mikhail poured boiling water on himself and died in agony, not for a moment giving up his rebellious stance. It is worth emphasizing that his decision to rebel against the oppressors was gradual. At the beginning he worked like the others, however, after analysing his life, Mikhail decided to face his perpetrators in an effort to defend his own life. Kostylev is a hero who chose death and voluntary martyrdom in order to save his life and the values that were important to him. His actions prove that one can question fate (See Sucharski, T. 2004). Yet another hero who chose to die to save her humanity was the already mentioned Yevgeny Feodorovna, the nurse, who died during childbirth, thereby giving life to her beloved child. Upon describing Kostylev and Feodorovna, Herling - Grudzinski does not mention their agony, their last moments, words or comments of other prisoners, it focuses mainly on their camp experiences. The death of the two characters is a praise of life, which is associated with a spiritual resurrection.

It is also worth noting that human existence in the gulag was treated as death, regardless of the sentence the person was given, death was inevitable. The prison barracks is the place from which everyone wants to escape[51] (See Sucharski, T. 2004). During the day, the prisoners tried not to think about their fate and the fact that they may soon die. Their thoughts were suppressed by constant hunger, hard work, as well as the longing for family. However, in the evening the thoughts returned with vengeance, reaching the climax just before sleep. In this way Gustav Herling - Grudzinski (1994:196) shows night fears in A World Apart: *Każdy więzień zasypiał codziennie z myślą, że śmierć zaskoczy go właśnie tej nocy we śnie. Bał się tego zaskoczenia. Bał się umrzeć, nie wiedząc, kiedy,*

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[51] See G. Herling – Grudziński, *Inny świat*, (1994:200).

jak i na co umiera[52]. The author himself experienced several months in the camp, hence in his work he takes on the issue of the mental state of prisoners so accurately, calling it the agony of anticipation.

Death in the gulags was frequently an unexpected experience. While in most cases it was imminent, no one knew when it will happen - whether during the day, night, or maybe in a few days. Death was very close to people, the only wish was to survive the next day (See Sucharski, T. 2004). Despite the fact that in the camp people lived in a community, shared meals, worked and slept with a dozen people, they died alone. Seeing someone beside you dying, was just as terrifying as the thought of one's own death. Everyone who has seen the body of a dead person being carried away, felt the bitterness and anxiety that he might be the next person.

Upon describing the nature of death in the camp, it is essential to consider one more important issue. Namely, the fact that it was characterized by anonymity. The prisoners knew their names, but it did not protect them from oblivion. People did not know where their dead comrades were placed, and even where they would be buried. The most painful fact was that none of their acquaintances, friends and family members would know about their death, and about where they were buried. The Soviet camps devoid the prisoners of the privileges associated with death, mostly transparency. The gulags also deprived the people of the need to remain in the memories of others.

The subject of death as already mentioned, has frequently been undertaken by various artists. One of them is the Marek Edelman, one of the leaders of the Warsaw Uprising, who raises the problem of death in his relationships. One of the short stories of Edelman, which touches upon the subject in question, is *the Ghetto fights. The involvement of Bund in the defense of the Warsaw Ghetto* - the first literary piece written after the war in 1945, which is characterized by the diversity of style, as well as a dry and earnest tone. The words used by Edelman are characterized by solemnity, restraint, an accurate selection. The author frequently makes use of the present tense, the reason being, that these events are characterized by actuality, not distance. The present tense is also used in descriptions of death such as: […] *Ludzie mrą setkami. [...] Chociaż do jednego grobu wrzuca się po pięćset trupów, setki leżą nie pochowane po kilka dni, spowijając*

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[52] (Translation mine) *Every prisoner fell asleep every day with the thought that death will surprise them that night in his sleep. They were afraid of such surprise. They were afraid to die, not knowing when, how and of what.*

cały cmentarz w mdły, słodkawy zapach[53] *[...]*[54] (See Mąka, K. 2004). By using such grammatical tense, the issue of death is constantly present. Edelman in his story here sets a clear difference between death during transports and death during struggle, in battle – an honourable death. In turn, suicidal death is a sign of rebellion and defiance, becoming a manifestation of courage.

Yet another piece devoted to the subject of death is *Shielding the Flame* (1977) by Hannah Krall. It is based on an extensive interview with Mark Edelman. The conversation covers the issue of an honourable and dishonourable death among many others. What was happening in 1943 that is during the Uprising was subject to choosing the way of passing – death. According to Edelman people could die only upon agitating others to fight (See Mąka, K. 2004). In his conversation with Kral, Edelman postulates that it was easier for rebels to die rather than for the ones who went on the train car, and later dug a hole, undressed and awaited death[55]. *Shielding the Flame* draws one more important conclusion on death, and that is when a man gets to know death, he then becomes more responsible for life. The slightest possibility of life becomes crucial. Much like in the aforementioned novel by Gustav Herling, in this one, the death of an individual affects others more than the death of multitudes. While it may seem preposterous whereby a single death (i.e. a death of a child) is more impactful than the death of masses, yet the latter only represents typicality and repetitiveness, while the former symbolizes extraordinariness and individuality (See Leociak 1997).

In the consideration on the masterpieces of Mark Edelman, one needs to note one more element, and that is the fact that in the ghetto the order of existence is reversed, i.e. the death of starvation becomes commonplace and normal, while death of natural causes verges upon extraordinary. The body of the deceased was usually left on the street and covered with newspapers. The sheer number of the dead was so large that it was impossible from a logistical point of view, to organize funerals and dig graves for everyone. As a result, seeing death in the ghetto soon stopped to make an impression on the inhabitants, becoming an everyday, repetitive and eventually habitual occurrence. All people living in the ghetto were consequently accompanied by fear - as noted by Marek

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[53] (Translation mine) *[...] People are dying in hundreds [...] Although one grave can be occupied by up to fifty bodies, hundreds lie around unburied, covering the whole cemetery with a bland, swetish odour [...]*
[54] See M. Edelman, *Getto walczy. Udział Bundu w obronie getta warszawskiego* [in] W. Bartoszwski, M. Edelman, *Żydzi Warszawy 1939 – 1943*, (1993:123 – 124).
[55] See H. Krall, *Zdążyć przed Panem Bogiem*, (1992:46).

Edelman in his memoirs. Life in the ghetto gave just a semblance of normality, as a consequence of the ever present fear. People experienced extreme situations or were direct witnesses. On the pages of his memoirs Edelman shows suicide as a private death (See Mąka 2004). Sometimes it turns out to be a choice. A gun or cyanide are the last chance for a dignified or peaceful death - paradoxically identifying with a natural one. Life becomes a really important value for Edelman. The presence of death made the fight for moral values much more powerful. During the Holocaust natural death was almost something good; fear, on the other hand results in painful death. In places like the ghetto death is everywhere. Committing suicide, contributes to the feeling of tranquility. One crucial element mentioned in the above stories is that civilization, culture and theology reveal their weakness when it comes to the Holocaust.

The issue of death has often been and will still be raised by many artists in the literary field. This is a phenomenon that touches on many topics and frequently generates controversy. The image of death shown in literature can frequently surprise the readers on many different levels. To some extent it depends on the creator's vision of death as to how the reader will perceive its image on the basis of the work.

To conclude the reflections on death, one should remember that the issue of death is permanently present in the global culture. Indeed, death can and frequently touches upon its various aspects. All the examples presented above show that the phenomenon of death can discover its meaning, in film, photography or literature. The conclusions that can be drawn from these particular branches are as follows:

- The art of film depicts death in its various creations. The modern image of death is significantly different from what was formerly portrayed. Currently, death can take the form of a beautiful woman or a man, which would be unacceptable previously. Showing the image of death in this way may stem from the fact that for the contemporary viewer such vision appears to be more convincing than a skeleton dressed in a black robe, which to some extent borders on sarcasm.

- Another conclusion which can be drawn from the considerations made in this work is that photography is a kind of self-therapy for people who have lost their loved ones. Photography becomes a memory of the deceased. Photographs frequently lessen the pain for in a way they make the deceased still present. The essence of this art is the fact that it touches upon the most sensitive spheres of

human existence including the issue of death, hence becoming extremely important for humans.

- The issue of death is also the subject of literature. Countless writers deliberate upon this phenomenon on the pages of their work. The image of death in literature largely depends on the vision of the creator. Since death can be very cunning and strives to annihilate a given entity at any price – it often acquires human characteristics. It is also used to show the history of mankind. Death exhibits cruelty, fear, pain, and suffering very pointedly showing people their dependence on it. As a result, it instils in them a greater respect for life and moral principles.

To sum up the considerations made in this part of the study it can be concluded that death is an issue that applies to many different aspects, issues and attitudes. The aim of the considerations made here was to show the historical, social and cultural aspects of death. After all these aspects, as already mentioned are unquestionably connected to each other on many different levels. It was also to demonstrate the fact that the issue of death played and continues to play an important role in human existence. Indeed, it appears to play a crucial role in various stages of human life. At the beginning of this work a question was postulated, namely: What exactly is death? All in all, it is worth stressing that, due to the different aspects of its characterization it verges upon the impossible to give a definitive answer. First a short outline of the major philosophical views on death was provided. Then an attempt was made to characterize death in terms of various non-scientific fields and scientific disciplines. Further subchapters were to characterize the issue of death in terms of those already mentioned fields of study. The first was the historical take on the phenomenon of death. The main objective raised here was to show that over the centuries there were various approaches to death, which stems from its various aspects and variability. The issues discussed in this part of work pertained to elements such as attitudes towards death, funeral rites, as well as allegorical interpretations of death. It should be emphasized that the importance of these elements was partly or completely changed over the centuries.

The second aspect of death that was tackled in this study was the social one. The focus of this part was to show different attitudes towards death, the ways in which it is understood and the feelings it arouses. Some other issues that were considered pertained to the perception and understanding of death across the continents, by various religious communities, concerns about death, the problem of euthanasia and the places dying. It is

worth noting that the social take on death has a very wide range. The main objective of these considerations was to show that, in terms of this issue death has a profound impact on human life. Death is connected with emotions and making difficult decisions, but also with the realization that it is a necessary part of society and it is worth considering a number of issues concerning the life and death of another person.

The last part pertained to the presence of death in culture, especially in the fields of cinematography, photography and literature. The message that emerges from this part of the discussion relates to the fact that the characteristics of death in these three issues are very different. The reasons for this can be seen everywhere, it may depend on individual experiences, their own interpretation of death and trying to adjust to the modern audience.

CHAPTER 2
THE SCOPE OF THE EUPHEMIZATION PROCESS AND ITS
SOCIOLINGUISTIC RAMIFICATIONS

2.1 Towards the definition of euphemization and related linguistic devices: Historical background

The aim of this initial subchapter is to focus the readers' attention on the phenomenon of language manipulation, with special emphasis on the process of euphemization and related processes. Its intention also lies in the cross analysis of these processes and the way in which their application may alter the message or the shape and the complexity of a given euphemism. Note that the scope and the abstruseness of euphemization stems from the sheer amount of similar mechanisms that it exploits to convey its message. Although this is mainly a referential and explanatory chapter, its goal is not merely to define the above mentioned terms, but to establish a strong basis and a sense of direction for the next sections.

While the main focus of this study is the concept of metaphor, in this particular field, the vast majority of metaphorical mappings extracted from Polish and English obituaries are dualistic in nature, acting as both metaphors and euphemisms. While these two concepts frequently overlap, the motivation behind each of the linguistic devices is different. In case of DEATH, however, it seems that most expressions across both English and Polish not only conceptualize the act of dying in terms of a set of universal source domains, such as: JOURNEY, SLEEP or RELEASE, but also aim at alleviating the pain associated with passing away and obfuscating what is still seen by many as a taboo.

Although the term **euphemism** and the process of **euphemization** appear to be well defined in both linguistic and sociolinguistic sources, there are still numerous variations that stem from the sheer scope of this phenomena and its stratification. The word euphemism *[...] derives from the Greek words*[56] *eu meaning well, and pheme, meaning speak* (Parsons 2004:112)[57]. *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that the word was first used somewhere in the 1650s and it was then supposed to refer to a *[...] figure of*

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[56] The original greek spelling is *εὐφημίζειν*.
[57] To suplement the etymological background of euphemization, one may quote Partridge (2006:1003) who claims that the verb to euphemize *[...] comes from Gr euphēmizein, to use terms of good omen, to speak favourably* and that the *[...] derivative euphēmismos becomes euphemism, whence the anl E formation euphemistic*

speech which consists in the substitution of a word or expression of comparatively favourable implication or less unpleasant associations, instead of the harsher or more offensive one that would more precisely designate what is intended. Its more contemporary meaning, namely *[…] a less distasteful word or phrase used as a substitute for something harsher or more offensive* came into use at the end of the 18[th][58] century, although it is reported to have been used earlier in a slightly different context.[59] Despite the fact that the use of euphemism is a fairly recent development in English, its historical roots date back to the Ancient times of European civilization. The potency of this phenomenon has long been appreciated in many cultures and exploited on a regular basis to avoid taboos and other unwanted topics. Bible translators have for many years claimed the "Word of God" to be abundant in euphemistic expressions and in ancient Greece they were used as a form of *[…] superstitious avoidance of words of ill-omen during religious ceremonies […]* (*OED* 2010). Dąbrowska (2009:11) states that *[…] powody zabraniające używania danych wyrazów lub zwrotów wiązały się przede wszystkim z zakazami religijnymi, na co wskazywać by mogło etymologiczne znaczenie wyrazu tabu (chodzi o zawierające się w nim znaczenia 'święty' i 'zakazany'), pochodzące z języków polinezyjskich.*[60] It seems that *[…] some topics and some particular words are subject to taboo in various societies […]* since *[…] their use might antagonize a spirit or some other supernatural being […]* as well as, because of the *[…] respect for a god or monarch that they do not want the name profaned* (Blake 2010:250). Euphemization is there *[…] to shield a speaker from the consequences of giving offence* […] ergo *[…] all languages have euphemisms […]* (Allan and Burridge 1991:1) making it non-language-specific and non-culture-specific. It appears that *[…] euphemisms have existed throughout recorded history; they are used among preliterate peoples, and have probably been around ever since recognizably human language developed* (Allan and Burridge 1991:1). From sexual intercourse and religious superstition to war and dying, euphemisms exist for every sort of subject one can imagine and every kind of communication act (See Enright 2005).

     OALD[61] defines euphemism as *an indirect word or phrase that people often use to refer to something embarrassing or unpleasant, sometimes to make it seem more*

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[58] For examples, see *OED 2009.*
[59] Enright (1985:13) notes that *the word euphemism is first recorded in English in Thomas Blount's Glossographia (1656), where it is defined as 'a good or favourable interpretation of a bad word'*.
[60] The reasons for the prohibition of certain terms and expressions result from religious imperatives, which points to the etymological meaning of taboo (it contains two meanings, namely 'saint' and 'forbidden') originating from Polynesian languages (Translation mine).
[61] Taken from the 8th edition (2010).

acceptable than it really is. What is important, however, is to identify the basic features of this phenomenon by comparing various approaches and conceptions. Doing so will not only result in a better understanding of the term, but it will also reveal the complexity and the variations within the term itself. One way of analyzing euphemization is to portray it simply as the use of *[...] mild, agreeable phrases substituted for one thought to be offensive or harsh [...]* (Rozakis 1999:113), but also as the avoidance of *[...] the harshness conveyed by a plain expression [...]* using its *[...] softened mode* (Hiley 2008:31). Frequently, euphemisms are used to disguise *[...] a direct idea* (George 2007:413), to talk indirectly about *[...] death and killing, disease, sexual activity, dishonesty, drunkenness, nakedness, fatness, ugliness, old, age, madness – in short, anything that we are ashamed of [...]* (Ayto 2000:1), or as poetically and comically noted by Rees (2006:v) to make an effort of *[...] not calling a spade a spade*. Another trend and approach that will prove valuable in this analysis will be to define the term from a cross-linguistic standpoint, the reason being, its history and occurrence is likely[62] to vary among various cultures and languages. Polish language is opulent in euphemistic expression and evasive language has been an intrinsic part of it for the past few centuries. In her brilliant record of Polish euphemisms entitled *Słownik Eufemizmów Polskich*, Anna Dąbrowska (2009:11) defines euphemization in this way:

> *Można powiedzieć, że eufemizm jest odpowiedzią języka na tabu (językowe), czyli istniejący w danym społeczeństwie zakaz wypowiadania pewnych sformułowań [...] A skoro pewnych wyrazów wypowiedzieć z jakiegoś powodu nie wolni, a o danym zjawisku mówić trzeba lub ma się na to ochotę, w miejsce zakazanych stosuje się określenia zastępcze, nie łamiące tabu, czyli właśnie eufemizmy [...] Eufemizm jest zatem zjawiskiem językowym, którego przyczyny pojawiania się są pozajęzykowe. Jest on zastępczą nazwą jakiegoś zjawiska, stosowaną zamiast nazwy wprost, która nie może być użyta, ponieważ skojarzenia z nią związane są negatywne. Określenie eufemistyczne powinni natomiast wzbudzać pozytywne (lub neutralne) konotacje.* [63]

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[62] The variation stems from a number of reasons, these can be social, political or religious, hence the differences.

[63] It can be said, that a euphemism is a response of the language to a taboo (linguistic), which is a prohibition of uttering certain expressions in certain communities […] Since some words cannot be uttered for whatever reason, and some phenomena demand to be discussed or there is a willingness to do it, to replace the forbidden one uses substitutes which do not break taboos, namely euphemisms […] Euphemization is, therefore a linguistic phenomenon, with extralinguistic reasons for appearance. It is a substitute to name something, used instead of a direct name, which cannot be used, because the connotations that it carries are negative. A euphemistic expression should have positive (or neutral) connotations (Translation mine)

Mechanisms that are the driving forces behind euphemisms are aplenty and diverse. From a semantic point of view, we can enumerate five basic ways in which new euphemisms are created. First of all, the euphemistic terms might be borrowed from other languages, e.g. using Latin words for everyday activities that can be classified as unmentionables, such as defecation, urination or intercourse. The second way is that by means of widening the meaning of a given lexeme e.g. *social disease* for 'syphilis'. The third mechanism for euphemism creation is semantic shift, with examples such as rear for buttocks. Metaphorical transfer is yet another way in which new euphemisms can be forged, with plenty of examples within the canvas of this very work. Last but not least, one can utilize phonetic distortion in order to produce new euphemistic expressions, with a few devices to choose from, including abbreviation, apocopation, initiating, back-formation or reduplication to name the most common ones[64].

A process that is contrary to euphemization is often referred to as **dysphemization** and while the former aims at hiding the negative and the painful, the latter is *[...] often used with and outright intention to mock, humiliate or stigmatise* (Kudła 2012:90).

Another issue that needs to be mentioned is the juxtaposition of euphemization with other linguistic phenomena. The reason for doing so, is because terms such as **jargon**, **slang**, **metaphor**, **buzzword, taboo**, **political correctness**, **propaganda**, **circumlocution**, **doublespeak**, **evasion**, **genteelism**, **neologism**, **Newspeak**, **periphrasis**, **weasel words** and **synonymy**, are not only related to the process of euphemization, but they are intrinsically and inextricably linked with each other, with one phenomena using elements of the other on a regular basis.

Since taboos were the original stimulus for euphemism creation, it is essential to consider its relevance and importance while analyzing euphemization. *OED* defines it as *a total or partial prohibition of the use of certain words, expressions, topics, etc., esp. in social intercourse*. As accurately pointed out by Bussmann (2006:1173) because of its intrinsic capacity for causing social embarrassment and insult it *[...] is usually replaced by a euphemism*. Although its original meaning stems from religious awe and fear for divine retribution, it has since transgressed those initial boundaries to encompass ethical and social issues, from homosexual marriages and adoption rights to ethnic cleansing and euthanasia. Taboo appears to be *[...] the oldest human unwritten code of laws*, and despite the fact that people stopped believing in demons, evil spirits and pagan deity hundreds of

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[64] Examples borrowed from Pan (2013)

years ago, most of them *still [...] obey taboos just as strictly as savages obey the communal taboos of their tribe or society* (Freud 2004:30).

Jargon and euphemization share numerous similarities, the main two being the intention of use and the latter being the precisely selected vocabulary items. Bussmann (2006:607) defines jargon as the [...] *Language which is inaccessible to non-specialists. Jargon entails an extended and terminologically normalized vocabulary, and correspondingly different uses of morphological rules, e.g. compounds, special prefixed forms, foreign words, technical terms, **metaphor** are characteristic of jargon*. He goes on to discuss its application and features in different spheres of everyday experience as well as its introduction into general language including [...] ***slang*** *or advertising language*.[65] Trask (2007:89) supplements this definition by adding that many social phenomena (sex, death, etc.) including *[...] the jargon of intimate groups are areas of overlexicalized* ***euphemism***.

Next term that is essential and related to the phenomenon of euphemism is synonymy. Defined by *OALD 2010* as *[...] a word or expression that has the same or nearly the same meaning as another in the same language*. Despite the fact that there is no mutual relation between the two phenomenon, it can be said that when using euphemisms people intentionally avoid taboos by exchanging the direct names for indirect ones, hence using a form of synonymy (See. Dąbrowska 2009). Euphemisms just like synonyms are a way of alternative naming.

When discussing evasive language and verbal manipulation, one may not ignore the undisputed role of propaganda, both in its political dimension, but also within the social structures it operates in. Propaganda and the ideology behind it, date back to the earliest times of human civilization and has long been exploited to manipulate individuals and whole communities (See Pratkanis, A. and E. Aronson 2001). Much like **euphemism** it *[...] was always associated with lies and falsehood* with many people regarding it as *[...] politically dangerous and even morally unacceptable.* In its most basic form, *[...] propaganda is the dissemination of ideas intended to convince people to think and act in a particular way and for a particular persuasive purpose* (Cull *et al.* 2003:xvii).

The prime culprit of the contemporary language in spheres like academics, marketing, politics, etc. are indubitably buzzwords. Enright (2005:13) defines buzzword as *a technical word or phrase, often a **neologism**, that has become fashionable; can be*

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[65] Bolded italics are mine.

used *euphemistically*. *EE (*2010) supplements this definition by adding that they are *[…] often associated with a specific group of people and* **not understood by outsiders** *(slang/**jargon***)*. Although not all of them may be categorized as euphemisms, the vast majority serves the purpose of using sophisticated synonyms for basic ideas (*sustainability, enhancement, protocol, process*, etc.).

The attention and the fascination that the manipulation and deceit within the language spectrum have been subjected to over the past few decades would have been practically non-existent if it had not been for Newspeak, the fictional language in George Orwell's 1984 that can be equated *with […]* **doublespeak** *and the kind of* **politically correct** *terminology used in* **propaganda** (Enright 2005:14). It is also *[…] language that is ambiguous and designed to conceal the truth, especially that sometimes used by bureaucrats and* **propagandists** (*EE* 2010). Although his vision seems to be somewhat exaggerated, it did, however, in many ways defined the direction in which the world is heading, both from social and linguistic standpoints.

When it comes to deceptive and dishonest language, slang always holds the worst reputation. Most people despise it and some linguist tend to disregard it as a potent social phenomenon. Yet, slang exists and its position within the community is stronger than ever, with variations, the scope of which are impossible to estimate. Lighter (1994:xi) describes it as *[…] informal, nonstandard, nontechnical vocabulary composed chiefly of novel-sounding* **synonyms** *for standard words and phrases.*[66] Since slang is clearly an informal variety of language, its application in formal contexts and settings is highly unlikely. As a consequence, equating it with **euphemization** or **jargon** appears to have little relevance, although a closer look into the ideology behind it retracts that claim. Despite common belief, slang and gutter talk are not always a perfect match, quite frequently colloquial language is as witty and accurate as standard speech. It is often *[…] humorous and represents a centuries-old practice in the English-speaking world: the use of clever slang and* **euphemism** *to talk about the things we are not supposed to mention in public. The very fact that the categories of slang and euphemism still exists proves that there are still some standards of public behavior regarding our choice of words* (Spears 2001:xi). Slang, indeed serves the same purpose as its "sophisticated cousins", the only dissimilarity lies in its choice of vocabulary items which results in all the negative connotations it constantly arouses. As pointed out by Crystal (1997:182) slang is

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[66] Quoted after Ammon *et al.* (2004:262).

everywhere, *there is upper-class slang alongside lower-class slang, the slang of doctors and of lawyers, the slang of footballers and philatelists, as well as the slang which cuts across social class and occupation, available to anyone as the most colloquial variety of language.*

2.2. Classification of euphemisms

Euphemisms can be classified according to numerous features, which shall be discussed in this subsection. Within the types of euphemistic expressions, we can distinguish the following pairs:

2.2.1. Traditional vs Stylistic

Traditional euphemisms are those created for the sheer purpose of indirectly referring to linguistic taboos and were coined because of topics including sex, secretions, death or disease. In most countries these were prone to an element of embarrassment or even shame, and so circumventive language was developed to replace the original terms and concepts within these topics. Common examples include euphemisms such as *to pass away* → 'to die', *to see a man about a dog* → 'to urinate', *to perform fellatio* → 'perform oral sex on a woman' or *STD (Sexually Transmitted Disease)* → 'VD (Venereal Disease)'.

The latter is strictly connected with the choice of specific vocabulary that is meant to enhance communication and avoid offending the listener. Addressing certain concepts in a direct manner will very often lead to uneasiness and occasionally conflict. Consequently, more sophisticated equivalents are created. There are numerous such terms in the field of politics, with examples such as *misinformation* → 'lying', *rightsourcing* → *outsourcing* → 'firing workers and commissioning the work to an outside company' or *under-privileged* → 'the poor'.

2.2.2 Conscious vs Unconscious

Apart from belonging to either stylistic or traditional types, euphemistic expressions can be categorized according to whether they are conscious or unconscious. What is meant buy that is simply how conscious or unconscious language users are when

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it comes to the origins of terms they utilize. One example of an unconscious euphemism is the word *vintage* which was used in the past predominantly for matured wine and then in 1883 its meaning shifted to 'being of an earlier time'. Today the word is part of the newspeak, retro-loving, fashion conscious individuals who use the term for anything which is old or was made to look aged. On the other hand, some euphemisms have a dualistic nature and language users consciously utilize the one according to their intention. An example of a conscious euphemism is *to powder one's nose* that can be used both directly and figuratively (also used in slang to denote 'snorting cocaine).

2.2.3 Sustained vs Nonce

The last distinction lies in the ability of some euphemisms to live on or the lack of thereof. Apparently there seem to be no evident rules which would dictate the longevity of given expression, yet based on some common trends it appears that Sustained euphemistic expressions pertaining to general and universal taboos such as death, disease, sex or excretion have a tendency to survive for hundreds of years. On the other hand, Nonce terms connected with single events, controversies, speeches or mishaps are more likely to reveal the complexity and the creativity of language users, yet these are bound to disappear and be replaced by another novelty. An example of the latter type is for instance the short lived *GRID* (Gay-related immune deficiency) which was an early term for AIDS. The former may be exemplified by the euphemistic exclamation *Crikey* → 'Jesus Christ'.

2.3 The principles behind euphemistic expressions

Yet another major question that needs to be asked is how are euphemisms created and what makes a certain phrase euphemistic. As mentioned before, there is a substantial amount of ambiguity between certain terms, and frequently some lexemes or expressions (e.g. metaphors) can in fact act as euphemisms. This makes setting clear boundaries almost impossible to do, yet it is worth specifying the underlying principles, which govern the creation of euphemism. The most systematized and cohesive set of principles is provided by Bakhtiar (2012). An expression can therefore become a euphemism if it follows:

2.3.1 The Distance Principle

The essence of this principle lies in the fact that words/expressions can be classified as euphemisms when the distance between the signifier and the referent is indicated by the mitigating capacity of the term itself. The more ambiguous the connection, the more effective the euphemisms are, as opposed to taboo words where both terms are frequently closely related.

2.3.2 The Correlation Principle

This principle is based on the idea of correlation between the signifier and the referent and claims that there needs to be some connection for the euphemism to be understood. Producing euphemistic expressions where the level of contrast between the original concept and the euphemistic outcome is too significant thereby preventing the listener from understanding the term, makes them linguistically void. A certain level of relevance needs to be present and the context should be available to the recipient to allow for interpretation and comprehension.

2.3.3 The Pleasantness Principle

Euphemisms are created to conceal unwanted and offensive concepts; as a result, a euphemism is a euphemism only if it succeeds in providing more positive connotations that the term it is trying to obfuscate. In fact, this is one of the underlying and fundamental concepts that govern the existence of euphemisms. After all it is about soothing the harshness of a negatively-loaded concept and not by increasing the level of negativity.

2.4 Properties of euphemisms

Euphemisms play an immense role in the shaping of our reality and contribute greatly to the development of language itself. Each society and community have their own euphemistic expressions, for their existence stems from the workings of different social, aesthetical and religious conventions in work within these societies. To better understand the concept of euphemization, one needs to look closely at the function of this potent rhetorical device. Chamizo (2012) suggests a simple, yet a concise set of functions

of euphemisms namely The politeness and respect function, the dignifying function, the function of attenuating a painful evocation, and last but not least, the function of naming a taboo object. And while these present a cohesive picture of this phenomenon, this set of functions, somewhat fails to encompass some other key applications of euphemisms. Therefore, a modified list is suggested by the author, the one that embraces the whole spectrum of euphemism use and that would correspond to the more lesser, yet equally important aspects underlying the use of euphemistic expressions.

2.4.1. Manipulative

The first function clearly corresponds to the way modern society is shaped. War, corruption, politics, conflicts, plots and the pursuit of power, have forced some to deceive others, and while *misinformation* (or lying) seems like an amoral mechanism, it is by far the most convenient and effective way to achieve one's aims. Manipulative language, has been present within our community for ages, yet its proliferation can be strongly noted from the beginning of some of the most violent military operations and ethnic cleansings to date. On numerous occasions, the authorities are forced to conceal the truth and language is a perfect device to do it. And so the manipulative language can be noted in many spheres of social and political register, yet its scope is immense, as it controls the vast majority of the population. Examples of this property can be seen in everyday discourse both written and spoken, predominantly when leaders, politicians and corporation owners address the general public. For instance, the United States Department of Defense measured radioactivity from strontium present in a person's body as a result of nuclear fallout in something they would refer to as *sunshine units*, yet its lifespan was rather short after public ridicule. Another example found in the army powerful array of euphemistic expressions is the expression found in *Our brave men are there to protect our nation*, where protecting is just a synonym for killing other people or dying in the process. Hiding behind words that seem to provide a semblance of security for the society is a common tool used by authorities. Other examples which fall under this category are: *Looking for synergies* / *Streamlining* / *Restructuring* / Curtailing → 'Firing people', *disadvantaged* or *underprivileged*, *having a negative cash flow position* → 'poor', *collateral damage* → 'civilians killed as a result of military actions', *the final solution* → 'mass killings by the Third Reich', *enhanced interrogation* → 'torture'.

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2.4.2. Descriptive

This function is somewhat similar to Chamizo's function of naming a taboo object, yet it encompasses not only that, but a general capacity for describing a concept indirectly. Chamizo (2012) focuses more on the taboo aspect of a given idea, but in fact, one uses euphemisms not only to replace these, but on many occasions, to denote anything which is intended to remain unnamed. This is an indubitable merit of euphemistic expressions, for they prove to be an immensely efficient way to generate new vocabulary items. Some examples include: *family planning* → 'contraceptives', *feminine hygiene* → 'douches', *feminine protection* → 'tampons', *sanitary protection* → 'menstrual pads', *adult material* → 'pornography', *substandard housing* → 'slums', *tree-density reduction* → 'cutting down trees'.

2.4.3. Implicative

Much like the first function, euphemisms tend to have a deceptive element to them and although not always used in such manner, they do generate a fair share of understatement. Just to provide a few examples, one may come across:

a) *Lucy, oh yeah, she does have a "beautiful personality"*
b) *(After somebody has died) I don't think Charlie will be joining us.*
c) *I would describe her as an antithesis of slim.*

Example a) indicates that Lucy, while being a decent girl, may not exactly be regarded as attractive. Calling someone *ugly* seems like an exaggeration, and therefore a euphemistic expression can be used in order to soothe the harsh message. The latter quotation is somewhat ironic and may fall into the category of black humour. Such an utterance would in many circumstances be unacceptable, yet in the right environment and specific companionship, one may come across such evasions. The last example represents one of the most common mechanisms of euphemism creation and that is the idea of opposition. Since we are on many occasions forced to talk about difficult social problems such as obesity, alcoholism, illiteracy, etc., and upon many of these it is impossible to speak our mind for numerous reasons, be it cultural or manner-related, we are constantly coerced to seek for linguistic evasions. Calling someone *stupid* may not come across as

desirable, but a simple *uneducated* or *not paying attention at school* might soften the blow and the speaker saves his/her face. As opposed to the first function, this one does not aim to misinform, but rather to imply something we do not wish to say out loud.

2.4.4. Literary

The motif of death has always been present both in literature and art, with countless authors contemplating on the sense and meaning of death, embodying it in their works. *Death is one of the great themes of literature, perhaps more frequent even than love* (Ferber 2007:54). All that effort was just to at least comprehend the phenomenon of death. Regardless of culture, times, epochs and both cultural as well as civilizational development, death has remained one of the most debatable and crucial elements of our existence. It is indubitable that for people, the concept of death is very close, and with time the perspective changes. Everybody experiences death and the passing of our loved ones is a personal and tragic experience that leaves the feelings of pain, desolation and sorrow. The image of death presented in literature morphed and changed over the ages, with altering sensitivities, mentalities and cultural factors, yet it always represented hope of meeting the deceased somewhere out there.

Death was on many occasions considered as retribution for sins committed while alive, but for some it brought peace and ended their earthly suffering. Only death constituted one undisputable element of our existence and each generation always came to the same realization that one cannot escape from death.

Ancient literature, the birthplace of drama treated death in a fatalistic way, a result of wrong choices, events or random circumstances. A somewhat different approach was dominant in the Middle Ages. Death was more spiritual, more religious, more imminent and life had to yield to nothingness. It also came swift and often in these brutal times represented in form of wars, plagues, diseases or hunger. The idea of this epoch was locked in the words "memento mori" [67] and so death became an inseparable part of everyday life but also a central theme of literary works. On many occasions […] *medieval morality plays[68] were allegories[69] in which abstractions such as Mankind, Good Deeds,*

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[67] Which can be translated as *Remember you will die*.
[68] A form of English drama of the 15th and early 16th centuries in which characters exemplify moral or religious abstractions (Quinn 2006:268).
[69] The Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms defines **allegory** […] *as an 'extended metaphor' in which characters, actions and scenery are systematically symbolic, referring to spiritual, political, psychological*

*Penance, and **Death**[70] appeared as characters* (Quinn 2006:19). One of the most prominent masterpieces of that period is unquestionably *Master Polikarp's Dialog with Death*[71] in which death is presented as a rotting corpse of a woman tied with only a white shawl and blood flowing from her stern eyes. With a scythe in her hand, she reaps human lives. The idea of personifying death is much present in literary works over the centuries and death itself is *[...] represented symbolically, usually as a person* (Ferber 2007:54). Death is immensely powerful and takes away everybody, regardless of age, social standing[72], origin or level of education. Everyone is equal in the eyes of death and no one can escape its deadly coil. This work was also first to introduce the notorious "danse macabre"[73] motif in which a procession with death itself (or herself) in front […] *leads a dance of people of all ranks to the grave* (Ferber 2007:55). This is a symbolical picture of death[74] being ruthless and completely ignorant of earthly belongings and social machinations was plausibly *[...] in response to the bubonic plague or "Black Death'* (Ferber 2007:55). Everybody danced, dances and will dance in this procession following a gruesome decomposing body. The representation of dance is common in other literary works, i.e. Paul Celan's Death-Fugue[75] which originally was to be called Death-Tango, exploiting the imagery of death in a form of dance.

Contemplating upon death brought a realization that a human's death reflects his/her life. A calm and peaceful demise was to be a reward for righteousness, whilst those who lived a life of immorality were to die in pain and suffering. The most valued kind of death at that time was the heroic one shown for instance in the French poem *The Song of Roland*[76] in which the key part of the plot is centered on the last moments of the

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confrontations

[70] Bolded itallics are mine.

[71] Original title „*De morte prologus*, *Dialogus inter Mortem et Magistrum Polikarpum"*

[72] The idea of death being objective regardless of social status was already present in Horace's work who said: *Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas Regumque turris. O beate Sesti* (Pale Death with foot impartial knocks at the poor man's cottage and at Princes' palaces)

[73] Dance of death.

[74] *The image, a recurrent feature of medieval art and literature, is powerfully reenacted in Ingmar Bergman's film The Seventh Seal (1956). Allusions to the dance appear in Goethe's Faust (1808), Bryon's Don Juan* (Quinn 2006:106)
(1819–24), and Conrad's Heart of Darkness (1902)

[75] It is vital to quote a definition of 'Fugue' here, in order to draw some context. *A Dictionary of Musical Terms* defines *it as a polyphonic composition constructed on one or more short subjects or themes, which are **harmonized** according to the laws of counterpoint, and introduced from time to time with various contrapuntal devices* (Steiner and Barrett 2009:179). One more important element can be added to this definition quoting *The Oxford Dictionary of Music* which adds, that *The point of fugue is that the voices enter successively **in imitation** of each other* (Kennedy 1999:385). The title is intentional for it suggests the Nazis to be imitating God/Death as final judges of human existence.

[76] Original title *La Chanson de Roland*.

hero. Roland was an archetypal ideal of a medieval night whose core values were faith and obedience to God, Homeland, the King and of course the night code. When Roland is forced to fight a much larger army of Saracens, he does not hesitate, putting his own life on the line. His death is heroic and symbolic, for he, much like Jesus Christ has to travel to his final place, presenting a form of "art of dying". Roland's demise may also be seen as metaphysical, since shortly after a series of supernatural forces coil him to his final destination.

Over the centuries artist used a plethora of devices to convey their emotions, and one of them is clearly language. William Shakespeare one of the most prominent English poets, was one of the first to embrace euphemisms in his works. Although back then the term 'euphemism' was technically nonexistent, for its emergence is dated to be in 1793, Shakespeare managed to skillfully twist words and phrases to correspond to then tabooed subjects. A few examples are listed below

a) *The lark, that tirra-lirra chants, With hey! with hey! the thrust and the jay, Are summer songs for me and my **aunts**, While we lie tumbling in the hay', Autolycus in The W. Tale, iv ii 9–12.*

b) '*There the devil will meet me, like an old **cuckold**, with horns on his head'.—'**Cuckold**! wittol!— **Cuckold**! the devil himself hath not such a name', Merry Wives, ii 299–300; 314*

c) *Hamlet, ii 265–269, 'H. I could interpret between you and your love, if I could see the puppets dallying. —Ophelia. You are keen, my lord, you are keen H. It would cost you a groaning to **take off my edge**. —O. Still better, and worse.'*

d) *Pistol, warning Ford against the amorous Falstaff's intentions towards Mistress Ford, 'Take heed; have open eye; for thieves **do foot** by night; Take heed, ere summer comes, or cuckoo-birds do sing', Merry Wives, i 121–122*[77]

The examples show, just how powerful euphemistic language was, even in the times, where its existence was merely derived from social convention. While the linguistic concept of euphemization, was not present at that time, Shakespeare clearly exploits the power of words to his own advantage, proving that euphemistic language much precedes its formally established counterpart.

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[77] Bolded Italics are mine.

Likewise the Polish literature had a fair share of euphemistic use[78]. The most prolific, yet melancholic is indubitably Jan Kochanowski and his Laments, but one can also mention Polish authors from the Decadent epoch, such as Jan Przerwa-Tetmajer and others.

a) *Jako oliwka mała pod wysokim sadem[79]*
   ***Idzie z ziemie ku górze** macierzyńskim śladem[80]*

b) ***Ujął ją sen żelazny, twardy, nieprzespany...**[81]*

c) *W główki włożył. - Niestetyż, i posag, i ona*
   *W jednej **skrzynce** zamkniona![82]*

d) *Wielkieś mi uczyniła pustki w domu moim,*
   Moja droga Orszulo, tym zniknieniem swoim!

The German poetry is also rich in euphemistic language and the imagery of death. Johan Wolfgang von Goethe is known for his tragic, yet artistic depictions of parting and sorrow.

a) *So hab ich wirklich dich **verloren**?[83]*
   *Bist du, o Schöne, mir **entfloh'n**?[84]*
   …
   *O komm', Geliebte, mir **zurück**!*

As noted by the above mentioned examples, the subject of death is constantly exploited by different authors in different countries and different eras of literary history.

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[78] Although the Polish language incorporated the concept of euphemisms even later than the British.
[79] Taken from http://literat.ug.edu.pl/kochan/index.html.
[80] Just as a little olive offshoot grows
Beneath its orchard **elders' shady rows**
[81] **A hard, unwaking sleep** has overpowered
[82] And so a single **casket**, scant of measure,
   Locks thee and all thy treasure.
   (translations borrowed from
   http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=1547324&pageno=1)
[83] Taken from http://www.textlog.de/18384.html.
[84] And have I **lost** thee evermore,
   Hast thou, oh, fair one, **from me flown**?
   …
   Oh, come then, loved one, **back to me**!
   (translation from http://www.poetry-archive.com/g/to_the_distant_one.html)

Yet, one element that remains the same is the way authors treat death, and that is with immense respect and awe.

2.4.5. Aesthetic

This function is somewhat similar to the previous one, yet it embraces a different concept. Upon uttering sentences, we sometimes feel the need to make them sound "better". Frequently it is the formality of the circumstance that forces us to shape the language accordingly, yet it may be for other secondary reasons. Over the years, the society felt compelled enough to reorganize the naming patterns for everyday objects, toilet paper is now referred to as bathroom tissue, false teeth changed into dental appliances and constipation became an occasional irregularity. What can be noted here is an obsessive softening of the language in order to remove any negative connotations from it may result in losing the original meaning of a given concept. One such example comes from the military terminology where a psychological trauma of battle was first referred to as *Shell shock* which then morphed into *Battle Fatigue*, followed by *Operational Exhaustion* and finally reaching its today's form *Post Traumatic Stress Disorder*[85], the last form taking away all the emotions and the harshness of the original term. Some other euphemisms which evolved over time include: *junk store → thrift shop → resale store*, *old → the elderly → senior citizens*. Language used in the funeral industry is also rich in euphemistic terms, which aim to remove the pain or negative emotions associated with a given term:

Mortician → Funeral Director
Morgue → Mortuary → The Chapel
Corpse → Body → Remains → Loved one → Dear Departed
Dead → Late

2.4.6. Circumventive

One of the most prominent authors on euphemistic language John Ayto and his book Wobbly Bits, has a sentence on the very cover that embodies this function, and that

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[85] Example borrowed from Carlin (2006).

is Over 3000 ways to avoid speaking your mind. Our brains are constructed in a way that somehow forces us to think about the objects and phenomena we are discussing. And so when we are delivering a message that somebody has died, we rarely say that. A more common situation is expressed by example a.

a) *I'm terribly sorry to tell you, but Mrs. Smith **passed away** last night.*

The fact that ***passed away*** was used instead of the plain ***died***, does not change the current state of Mrs. Smith, nor does it change the recipient's perception of the matter. What it does, however, is that it allows the speaker to avoid using the name that refers directly to a tabooed subject. Circumvention is indubitably a necessary tool to maintain social convention and go by the rules of ethics, yet its exploitation, may turn against the speaker. The reason for that is, consequently upon conveying a message in a way that it ostensibly shares almost no similarities with the intended piece of information, one may feel confused and the message may be completely misunderstood like in:

b) The reason your son is ***minimally exceptional*** stems from his ***learning disabilities*** and a constant ***lack of sufficient observation*** during classes.

While the sentence is relatively easy to understand for a partially educated person, it may pose some difficulties for a non-native speaker if at all understood. Consequently, a simple act of circumvention may turn not only into an utterance that is confusing, but also a one that that verges upon jargon. Circumvention's main aim is to soothe the message not to code it.

2.4.7. Customary

Last but not least, is the customary function of euphemisms. We already established that each society, community or tribe conform to a set of customary rules. These frequently stem from religion, but on many occasions they are dictated by social conventions and norms. The most striking differences will be present between countries with other political systems and sometimes varying moral/ethical values. The Asian continent serves as a perfect example, not only in terms of the cultural background, but also because of the way certain concepts are addressed using language. In the Chinese

society for instance, it is more likely to euphemize the death of an important person using sophisticated metaphors, yet when commoners die, no effort is made to conceal it by means of euphemisms. In ancient China, which was heavily influenced by feudalism and the clan system, it was believed that death of different individuals carried different meanings. And so, common people simply *died*, yet death of an emperor was euphemized in terms of *a big mountain collapsing*. In general, countries or communities, where social stratification is common, be it the result of the caste system or the uneven distribution of wealth, euphemisms will be used in different ways and for different concepts. Last but not least, some topics such as death, will be euphemized in various ways among cultures where the awareness of passing verges upon acceptance or even glorification. In certain parts of Polynesia and selected African tribes, death is treated as a celebration, ergo the language that is used to refer to it is only fractionally euphemistic.

The aim of this chapter was to present a cohesive picture of the concept of euphemization, and to set a foundation for the study to follow. While the main area of focus in this work is placed on the process of metaphorization, it would seem that euphemistic language is an inseparable and intrinsic component of metaphorical mappings in the conceptual field of DEATH. Therefore, it was crucial to present and discuss the basic principles and rules governing the use and the creation of euphemistic language. What is more, we can conclude that euphemisms are used extensively by modern society to address a plethora of concepts, from sex and death, to political discourse and medicine. Their underlying principle is to conceal the original meaning or alleviate the harshness of it by means of evasive language. It is also worth mentioning, that much like technology, language develops extremely fast, with words appearing and disappearing (or ceased to be used) on a daily basis. When it comes to euphemisms, while some of them exhibit a level of universality and are used for decades, such as *Rest in Peace*, others, such as *lavatory* are no longer seen as euphemisms. In fact, the lifespan of euphemistic expressions is rarely possible to predict, but it may be postulated, that we tend to maintain and keep the phrases that pertain to the topics that verge upon taboos or topics which still remain controversial or are highly respected.

CHAPTER 3

TOWARDS COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS, THE TRADITION OF FIELD THEORY AND COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

3.1 The history of field theory

While *[...] its ultimate origins may be traced back to Antiquity*[86] (Cymbalista and Kleparski 2013:99) the roots of the field theory can be traced back to the research done by American anthropologists, as well as, German and Swiss linguists, such as Ipsen (1924), Jolles (1934), Porzig (1934) or Trier (1934) in the second and third decades of the 20th century. Humboldt and his theory of inner speech-form of language, which represents how an individual perceives the world, was by far the most influential doctrine shaping the further studies of the aforementioned semanticists. Von Humboldt postulated that language should not be viewed as a stabilized product (von Humboldt uses the Greek word *ergon*), but more appropriately as a dynamic force (*energeia*), which is used by individuals to shape the world around them (See Geeraerts 2010). What he refers to as the innere Sprachform (the inner form of language) denotes a distinct way in which speakers of a specific language perceive reality. It was not only Humboldt's theories that had a significant impact on the establishment of the field theory. The advent of De Saussure's structuralism paved the way for German semanticists, by providing one of the first working definitions of a lexical field, being *[...] an organized totality the elements of which define and delimit each other* (Kleparski and Rusinek 2007:188), although as suggested by Burkhanov (1998:124) *[...] a generally accepted, all-inclusive definition of lexical field has not been produced yet [...]* despite *[...] the major parameters of this linguistic category, as it is understood nowadays, have been described.* Meyer (1910) followed by adding a definition of semantic systems viewing them as *[...] the set and correlation of a finite number of expressions from a definite point of view* (Kleparski and Rusinek 2007). The intial doctrines of field theory were followed and developed by numerous linguists over the course of the 20th century with figures such as Porzig (1928, 1934), Stern (1931), Trier (1931), Jolles (1934), Öhman (1951), Matoré (1951), Ullmann

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[86] See Gordon (1982).

(1957, 1972), Oskaar (1958), Buttler (1967), Perchonock & Werner (1969), Kleparski (1985, 1988, 1990, 1996, 1997), Lehrer (1974) among many others (See Kleparski and Rusinek 2007:189). The somewhat versatile application of the term field itself, was provided by Crystal (2008:188) who distinguished the following meanings:

(1) (In semantics) the lexicon of a language perceived as a system of interrelated lexical networks, not as a set of independent lexemes.

(2) (In Hallidayan linguistics) Register classifiers a dependent on subject matter, i.e. the fields of economy, philology, marketing.

(3) (In linguistics) the terms **fieldwork/field study** refers to the range of action, techniques and principles aimed at obtaining language-oriented data from informants, frequently in their home environment.

(4) (In Tagmemics) **field** refers to the process of analyzing linguistic units based on their distribution – as distinct from their status as particles (physically discrete items) or waves (their variant forms).[87]

Lexical field theory itself derives most directly from the Weisgerber's take in language, which he believed *[...] constitutes an intermediate conceptual level between the mind and the world inspired the metaphoric notion of a lexical field: if you think of reality as a space of entities and events, language so to speak draws lines within that space, dividing up the field into conceptual plots* (Geeraerts 2010:52). And so a lexical field may be defined as group of semantically related lexical items with mutually interdependent meanings, which put together create a conceptual structure of certain domain of reality, or in other words *[...] groups of items which 'realize' or give structure to areas or DOMAINS of REFERENCE in the real world* (Wales 2001:150). The theory in question was on occasion compared with Charles Fillmore's Frame theory, by for example Tokarski (2006:35-36), who claims that:

> *Różniąc się czasem powstania i wynikającymi stąd odmiennymi przesłankami metodologicznymi, celami i zakresem opisu języka, sposobami weryfikowania proponowanych eksplikacji znaczeniowych, teorie te łączy jednak wyraźne, choć być może w pewnym stopniu powierzchowne*

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[87] Classification borrowed from Crystal (2008:188).

podobieństwo, dotyczące współwystępowania w języku wielojednostkowych kompleksów słownych i wymogu interpretowania znaczenia słowa na tle całego kompleksu wyrazowego. [88]

While the underlying foundation of the lexical field theory was originally created by Weisgerber[89], the most crucial work in the history of lexical field theory is indubitably *Der Deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes. Die Geschichte eines Sprachlichen feldes* written by Jost Trier in 1931, *[...] the significance of which is, for semantics, sometimes compared with the Copernican revolution[90]* (Cymbalista and Kleparski 2013:100). In his monograph he provides the reader with the main aspects of the field approach, as well as, tries to understand the processes, which influenced the evolutionary developments in the mental properties terminology, dating from Old High German to the first decade of the thirteenth century. In theory, Trier's approach to semantic fields was mostly based on the principles of structuralism in that only a mutual delimitation of lexical items in question can bring in conclusive evidence regarding their linguistic value. It was also crucial to scrutinize words with regards to their semantically related lexemes; hence the term demarcation was often used, suggesting the necessity for at least two lexical items for comparison purposes. Trier visualized his concept by means of a mosaic, which seems suitable, for *[...] each lexical unit covers a particular part of conceptual field which is regarded as a two-dimensional continuum* (Burkhanov 1998:123). As explained by Geeraerts (2010), our cognition is *[...] divided by language into a number of adjoining small areas, in the same way in which a mosaic divides two-dimensional space by means of contiguous mosaic stones*. Or as the originator himself puts it:

> *Das es [the word] im Gesamtfeld umgeben ist von bestimmt gelagerten Nachbarn, das gibt ihm die inhaltliche Bestimmtheit; denn diese Bestimmtheit entsteht durch Abgrenzung gegen Nachbarn. Die Stelle an der es, von ihnen umdrängt, in dem grossen Mosaik des Zeichenmantels als kleiner Stein sitzt, entscheidet über seinen Gehalt, sie weist ihm zu, was für einen Teil aus dem Gesamtblock der fraglichen Bewustseinsinhalte es herausschneidet und zeichenhaft*

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[88] Translation mine: Although differing in time of conception, hence distinct methodologies, aims, the scope of language study and the ways of verifying the suggested semantic explications, both theories are explicitly if somewhat ostensibly similar, agreeing on the existence in language, multi-entity lexical complexes and the need for the interpretation of word meaning in view of the whole lexical complex.

[89] Consequently, and unanimously, the field theory is also referred to as Trier-Weisgerber theory (See Górecka-Smolińska 2011:96).

[90] See, for example, Ullmann 1957:160).

darstelt.[91](Quoted after Geeraerts 2010:54)

Upon studying the field of **<u>INTELLECT</u>** in both Old and Middle High German periods, Trier suggested the term *linguistic field* being a part of general vocabulary *[...] where the degree of importance of a given individual lexical item is determined by its neighbors* (Kleparski and Rusinek 2007:189). Apart from the above mentioned metaphorical mosaic-like structure of fields, Trier postulated that each and every one them has a set of features, including the fact that there are clear boundaries with no gaps or overlapping, and the fact that if a component is changed or deleted, the whole systems is immediately and automatically altered. As Trier himself claims:

> *Die Genauigkeit des Verstehens eines Einzelwortes ist abhängig von der seelischen Gegenwärtigkeit des Gesamtfeldes und seiner besondern Struktur. [...] Worte sind sinnlos, wenn ihre Kontrastworte ausdem gleichen Begriffsfeld dem Hörer fehlen*[92] (quoted after Buttler, 1967:46).

It can therefore be observed that Trier's main interest comprised individual elements, which, put together composed unit circles, much wider and higher in nature, compared to single, isolated lexical items. Trier believed that a set of synchronically related vocabulary items was composed based on the principles of content and organized in a hierarchical manner (*Wortfelder*) (See Kleparski and Rusinek 2007). Additionally, the entities belonging to a specific field are delineated by mutual demarcation with regards to other neighboring entities. What is somewhat fascinating, is that the founding father of the field theory failed to incorporate the term semantic field, and used the term linguistic field instead, as illustrated by the following quotation:

> *Felder sind die zwischen den Einzelworten und dem Wortganzen lebendigen sprachlichen Wirklichkeiten, die als Teilganze mit dem Wort das Merkmal gemeinsam haben, dass sie sich ergliedern, mit dem Wortschatz hingegen, dass sie sich ausgliedern* (quoted after Ullmann, 1957:157).[93]

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[91] Translation from Geeraerts (2010) The fact that a word within a field is surrounded by neighbours with a specific position gives it its conceptual specificity; because this specificity derives from its demarcation with regard to its neighbours. The exact position in which it is placed as a small stone in the grand mosaic of signs decides on its value, it determines which part exactly from the global mass of the cognitive representation under consideration it carves out and represents symbolically

[92] Translation by Kleparski and Rusinek (2007) *The accuracy of understanding of an individual word depends on the spiritual presence of the whole context and its particular structure. [...] Words are senseless if the hearer lacks the contrast words from the same conceptual field.*

[93] Coseriu and Geckeler's (1981) translation of the original: *Fields are linguistic realities existing between single words and the total vocabulary; they are parts of a whole and resemble words in that they resolve*

Trier's use of terminology was on occasion rather inaccurate and inconsistent with some linguists, such as Lyons (1977) claiming that Trier uses a number of terms upon discussing the basic principles of field theory and at times it remains unclear as to in what sense they are utilized:

> *In particular, it is uncertain whether 'area' ('Bezirk') is synonymous with 'field' ('Feld') and how, if at all 'lexical field' ('Wortfeld') is to be distinguished from 'conceptual field' ('Sinnfeld'). Trier himself avoids the term 'semantic field' ('Bedeutungsfeld').* (Lyons 1977:251).[94]

During the time field theory (and all its variations and permutations) has been employed, numerous typologies have been suggested. As noted by Lipka (1992), the theory itself was extensively discussed and developed by such prominent figures as Coseriu, Geckeler, Lehrer and Lipka, yet such vast interest led to a substantial rise in terminological confusion (See Lipka 1980, Kastovsky 1982a). And so, Cruse (1986:112) for example discusses lexical configurations, whereas for Lehrer (1974) both semantic and lexical fields are synonymous. According to Coseriu, *Wortfeld* (literally lexical field), distinguishes the following: a) scientific taxonomies, b) subject matter categories, c) associative fields, and d) conceptual fields. What is more he believed that all lexical fields are conceptual fields, but not vice versa (See Lipka 1992).

The aforementioned mosaic schemes, and the term *field* referring to a set of sense-related lexemes mutually delineating one another, were both borrowed by Trier from Ipsen (1924). It is, however, not only Ipsen, that the idea of field can be attributed to. One may trace back the beginnings of field theory as far as the nineteenth century, with structuralists focusing on the importance of onomasiology in the systematic study of language (See Geeraerts 2010).

Upon discussing contextual changes within semantic fields, one may postulate the existence of two main types of changes, and that is the external and internal ones respectively. According to Kleparski (1988, 1990, 1997), we can also make a distinction into *[…] temporary innovations and **permanent innovations**[95], the former being changes lasting and functioning in a language for short periods of time, the latter being permanent additions to the semantic structure of language* (Kleparski and Rusinek 2007:195). We shall, however, dwell upon the five types of semantic field modifications by Lyons

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themselves into smaller units.
[94] Quoted after Górecka Smolińska (2011:95).
[95] Bolded italics are mine.

(1977:256) who suggested that when juxtaposing two diachronically different lexical fields connected to the same conceptual areas, there might be five different variations of diachronic change taking place. As distinguished by Lyons:

a	
b	---▶
c	

a
b
c

(1)

a	
b	---▶
c	

a
b
d

(2)

(3)

(4)

a	
b	---▶
c	

A
B
C
D

(5)
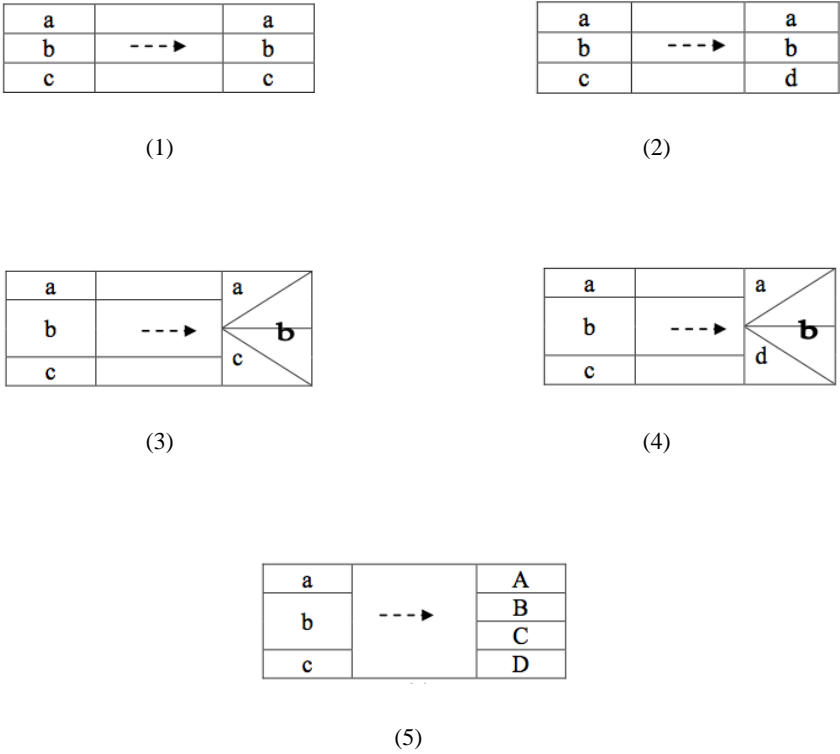
Fig. Different variations of diachronic change according to Lyons (1977:256)

The following conclusions can be drawn from the following graphs:

(1) No change either in the set of lexemes connected to the two fields or in their sense-related relations.

(2) Replacing one of the lexemes with another one, without interfering with the

internal structure of the conceptual field.

(3) A change within the internal structure of the conceptual field without changing the given set of lexemes.

(4) Replacing one of the lexemes with another one is also followed by a change in the internal structure of the conceptual field.

(5) Adding or removing a given lexeme, changes the internal structure of the conceptual field.

Trier's most illustrious example of semantic change within a conceptual field is the one connected to the field of **<u>KNOWLEDGE</u>**. The analysis focused on the lexical set of Middle High German between the years 1200 and 1300 and the outcome follows the process marked as (4) above. By means of a simple diagram, Trier tried to explain his mosaic approach to semantic change within conceptual fields.

In his seminal study, Trier (1934) tried to identify any changing patterns in the semantic field of **<u>KNOWLEDGE</u>** in 12th and 13th century German. And so around the year 1200, medieval German had three lexemes connected to the aforementioned conceptual field, namely Wisheit, *Kunst* and *List*, each having a different meaning. Geeraerts (2010:54) refers to these as *[...] core notions referring to types of knowledge*. Both *Kunst* and *List* conveyed a rather limited and specialized meaning, with Wisheit having a more general sense encompassing both meanings. *Kunst* included a variety of meanings, including the courtly knowledge (See Górecka- Smolińska 2011:101), *higher ranger of human wisdom* (as well as social behavior) (See Kleparski and Rusinek 2007:196) *and the knowledge and skills of the courtly knight (namely courtly love, the chivalric code of honor, and the liberal arts)* (Geeraerts (2010:54). *List* on the other hand denoted pure technical knowledge or skills (See Górecka-Smolińska 2011) of those not belonging to the nobility (See Geeraerts 2010) and with non-courtly connotation (See Kleparski and Rusinek 2007). Finally, the term Wisheit was conclusively regarded as a general term for both higher and lower-class citizens, encompassing every part of human knowledge and intellect, as well as being a synthesis of sorts of both *Kunst* and *List*, *involving moral, aesthetic and religious factors* (See Kleparski and Rusinek 2007:196).

With the advent of the 14th century, the field of **<u>KNOWLEDGE</u>** in German underwent some considerable changes. Despite the fact that the number of lexemes

remained unchanged, the field lost its organization and replaced List with *Wizzen*[96]. Additionally, the set lexemes acquired different senses. The general *Wisheit* narrowed its meaning to denote religious and mystical knowledge *[…] in a maximally restricted sense, i.e. the knowledge of God* (Geeraerst 2010:55). The now gone *List* starts to be used in a derogative fashion, to denote 'artfulness and shrewdness'; as a result, it is replaced by *Wizzen*, which, however, did not acquire the old meaning of List. Instead it was used to describe technical skills (i.e. craftsman's skills) with *Kunst* taking on a more art and science-related sense. What is interesting to mention is that while the 13th century terms focused on the social class, their 14th century counterparts are used *[…] with no reference to social position* (Górecka-Smolińska 2011:101). The whole example, illustrated by Figure 2 serves as a demonstration of how one can synchronically follow the internal development of lexical fields from one historical period to another, proving that languages shape reality differently in various stages/periods of development.
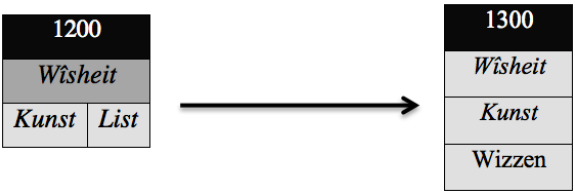
Fig. 2 Transitions in the German field of KNOWLEDGE according to Trier.

It may come as a surprise to see the first groundbreaking attainment in the new approach to semantics belonging to the domain of diachronic linguistics (See Geeraerts 2010). In fact, one of the most cardinal principles of structuralism was that diachronic analysis should be preceded by a synchronic one, and not the other way round. There are topics, however, which turned out to be much more compatible with the structuralist method, rather than the historical-philological method. As Trier (1968) himself claimed 35 years after publishing *Der Deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes. Die Geschichte eines Sprachlichen feldes,* the need for the field theory (and a completely new approach overall) came about as a result of the empirical issues he encountered upon

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[96] Or *wizen* (see. Górcecka-Smolińska 2011:101).

analyzing historical meaning changes. Inspired by both de Saussure and Weisgerber, Trier was indubitably the one to change the face of semantic analysis. His explanation was that while diachronic semantics seem perfect for concrete lexemes such as 'leg' or 'knee', the more abstract notions (e.g. the aforementioned intellectual skills), require a more contrastive approach, which allows for a more accurate analysis of the historical data (See Geeraerts 2010).

Another important discovery of Trier, was that through historical case studies, he managed to confirm one of the rudimentary principles of structuralist semantics, namely the fact that lexicons undergo changes not exclusively through the semantic shifts of single lexemes, but they change as whole structures. Trier's analysis proves that by synchronically scrutinizing the separate stages of the language, one can discover that the lexicon is subject to structural changes from one period to another (See Geeraerts 2010).

Weisgerber (1963) was one of the linguists who followed in the footsteps of Trier and continued his interest in the concept of linguistic fields. His main sources of inspiration were mainly the principles suggested by Humboldt. The Lorraine-born German linguist analyzed the domains of **NATURAL PHENOMENA**, the domain of **MATERIAL CULTURE**, as well as the semantic fields connected with the domain of **INTELLECT**. In his *Sprachliche Gestaltung der Welt,* he provided a definition of a linguistic field, which reads:

> *Ein Sprachliches Feld ist also ein Ausschnitt aus der sprachlichen Zwischenwelt, der durch die Ganzheit einer in organischer Gliederung zusammenwirkenden Gruppe von Sprachzeichen aufgebaut wird* (quoted after Coseriu and Geckeler, 1981:24).[97]

What differentiated Weisgerber from Trier was that the former suggested a new scheme for language study. He believed that a distinction should be made between a 'static' and an 'energetic' study of languages. The first being a grammatical procedure *grammatisches Verfahren* and the latter a fully linguistic procedure *voll sprachwissenschaftlichen Verfahren* (See Górecka-Smolińska 2011). As the author

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[97] Translation from Kleparski and Rusinek (2007:190): *Linguistic field is an extract from the linguistic inter-world, which is composed of a whole group of linguistic signs which cooperate with each other in an organic structure.*

himself puts it (1963:11-18), the static language study incorporates the 'form-driven' *gestaltbezogen* and the 'content-driven' *inhaltbezogen* approach, whereas the energetic language study comprises the 'efficiency-driven' *leistungbezogen* and the 'effect-driven' *wirkungbezogen* approach. Weisgerber saw these approaches as the four stages crucial in the analysis of languages. He also believed that the idea of linguistic fields (*sprachliche Felder*) included both lexical fields and syntactic fields (the fields representing the patterns of sentences (*Satzbauplane*). As opposed to Trier (1931), Weisgerber analysed the structure of lexical fields both in a theoretical and practical sense distinguishing the following types of semantic fields:

1) **Single-StratumFields**: Arranged in a series (*Reihengliederung*): e.g. the numerical series or school grades used for evaluation,

2) **Surface arrangement** (*Flächengliederung*): e.g. in the field of kinship terms in modern German: dominance of a single classificatory viewpoint,

3) **Arrangement in depth** (*Tiefengliederung*): e.g. the colour cone in German; a two-level organization,

4) **Fields of More Than One Stratum**: e.g. the linguistic articulation of dying in German. Here, in the innermost circle, human dying *sterben* is contrasted with that of animals *verenden* and of plants *eingehen*; in a second circle the „cessation of life" is organized by means of objective points of view, e.g. *erfrieren, verhungern*; in the third and outermost circle by means of subjective points of view: e.g. *hinscheiden, heimgehen, verröcheln, abkratzen, verrechen*, etc. [98]

Yet another controversial development in the field theory came from the hands of Porzig (1934), whose idea of semantic fields referred to as Bedeutungsfelder, was based on the relations of sense between two syntagmatically related words. While both theories were subject to heavy criticism, the 21st century studies, show that all theories of lexical structures should incorporate Trier's paradigmatic relations and Porzig's syntagmatic relations (See Górecka-Smolińska 2011). Porzig's postulates were questioned by Lyons (1977:261) who saw the theory as highly limited, in that it was based on simple collocations, most frequently made up of a noun and a verb or a noun and an adjective.

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[98] Quoted after Coseriu and Geckeler (1981:24-25).

This is how Porzig (1950) himself describes the nature of meaning relations:

> What does one bite with? With teeth, of course. What does one lick with? With the tongue, obviously. What is it that barks? A dog. What does one fell? Trees. What is it that is blond? Human hair. The fact that is here illustrated by means of a few examples is so banal [alltäglich] that we are inclined to overlook it and above all to underestimate its importance.[99]

As it turns out, numerous structural semanticists, such as Trier (1931) saw the lexical structure of language focusing on the general terms, rather than on more specific ones. Porzig (1950), however, claimed that the meaning of lexemes is shaped directly by their use with regard to people, qualities, activities, objects, processes and relations in specific circumstances, deeming their original meaning as correspondingly specific and concrete (See Górecka-Smolińska 2011). Consequently, some lexemes manage to preserve their original and concrete meanings, especially the ones that in a synchronic language environment generate a notably restricted set of collocations. Regardless of his beliefs, the vast majority of lexical items are in the course of time, likely to be applied to a wide variety of topics and circumstances, with little chance of retaining their original meaning.

Another noteworthy contribution to the concept of fields is indubitably Stern (1931), who scrutinized what he called **permutation**, exemplified by the semantic development *rapidly > immediately*. The Swedish linguist's main aim was to find proof of related lexemes undergoing simultaneous semantic changes, regardless of cultural factors. And so, employing a psychological approach to meaning, Stern made a list of twenty-three O.E. adverbs, which conveyed the sense 'rapidly', and which by the end of the 14th century acquired the sense 'immediately' (See Kleparski and Rusinek 2007). Based on his observations, Stern postulated the existence of a tendency which suggests that the English adverbs before 1300 meaning 'rapidly', always acquire the sense 'immediately'. Alas, the reverse tendency upon later changes, seem to be nonexistent. Let us consult the following example[100]:

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[99] Quoted after Lyons (1977:261).
[100] Borrowed from Kleparski and Rusinek (2007:198)

Existing around 1300	O.E. *swifte* 'rapidly' → 'immediately' O.E. *georne* 'rapidly' → 'immediately'
Borrowed after 1400	*fleetly* 'rapidly' = 'rapidly' *rapidly* 'rapidly' = 'rapidly'

Figure 4.

Stern's research seemed to have great influence on the studies of Buck (1949), whose main focus was the semantic analysis of Japanese adverbs. Much like his predecessor, the author postulated that the meaning 'rapidly' is primary relative to 'immediately' (See Kleparski and Rusinek 2007). Hence, for example, the Japanese adjective *tosi* meaning 'sharp' was present in O.J, with both senses. *Subayai* 'pure' on the other hand, that entered the language much later, acquired only the sense 'rapidly'.

In 1978 Derrig analyzed the cognitive domain of INTELLECT, and he cross-referenced it with the semantic field of COLOUR[101], which he believed has been moved to the former one. Consequently, *white* started to be associated with innocence, *black* with evil and murkiness, *blue* and *green* with the concept of inexperience or lack of education and *yellow* associated with ripeness. Additionally, *light* has been extended metaphorically to denote intelligence, *dark* is connected with opacity, *bright* is associated with the concept of understanding, and finally *clear* might refer to alertness (See Kleparski and Rusinek 2007).

The Rzeszow School of Diachronic Semantics can boast a substantial body of research in the subject of fields. The founding father of RSDS scrutinized the evaluative developments in the field of **HUMAN BEING** in his seminal works (see Kleparski 1988, 1990, 1997). Kleparski (1988, 1990) studied the above mentioned field focusing on the

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[101] For more see Berlin and Kay 1969.

mechanisms of semantic change, specifically the processes of pejoration and amelioration deriving from such fields as **FLORA** and **FAUNA** (See Fig.5).

Pol. *burak* 'a beetroot' → 'country lad'

Pol. *grzyb* 'a mushroom' → 'old, unpleasant person'

L.Lat. *pagius* 'servant' → *page* 'boy-servant'(14th c)

↓

page 'a boy who serves as a personal assistant of a king' (15th c)

↓

page 1) 'a boy in royal service' 2) 'hotel servant-boy' (Mod.E.)
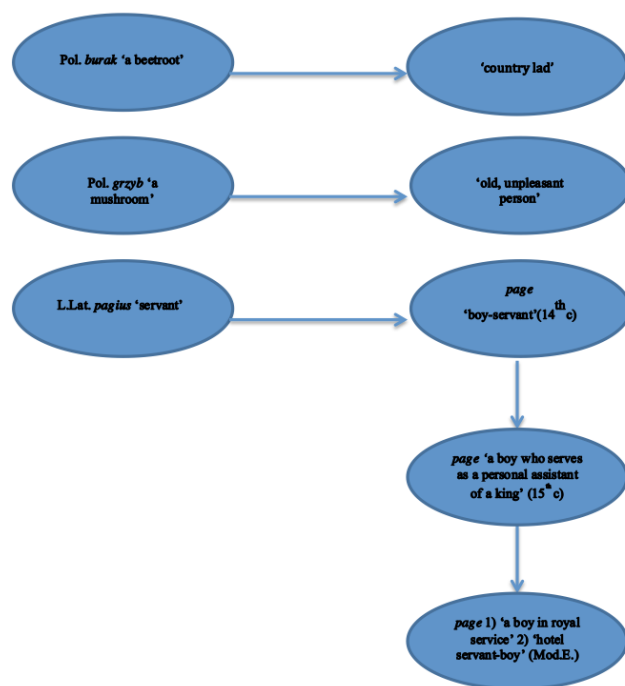
Fig. 5 Semantic changes in the field of **HUMAN BEING** deriving from the field of **FAUNA** and **FLORA** according to Kleparski (1988)

Yet another important study of fields, which should be mentioned, is the analysis of the field **BOY** and **GIRL/YOUNG WOMAN** (See Kleparski 1996, 1997). In his *Theory and Practice of Historical Semantics: The Case of Middle English Synonyms of GIRL/YOUNG WOMAN,* Kleparski traces back the historical evolution of synonymic expressions of girl/young woman in the English language. One of the more illustrious examples is the case of the term *pigeon* deriving from Mid.E. *pijoun/pejon* – which originally had the sense of 'young dove', yet later started to be used to denote 'a girl, a young woman'. With its metaphorical sense coming into existence during the E.Mod.E. period, it was usually accompanied be such adjectives as *pretty*, *young* or *fair*, despite

being recorded in use around the 16th century (See Kleparski and Rusinek 2007). Another interesting example is the appearance of the metaphorical sense of *dove* to denote 'a girl, a young woman' visualized by Kleparski (1997:214), as illustrated by Fig. 6 below:
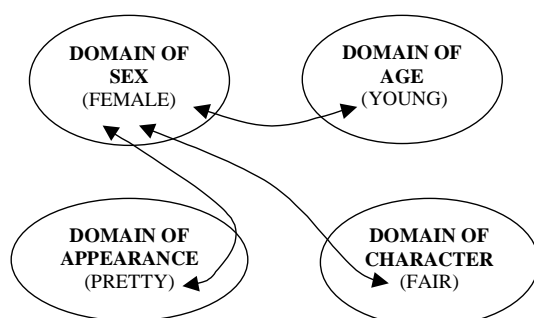
Fig. 6 The metaphorical sense of dove 'girl/young woman'[102]

Kleparski was followed by his disciples, predominantly Cymbalista and Kiełtyka, but also numerous others who have meticulously studied the intricacies of semantic fields in various Indo and Non-Indo-European languages. We shall delve deeper into the ventures of the Subcarpathian body of linguists from the Rzeszów School of Diachronic Semantics in section 3.3.

Regardless of the ingenuity and the unquestionable influence on the development of semantics, Trier's opinions have undergone heavy criticism from the linguistic world. One of the biggest shortcomings of his theory was the fact that he did not apply both polysemy and homonymy in his study. What is more, a sign of equality should not be placed between a lexical sign and a conceptual field. Additionally, as mentioned by Burkhanov (1999:54-55) the members of a specific lexical field should not only be part of one and the same part of speech, but also that their meaning should also depend on both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relation and not on the former only. Another element of questionable nature is the exact criteria for the demarcation of lexical fields. Finally, it has been postulated by many linguists that one cannot represent the whole lexicon of

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[102] Image from Kleparski and Rusinek (2007:200)

a language through fields, in ways that fields are covered by words. Ullmann (1972) also stipulated that Trier's theory has not been as firmly inspired by language as the creator himself believed it was. Finally, the lack of interdisciplinary tools made the Field Theory rather limited, as quoted by Tokarski (2006:37) who noticed that:

Mówiąc metaforycznie, zgodnie z założeniami teorii pól słowo jako składnik pola odnajduje swoich partnerów w obrębie danej grupy leksykalnej i w relacjach do nich wyznacza swe miejsce w systemie językowym bądź w strukturze tekstu. Inaczej ujmuje tę kwestię teoria ram interpretacyjnych. Tutaj bezpośrednim partnerem słowa staje się coś, co wykracza poza język, a wiąże się z konwencjami kulturowymi, ludzką wiedzą i doświadczeniem.[103]

Despite the critical attitudes, one may certainly look at these attacks as attempts to refine and improve the original concept rather than simply to disprove it. For one the mosaic image suggested by Trier was rather an unfortunate one in many ways. First of all, such image would purport that the entire surface of a given field is covered by the mosaic, which would suggest the lack of the existence of any gaps or lacking pieces within the structure of the mosaic. Such *Lückenlosigkeit* (absence of hiatuses) may, unfortunately be contradicted by the presence of the so-called lexical gaps[104], i.e. gaps within lexical fields, which may come into existence in a situation when a concept cannot be lexicalized, despite seemingly being part of a conceptual field. In order to illustrate the somewhat inconsistent nature of the Trier-Weisgerber field theory, let us look at Figure 7, which visualizes the most common terms in the field of **COOKING TERMS**. The graph is based on two analytic dimensions, and that is, how the cooking heat is created, and whether the process requires oil and/or water. The study itself was originally conducted by Lehrer (1974), whose publications led to the proliferation of lexical field analysis among English-speaking linguists. Lehrer's scrutiny (1974:100) is a living proof of the existence of lexical gaps in the field in question. And so, based on the graph, one

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[103] Translation mine: Metaphorically speaking, according to the principles of Field Theory, a word as a field component finds its partners within a certain lexical group and in relation to them specifies its place within the language system or text structure. The Frame Theory sees it otherwise. Here, a direct word partner is something that goes beyond language alone and is associated with cultural conventions, human knowledge and experience.

[104] Crystal 2008 defines a *lexical gap* as *[...] the absence of a linguistic unit at a place in a pattern of relationships where one might have been expected, also called an* **accidental gap** *or* **hole in the pattern**. The term is used mainly in semantics, [...] *where a lexical gap can be illustrated by the absence of a male v. female distinction within the term cousin (See. brother/sister, uncle/aunt, etc.).*

cannot find, for example a lexical item that would describe the process of cooking food in a pan without using water and oil. Similarly, a term referring to cooking with oil on a flame is likewise missing. The following examples are not exceptions and can be replicated deeming the Trier's original concept of a closed system rather implausible. Lehrer's study is also important for it incorporated the use of components, crucial in the componential analysis that will be the subject of the next subchapter (See Geeraerts 2010).

	conducted warmth (oven)	radiated warmth (fire)	hot surface (pan)
+ water, –oil –vapor	*boil*		
+ water, –oil + vapor	*steam*		
+ oil, –water	*(oven-fry)*		*fry*
– oil, –water	*bake roast*	*broil roast*	

Fig. 7 English field of **<u>COOKING TERMS</u>** by Lehrer.

Yet another observation that can be made upon analyzing Trier's mosaic concept is that fields are explicitly delineated, both externally, as well as internally, meaning that much like in case of a mosaic, lexemes belonging to a field have clear-cut boundaries, and that other fields follow the same rule. In such case, the whole vocabulary of a given language would be a perfect, ordered and overlap-free set of lexemes made up of smaller fields, eventually leading to *[…] the ultimate level of the mosaic stone, the word* (Geeraerts 2010:66). Compartmentalizing the lexicon is such way proved to be fallacious in many ways. Studies such as Helmut Gipper's (1959) are a testament to the fact that

boundaries between certain concepts are not as delineated as Trier originally believed them to be, and that they have a tendency to become saturated. It is indubitably easier to define the core of a category, but as we drift away into the periphery, the borders are more difficult to define. Therefore, specifying where various fields end verges upon the impossible.

Let us now consult Gipper's study, which analyzed the meanings of two German lexemes, namely *Sessel* 'comfortable chair' and *Stuhl* 'chair'. While conducting his analysis, Gipper provided a group of informants with pictures of different types of chairs and they were required to name them accordingly. As it turns out, the responses indicated a substantial overlapping between the two categories, with only a few exceptions of full agreement. Figure 8 visualizes the actual outcome of Gipper's experiment. The bottom circle graphically represents what the informants exclusively or nearly exclusively referred to as *Sessel*. A set of items surrounding this circle was mostly referred to as *Sessel*, yet it may have also been classified as *Stuhl*. The top part can be analyzed in a similar manner, with the upper circle being exclusively recognized as *Stuhl* and the surrounding items belonging mainly to the category *Stuhl*, but also classified as *Sessel* on occasion. The middle section represents the items that remain indefinite, that is for which neither *Stuhl* nor *Sessel* were dominant (See Geeraerts 2010).

Fig. German *Sessel* and *Stuhl* according to Gipper

What is interesting is that Trier (1968) himself claimed that the way lexical field theory developed would have been different if he had corrected Ipsen's mosaic image. The way he puts it is that a star-like concept of lexical fields should have been employed, where core of the field casts beams that have a capacity to connect with other cores with their ends. Such star-like concept was proposed by Otto Ducháček (1959) in his article *Différents types de champs linguistiques et l'importance de leur exploration*. Ducháček analyzed the semantic field of beauty in the French language (See figure 9). The image comprised a core lexeme *beau* (together with morphologically related terms), and was surrounded by semantically related fields branching out in form of beams. A somewhat simplified version of Ducháček's star-like concept is presented on figure 9. What one can learn from the graph is that specific lexemes, which denote the concept of 'beauty', have

their origins in seemingly unrelated conceptual fields such as NOBILITY or MAGIC. In order to understand the distance between individual items and the conceptual core, one needs to look at how far from the core to the periphery of a given category do specific terms beam out. And so, the terms closer to the centre will be closely related in meaning to *beau*, whereas the more peripheral ones purport the initial, etymological meaning originating from neighbouring fields. On occasion certain terms completely lose their link with the original field. The lexeme *charmant* meaning 'charming' for example has drifted away from its original meaning 'spell, magic, magician's charm' and acquired the idea of elegance and attraction much closer to the category *beau.* On the other hand, lexemes located on the periphery such as *feerique* 'fairytale-like' or *ensorcelant* 'bewitching' still operate in the linguistic world of fairies and witches. One issue, however, that will be crucial in the history of lexical semantics is that of the **vagueness**[105] of boundaries. As it turns out, yet again disproving the 'too perfect' mosaic imagery of Trier's linguistic fields, certain lexemes have a tendency to retain their original meaning upon acquiring secondary ones. Consequently, these lexical items become part of new conceptual fields; yet at the same times still convey their initial meanings resulting in their belonging to two distinct categories at the same time (See Geeraerts 2010).

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[105] Defined by Crystal (2008:22) as : The general sense of this term, referring to a word or sentence which expresses more than one meaning
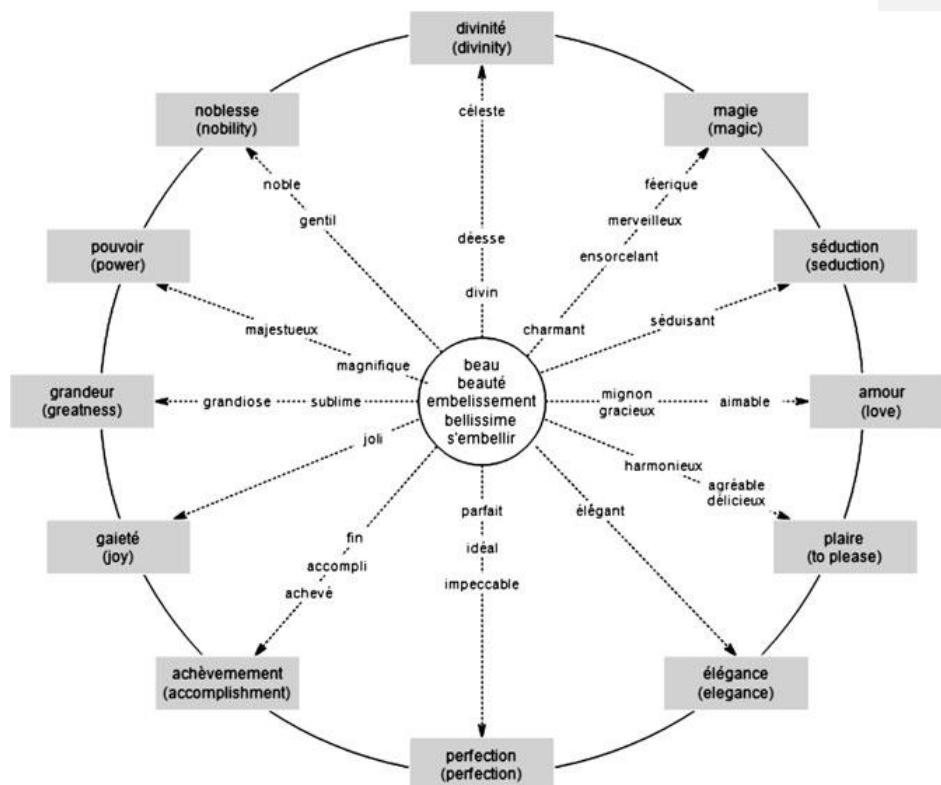
Fig. 9 The semantic field **BEAUTY** in French according to Duchácek

3.2 Componential Analysis.

Upon discussing the Field Theory one cannot forget about a semantic tool that *[...] bears many affinities to it and has been applied in many studies operating with the concept of fields [...]* (Kleparski 1988:45), namely **componential analysis**. A method that on rare occasions has been referred to as **lexical decomposition** (See Wales 2001) has its beginnings in the 1960s and from then on has been employed by numerous linguists around the world who venture to analyze historical, semantic changes. The mechanism embraces a seemingly simple concept, which suggest that the meaning of lexical items can be scrutinized and represented in form of sets of smaller elements, referred to as components, features or semes. In other words, lexemes can be

distinguished and defined by a number of inherent distinctive features or components, plausibly universal to all languages (See Wales 2001). In order to illustrate, let us look at an example provided by Kleparski (1990:20) who analyzes the semantics of the lexeme woman the meaning of which can pre represented by a selection of molecular conceptual parts +HUMAN, +ADULT, -MALE, whereas the meaning of man can be represented by +HUMAN, + ADULT, +MALE.

We have to agree that the origin of componential analysis is dualistic in nature, for its development was part of independent research of European and American linguists. While both groups have been influenced and inspired by structural phonology, the European componential analysis evolved from the Field Theory, whereas its American counterpart came about from linguistic anthropology. Some American pioneers in this method were Kroeber (1952), Conklin (1955), Lounsbury (1956) and Goodenough (1956). Although the European tradition of componential analysis was initiated by Hjelmslev (1953), it was in the 1960s, that the movement reached momentum with studies of Pottier (1964,1965), Coseriu (1962, 1964, 1967) and Greimas (1966).

3.2.1 The tradition of Componential Analysis in America.

It comes as a surprise that the idea of componential analysis came from the hands of mid 20th century American linguists, considering that the structuralist views were rather unfavorable to semantics studies. It was partially caused by the fact that the key figure in American structuralism, Bloomfield (1933) believed that a linguistic form and its meaning belonged to the extralinguistic reality – a psychological stimulus one might say. As explained by the author himself while *[...] uttering a linguistic form, a speaker prompts his hearers to respond to a situation; this situation and the responses to it, are the linguistic meaning of the form* (Bloomfield 1933:158). If such claim is to be precise, then such non-linguistic reality should not by any means be discussed by linguists. And so according to Bloomfield the relations between the meanings of such morphemes as wolf, fox and dog tell us nothing based on the form, consequently the description should be done by a zoologist rather than by a linguist (1933:162). Bloomfield's influence made American structuralism lean towards formalism, which did not see the study of meaning as part of linguistics. There were, however, two factors that would soon lead to the establishment of lexical semantics (See Geeraerts 2010).

We need to point out that Bloomfield was not against semantic considerations as

part of linguistics, as evidenced by his extensive section in his *Language* (1933) on meaning change. He also believed that upon defining morphemes, semantic considerations play a crucial role. Bloomfield postulated that a linguist equipped with a definition of the meaning of *male* and *female*, might utilize these definitions to point out that this is also the basis of the difference between *lion* and *lioness*, *ram* and *ewe*, *gander* and *goose* or *he* and *she* (1933:146) – a reflection that encapsulates the main principles of componential analysis. Nida (1951) incorporated some of Bloomfield's views creating a structuralist terminology for meaning description. Although his *A system for the description of semantic elements* contained no mention of componential analysis, he would later on become one of the most avid supporters and champions of this method (See Nida 1975). Nida's terminology shows the development of semantic theory mostly based on the structuralist phonology model.

Phonology indeed provides examples of tendencies that come very close to what later on became known as componential analysis. For example, phonemes /t/ and /d/ are different structurally-wise, according to the minimal pair such as *tip* and *dip*, yet the way /t/ is realized in *top* and *stop* is rather different; most English varieties would place more aspiration in *top* than in *stop*. Much like in componential analysis, individual phonemes can be distinguished based on their distinctive features. And so /t/ can be described as having the following components: −syllabic, +consonantal, −sonorant, +anterior, +coronal, −voice, −continuant, −nasal, while /d/ as +consonantal, −sonorant, +anterior, +coronal, +voice, continuant, −nasal. If this method is used to describe meaning, sememes can be put into sets, much like phonemes can be categorized into groups based on whether they are voiced or voiceless. And so sememes such as *gander* and *goose*, complement one another on the dimension of sex, whereas *old* and *young* can be analyzed according to the dimension of age (See Geeraerts 2010).

Let us come back to the aforementioned Goodenough (1956) whose study on the kinship terms in a Micronesia language called Truk, shed an interesting perspective on the future development on the concept of componential analysis. The author's main aim was to identify the semes that were the referential denotata for the kinship expressions. This is how he categorized the way family members are related to one another:

Semenapej – father, father's father, mother's father – abbreviated Fa, FaFa, MoFa

Jinenapej - Mo, FaMo, MoMo

Feefinej – *(male ego[106])* Si, FaBrDa, MoSiDa, FaMoBrDa, FaSiSoDa, but not WiBrWi (no denotata for female ego)

Mwääni – *(female ego)* Br, MoSiSo, FaBrSo, FaMoBrSo, FaSiSoSo, but not HuSiHu (no denotata for male ego)

Pwiij – *(male ego)* Br, MoSiSo, FaBrSo, FaMoBrSo, FaSiSoSo, WiSiHu, etc.; *(female ego)*: Si, MoSiDa, FaBrDa, FaMoBrDa, FaSiSoDa, HuBrWi, etc.)

Jeesej – *(male ego)* SiHu, WiBr, FaBrDaHu, etc.; *(female ego)* BrWi, HuSi, FaBr- SoWi, etc.)[107]

Another step was to use a number of letters to specify nine relevant dimensions on which the whole study was to be based on. Let us now look at the way Goodenough categorized kinship terms based on the following components:

A – indicates the general fact of being related to the ego (reference person)

B – specifies the generation

   B_1 – senior generation

   B_2 – the same generation

   B_3 – junior generation

C – stands for the sex of the relative

   C_1 – male

   C_2 – female

D – type of relationship to the matrilineal group

   D_1 – symmetrical

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[106] 'Ego' is the person whose relations we are mapping.
[107] Classification borrowed from Goodenough 1956.

D_2 – asymmetrical

E – specifies the sex relative to ego's sex

E_1 – same sex

E_2 – different sex

F – mode of relationship

F_1 – consanguineal

F_2 – affine

G – Age comparison with the ego

G1 – older

G2 – younger

H – specifies the membership to a matrilineal group relative to ego's

H_1 – ego's group member

H_2 – ego's father group member

H_I – none of the above

J – represents the type of collateral removal

J1 – lineal

J2 – not lineal

Having specified the components, one can now represent the kinship relation between the specific members of the Truk community. And so, for example *Semenapej* may now be componentially expressed as $AB_1C_1J_1$: these would be all male members belonging to a generation older that ego's or whom he is directly descendant from (fathers and grandfathers). Another example is the one of Feefinej that can be represented as

$AB_2D_1E_2F_1C_2$: referring to female blood relatives belonging to the same generation as the ego's, and ones having the same relationship with the matrilineal group as the ego (sisters, female cousins). One can quote more examples, yet it is irrelevant in this study. What is relevant, however, is the fact that despite having no linguistic connotations, Goodenough's analysis marks an important stage in the development of componential studies, for it embraces the very concept that was the foundation of componential analysis later on. Works such as Goodenough or Lounsbury (1956) who studied the Pawnee kinship terminology are breaking points in the history of lexical semantics, since it was the first time, that a lexical field was scrutinized based on dimensional oppositions. Let us now look at the beginnings of componential analysis on the European continent.

3.2.2 The tradition of Componential Analysis in Europe.

The lexical field theory created by Trier left a substantial gap in the way lexemes should be analyzed, leading to the eventual creation of componential analysis. For one, Trier failed to specify precise relations between lexemes in a field, restricting himself to verbal definitions and informal descriptions that are a reminder of the traditional philological semantics. Even his most illustrious example of the field KNOWLEDGE makes it difficult to deduce what exactly do specific terms convey. As a result, lexical field theorists made an attempt to analyze lexical items in fields based on their content. This would directly lead to the creation of the componential approach.

Much like Trier's contribution to the field theory, it was Hjelmslev (1953, 1958) who paved the way for the development of componential analysis. Hjelmslev held de Saussure's view of a language being a system based on mutual relations. As a semanticist he established the idea of **content figurae**, which was roughly what distinctive features from the previous sections were like. In practical terms, Hjelmslev's approach involved a very Bloomfield-like distinction. For example, he saw the lexeme 'boy' as 'he-child' whereas 'a girl' as 'she-child, 'a stallion' as 'he-horse' and 'mare' as 'she-horse', etc. (See Hjelmslev 1953:70). While such treatment of lexemes seems rather simplistic, it did follow the fundamental concept, that the meaning of lexemes can be scrutinized based on their distinctive oppositions; the very foundation of componential analysis.

The early 1960s saw the proper development of the componential approach with such prominent publications as Pottier (1964,1965), Coseriu (1962, 1964, 1967) and Greimas (1966). All of these studies were based on the fundamental notion that lexemes

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within a field can be distinguished based on functional oppositions. The gaps of the fields theory were commented upon by Coseriu (1964:157) who noted that: *La théorie des champs conceptuels doit être combinée avec la doctrine fonctionelle des oppositions linguistiques*[108]. Let us now briefly discuss the studies carried out by Pottier and Coseriu, without dwelling on Greimas' analysis for it incorporated the same principles of lexical analysis as the former two linguists. What is more, while one cannot undercut the indubitable contributions of Greimas to the develepoment of the componential approach, his influence on linguistics was much lesser than his achievements in the field of literature.

Pottier analyzed the terms belonging to the category SITTING FURNITURE in the French language. The field comprised the following terms *pouf*, s*iège, tabouret, fauteuil, chaise*, and *canapé.* Each term then, can be juxtaposed with one another based on the selection of features they share or not (See Figure 10). The similarity between this study and the work of Goodenough is uncanny, for the method of description is almost identical. What is more, much like Goodenough, Pottier postulated that the meaning of a specific lexeme is the sum of its position on the pre-defined dimensions.

	s1 for sitting	s2 for one person	s3 with legs	s4 with back	s5 with armrests	s6 rigid material
siège	+					
chaise	+	+	+	+	–	+
fauteuil	+	+	+	+	+	+
tabouret	+	+	+	–	–	+
canapé	+	–	+	+	+	+
pouf	+	+	–	–	–	–

Figure 10. Pottier's field of **SITTING FURNITURE** in French

Yet another aspect that is worth mentioning are the terminological distinctions

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[108] Translation after Geeraerst (2010:75) Lexical field theory has to be supplemented with the functional doctrine of distinctive propositions.

between European semanticists with Pottier's work being no exception. According to the French linguist a *sémème is a definition of a lexical item (lexeme), whereas sèmes* are the distinctive features marked in the table above as +S3, -S5 and so on. We can therefore say that sememes are collections of semes. What should be taken into account is the fact, that this terminology originates directly from the principles of structuralist phonology, much like the workings of American ethnosemantics. The difference is minor and lies in the focus, since Pottier sees semes as components of meaning, while Goodenough as types of denotata.

Interestingly enough, componential analysis had one more source of inspiration and that is the traditional lexicographic procedures of defining lexemes analytically, by dividing them into more simple concepts. And so defining a *mare* as a 'female horse' makes use of the differentiating feature 'female' to distinguish the word *mare* from other lexemes in the field connected to horse. This way of defining was referred to by Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas as '*per genus proximum et differentias specificas*[109]' A somewhat humoristic, yet accurate in this context, is the way Samuel Johnston used to define words in his *A Dictionary of The English Language* way back in 1755. Johnson may have actually inadvertently used a form of components when he defined a man as "not a woman" (-FEMALE) and 'not a boy' (+ADULT)

Around the same time Pottier was analyzing **SITTING FURNITURE**, Coseriu was creating his own system for describing structural relations within fields, a system that had much in common with Pottier's. Coseriu used both syntagmatic and paradigmatic (dividing into primary structures (dividing further into lexical fields and lexical classes[110]) and secondary structures (connected to word formation)). Despite the similarities, there were some differences, the most crucial one being, how lexical fields are defined. Coseriu was very restrictive about, what can be classified as a field, excluding fields such as earlier discussed Ducháček's field of BEAUTY TERMS in French. The French linguist believed that a true lexical field is the one where there are clear oppositions between the lexemes, such as day and night or young and old, as well as ones in which lexical items exclude each other unidirectionally or bidirectionally.

Coseriu created a set of seven steps that he used to determine a proper object for

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[109] Translation by Geeraerts 2010 : by stating the superordinate class to which something belongs, together with the specific characteristics that differentiate it from the other members of the class'

[110] See Pottier's (1964) classes.

investigation, rejecting any items that failed to meet the prerequisites. Firstly, it was the language that is the object of analysis not the extralinguistic reality. Next he believed that the metalanguage (language used to talk about language) should be excluded, with focus on the primary object language only. Thirdly, he prioritized synchronic approach over the diachronic one, natural within a structuralist framework. Fourthly, Coseriu postulated that fixed expressions such as proverbs or sayings must not be part of the analysis, for they are 'repeated discourse' and not really productive language use. Fifth, functional language should lie in the centre of structural analysis for it is homogenous, that is there are no differences in space, social layers and in stylistic level. The penultimate step is to pay attention to the productive system of a given language, not the norm, i.e. fixed ways of speaking which are not functionally distinctive. Finally, he claimed that the aim of semantic analysis should focus on the sense or the meaning of a lexeme (Bedeutung), not reference (Bezeichnung).

Alas, Coseriu's approach was not flawless, for some of his postulates were imprecise and inaccurate, as for instance the lack of explanation for what he means by 'repeated language' when referring to proverbs and sayings. After all the regular lexical usage is in its essence a form of repeating or imitating what we hear or learn during our lifetime. What is more his strict delimitation of what can be classified as a lexical field means that his system cannot be utilized for the analysis of the whole lexicon. And so, such terminologies as for example technological or medical ones have no place in his approach since for him they were mere 'nomenclatures' that do not follow his ideal mutual distinctive opposition-based structure (See Geeraerts 2010).

In retrospect, while the works of such linguists as Coseriu or Pottier were indubitably invaluable, their contribution to the development of lexical semantics was rather minor. The reason for it is that their work was mostly focused on the 20th century, as opposed to the Americans who incorporated componential analysis into transformationalist theories. This of course, did not prevent the European tradition of componential analysis to die out; on the contrary, it was still developed by linguists such as Heger (1964), Geckeler (1971a, 1971b), and Baldinger (1980) among others. And as mentioned before, European structuralist semantics were much more influential outside linguistics, predominantly in literary studies (See Greimas' work).

3.3 RSDS and Field research

The aim of the following section is to provide an outline of field-related studies carried out by RSDS members who were originally inspired by the seminal works of Kleparski (1986, 1988, 1990, 1996, 1997), as well as his earliest followers. One macrocategory that has been extensively analyzed by Subcarpathian-based linguists is indubitably that of **HUMAN BEING**, with numerous subcategories including **BOY** (See Kleparski 1996), **GIRL/YOUNG WOMAN** (See Kleparski 1997) and **WOMAN** scrutinized in detail by Kochman-Haładyj (2007, 2008a, 2008b) and specifically by Kochman-Haładyj and Kleparski (2011). Apart from the macrocategory of **HUMAN BEING**, the body of RSDS scholars attacked the category of **ANIMALS**, focusing on, yet not exclusively, animal-related metaphors in both Indo- and non-Indo-European languages, with such important studies as Kleparski (2002), Kiełtyka (2005, 2006), Kiełtyka and Kleparski (2005a, 2005b) and Górecka-Smolińska (2007, 2008, 2009a, 2009b). Last but not least, one can mention the unquestionably important studies in the field of **CLOTHES** carried out by Rusinek (2008, 2009), as well as Kleparski and Rusinek (2008).

The following studies investigate the way in which lexemes belonging to specific macrocategories change over time, undergoing either amelioration or pejoration. For example, Kleparski (1988, 1990) makes a number of interesting observations regarding semantic change and the way lexical items evolve over time. As postulated by the author, one cannot see linguistic change as a process resulting exclusively from social, cultural, political or historical factors, but also from the influence of quantitative and qualitative changes within the lexical system of a given language with the inflow of borrowings from other languages. Morphology also seems to be occupying a major role in the creation of evaluatively pregnant lexemes, with diminutive and augmentative alterations that motivate amelioration and pejoration of lexical items belonging to a specific conceptual category. To prove the point, one can look at the example of the derivatives *dog > doggie*, *bird > birdie* which indicate a sense of appreciation conversely to *soft > softling* or *young > youngling*, which are clearly depreciative in nature.

One of the most crucial observations[111] made by Kleparski (1988, 1990) is that historically wise the English language has been immensely productive when it comes to pejorative developments within the field of **WOMAN** evidenced by evaluatively

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[111] One that proved to be correct in numerous studies from 1988 onwards.

negatively loaded secondary meanings of such lexemes as *lady*, *girl*, *mistress* and numerous others. Kleparski's study provides proof that pejorative processes[112] in language are both directional and gradual.

Yet another study that embraced the concept of fields was that of Kochman-Haładyj (2007, 2008a) whose main focus was the process of derogation in the field of **WOMEN TERMS**. The study provides a fascinating insight into the world of linguistic inequality, proving the existence of the so-called double standard in the way that society judge males and females differently based on appearance, behavior and moral values. While the author sees the level of derogation in the field of WOMEN TERMS as mildly offensive, the lexicographic evidence suggests such pejorative terms in the field **WOMAN** significantly outnumber similar ones in the field of MAN. In another study Kochman-Haładyj (2007, 2008a) scrutinized a selection of lexemes belonging to the conceptual field of **FEMALE KINSHIP TERMS** paying special attention to the process of derogation. Let us look at one of the many examples provided by the author. Initially the lexical item *wife* was primarily used to denote a woman or an adult female, yet through the course of history it acquired a secondary sense 'married woman' and eventually developed a specialized negatively pregnant sense 'concubine' or 'a kept mistress' surfacing somewhere around the 15th century.

Following her interest in women-related semantic studies, Kochman-Haładyj (2007, 2008a) analyzed the body of lexical items belonging to the subcategory **WORKING WOMEN TERMS**. Much like previously carried out research, this one proves the existence of a plethora of pejorative developments in the aforementioned field. As an example one can trace the evaluative development of *hussy* deriving from O.E. *huswif* (Mod. E. *housewife*):

HUSSY

Female manager of the household → *a rustic woman/ a woman of low* or *improper behavior* or *of light character* → *a pert* or *mischievous young woman* → *lewd*, or *brazen woman*, *a prostitute* or *jade*.

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[112] Kleparski (1988) distinguishes four phases of pejoration, namely: social pejoration, aesthetic pejoration, behavioural pejoration and moral pejoration.

Kiełtyka (2006) focused his attention on the semantic developments within the category of **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS** attacking the lexemes belonging to the macrocategories of **CANIDAE**, **FELIDAE** and **EQUIDAE**. Surprisingly, while the aforementioned conceptual field shares seemingly little with the macrocategory of **HUMAN BEING**, the study proves otherwise. As it turns out, the animal related categories boast impressive level of productivity when it comes to zoosemic transfers aimed at the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**. Kiełtyka made a number of interesting observations that seem to support the earlier held views regarding the fact that the categories of **MAMMALS** and **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS** appear to follow a tendency to form evaluatively pregnant semantic extensions (See for example Kiełtyka (2005, 2005a) or Kiełtyka and Kleparski (2005a, 2005b). Moreover, the author confirmed that when used with reference to humans, animal attributes carry a meaning that is either evaluatively positive or negative in nature (See Stern (1931), Wierzbicka (1985), Hsieh (2003)). Zoosemic transfers, as noted by the author are bi-directional in nature, taking on a form ANIMAL>HUMAN or HUMAN>ANIMAL. Finally, upon analyzing the conceptual field of **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS**, Kiełtyka observes that when used with reference to humans, animal metaphor is not language specific, but is present in a vide range of Indo-European languages such as German, Italian, Russian or Polish and even in non-Indo-European ones including Chinese and Hungarian.

The main aim of Kleparski and Rusinek (2008) is to analyze the semantic shifts between the fields of **CLOTHES** and **HUMAN BEING**. The motivation behind undertaking such topic is that as it turns out, history has seen these two seemingly unrelated categories, come together on many occasions. The authors note that semantic shifts between these two conceptual fields are not uncommon and that they follow certain interesting tendencies depending on the gender. And so, for example, history saw lexemes such as *pinafore* or *skirt* originally belonging to the category of **CLOTHES**, yet in course of time, these acquired additional meaning related to the category of **HUMAN BEING**. Conversely, one can observe that words such as *capuchin* or *Zouave* which in their initial stages of development used with reference to the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**, at some point of time shifted and became part of the category of **CLOTHES**.

It must be stated that these analyses provide and engrossing insight into the world of diachronic semantics and semantic fields. Not only do these follow the heritage of

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Trier's significant theory, but also they build upon the very foundations created by the German linguist almost a century ago. With new approaches and methodologies, the Subcarpathia-based linguists belonging to the Rzeszów School of Diachronic Semantics leave an immortalized imprint on the canvas of European Linguistics. What is more the founding father of RSDS and his direct associates has already inspired a plethora of young researchers who attack a wide variety of previously undiscussed conceptual fields.

3.4 The drawbacks of componential analysis.

Componential analysis grew out of the formal approach to language, which focused on the structure of language, its deductive properties (i.e. generative capacity or algorithms), as well as seeking patterns within its elements. One of the biggest limitations of this approach was that it failed to incorporate cognition, the subjectivist nature of meaning and semantics, holding a belief that language should be strictly compartmentalized and delineated. The cognitive movement on the other hand rejected such claims and saw language as more of a continuum with very few boundaries.

The following table provides the major differences and characteristics of both formal linguistics and the functional approach to language study[113].

FORMAL LINGUISTICS	FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS
Sentence structure	Language functioning and discourse
Universal grammar as an intrinsic biological capacity of humans	Substantial universals
Autonomous language components	Linked language components with the domination of pragmatics
Synchronic structure of language	Language change
Ethnic languages	Language typology
A formalized system of language	The process of language acquisition

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[113] See Lin (2002:6)

Psychological manifestation	Processing of linguistic and psychological data
The theory and the description of language as an abstract system	Practical application of language (E.g. language pedagogy)

With the development of formalism, a number of new, anthropology-inspired tools for analyzing semantic features were established. These offered methodologies that would allow linguists to determine the meanings of words, but also differentiate between semantically related lexemes by means of lexical decomposition. One of such methods is the already discussed Componential Analysis, which has been utilized *[...] in work ranging from the transformational-generative struggles with the semantic component of the grammar [...]*, *[...] to the recent work in cognitive linguistics*. While the method has gained substantial momentum in the last few decades, it *[...] has never achieved real respectability in theoretical semantics* (Kay 2000:56) and *[...] was 'anemic' [...]* in that it *[...] led to the study of trivial subject matter* (Stryker 2014:22).

The method itself has been subject to heavy criticism from linguists such as Saeed (2009), Bolinger (1965) or Lyons (1968,1995) to name but a few. What has to be said is that componential analysis shares some of the main shortcomings of its predecessor, the classical categorization theory. One of its major drawbacks was the fact that it was binary in nature, i.e. a given word had a specific component or not. While the "0 or 1" approach is perfect for limited subsets such as the terminology connected with kinship, it will often stumble when analyzing more abstract sets, frequently leading to ad hoc components being added to generate more semantic distinctions.

The limitations of componential analysis go beyond the theoretical problems of binarism and the concept of semantic features. There are some practical issues the method is susceptible to, such as for instance its inability to process some semantic fields. And so it may be applied successfully when analyzing animal names, for example: *mare, sow, piglet, horse*, etc., but completely fail when describing citrus fruits such as: *orange, mandarine, lemon, clementine*, etc. (See Bauer 1983). While general language is able to specify the differences between these fruits, finding a set of general features that would allow to differentiate between them is more complicated. It is also questionable whether such set is enough to completely specify the meaning of any given lexical item.

Another issue lies in the process of identifying semantic features or semantic primitives (See Saeed 2009). From a philosophical standpoint it is hard to justify a given set of primitives and decide what the right ones are and how many of them is sufficient. Psychology was another field that saw the shortcomings of componential analysis and so, for example **Fodor and Garrett** (1975) questioned the very existence of semantic primitives, quoting experiments that would disprove the changing degrees of internal complexity within words. These would also show that upon language processing, words are likely to be treated as atoms of meaning without the need to divide them even further into subcomponents to allow for comprehension.

Finally, there was the problem of metalanguages used by componentialists. As evidenced by the previous subchapters, there has been a number different proposals, utilizing a variety of diagrams and symbols. Such devices were criticized for being unsystematic and frequently impromptu, constituting a distorted version of the analyzed language created by the author. The method was also under heavy criticism from philosophers, who believed that analyzing lexemes through a set of primitives was far from semantic analysis.

Despite heavy criticism, componential analysis has been utilized by numerous linguists and delivered a number of valuable studies across a variety of fields. Its supporters claim, that distinguishing components may in fact facilitate the characterization of semantic relations, both lexical and sentential. Componential analysis has also been used to scrutinize the semantic basis for processes within syntax and morphology. Last but not least, it has been postulated that semantic primitives should be treated as crucial elements on the semantic level (see Saeed 2009).

CHAPTER 4

COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS A SHORT OVERVIEW

4.1 The philosophy behind cognitive linguistics

The cognitive linguistics movement started in the early 1970s and was a direct consequence of the inability of the then linguistic theories to explain and analyze the ever growing list of linguistic issues. Surprisingly it was cybernetics, which paved the way for cognitivists and the development of the first language-processing systems in early 1950s (speech recognition, synthesis, automatic translation). Linguistically-wise, it was the general discontent with Noam Chomsky's generative grammar and the failed attempts to create a cohesive and effective form of generative semantics. The movement itself was also heavily linked with the birth of the 1960s and 1970s cognitive science, predominantly one associated with human categorization (see Rosch 1977). From then on, cognitivists have shared *[...] the commitment to pursue empirical studies that might help substantiate its claims, and to develop a coherent account of the connection between language and cognition* (Gonzalez-Marquez (2007:xxii). The word 'movement' in the previous sentence was used intentionally, for cognitive linguistics may not be referred to as a theory, but more as an approach utilizing a set of assumptions, principles and perspectives that have given birth to a number of diversified, complementary and occasionally competing theories. The 1970s were characterized by research grounded in and centered on syntax. This tendency was questioned by Charles Fillmore and George Lakoff, resulting in the transition from a syntax-driven approach to one that was semantically-oriented (focusing on lexical semantics in particular) and contesting the works and theories of Brent Berlin and Eleanor Rosch. The proliferation of cognitive linguistics, and predominantly the cognitive theory of metaphor was approached enthusiastically by language researchers. This was mainly due to a cohesive structure, the lack of a specialized metalanguage and the rejection of logicism in linguistic studies. There were two major names in the American tradition of cognitive linguistics who paved the way for further research, and these were Ronald Langacker and Charles Fillmore. The former began publishing his novel works and linguistic concepts that were based on the idea of the human mind being reflected in language. Three publications that have been perceived as the foundation of cognitive linguistics are indubitably *Metaphors We Live By* (1980)

by Lakoff and Johnson, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* (1987) by Lakoff and the above mentioned Langacker's prominent *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar* (1987-91).

While general linguistics studies diversity in natural languages from three different perspectives, i.e. synchronically (analyzing language as a complete system at a specific point in time) diachronically (seeking variables and constants over time) and internally (analyzing slang, dialects and other varieties) cognitive linguistics looks at language in more general terms, focusing on a limited group of natural languages and scrutinizing them in synchronic terms. The main aim of cognitive linguistics is to seek **structure**, **function**, and **systematicity** and the way these are realized within the language itself. What is more important however, is the fact that cognitivists analyze patterns of **conceptualization** based on the assumption that thought is reflected in language use. One distinguishing feature of cognitive linguistics is that it looks upon language as a mirror of the human mind. Utilizing a set of interdisciplinary tools, cognitive linguistics has turned out to be one of the most exciting and creative approaches in the study of thought and language. As argued by Houde (2004:i), while cognitive research and theories *[…] have influenced all branches of linguistics, and the concepts proposed therein have spread throughout the discipline […]* its interdisciplinary nature allowed it to permeate into *[…] the field of AI […]* enhancing technologies such as *[…] human-machine dialogue, automatic speech analysis and synthesis, automatic text generation and understanding, and knowledge representation*. In fact, as Lakoff (1990) points out, there are two main commitments underlying cognitive research, and that is the **Generalization Commitment** and the **Cognitive Commitment**. The former aims at characterizing the main principles governing all aspects of human languages. The latter suggests that rules of linguistic structure ought to find reflection in the existing knowledge on human cognition in other disciplines, predominantly the ones associated with cognition (psychology, neuroscience, philosophy, etc.). In essence, linguistic organization and language should mirror general cognitive rules and not only those limited to language. As emphasized by Tomasello (2010:1093-94) the main way in which cognitive linguistics differentiates itself *[…] from other approaches to human language is the cognitive commitment, which enjoins linguists to perform their analyses in theoretical terms compatible with other research in cognitive sciences*. Additionally, as noted by Tomasello (2010:1094) we can properly describe and explain languages *[…] exclusively in terms of more basic processes of human cognition and communication*.

The key feature that distinguishes generative grammar from cognitive linguistics

is largely connected with the place of meaning in both theories. In the former model, linguistic expressions are claimed to be determined by a formal system of rules independent of meaning. Cognitive linguistics, on the other hand, provides a contrasting view arguing that specific expressions are linked to a particular way in which a given situation is conceptualized. Such an attitude completely shifts the perception of the general relationship between cognition and language. While generative grammarians believe in the existence of a set of rules governing language design (Universal Grammar), cognitive linguists postulate that if such principles exist, they are deeply rooted in cognition. Cognitivists therefore express open skepticism about **the innateness hypothesis**, i.e. that our knowledge of language is innate, and that key elements of language are present in our brains from birth and we are genetically endowed with them. Hence the idea that since all newborns are equipped with a knowledge of language, producing grammatically correct sentences should be possible without exposing a child to a large corpus of syntactically appropriate structures. Cognitivists disregard such claims and believe that much like other skills, the knowledge of language comes from using the language and can only be acquired by imitation, observation, interaction, etc. In this regard language is not distinct from other human cognitive processes.

Geeraerts (2006:3) argues that while the key assumptions of cognitive linguistics and generative linguistics may differ significantly, the latter is also *[…] a "cognitive" conception of language […]* attributing *[…] a mental status to the language.* The fact that "cognitive" is part of cognitive linguistics *[…] does not signal that language is a psychologically real phenomenon (and that linguistics is part of the cognitive sciences) […]* it also means that *[…] the processing and storage of information is a crucial design feature of language* (Geeraerts (2006:3)).

In what follows I shall discuss the claim that meaning, linguistic structure and thought are interrelated by scrutinizing the key concepts within the theory. The notions of construal, perspective, foregrounding, metaphor and frame will be elaborated on in the sections below.

4.1.1 Construal

Linguists have long believed that one of the aims of language *[…] is to map elements of the external world onto linguistic form* (Sylvester 2011:200). Based on such a claim, different situations can be disassembled into components, each and every one of them corresponding to a given element of language. In essence, situational elements are

encoded into linguistic structure in a one-to-one manner and the whole process is governed by formal grammar. Let us consider the following examples.

(1) Steven gave the apple to Kate.

(2) Steven gave Kate the apple.

In traditional terms, both sentences have the same meaning and the difference in syntax has no reflection in semantics. According to generative grammar, both sentences are based on the same structure, suggesting that the distinction lies in the form not the substance. There has, however, been some evidence stressing the inaccuracy of this claim and postulating the existence of scenarios in which only one option is natural. Let us look at the following pairs

(3) Jack brought the book to the room.

(4) Jack brought the room the book.

　　Or

(5) John gave the fence a new coat of paint.

(6) John gave a new coat of paint to the fence.[114]

Although sentences (3) and (5) seem perfectly natural to utter, sentences (4) and (6) sound odd and would rather not be used by a native speaker of English. These distinctions suggest that examples (1) and (2) are simply based on construing the same situation in different ways, and that in some circumstances it is more natural or appropriate to use one mode of construal only.

In cognitive linguistics such direct mappings are perceived to be nonexistent. Conversely, cognitivists believe that certain situations may be construed in various ways and encoding these situations can lead to different conceptualizations.

4.1.2 Perspective

One key factor associated with alternating construals is linked with perspective as

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[114] The example from Langacker (1990:14).

shown by th*e* following example:

(7) The road climbs gently up the hill.

(8) The road goes gently down the hill.

Both utterances could potentially be used to describe the exact same scene, it would be inaccurate to state that their meaning is the same. The difference lies in perspective. In (7) the sentence is spoken by someone standing at the bottom of the hill and looking up, whereas (8) suggests that someone is actually standing on top of the hill and looking down.

What is interesting, however, is that the location of the person in both sentences is of no significant importance. One single person may utter both (7) and (8) while looking at a photograph, without the need of positioning himself/herself at the bottom or the top of the hill respectively. In other words, construing a scene from contrasting perspectives may lead to distinct interpretations.

Let us consider yet another example:

(9)   Kevin bought the laptop from Sam.

(10)   Sam sold the laptop to Kevin.

Again, the following sentences seemingly describe the same situation, yet the meaning can hardly be referred to as identical. The contrast lies in perspective with (9) being construed from Kevin's point of view, while (10) expresses Sam's standpoint. Modifying the above sentences may shed some more light on the perspective aspect of both examples:

(11)   Kevin bought the laptop from Sam for a good price.

(12)   Sam sold the laptop to Kevin for a good price.

(11) suggests that the price was low, while in (12) it was high. Therefore, we may infer that (9) and (11) focus on the buyer, whereas (10) and (12) are seller-oriented.

One more important aspect of perspective is that of a reference point in a particular situation. For example:

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(13)   The dreamcatcher is above the bed.

(14)   The bed is below the dreamcatcher.

The contrast is that in (13) the bed is the reference point with respect to which the dreamcatcher is positioned, while in (14) it is the other way round. Langacker (1988,1990) introduced the terms 'landmark' to denote the entity acting as a reference point and 'trajector' which is the entity positioned with respect to it. There may, however, be situations when the choice of both the trajectory and landmark is determined by pragmatic factors, which is illustrated by the following examples:

(15)   The book is on the desk.

(16)   The desk is under the book.

While both sentences can be used to describe the same situation, it is evident that books are conventionally placed with respect to desks rather than desks with respect to books, therefore coding this particular scene using (15) seems more natural. In the case of (13) and (14) such inherent pragmatic factors play no role, hence both the dreamcatcher and the bed may be construed as landmarks or trajectors.

4.1.3 Foregrounding

Yet another factor present in contrasting construals is linked with the idea of certain components in a situation having relative prominence over others. For instance, suppose I am strolling across my kitchen with a cup of coffee, when suddenly my cat runs in front of me causing me to trip and drop the cup on the floor, which results in the cup breaking into pieces. In order to refer to this situation, I could say:

(17)   I've broken the cup.

(18)   My cat has broken the cup.

Both codings are based on different construals. While (17) foregrounds my role in the situation, (18) foregrounds that of my cat, at the same time backgrounding my engagement in the event.

Yet another example that accentuates the concept of foregrounding can be illustrated by the following:

(19)   The cloth is on the mannequin.

(20)   The cloth is over the mannequin.

Again, while both utterances are nearly identical we can infer from (19) that the cloth is not only on the mannequin but it also covers it, which is not the case in (20).

4.1.4 Frames

In order to understand the idea of frames in the realm of cognitive linguistics, let us consult the following example. Suppose we are approached by our friend, who has just purchased a new laptop and upon reading the box comes across the word *SSD*. If we provide him with a definition, say from *The Oxford English Dictionary* which defines it as: 'a storage device containing non-volatile flash memory', she will indubitably feel lost without knowing anything about computers.

Hence, one would preferably explain the concept of *SSD* by not only saying what it was, but its role in a computer. Hence one could start by saying, that an SSD is simply an alternative to a physical hard drive that is based on flash memory, therefore it is much faster than traditional storage options. Such an explanation of course could go on and turn into a lecture on computer construction. The point is that in order to understand the word *SSD* well, one must possess a substantial amount of knowledge, which goes beyond what is written in a dictionary. Such background knowledge is referred to as the frame, or a structure, which encodes *[…] knowledge about stereotyped kinds of objects or situations, with special provisions for the roles played by their parts or participants* (Crystal 2008:198).

One may not think of the frame as the meaning of the word itself, but more as a key component facilitating its understanding. Much like we understand the word *sister*, for most of us possess the knowledge of kinship terms, thereby allowing for its juxtaposition with terms such as *mother, father, brother*, etc. Despite the fact that their meaning is different, all of them share the same frame.

The idea of frames is not always straightforward, purely for their multidimensional nature. For instance, the word *syphilis* can belong to various frames, including the medical frame, but also the social frame. If one utters a sentence such as *Syphilis can be treated with antibiotics* the term *syphilis* is used predominantly in the

frame of medicine, whereas a completely different frame can be ascribed to the same exact word, used in a sentence *John is a bit like syphilis, he tends to come back from time to time*. In this case I am not suggesting the fact that John is the disease itself, but that he (much like syphilis has the tendency to relapse) has the tendency to show up without being invited. Consequently, the term evokes different associations and, while requiring a basic understanding of the disease in terms of medicine is needed, the social frame is one that is principally in play in this context.

Fillmore (1982:119) gives yet another example with the word *weekend*. In order to understand it, one needs to have the knowledge of the seven-day cycle and the fact that it is Saturday and Sunday when we generally think of weekends and not for instance, Wednesday and Friday. Hence, a certain part of the cycle is profiled by the term. This is something we could refer to as conceptual knowledge. However, this knowledge is part and parcel of other aspects of knowledge located within this frame. If an alien paid us a visit he would probably be curious why Earthlings have a special term referring to Saturday and Sunday, yet no special one for Wednesday or Friday – up to a point where we explain the importance of Saturday and Sunday being non-working days in most cultures. Therefore, in order to understand the term, it is crucial to understand a set of very specific cultural patterns. We can also note that the concept of frame incorporates the idea of **connotation**, also referred to as affective, associative or occasional meaning (See Bussmann 2006). The term itself is frequently used in semantics to classify different types of meaning and can be contrasted with denotation. While the former focuses on emotional associations suggested by linguistic units, predominantly lexical items, the latter represents the link between linguistic units and non-linguistic entities denoted by them. It also refers to abstract, basic and constant meanings of linguistic expressions independent of situation or context, whereas connotation focuses on emotive and subjectively variable components of meaning. Hence the word *Hollywood* denotes an area of L.A. famous for its film studios, yet its connotation might include components such as: 'stardom', 'fame', 'celebrities', 'glamour', etc.

4.2 Conceptualizing the world around us

Humans rely upon language on a daily basis, exploiting it to accomplish numerous activities. Imagining a life without it seems improbable for we have grown to treat it as an intrinsic part of our existence and without it we would be unable to perform easy

communication tasks such as going to the post office, expressing happiness or sadness, offending somebody or declaring unconditional love, etc. Natural language proves to be the most effective way of **encoding** and **transmitting** both subtle and complex ideas. Two figures of speech frequently stand out within the cognitive model, for they prove to be immensely enriching for the way we describe reality around us. While the main focus of this thesis is placed on metaphorical mappings, we shall briefly discuss the concept of metonymy, because it is present within the corpus in form of metaphtonymy, i.e. the combination of metaphor and metonymy.

4.2.1 Metaphor

The discipline of rhetoric studied metaphor for over 2000 years. The discipline, first established in ancient Greece was focused on creating instructions on how to use rhetorical devices in order to persuade individuals to your point of view. Rhetoricians referred to these devices as tropes, and metaphor was one of them. **Metaphors**[115] have been used for millennia, yet it was the groundbreaking *Metaphors we live by* by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that brought the topic closer to a wider public. In short, as defined by the authors themselves *[...] the essence of metaphor is understanding one kind of thing in terms of another* (Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5)). Focusing on the thought rather than the words themselves, has become the underlying hallmark of the **Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth** CMT). A theory that has become part and parcel of the cognitive semantics movement and has given momentum to the early research in the cognitive approach. According to Evans and Green (2006:286), the defining idea behind CMT *[...] is that metaphor is not simply a stylistic feature of language, but that thought itself is fundamentally metaphorical in nature*. In the debate on what is the nature of metaphorical meaning, many authors believe that it has the same character as the conventional meaning, and the difference lies in how the linguistic content is expressed.

The elusive nature of metaphor has been in the centre of interest among linguists, language philosophers, as well as cognitivists for decades. Studies on metaphor has taken on a more interdisciplinary approach incorporating numerous fields of study to present a more complete picture of the subject at hand. Prominent studies and theories have been created over the last century with Black (1962), Grice (1975) Davidson (1978), Searle

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[115]The English word metaphor comes from 16th century Old French *métaphore* deriving from Latin *metaphora*, meaning „carrying over", and further back from Greek *μεταφορά*, meaning „to transfer".

(1979), Lakoff and Johnson (1988) and Aristotle (1988), to name but a few. While all of them partially manage to answer questions pertaining to metaphorical meaning, all of them carry a certain amount of fallacy in incompleteness. Philosophers, such as Black (1962) for example, reject the claim that the metaphorical meaning is the same as the conventional one, stressing the unique and creative nature of metaphors. They also suggest that metaphors can be described by the rules of semantics. In fact, he was the first one to create a systematic interpretation of metaphorical extensions called **The Interactive Theory**. There are two major components to his postulates; one is that metaphors have irreducible cognitive content (i.e. the meaning) and two; that the cognitive content is produced through the interaction of various cognitive systems (or as the author calls them "a system of banal associations"). Black criticizes other forms of metaphor theory commonly accepted by literary critics. He rejects what can generally be referred to as the **Substitutional Theory of Metaphor**. According to this theory, the source of metaphor (the lexical item which expresses metaphorical meaning within the literal frame) is used to convey a meaning expressed literally. In simple terms, it suggests that a given metaphorical expression has its literal meaning equivalent. Black strongly opposed these postulates, noting that numerous metaphors have cognitive content which cannot be paraphrased. In other words, many metaphors have no literal equivalents. Finally, he concluded with his interactive theory of metaphor, which was supposed to be free of the shortcomings found in other theories. He postulated that metaphors have cognitive content that can be expressed by any literal translation. His theory of metaphor is deemed too general to have substantial, theoretical value, yet it was a starting point for numerous theoreticians following his main claim, i.e. the irreducibility of the cognitive content of metaphors. Another prominent figure discussing the structure and the application of metaphor, was Davidson (1978). He was rather critical of metaphors and believed that while metaphorical sentences have a meaning, this meaning is literal, or as the author himself puts it *[...] metaphors mean what the words, in their most literal interpretation, mean, and nothing more* (Davidson 1978:32). One of his claims was that there are no instructions for creating metaphors; no manual, which determines what metaphors "mean" and "say". In other words, […] there is no test for metaphor that does not call for taste (Davidson 1978:29). Based on his remarks, understanding a given metaphor can be likened to analyzing a dream, i.e. the interaction between the speaker and the listener, as well as grounded in imagination. Consequently, metaphorical meaning is not construed in a defined, linguistic way separately from the literal meaning, therefore

it is unlikely that such type of meaning exists. Davidson notes that the metaphorical meaning does not explain the metaphor itself, but that the metaphor explains it. Upon understanding a given metaphor, one can claim to have grasped the "metaphorical truth" and say what the metaphorical meaning is. As Davidson puts it *[...] meaning in the metaphor is like explaining that a pill puts you to sleep by saying it has a dormative power* (1978:33). If metaphorical meaning does exist, it would become a literal meaning the moment metaphors would die. Davidson's criticism is based on the grounds that linguistic expressions used in a metaphorical way change their meaning, yet he is cautious to completely reject the existence of metaphorical truth. The main issue behind his theory is that it suggests how metaphors are used, yet it fails to elaborate on its power. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:6) were more radical in their views, claiming that metaphorical expressions are *[...] not just a matter of language*, but that *[...] the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined*. As Leezenberg (2001) notes, the novelty of Lakoff and Johnson's theory of metaphor lies in its cognitive approach, yet one has to bear in mind that a cognitive approach to metaphor was already suggested in the 18th century (see Nerlich 1992) and later by I.A. Richards in the 1930s. Metaphor as a type of conceptualization, as well as the symbolical and magical basis of cognition were also mentioned in *Language and Myth* back in 1925 by E. Cassirer. The inconclusive truth is that metaphors have an inherent capacity to generate new ways of perceiving the world and experiencing the reality around us.

Metaphors act as a link between two **conceptual domains**,[116] that is the target domain, and the source domain. The metaphorical process creates correspondence between the target domain and the source domain, which is frequently referred to as mapping or projection. The way it works is that that a particular A target domain can be understood through a B source domain. Kertesz (2004) gives an example of LOVE being the target domain and JOURNEY being the source domain. In such a configuration LOVE (the experience of loving) is mapped in terms of a JOURNEY (the experience of travelling), and this correspondence between the two domains allows us to conceptualize LOVE as a JOURNEY. A variety of mappings can be created in such a setup as shown by the following table.

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[116] According to Witte (2014:90), a conceptual domain can be defined as *[...] any coherent organization of experience.*

SOURCE DOMAIN: JOURNEY	TARGET DOMAIN: LOVE
The travelers	The lovers
The vehicle	The love relationship itself
The journey	Events in the relationship
The distance covered	The progress made
The obstacles encountered	The difficulties experienced
Decisions about which way to go	Choices about what to do
The destination of the journey	The goals of the relationship

Let us consider some of the manifestations of the above mentioned mappings

(1) They've come far in their relationship.

(2) We're at a crossroads.

(3) The marriage took an unexpected turn.

(4) There is no turning back now.

(5) We've reached this point.

(6) There's a bumpy road ahead of them.

Conceptual theory theorists observed that one of the underlying features of conceptual metaphors is their **unidirectional** nature. In other words, metaphorical mappings are structured from the source domain onto the target domain, but never the other way round. As Barcelona (2003:214) puts it:

> *According to the standard cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy (CTMM), mapping in metaphor is always unidirectional: only the source is projected onto the target domain, and the target domain is not at the same time mapped onto the source domain. Therefore, simultaneous bidirectional metaphorical projections do not exist in this theory.*

The principle of unidirectionality was observed by Lakoff and Turner (1989) even within two different metaphors sharing the same domains. The authors give the example of two metaphorical mappings, that is MACHINES ARE PEOPLE and PEOPLE ARE MACHINES. Let us consider the examples:

(1) MACHINES ARE PEOPLE

    a. *I think my computer hates me; it keeps deleting my data.*

    b. *This car has a will of its own!*

    c. *I don't think my car wants to start this morning.*

(2) PEOPLE ARE MACHINES

    a. *John always gets the highest scores in math; he's a human calculator.*

    b. *He's so efficient; he's just a machine!*

    c. *He's had a nervous breakdown.*

While both of these metaphors seem to be the mirror image of one another, closer inspection reveals that they are based on completely different mappings. In the MACHINES ARE PEOPLE metaphor feelings and willingness are mapped onto machines, whereas in the latter metaphor technical characteristics of computers and machines are mapped onto individuals, e.g. their performance, structure and the fact that they are susceptible to malfunction. The example shows that even if two distinct metaphors share the same conceptual domains, both will involve different mapping, hence producing distinct metaphorical imagery.

Upon creating metaphorical mappings one needs to consider two important points governing the selection of target and source domains. The first one is whether there is some kind of pattern which dictates the use of specific conceptual domains as target domains and ones that function as source domains. The second question is, what could be the motivation behind such patterns. Kövecses (2002) created an extensive database which suggests that the most typical source domains include conceptual domains associated with the HUMAN BODY (*the heart of the problem*), ANIMALS (*a sly fox*), PLANTS (*the fruit of her labour*), FOOD (*He cooked up the story*) and FORCES (*Don't*

push me). Target domains, on the other hand, are frequently grounded in categories such as: EMOTION (*She was deeply moved*), MORALITY (*She resisted temptation*), THOUGHT (*I see your point*), HUMAND RELATIONSHIPS (*They built a strong marriage*) and TIME (*Time flies*).

When it comes to what motivates the selection of particular target and source domains in metaphorical mappings, the common consensus up until the end of the 20th century was that source domains had a tendency to be more tangible and concrete. Conversely target domains were more abstract with no physical characteristics, hence more complicated to discuss and understand them on their own accord. Quoting Kövecses (2010:23), *[…] target domains are abstract, diffuse and lack clear delineation; as a result, they 'cry out' for metaphorical conceptualization*. In other words, most target concepts were frequently 'higher order' despite being grounded in more basic experiences, they tended to be linked with more abstract and complex experience-based knowledge structures. For instance, the conceptual category of TIME is conceptualized in terms of MOTION, for the way we understand TIME comes from our experience of CHANGE, an element that involves CHANGE (See Lakoff and Johnson 1999).

Metaphors are not merely an embellishment to language, but as noted by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), they are a way of thinking and even shaping the cognitive processes of other individuals. We all use metaphors on a daily basis, both in writing and speech, in fact it is impossible to imagine how we would function without them. Because metaphors function largely in the realm of the figurative, scholars from a wide variety of disciplines have took their time to scrutinize this phenomenon in detail, coming up with different types of metaphors

1) Absolute metaphor

A scenario in which the distinction between two terms is not readily obvious. It is also referred to as a paralogical metaphor or an antimetaphor. Its application is predominantly limited to literature, but one may find it in everyday usage. Absolute metaphors can be found in the writings of T.S. Elliot and Ezra Pound. As defined by Carrithers (2009:9), an absolute metaphor *[…] is one where the figurative side is known, but the other is unknown or hard to grasp. 'Death is a journey is such an absolute metaphor – for who knows death? […]* it is also one that the content of which *[…] cannot be stated explicitly, that is, without using metaphorical wording […]* in such scenarios the metaphorical expression *[…] is the only means of expressing the information contained in it*. In other

words, a situation in which an experience that should evoke a comparison does not appear (See Furness 1973). Vanzago (2006:436) sums up the definition by vividly describing an absolute metaphor as:

> *[…] a 'text', in a very broad sense of this term, which presents an absence, and this absence is in itself never present, but its unpresentabilitiy is in turn presentable. In other words, the absolute metaphor gives a form to, produces the visibility of, something that in itself cannot be visible, but whose invisibility is somehow more compelling than anything actually visible. This fact explains why a metaphor can never be totally exact. There is always a margin of indeterminacy, in the actual metaphorical expression, with respect to what is expressed.*

2) Complex metaphor

A complex metaphor is a form of figurative comparison in which one expresses the literal meaning using at least two figurative terms, frequently a combination of primary metaphors, therefore it is sometimes referred to as a compound metaphor. One may draw some parallels between a complex metaphor and a telescoped metaphor defined by Myers and Wukasch (2003:245) as *[…] a complex, permutating metaphor whose vehicle becomes the tenor for the next metaphor, and that second tenor gives rise a vehicle which in turn, becomes the tenor of the next vehicle*. Ritchie (2013) gives an interesting example that follows a pattern LOVE IS HEART (as in the metaphorical expression *His heart was broken*) linking it with the conceptual metaphor FAILURE IS BEING BROKEN (as in *broken promises*) and these two coming together creating a joint conceptual metaphor DISAPOINTED LOVE IS HEARTBREAK. Such an example illustrates *[…] that complex metaphors are based on simple ones, which are in turn based on tight, local correlations in experience* (Kövecses 2005). Lakoff and Johnson (1999:60) also add that it is not only primary metaphors that constitute complex metaphors, but also cultural assumptions. For example, the metaphor A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY have a cultural aspect to it, with convictions such as PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE PURPOSES IN LIFE, and the logical PEOPLE SHOULD ACT SO AS TO ACHIEVE THEIR PURPOSES linked with the embodied primary metaphors PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS.

3) Conceptual metaphor

A Conceptual metaphor is a scenario in which an idea (conceptual domain) is understood in terms of another. Conceptual metaphor theory opposes the idea that

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metaphor is merely a decorative mechanism occupying a lateral position within both language and thought. Instead it suggests that it occupies a central position in thought, and therefore in language. Deignan (2005) enumerates a number of tenets which define the underlying nature of metaphors in general:

- metaphor is grounded in physical experience

- metaphors structure thinking

- metaphor is central to abstract language

- metaphors structure knowledge

- metaphor is ideological

A few examples provided by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) within the metaphorical mapping TIME IS MONEY are:

a) *I don't have the time to give you.*

b) *I've invested a lot of time in her.*

c) *That flat tyre cost me an hour.*

4) Conventional metaphor

A scenario in which a familiar comparison is made, one that requires no effort or knowledge on the part of the listener to understand. Some authors even suggest some form of synonymy between conventional and dead metaphors (See Jaworska 2011). Certain parallels may in fact be noticeable, such as for instance the fact that both lose their metaphorical potency over time and extensive use.

Some examples include:

a) *Time is running out*. (TIME IS A RESOURCE)

b) *It's time to get on with your life* (LIFE IS A JOURNEY)

5) Creative metaphor

A metaphor that functions predominantly in the realm of literature and poetry and one that is frequently referred to as a literary metaphor, an unconventional metaphor or poetic metaphor (See dead metaphor and conventional metaphor). Creative metaphor is a figure of speech which is based on an original comparison between two or more items. Some authors question its exclusivity in the field of literature and postulate its possible use in everyday language despite classifying this metaphorical category as rather chaotic (See Mueller 2010). One example which illustrates the idea of a creative metaphor is the metaphorical picture of FEAR presented by Sophie Tunnel: *Fear is a slinking cat I find Beneath the lilacs of my mind.*[117]

6) Dead metaphor

A dead metaphor is one that has lost its influence as a consequence of frequent use. Sometimes it is referred to as historical metaphor or a frozen metaphor. The cognitive linguistic movement has openly criticized the existence of the so called dead metaphor theory – a claim that conventional metaphors are dead and their imaginative effectiveness and force has somehow been lost. Whether cognitivists are right or not let us consult a few examples to see the validity of their postulates. Expressions such as *the legs of a table* or *the arms of a chair* are extremely natural and, while they are based on the metaphorical image of the human body, hardly anyone utters these with the intention of creating metaphorical imagery. Marks (2004) gives yet another example somehow linked to the previous two, and that is the *body of an essay*. Again parallels are to be drawn from the world of human anatomy, yet one does not imagine a torso when conceptualizing an essay. The word *body* here refers to the main part of the piece of writing, hence its metaphorical meaning is lost, turning the metaphor dead. Other examples include *the hands of a clock* and *a face of a clock* both following the same principle as described above (See McArthur 1992). We can therefore say that dead metaphors can simply be described as empty metaphors the structure of which remained unchanged, but the substance was somehow lost over time. One may even go a step further and discredit the

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[117] Quote taken from:
http://thinkexist.com/quotation/fear_is_a_slinking_cat_i_find_beneath_the_lilacs/219153.html

existence of the dead metaphor overall, only treating it as *[…] an expression that no longer has a pregnant metaphorical use* (Black 1993). The concept itself, however, is not that straightforward and it has both proponents and opponents. Kövecses (2010:xi) sums it up on the cognitive side, by claiming that

> *The dead metaphor account misses an important point: namely, that what is deeply entrenched, hardly noticed, and thus effortlessly used is most active in our thought. The metaphors… may be highly conventional and effortlessly used, but this does not mean that they have lost their vigor in thought and that they are dead. On the contrary, they are 'alive' in the most important sense – they govern our thought – they are metaphors we live by.*

7) Extended metaphor

A scenario in which two unlike items are compared in a series of sentences within a paragraph or a poem. Extended metaphors give authors an option to create extensive comparisons between two entities. It can also be employed to evoke specific impressions with regards to entities in a reader's mind. In contrast to simple metaphors or similes, extended metaphors serve to create a much more intensive comparison. The following example shows how a character's imagination is conceptualized in terms of a circus:

> Bobby Holloway says my imagination is a three-hundred-ring circus. Currently I was in ring two hundred and ninety-nine, with elephants dancing and clowns cart wheeling and tigers leaping through rings of fire. The time had come to step back, leave the main tent, go buy some popcorn and a Coke, bliss out, cool down."[118]

8) Mixed metaphor

A scenario in which a combination of abstract and ludicrous comparisons are made with two or more metaphors jumbled together frequently in an illogical manner. Mixed metaphors are frequently created by accident and the end-product is in most cases comical and confusing rather than eye-opening as in the example below:

> *This is the margin of patience. It takes a special player or coach with a strong back for scrutiny to transition from a wide-eyed country mouse to a position in a rat race of expectations without losing his marbles.[119]*

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[118] Quotation from Dean Koontz, *Seize the Night*. Bantam, 1999
[119] T*he New York Times*, reprinted in *The New Yorker*, December 24, 2007

9) Primary metaphor

The most basic easily comprehended metaphor such as ARGUMENT is WAR, which can be collectively used with other primary metaphors leading to the creation of complex metaphors. It seems that these *[...] have the widest cross-linguistic distribution. Since they arise directly from experience – and in many cases, from the bodily experience of the world shared by all humans – they are more likely to be universal than the more complex metaphors which are combinations of them (*Grady 1997:288). The founding fathers of CMT give the example of MORE IS UP as a primary metaphor. Its embodiment takes place on three different levels. Firstly, we constantly experience scenarios in which MORE is systematically linked with UP (e.g. *Prices have skyrocketed*). Secondly, the metaphor is drawn directly from the source domain, being in this case the sensorimotor system of our body. Thirdly the correspondence between the target and the source domains of this particular metaphor is created in the body through neural connections. Lakoff and Johnson (2003:257) enumerate a few more primary metaphors including ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS or PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, deeming their universality. After all, human beings have almost identical mental and bodily structures and the environments we live in are quite alike.

10) Root metaphor

An idea introduced by S.C. Pepper in his "World Hypotheses" to address the basic intuitions laying the foundations of specific philosophical systems. According to the author, these intuitions originate in the same source as the hypotheses linked with solving everyday problems. Upon facing an issue, individuals try to remember analogous experiences useful in solving the problem. Similarly, a root metaphor is a basic association shaping our understanding of a given situation. The way root metaphor differentiates itself from other types is that it is by no means a figure of speech, but a basic, frequently subconscious conception about reality. Let us look at the example below:

> *If man is to be creative in the construction of a new world theory, he must dig among the crevices of common sense. There he may find the pupa of a new moth or butterfly. This will be alive, and grow, and propagate but no synthetic combination of the legs of one specimen and the wings of another will ever move except as their fabricator pushes them about with his tweezers.*

11) Submerged metaphor

A scenario in which one of the domains is not stated explicitly, but rather implied. As noted by Birenbaum (1988:229) such metaphorical projections *[...] lend the force of their associations in a subliminal way but are likely to be disruptive if they are realized too explicitly*. Sebranek (2000) gives the following example: *Coach Smith mended the losing pitcher's hurt feelings* (Not literally; he simply tried to comfort him).

12) Therapeutic metaphor

A tool used by therapists to aid patients in personal transformation. These metaphors usually utilize stories or pictures to look at something from different perspectives. They also help individuals to distance themselves from their thoughts and make better decisions regarding all sorts of reactions. The example below is aimed at victims of bullying (see Hannan and Tolin 2005):

> Our minds are like school playgrounds that are surrounded by secure high fences – the y keep children in, and others out. Any bullies in that playground mean that the other children can't escape for long. This particular bully uses verbal abuse, shouting, teasing, and threats (rather than physical violence). The children are all fenced in together, and ideally, they have just got to learn to accept and learn to be with each other. So neither can we escape our thoughts, we cannot stop them, but perhaps we can learn to live with them by seeing them differently. Along comes bully, and takes on 3 potential 'victims' who all react differently.
> Victim 1 – believes the bully, distressed, reacts automatically (bully carries on)
> Victim 2 – challenges the bully "hey I'm not stupid, I got 8 out of 10 in my spelling test this morning, you only got 4" (bully eventually gives up)
> Victim 3 – looks at the bully (acknowledges the thought), then walks away and goes off to play football with his mates (dismisses the thought), then changes their focus of attention.

13) Visual metaphor

A representation of an idea, object, location or individual by means of a visual image which generates association or similarity. We can observe an onslaught of this concept in modern advertising and public campaigns. One example is the metaphorical representation of two cigarettes resembling a shotgun and a

Smoking kills inscription below. Image[120] presented below:

4.2.2 Metonymy

As noted by numerous authors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Littlemore 2015 or Denroche 2014) aside from metaphors, language users utilize yet another equally (or even more according to some linguists i.e. Timalsina 2015) important linguistic device, which is key in both language and cognition. While much more focus has been placed on the scrutiny of metaphor, one should not fail to notice the indubitable influence of metonymy and its role in our lives.

According to linguists, metonymy is by far one of the most crucial cognitive mechanisms in language, for its prevalence can frequently be compared to that of metaphors. Metonymy works by replacing the name of one entity for another *[…] to which it is related to by association of ideas, as having close relationship to one another* (*EB*[121]) In more linguistic terms it *[…] is a process of representation in which one word or concept or object stands for another by **contiguity** or **causality*** (Al-Sharafi 2004:1) Its efficiency lies in its universality and *[…] the pictorial appeal of the concrete and visual and prominent, as opposed to the abstract and general* (Rayevska 1979:168). While certain parallels (such as the same conceptual constructs governing the creation of

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[120] Image borrowed from https://jayinniss.files.wordpress.com/2015/03/creative-antismoking-ads-shotgun.jpg
[121] Found at: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclopædia_Britannica/Metonymy

metonymies, i.e. **conceptual domains**, **schemas**, **frames**, **idealised cognitive models** and **mappings**) can be drawn between metonymies and metaphors, the former ones are not based on complete similarity between the original concept and the metonymic one. Metonymy is also more likely to cling to real world contiguity between entities and is more susceptible to extra linguistic circumstances. Additionally, metonymic transfers are more grounded in knowing the circumstances, i.e. *[...] while most metaphors can be understood fairly well without knowing anything about the extra linguistic situations in which the process of metaphor occurs, metonyms require a knowledge of these circumstances* (Grygiel and Kleparski 2007:105). What is more, this linguistic process […] *involves indirectness, which means that it underlies a great deal of euphemism, hedging and vague language* (Littlemore 2015:1). What needs to be noted is that despite a relatively uniformed and agreed-upon set of rules, components and definitions regarding metonymy, there is still plenty of disputes when it comes to agreeing upon the naming of these across different publications (See Denroche 2014).

Metonymy has so far been approached in two ways, i.e. from the perspective of linguistics, which focuses on the operation of metonymy within language and the cognitive approach, which scrutinizes metonymy in terms of its conceptual characteristics. Since the vast majority of recent studies regarding metonymy, has utilized the latter approach, it is worth providing the final, yet the most accurate definition of metonymic transfer as noted by Kövecses (2006: 99).

> *Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual element or entity (thing, event, property), the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity (thing, event, property), the target, within the same frame, domain or idealized cognitive model (ICM).*

The concept of frames has already been discussed in the previous subchapter, yet it needs to be added that there is a certain level of ambiguity with regards to the classification of frames. Upon discussing frames, Fillmore (1982) distinguishes between static and dynamic representations of typical life situations, however, in reality it is frequently hard to differentiate between what is static and dynamic knowledge. Consequently, it is more accurate to utilize idealized cognitive models (ICM[122]), which act as an encyclopaedic reference to our knowledge networks within our minds (See

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[122] For more on ICMs and the classification of ICM types see Lakoff (1987).

Littlemore 2015). One such graphically represented ICM for cars is shown below[123].
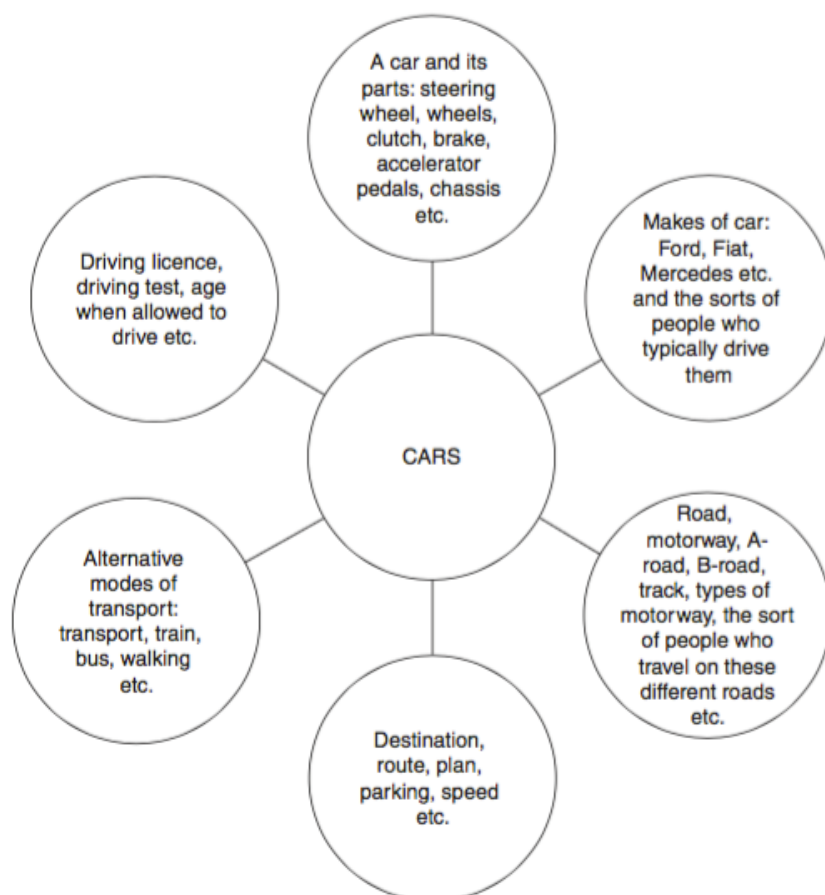
4.2.2.1 Types of metonymy

Before we delve into the intricacies surrounding the typology of metonimies let us look at a few examples of metonymic transfer:

The White House will soon decide what to do with Jones.

In this particular examples there are two metonymical tranfers. The first one is

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[123] Image borrowed from Littlemore (2015:10).

The White House, which stands for the president and/or the authorities, for the building itself has no decision making or executive capacity.What is more, it conceals the involvement of a specific party responsible for the decision in question, making the sentence more ambiguous (intentionally or not). As mentioned by some authors, including Ibáñez and Campo 2002 or Panther and Thornburg 2009, metonymy can be used for a variety of communicative functions. The word *Jones* is also used metonymically in this case to refer to the situation connected with Mr. Jones or an affair that he was involved in, again potentially acting to obfuscate some crucial facts.

Another common metonymical transfer is based on the PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT relation, as evidenced by the following.

You can find that kind of stuff only in King.

In this case the producer (King) is a metonymical reference to his product (stories and books written by Stephen King). The transfer acts as an all-encompassing term for everything the author has done so far and may be used to significantly reduce the length of an utterance. The second metonymy stuff presumably refers to the topics touched upon by the author, again takin away the need for further elaborations. The sentence however, may appear to be heavily coded for someone unfamiliar with the work of Kings or the contents of his literary endeavours.

Everyday conversations are frequently rich in PART FOR WHOLE metonymies such as:

There is some fresh blood in our new department.

The idea behind this metonymy is that blood refers to the whole person and not the liquid itself. As noted by Langacker (1993) metonymy can often be suggestive about what it wants to expose or conceal. If we look at this particular example and potential body parts that can stand for the whole human, it is obvious that while blood, heart, eyes, legs, hands or brain can be representative of the owner, whereas fingernails, saliva or retinas are less likely to be used for this purpose.

We should remember Westerplatte.

This is an example of PLACE FOR EVENT metonymical transfer. In this case instead of specifying what is meant by *Westerplatte* the speaker simply presupposes the historic value of this place. Again, this example proves that metonymies are much more knowledge based and require more effort to be understood compared to metaphors.

Metonymies are present in everyday speech and are part and parcel of linguistic expression (See Kövecses 2012). We often use the word *Wall Street* to refer to businesses and corporations operating within this district, or the word *Pavarotti* to refer to the music or a CD of the musician. While the relation may seemingly be simple, its meaning may not always be obvious. Transfers such as the ones above are systematic in nature much like metaphorical mappings, in that they shape not just the language itself but also thoughts. Metonimies are present on various different levels of language use and hence constitute a complex network of transfers. The most commonly accepted and accurate taxonomy was provided by Radden and Kövecses (1999) and may be consulted below:

Whole and part metonymies	Thing and part ICM	E.g. PART FOR WHOLE The perfect *set of wheels* (BofE)
	Scale ICM	E.g. ENDS FOR WHOLE SCALE *Young and old* alike (BofE)
	Constitution ICM	E.g. MATERIAL FOR OBJECT Use only a 3-*wood* off the tee (BofE)
	Event ICM	E.g. SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT Jay and Denise are to *walk up the aisle* (BofE)
	Category and member ICM	E.g. CATEGORY FOR MEMBER OF CATEGORY Fancy coming round for *some drinks* (CorTxt)[4]
	Category and property ICM	E.g. SALIENT PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY The brothers needed *some muscle* (BofE)
Part and part metonymies	Action ICM	E.g. TIME FOR ACTION They *summered* at Ville d'Avray (BofE)
	Perception ICM	E.g. THING PERCEIVED FOR PERCEPTION *Head* not so great (CorTxt)
	Causation ICM	E.g. EFFECT FOR CAUSE Because you live on a *fast road*... (BofE)
	Production ICM	E.g. PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT She took out the *hoover* (BofE)
	Control ICM	E.g. CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED *Rommel* was in retreat (BNC)
	Possession ICM	E.g. POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR He married *money* and became an MP (BofE)
	Containment ICM	E.g. CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS I'll have a *glass* to celebrate
	Location ICM	E.g. PLACE FOR INHABITANTS The *whole town* is on the verge of starvation (BofE)
	Sign and reference ICM	E.g. WORDS FOR THE CONCEPTS THEY EXPRESS (Too general a *concept* for this volume)
	Modification ICM	E.g. MODIFIED FORM FOR ORIGINAL FORM *LOL* (for 'laugh out loud') (CorTxt)

As evidenced by the graph above, there are two major types of metonimies, i.e. WHOLE AND PART, as well as PART AND PART. These produce a group of ICMs, which are then followed by even more types of metonimical transfers.

The first group denotes cases where a part of something stands for a whole, such as when we say *hands*, but we simply mean people, or when the scenario is reversed, i.e. The house needs cleaning, where there is usually some kind of active zone we want to focus on (See Radden and Kövecses 1999). Further six ICMs are indentified by the

authors, including: Thing and part, Scales, Constitution, Event, Category and Member and Category and Property. The latter group involves scenarios where a conceptual entity is related to another conceptual entity within an ICM and this relationship applies entities within an event (See Kövecses 2002)

The following taxonomy is part of many attempts to logically categorize the types of metonymical transfers which can act as a template for metonymy creation. There were numerous other attempts from prominent linguists including Stern (1931), Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Fass (1997) or Seto (1999).

4.2.3 Metaphors, Metonymies and Metaphtonomies

The most common way of identifying metonymy is to contrast it with the phenomenon of metaphor. Jakobson (1956) noted that both metaphor and metonymy are two different ways of looking at the world and processing the information within. While a number of linguists created tools to juxtapose these cognitive mechanisms, the dividing line between the two may seem thinner than originally thought. In fact, there are some authors who claim that metonymies and metaphors do not act irrespectively from each other, but that they coexist within a single continuum (See Dirven and Pörings 2003). By no means one can speak of a complete agreement upon the clear distinction between the two concepts.

One way of differentiating between metaphor and metonymy was suggested by Lakoff 1987) who utilized the Langacker's (1987) concept of **domains**. These may be juxtaposed with ICMs, for they too act as a relatively coherent knowledge structure about a specific entity. According to these authors, the most noticeable difference between metaphor and metonymy is that the former is likely to involve a mapping across domains whereas the latter takes place within a single domain.

Another relevant point of reference is the **Domain Highlighting Model** suggested by Croft (2002) who postulated that entities are part of something he referred to as a **domain matrix** and that different contexts trigger different parts within a specific domain matrix. In simple terms a domain matrix is the number of domains which can be accessed by a specific lexical item (See Evans 2007). For example, if one mentions that *The White House needs a paintjob*, then the 'White House as a building' part of the matrix is triggered, whereas if one would say that *The White House is about to change the constitution*, then obviously we would trigger the 'White House as a collective of people'

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part.

The last of the major approaches to the topic to be mentioned was suggested by Peirsman and Geeraerts (2006) and it involves the already mentioned concepts of **similarity** and **contiguity**. While metaphors are largely based on similarity (i.e. we compare something to something else e.g. death is compared to sleep), metonymies are likely to be based on contiguity (or experiential togetherness (Waltereit 1999:234) which entails concepts being adjacent or related and not separate. What has to be said is that contiguity has been a subject of numerous disputes as it frequently works as only a half-measure in the process of identifying metonymies. Many linguists (See Haser (2005)) or Nerlich (2003)) question the real scope of contiguity and its universality when analyzing metonymies.

There have been numerous studies on the concept that is intermediate between metaphor and metonymy including: Goosens (1990), Riemer (2002), Bartsch (2002) or Dirven (2002). Goosens (1995) was first to investigate the relations between metaphors and metonymies and create a taxonomy of what he referred to as metaphtonymy. He distinguished four major types base on the directionality factor, i.e.

a) **Metaphor from metonymy**

This is by far the most prolific from all the categories, and as noted by Goosens (1990) a number of metaphoric expressions come from metonyms including *tongue in cheek* (ironic) or *close-lipped* (secretive). The physical aspect of 'one's tongue in one's mouth' and 'having closed lips' are intrinsic parts of the behavior connected with both expressions. The DEATH-related metaphorical expression *brain-dead* meaning 'stupid' is another example of this type.

b) **Metonymy within metaphor**

In this case a metonymic component is implemented within a metaphorical expression. An example of such instance is the English *shoot oneself in the foot* in which the foot stands for 'one's ground' and the expressions itself means to cause oneself difficulty (metaphorically). What needs to be added is that this particular category does not act as something intermediate between metaphor and metonymy, but rather a scenario they both coexist within a single expressions and retain their distinctiveness. Another

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common example of this type is *to close one's eyes* meaning 'to die'.

c) Metaphor within metonymy

Instances within this category involve the opposite relation compared to the previous category, i.e. when a metaphoric element is incorporated into a metonymical expression. Some examples include text specific (*Saw Close*) the terms used to address male genitalia, many of which are metaphoric in nature, i.e. *family jewels* or *privates*, yet they are metaphors only *[...] on the surface of text occurring in the larger picture of a metonymic text phenomenon* (Denroche 2014:131).

d) Demetonymization in a metaphorical context

The final interaction type can be exemplified by the expression *pay lip service to* 'to agree with words not backed by deeds. Initially it may appear that it is yet another instance of metonymy within a metaphor. The verb *pay* suggests a scene of some kind of financial transaction acting as an 'embedding metaphor', whereas *lips* which stand for 'speaking' act as a metonymical extension. However, if one was to make the expression work figuratively, expanding the paraphrase *[...] for lip service into 'service as if with the lips only'; the part is dissociated from the whole for which it was made to stand in the earlier processing stage, it is 'demetonymized'* (Goosens 1995:171).

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CHAPTER 5
AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 Aims and methodological background

The aim of the preceding chapters was to provide both the conceptual and contextual background for the following practical analysis, as well as to lay down the theoretical foundations of cognitive linguistics. What follows is a comparative study of a Polish/English corpus of phraseological expressions pertaining to the macrocategory **DEATH**, based on the cognitive model. The study will focus on verb-based metaphorical mappings within the field in question and analyze ones that may be regarded as representative for the purpose of this thesis.

I believe it is important to pursue this study, for to my knowledge, there has been no major attempts at this particular subject matter comparing Polish and English under the Conceptual Metaphor framework. There have been numerous studies on the conceptual field DEATH in both Polish and English, yet no major publication focused on the comparative study between the two languages. It was also my strong intention to include fresh data, that have never been dealt with before in previous studies. Last but not least, it is indubitably evident that English and Polish are part of distinct language families and represent different cultural backgrounds, hence it is worth scrutinizing the way both conceptualize death.

The remaining part of this chapter will be devoted to methodology, focusing predominantly on the motivation behind the data sources, data selection, the analysis itself and the author's expectations regarding the final results.

5.2 Data selection

Numerous sources were consulted for the purpose of this study. As far as lexicographic resources are concerned, both mono and bilingual dictionaries were used. These ranged from general language references such as the prominent *Oxford English Dictionary*, *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, The Oxford Dictionary of Current English, Webster's Third New International Dictionary* and others, to name but a few, to specialized ones focusing on idiomatic expressions, euphemisms or slang. At the end of the process the number of dictionaries involved in the study exceeded fifty

publications (including online resources).

Obituaries and tombstone engravings also turned out to be an invaluable resource to study the subject in hand, providing a "live" language, grounded in context and frequently extremely rich in poetic as well as metaphorical and euphemistic expressions. It seems that while there is a limited corpus of terms and lexical items used to mitigate the harshness of death in typical, purely informational obituaries, those that pay last respects to sailors, poets, artists or other people of profession, tend to be linguistic marvels.

In this day and age, it is impossible to avoid the Internet, and so it was my prime source of information, delivering an interesting concoction of metaphorical images of DEATH. Internet-based obituaries were predominantly used in the process of data compilation for this study. In order to analyze the semantic side of lexical items extracted for the purpose of this work, two key online sources were utilized, i.e. the *British National Corpus*, as well as the *Korpus Językowy Języka Polskiego*

Of course the thesis would have been incomplete if it had not been for the solid background provided by countless publications consulted for the purpose of this endeavor. In the case of slang and euphemisms, I have analyzed the works of Ayto (2000), Holder (2008), Spears (2001), Rawson (2003), for general reference, Crystal (2008), Bussmann (2006), with regards to cognitive linguistics, Evans (2006), Lee (2001), Geeraerts (2007), Kardela and Kleparski (1990) and last but not least in the case of metaphor and metonymy, Kövecses (1997, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2013), Gibbs (2008) and, of course, the groundbreaking works of Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999). This short list is only but a tip of an iceberg of what contributed to the completion of this study.

Upon completing the data, every lexical item was placed in a proper category denoting DEATH in terms of SLEEP, REWARD, JOURNEY, etc. This helped to process the genuine amount of terms and made it possible to make further observations and draw conclusions.


5.3 Methodology

The corpus of lexical items comprised **479** items and was extracted from online obituaries and backed up by a plethora of sources including, newspapers, articles,

literature, regular obituaries, lexicographic publications and observations providing a varied and heterogeneous look into the very much tabooed subject of death. More focus was placed on authentic data rather than purely dictionary based studies (see Bultinck 1998) or with examples created by the author himself (see Arrese 1996).

Before proceeding further, it is important to understand the basic foundation of obituaries, which contributed immensely to the following study. The word *obituary* is in itself a euphemism, deriving from medieval Latin *obitus* meaning 'death' and *obit* meaning 'perish', a common euphemistic expression for death. *OALD* defines obituary as *an article about somebody's life and achievements, that is printed in a newspaper soon after they have died* or as defined by *ODO a notice of a death, especially in a newspaper, typically including a brief biography of the deceased person*. Both definitions fail to have incorporated the ever growing presence of the Internet and the migration and the digitalization of obituaries through this particular platform. Hence I shall consult notable online sources of obituaries such as English www.legacy.com, www.timesonline/community/obituaries, www.qconline/obituaries and Polish www.naszenekrologi.pl, www.wyborcza.pl/nekrologi, to name but a few main ones. Fernández (2006) presents an interesting take on obituaries dividing them into two distinct categories, with two different intentions and ramifications, i.e. informative and opinative ones. Not only will the two vary in structure and form, but they will also focus on different aspects of the deceased's life. Consequently, the level of homogeneity among obituaries in general is virtually nonexistent and similarities appear only within the first category. Informative obituaries will therefore, be purely referential, providing basic information on the individual who passed away and the place one can pay his/her last? respects. The latter category, however, will be prone to varying degrees of intimacy and subjectivity, will have religious or social purpose, and will frequently be representative of the writer's emotions. The following graph illustrates the features of both informative and opinative obituaries[124].

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[124] The graph is borrowed from Fernández (2006:105).
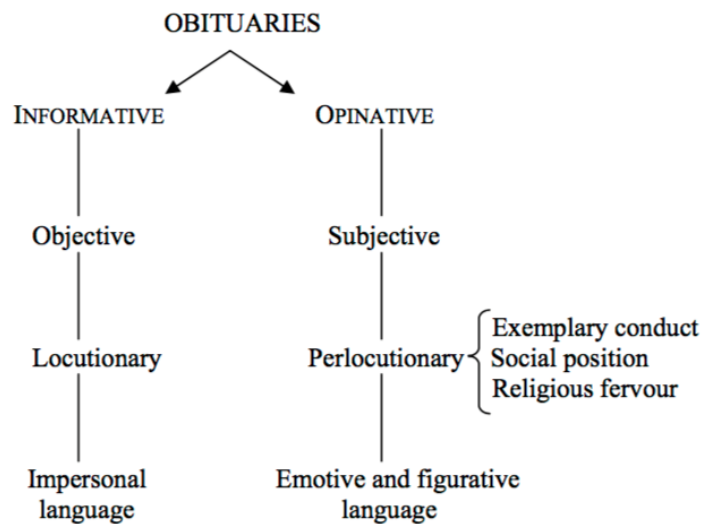
The figure above shows that both categories vary significantly in the way they announce one's demise. While the former relies mostly on objective, impersonal language aimed at fulfilling a purely locutionary[125] function, that is providing relevant information pertaining to someone's death, the latter will tend? to be more subjective, exploiting figurative and emotive language. As a result it fulfills the perlocutionary[126] function, attempting to create a favourable impression on the addressee by providing the social context, personal achievements or religious devotion.

The following study and the theoretical assumptions it is based on are grounded in the cognitive model of CMT. The premise of this approach is that metaphors are not merely to indicate similarities between concepts or to enhance the imagery they represent, but that they are means of organizing, creating and comprehending reality itself. Language users use social and bodily experiences aided by metaphorical and metonymical expressions to improve their capacity to conceptualize and understand abstract concepts. According to Fernández (2015:22), metaphors are able to *[…] structure*

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[125] In linguistics and the philosophy of mind, a **locutionary** act is the performance of an utterance, and hence of a speech act.
[126] A **perlocutionary** act (or **perlocutionary** effect) is a speech act, as viewed at the level of its psychological consequences, such as persuading, convincing, scaring, enlightening, inspiring, or otherwise getting someone to do or realize something.

our conceptual system, providing, at the same time, a particular understanding of the world and a way to make sense of our experience. It is therefore evident that metaphors are far from being only figurative or aesthetic in nature, but that they are *[…] a mode of thought and reason* (Fernández 2006:106).

5.4 Expected results

The main aim of this thesis is to examine the corpus of selected English and Polish phraseological expressions pertaining to the macrocategory of DEATH. As a result, the author hopes to reach a satisfyingly complete representation of the field in question and provide a referential source for future studies within the area of cognitive linguistics. Additionally, the study is an attempt to at least partially determine the extent of vocabulary extension mechanisms such as metaphor, metaphtonymy, euphemism and slang within the language used in obituaries. The presentation of the data in the form of tables should also be very telling about how both Polish and English conceptualize death, and what similarities or differences exist between the two languages analyzed. It will also reveal the quantitative differences between the languages under investigation. Culturally-wise the study may reveal some culture-specific tendencies of both nations in the way death is conceptualized and what language is utilized to describe it.

CHAPTER 6
METAPHORICAL TERMS LINKED WITH DEATH IN ENGLISH AND POLISH OBITUARIES

6.1 The phraseological profile of DEATH

DEATH is by far one of the most productive conceptual domains with regard to phraseology. This stems out from numerous reasons, varying from social to conventional ones. The vast majority of languages have created a spectrum of expressions aimed at circumventing the term in question and replacing it with less negatively-loaded lexical items. An array of linguistic processes for vocabulary expansion is in play here, from **euphemization** and **dysphemization**, to metaphorical extensions and idiomatic expressions. The deeper one delves into the gloomy world of death phraseology, the more convoluted and complex these terms become. One may look in awe at the sheer amount of lexical items coined for the very purpose of obfuscating and somehow alleviating the true image of one of the most common biological processes.

Death is a common taboo for westerners today, yet its imagery evolved significantly throughout centuries. During the Middle ages for instance, death induced fear, however, it was frequently confronted in both iconography and religious rituals. The Victorians on the other hand, sentimentalized it and had no difficulties discussing it openly. Despite the proliferation of death imagery in literature, TV series, games and films, the modern society still puts plenty of effort to avoid mentioning it openly.

The reason for such an attitude may find its reflection in the modern urban life. In the olden days, death was a more intrinsic part of everyday life. Dying at home for instance was a common occurrence, hence there was more acceptance towards seeing dead bodies. The modern individual may actually never see a cadaver up close, and the alternatives presented in films are far from realistic. Allan and Burridge (1991) also suggest that it may have some connection with the fact that we have a tendency to abnormalize the dying process – i.e. that none of us actually expects to die. As a result, openly talking about it would somehow break the collective self-deceit. Yet another factor in play may have to do with the development of medicine. In the past people would simply fall ill and die in a matter of hours or their bodies would give some kind of signal in

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advance to alert a health threat. Modern medicine is capable of detecting a deadly disease during a regular checkup at a GP's office, hence producing more fear, shock and consequently more circumlocutions.

Regardless of motivation, the English language is rife with terms aiming to alleviate the pain of using the terms in question. One prominent example is treating death as life. Individuals trying to find consolation after losing their loved ones may refer to him as *living in heaven* or *being alive with Jesus*, etc. The idea behind it is to suggest that one's earthly life somehow continues after perishing. Hence numerous expressions have been coined to suggest that the deceased moves on to a different existential paradigm, such as a *higher life, the afterlife* and the much desired and frequently used *eternal life*. Yet another example is the common *life insurance* safeguarding the client from death inducing incidents.

Delineating the whole spectrum of metaphors used to denote death and death related phenomena verges upon the impossible, hence I shall focus on the metaphorical categories, which are linguistically interesting and the most productive in generating new terms and expressions. Some of the most crucial categories discussed in the sections below will involve such metaphorical mappings as: DEATH IS A JOURNEY/LEAVING, DEATH IS A SYSTEM SHUTDOWN, DEATH IS AN EMBRACE, DEATH IS BIRTH, DEATH IS A REWARD, DEATH IS SLEEP/REST, DEATH IS A RELEASE, DEATH IS A CELEBRATION and DEATH IS TURNING INTO A SUPERNATURAL ENTITY, to name but a few. It is worth pointing out that, even at this point, the vast majority of metaphorical extensions pertaining to death conceptualize it in terms of positive events. Be it cognitive support or the influence of religion, most of them conceptualize DEATH by means of domains arousing positive connotations, such as journey, cruise, sleep, rest, release, celebration, or reward. Only a few metaphorical categories portray death in a negative way: i.e. the end, defeat or a loss. It is also worth mentioning at this initial stage that a certain amount of overlap is bound to appear between certain metaphorical mappings, for target domain might be conceptualized in terms of two or more sources, i.e. *enter into eternal rest and peace* will utilize both the DEATH is REST and DEATH is RELEASE metaphors. Others such as *He was called home to eternal life after a valiant journey with cancer* will incorporate numerous metaphors.

The following terms are extracted from online obituaries[127] dated from 2012 to 2016 and backed up by various studies, internet sources, tombstones[128] and dictionaries. The main goal of this study was to present a general picture of the topic in question rather than focus on the regional differences and tendencies. Small local cemeteries tend to be rife with vibrant epitaphs and poetic inscriptions, yet they will not serve as a prime component in this study. The first subchapter in this section will comprise the metaphor generating verb phrases in both Polish and English.

Last but not least, it is worth mentioning, that the following corpus is heavily grounded in the Judeo-Christian tradition, yet its purpose is purely linguistic. It would be impossible to completely avoid the religious component, the reason being that most obituaries are catholic in nature. Therefore, any quotations from the Bible used in this work serve as a socio-linguistic foundation for the data in question, and should not, by any means, be seen as conveying religious messages.

ENGLISH VERB PHRASES GENERATING METAPHORICAL EXTENSIONS

ENTER

1) *Entered into eternal sleep*
2) *Entered into eternal rest*
3) *Entered into rest*
4) *Entered peacefully into eternal rest*
5) *Entered into his eternal resting place*
6) *Entered into eternal rest and peace*
7) *Entered into eternal peace*
8) *Entered her heavenly reward*
9) *Entered into Heaven's Gates*
10) *Entered into heaven in the arms of Jesus*
11) *Entered into God's arms*
12) *Entered the gates of Heaven dancing and rejoicing with her Lord and Savior*
13) *Entered his heavenly home*
14) *Entered Heaven's Gates*
15) *Entered the Kingdom of Heaven*
16) *Entered the Kingdom of God*
17) *Entered Heaven*

RELIEVE

1) *Was relieved of her suffering*

DEPART

1) *Departed his life*
2) *Departed this Earth peacefully*
3) *Departed this life*
4) *Departed this earthly life*
5) *Departed in peace*

LEAVE

1) *Left this life for his eternal home*
2) *Left his earthly family to join his heavenly family*
3) *Left this world*
4) *Left this existence*
5) *Left this world serenely*
6) *Left us for heaven*
7) *Left his earthly life*
8) *Left his earthly home*
9) *Left us behind*

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[127] I analyzed 10000 Polish and 10000 English obituaries, to make the study as extensive as possible.
[128] I visited a number of cemeteries in and around Rzeszów.

10) *Left us here on Earth*
11) *Left to be with our Heavenly Father*
12) *Left us suddenly*
13) *Left us for his next great adventure*
14) *Left this mortal life*
15) *Left this Earth*
16) *Left his earthly body*
17) *Left his earthly dwelling to go fishing with the Lord*
18) *Left the cares of this world and entered into the joys of Heaven*

PASS

1) *Pass away*
2) *Passed into heaven*
3) *Passed on*
4) *Passed on to join God*
5) *Passed from his life*
6) *Passed to heaven*
7) *Passed to the next life*
8) *Passed away peacefully*
9) *Passed with dignity and grace*
10) *Passed away surrounded by family*
11) *Passed away at home*
12) *Passed away with dignity*
13) *Passed away pain-free*
14) *Passed away suddenly*
15) *Passed away unexpectedly*
16) *Passed away quietly*
17) *Passed quietly away*
18) *Passed in his sleep*
19) *Passed away comfortably*
20) *Passed on to his eternal reward*
21) *Passed on to her eternal home*
22) *Passed onto her forever home to meet her Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*
23) *Passed away after a hard-fought battle with cancer*
24) *Passed away after a heroic battle with cancer*
25) *Passed away after a gallant battle with cancer*
26) *Passed away after a long and and courageous battle with cancer*
27) *Passed away after a long fight with heart disease*
28) *Passed away after a long struggle with cancer*
29) *Passed away after a lengthy battle with cancer*
30) *Passed away after an extended battle with cancer*
31) *Passed away after a difficult battle with cancer*
32) *Passed away after a brief but intense battle with cancer*
33) *Passed from this life*
34) *Passed into eternal peace*
35) *Passed away to his eternal home*
36) *Passed away quietly*
37) *Passed from this Earth into Heaven*
38) *Passed from this life into eternity*
39) *Passed into the arms of our Lord on their last adventure together (about a couple)*
40) *Passed into the hands of God*
41) *Passed into Glory*
42) *Passed back to her God*
43) *Passed peacefully into heaven*
44) *Passed to a better place*

CALL

1) *Was called home to meet his maker*
2) *Was called to eternal rest*
3) *Was called home by God*
4) *Was called from labor to reward on*
5) *Was called to her Heavenly Home*
6) *Was called to her Heavenly Father*
7) *Was called to heaven*
8) *God called a special angel to his side*
9) *Was called home by the angels*
10) *Was called from her earthly labor to her heavenly reward*
11) *Was called by the Lord and given his angel wings*
12) *Was called by the Lord to join Him in heaven*
13) *God called home an angel*
14) *God called you home*
15) *Was called home to take his place in heaven*
16) *Was called to serve our Heavenly Father*
17) *Was called upon to be with the Lord*
18) *God called her from labor to rest*

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19) *Was called to tend God's garden*

TRANSITION

1) *Transitioned on*
2) *Transitioned to eternal rest*
3) *Made his transition to his heavenly home*
4) *Made his transition to the Lord*
5) *God sent his angels to transition our beloved*
6) *Transitioned from labor to reward*
7) *Transitioned to eternal life*
8) *Transitioned from this life to be with her heavenly Father*

SLIP

1) *Slipped the surly bonds of Earth*
2) *Silently slipped into eternal sleep*
3) *Slipped away into his eternal rest*
4) *Slipped peacefully through mortality's veil of death*
5) *Slipped off*
6) *Slipped her breath*

STEP

1) *Stepped into eternity*
2) *Stepped into Paradise*
3) *Stepped into the presence of Jesus*
4) *Stepped from time into eternity*

ANSWER

1) *Answer the Master's call*
2) *Answered God's call*
3) *Answered his heavenly call*
4) *Answered the phone from beyond*
5) *Answered the call*
6) *Answered the Father's call*

GO

1) *Went home to be with the Lord*
2) *Went home to be with Jesus*
3) *Went home to be with her Heavenly Father*
4) *Went to be with his Lord and Savior*

5) *Went to be with her Lord Jesus*
6) *Went home to be with her Lord and Savior*
7) *Went to be with the lord*
8) *Has gone to eternal life with her Lord*
9) *Went home to heaven*
10) *Went to be with our LORD*
11) *Went to join the Lord*
12) *Went to be with her Lord at home*
13) *Went to sleep for the last time on this earth*
14) *Went home*
15) *Went home to the Master*
16) *Went home to her heavenly Father*
17) *Went to be with his heavenly Father*
18) *Went to her heavenly home*
19) *Went to his eternal reward*
20) *To go and brighten heaven's door*
21) *Went into the presence of his Lord*
22) *went away*
23) *Wen to her new home in heaven*
24) *Went to the lord*
25) *Went to the Lord peacefully*
26) *Went to live with her Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*
27) *Went on to glory*
28) *Went peacefully to be with the Lord*

FALL

1) *Fell into the loving arms of his heavenly Father*
2) *Fall asleep in the arms of Jesus to await the Savior's call*
3) *Fell asleep*
4) *Fell asleep, trusting her Savior to awaken her on resurrection day*
5) *Fell asleep in Christ*

END

1) *Sb's long journey home ended*
2) *Ended her journey in this life*

COMPLETE

1) *Completed her earthly journey*

2) *Completed his transition to the uncertain*

RECEIVE

1) *Received his wings*
2) *Was joyously received by God and all the angels*
3) *Received his crown of eternal life*
4) *Was happily received into glory by her Savior*
5) *Was received into the hands of her Lord Jesus*
6) *Was received into Heaven*

RETURN

1) *Returned to the loving arms of God*
2) *Returned to her heavenly home*
3) *Returned to her Creator*
4) *Return home to God*
5) *Returned to our heavenly Father*

JOIN

1) *Joined his beloved wife in Heaven*
2) *Joined the Lord*
3) *Joined the silent majority*
4) *Joined the love of her life in Heaven*
5) *Joined God and his kingdom*
6) *Joined them pass*
7) *Joined his heavenly father*
8) *A beautiful bass voice Joined the heavenly choir (about a singer)*

CLOSE

1) *Closed her eyes*

CROSS

1) *Crossed over, shedding his physical body to begin truly living in a spiritual reality*
2) *Crossed over into the Promised Land*

DISPATCH

1) *God dispatched an angel of mercy and called her*

MOVE

1) *Moved on to be with the Lord*

TAKE

1) *God took our beloved*
2) *Jesus Christ took him home*
3) *Took His hand*
4) *God took a golden heart*
5) *Was taken early from us*
6) *Took his final journey*
7) *Was taken too soon*
8) *Took his Savior's hand*

WALK

1) *Walked into God's warm, inviting embrace*
2) *Walked on to her heavenly home*

GRANT

1) *Was granted his angel wings*

MISCELLANEOUS

1) *Two bright shining eyes are at rest*
2) *An angel in the Book of Life wrote down our baby's birth, and whispered as she closed the book*
3) *Our Savior Jesus Christ has destroyed death and brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel. Let us remember with thanksgiving what God has done through His servant Matthew.*
4) *at the tender age of 91, left us for a marvelously peaceful destination high above which will allow her ever-present spirit to eternally watch over those of us left here on Earth*
5) *left this world for a place where he could go hunting, fishing and play*

euchre with family and friends awaiting his arrival

6) *was called home to eternal life after a valiant journey with cancer*
7) *Enjoy your ride to heaven on the wings of a butterfly*
8) *snatched victory from the jaws of defeat, when he earned first place in the race to the inevitable*
9)

FIND

1) *Found peace*

REUNITE

1) *Was reunited with his beloved wife/husband*

WRAP

1) *God wrapped his loving arms around her*

FIGHT

1) *He has fought a good fight*

FINISH

1) *Finished his course*

MEET

1) *Met his Savior*
2) *Met his Maker*
3) *Met Jesus Christ*
4) *Met the Lord*
5) *Met the Lord Almighty*
6) *Met the Father*
7) *Met his Father*
8) *Met the angels*

GAIN

1) *Heaven gained another angel*

RELOCATE

1) *Relocated*
2) *Relocated to a better place*
3) *Relocated to heaven*
4) *Relocated to be with his father*

FLY

1) *Her spirit flew home to Heaven*
2) *Flew on angel wings to Heaven*
3) *Flew away on angel's wings*

COME

1) *Joy came to her in the morning*
2) *Came to the end of her life's journey*

CLIMB

1) *Climbed the stairs to Heaven*

GIVE

1) *The Lord gave him wings*

HEAR

1) *Heard His call*

GROW

1) *Grew her wings*

MAKE

1) *Made her journey to Heaven*

HEAD

1) *She is heading to Heaven*

REACH

1) *Reached the end*
2) *Reached the end of her journey*
3) *Reached the end of her life journey*

LOSE

1) *Lost his battle with cancer*
2) *Lost his short battle with cancer*
3) *Lost her valiant battle with cancer*
4) *Lost her courageous battle with cancer*
5) *Lost her last battle*

JOURNEY

1) *Journeyed to heaven*

ACCEPT

1) *Was accepted by the Lord*
2) *Accepted God's invitation to Heaven*

HEAL

1) *Was healed and accepted by the Lord*

LIVE

1) *Live in infinity with Jesus*
2) *Live in infinity with God*
3) *Live in infinity in his heavenly home*

PART

1) *Parted this world to begin a new life with Jesus*
2) *Parted our fellowship to his final rest with his Lord*

BE BORN

1) *She was born into eternal life (baby)*
2) *Was born silently (about a baby)*
3) *Was born into the arms of angels (baby)*
4) *Was born into the arms of Jesus (baby)*
5) *Was born an angel (baby)*
6) *Was born still and blessed*

WIN

1) *Won the battle against cancer with dignity and grace*

RISE

1) *Rose to life in heaven*

TAKE OFF

1) *Took off from the runway of life*

GRACE
1) *Graced heaven*

LAY

1) *Was laid to rest*

CARRY

1) *Was carried by the angels to heaven*

RELEASE

1) *Was released from her earthly body*

FREE

1) *Was freed from his struggle*

ARRIVE

1) *Arrived into the open arms of Jesus*

CELEBRATE

1) *Celebrating life eternal*

GREET

1) *Was greeted by her savior*

SUCCUMB

1) *Succumbed to a short illness*

LOG OUT

1) *Logged out for the last time*

CLAIM

1) *Was claimed by his heavenly father*

SUMMON

1) *Was summoned home to be with the Lord*

BECOME

1) *Became one of God's angels*

ASCEND

1) *Ascended into Paradise*

REST

1) *Is resting in the arms of our Lord*

WELCOME

1) *Was welcomed into the Kingdom of Heaven*

POLISH VERB PHRASES GENERATING METAPHORICAL EXTENSIONS

ODEJŚĆ

1) *Odszedł w pokoju*
2) *Odszedł w spokoju*
3) *Odszedł na zawsze*
4) *Odszedł zupełnie niespodziewanie*
5) *Odszedł od nas bezpowrotnie*
6) *Odszedł od nas*
7) *Z pogodą ducha odeszła od nas*
8) *Odszedł od nas na zawsze*
9) *Odszedł do domu Pana*
10) *Odszedł do domu Ojca*
11) *Odszedł w szpitalu w otoczeniu w otoczeniu żony i rodziny*
12) *Odeszła na ostatnią wędrówkę*
13) *Odszedł na wieczną wachtę*
14) *Odszedł przedwcześnie*
15) *Odszedł nagle i w ciszy*
16) *Odszedł do Boga*
17) *Odszedł we śnie*
18) *Odszedł na wieczną wartę*
19) *Odszedł w wieczną dal*
20) *Odszedł nagle*
21) *Odeszła z naszego grona*
22) *Odeszła do tych, których kochała*
23) *Odeszła po nagrodę do Pana*
24) *Odszedł do Pana w ciszy i spokoju*
25) *Odszedł przedwcześnie*
26) *Odszedł nagle do Pana*
27) *Odszedł po nagrodę wieczną*
28) *Odeszła od nas, by malować kwiaty wiecznych łąk*
29) *Odszedł do Ojca w Niebie*
30) *Odeszła niespodziewanie do Pana*
31) *Odszedł do Pana*
32) *Odeszła do wieczności*
33) *Odeszła w swą ostatnią drogę*
34) *Odeszła od nas do wieczności*
35) *Odszedł od nas zbyt wcześnie*
36) *Odeszła po długim pięknym życiu*
37) *Odszedł śmiercią tragiczną*
38) *Odeszła od nas do innego świata*
39) *W dramatycznych okolicznościach odeszła od nas*
40) *Odszedłeś w wieczną dal*
41) *Odszedł z szeregu*

42) *Odszedł cicho bez słów pożegnania*
43) *Odeszłaś do lepszego świata*
44) *Zaskoczyć nagłym odejściem*

WCHODZIĆ

1) *Wszedł w nowe życie*

PRZEJŚĆ

1) *Przejść do życia wiecznego*
2) *Przeszła w Panu Bogu w niewyobrażalny, inny świat*

ZASNĄĆ

1) *Zasnąć w Panu*
2) *Zasnęła*
3) *Zasnąć w Bogu*
4) *Zasnęła spokojnie pełna wdzięczności za przewspaniałe życie*
5) *Zasnąć na zawsze*
6) *Zasnąć na wieki*
7) *Zasnąć wiecznym snem*
8) *Zasnąć głęboko*
9) *Śpi spokojnie*

STRACIĆ

1) *Straciliśmy naszego przyjaciela*

BYĆ

1) *Ja jestem już w Domu Ojca*
2) *Mamusiu, mamy nadzieję, że jesteś już Tam na miejscu*

PODRÓŻ

1) *Twoja ostatnia podróż dołączy Cię do Twojego ukochanego męża*
2) *A szlakiem górskim znajdziesz drogę do nieba*
3) *Odeszła na ostatnią wędrówkę*
4) *Powędrowała do nieba i do nieograniczonego szczęścia*
5) *Choć ja w ciemności ruszam*

6) *Wyruszyła w swą najdłuższą podróż w nieznane*
7) *Ukończyć ziemską wędrówkę*

KONIEC PRACY

1) *Zakończył swoje pracowite życie*
2) *Spoczęły pracowite dłonie*
3) *Zakończył swe pracowite życie*
4) *Zakończył pracowite życie*
5) *Przestało bić serce*
6) *Zmęczona życiem opuściła ten świat*
7) *Odszedł od nas kończąc swe pracowite i pełne poświęcenia dla najbliższych życie*
8) *Odpocznij utrudzone serce*

ZAKOŃCZYĆ

1) *Zakończyć swoje życie*
2) *Zakończyć swoją ziemską podróż*
3) *Zakończył swoją ziemską wędrówkę*

OPUŚCIĆ

1) *Opuściła nas*
2) *Opuścił nas nagle*
3) *Opuściła ten świat*

UKOŃCZYĆ

1) *Ukończyć swój bieg*

SPEŁNIĆ

1) *Spełnić wszystkie obowiązki*

PRZEGRAĆ WALKĘ

1) *Dzielną i długą walkę z ciężką chorobą przegrał*
2) *Po heroicznej walce z ciężką chorobą zasnął w Panu*
3) *Po przegranej walce z ciężką chorobą*
4) *Po długich zmaganiach z ciężką chorobą, odszedł*

5) *W cierpieniu znoszonym z anielską cierpliwością odeszła*
6) *Po długich cierpieniach, odszedł*
7) *Po długiej walce z chorobą odszedł*
8) *Po długiej i ciężkiej chorobie, którą dzielnie znosiła, odeszła*
9) *Po odważnej walce z chorobą, opuścił nas*
10) *Odeszła po krótkiej ciężkiej chorobie*
11) *Po długotrwałych zmaganiach z ciężką chorobą, odszedł*
12) *Po nierównej i bolesnej walce z chorobą odszedł od nas*
13) *Pokonała go okrutna choroba*
14) *Walczyła z nim .... i przegrała*

ZGASNĄĆ

1) *Zgasło nasze ukochane słoneczko*

ODPŁYNĄĆ

1) *Odpłynąć w swój ostatni rejs*

ŻEGNAĆ

1) *Pożegnaliśmy*

ZABRAĆ

1) *Śmierć zabrała naszego Męża, Tatę, Dziadka*
2) *Śmiertelny zawał zabrał naszego syna*
3) *Choroba zabrała nam kochanego męża*

WZYWAĆ

1) *Pan wezwał go przed swoje oblicze*
2) *Został wezwany na prywatną audiencję u Boga*
3) *Pan okazał mu miłosierdzie i wezwał do Siebie*
4) *Bóg wezwał go do Siebie, bo widocznie Tam – w Niebie – potrzebował go bardziej*

5) *Ojciec go wezwał i teraz jest z Nim*
6) *Bóg wezwał go przed swój Tron w niebie*
7) *Los wezwał go na wieczną wachtę*
8) *Pan wezwał go w stosownej chwili*
9) *Pan wezwał Ją do domu niebieskiego*
10) *Pan wezwał ją do wieczności*
11) *Pan wezwał go do swojego królestwa*
12) *Boże wezwałeś go do Siebie za wcześnie*
13) *Bóg wezwał go, by obejrzeć z nim derby (written about a Real Madrid fan)*
14) *Bóg ją do siebie wezwał a jemu się nie odmawia*

ZAPROSIĆ

1) *Pan zaprosił do Siebie*
2) *Bóg zaprosił do Siebie*

WYPŁYNĄĆ

1) *Wypłynął na morskie odmęty*

ODDAĆ

1) *Oddała ducha Bogu*

MISCELLANEOUS

1) *Pozostajemy w nadziei, że śmierć to nie koniec*
2) *A koniec jest początkiem i nową nadzieją*
3) *Jest w rękach Boga*
4) *Po udręce trafiłaś na tę lepszą ponoć stronę*
5) *I zgasło słońce, kiedy jeszcze był dzień.*

6.2 Conceptual metaphors of DEATH

Metaphor A: <DEATH IS UP>

Upon analyzing the gathered data, one must start with specifying the preferential direction in which most of us want to "go" after perishing. Any funeral proceedings are likely to include the following statement: *You know what? I'm sure that right now he's up there, smiling down on us*, as opposed to a rather unlikely *I'm sure he's down there right now smiling up on us*. The reason is quite simple and stems from the religious beliefs in the existence of heaven. This metaphor also incorporates the metaphor HAPPY IS UP, for we tend to alleviate the pain of someone's passing, by cherishing the moment rather than using negatively loaded language to refer to it. One can indubitably create an opposite metaphorical mapping i.e. DEATH IS DOWN, however, its application is rather dysphemistic and is limited to a very few situations, such as *You won't need sunglasses where you're going* or the very common *pushing up the daisies*. Such direction is therefore possible, yet its connotations are negative and frequently verge upon offensive. As a result, most of us conceptualize DEATH in terms of an UP direction. The following expressions incorporate elements that signify the UP element within the metaphorical mappings and include mostly unidirectional verb phrases, such as *ascend*, *fly*, *climb*, *rise* or *take off* to name but a few and ones that suggest the UP destinations where the direction may be backgrounded.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *to be called away*	(a) *Zostać wezwanym* lit. *to be called*
(2) *to be called home*	(b) *Zostać wezwanym do Domu* lit. *to be callled Home*
(3) *was called home to meet his maker*	(c) *Zostać wezwanym przed oblicze Stwórcy* lit. *to be called before the presence*

(4) *was called home by God*	*of the Maker*
	(d) *Dostał wezwanie do Domu Bożego* lit. *was called to the House of God*
(5) *Was called to her Heavenly Father*	(e) *Zostać wezwanym do domu Pana* lit. *to be called to the house of the Lord.*
(6) *was called to heaven*	(f) *Zostać wezwanym do Nieba* lit. *to be called to Heaven*
(7) *God called you home*	(g) *Dostał wezwanie od Boga* lit. *God called him*
(8) *Was called to serve our Heavenly Father*	(h) *Został wezwany na wieczną posługę* lit. *was called for eternal service*
	(a) *Wstąpił w bramy Niebios* lit. *Entered in the gates of Heaven*
(1) *Enter into Heaven's Gates/ Entered Heaven's Gates*	(b) *Wstąpił do nieba/wstąpił w niebiosa* lit. *entered Heaven*
(2) *Entered Heaven*	(c) *Wstąpił w objęcia Pana Jezusa Chrystusa* lit. *entered into the embrace of Jesus Christ*
(3) *Entered into heaven in the arms of Jesus*	
(4) *Entered the Kingdom of Heaven*	(d) *Wstąpił do Królestwa Niebieskiego* lit. *entered into the Kingdon of Heaven*
(5) *Entered the Kingdom of God*	(e) *Wstąpił do Królestwa Bożego* lit. *Entered into the Kingdom of God*
	(a) *opuścił ziemski padół* lit. *left this Earth*
(1) *Left this Earth*	(b) *opuścił nas/zostawił nas* lit. *he left us*
(2) *Left us*	
(3) *Left this world*	(c) *Opuściła ten świat* lit. *She left this world*
(1) passed into heaven/ passed to heaven	(a) *odszedł do Nieba*

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	lit. *passed to heaven*
(2) passed on to join God	(b) *Odszedł do Pana/Boga* lit. *passed on to God*
(3) Passed peacefully into heaven	(c) *Odszedł w spokoju do nieba* lit. *passed peacefully to heaven*
(4) Passed to a better place	(d) *Odszedł w lepsze miejsce* lit. *passed to a better place*
(1) *Stepped into paradise*	(a) *Wkroczył do raju* lit. *stepped into paradise*
(1) *went home to be with the Lord* (2) *Went home to be with her heavenly Father* (3) *went to be with the Lord* (4) *went home to heaven/went to heaven* (5) *went to the Lord*	(a) *poszedł do domu Pana* lit. *went to the Lord's home* (b) *Poszedł do domu Ojca* lit. *went to the Father's home* (c) *Poszedł do Boga/Poszedł do Pana Boga* lit. *went to God/Went to the Lord* (d) *Poszedł do Nieba/Poszedł do Królestwa Niebieskiego* lit. *went to heaven'* (e) *Poszedł do Pana* lit. *went to the Lord*
(1) *Was received by God*	(a) *został przyjęty przez Boga* lit. *Was received by God*
(1) *joined his beloved wife in heaven* (2) *joined the Lord*	(a) *dołączył do swojej ukochanej żony* lit. *Joined his beloved wife* (b) *dołączył do Boga* lit. *Joined God*
(1) *Met the Lord* (2) *Met the Father*	(a) *Spotkał się z Bogiem* lit. *Met God* (b) *Spotkał się z Ojcem* lit. *Met the Father*

(1) *Was accepted by the Lord*	(a) *Został przyjęty przez Pana Boga* lit. *Was accepted by the Lord*
(1) *Rose to life in heaven*	(a) *Wzniosłeś się ku niebiosom* lit. *You rose to heaven*
(1) *She is heading to Heaven*	(a) *Zmierza do Nieba* lit. *Heading to Heaven*
(1) *Was summoned home to be with the Lord*	(a) *Pan wezwał go do Siebie* lit. *The Lord summoned him to His place*
(1) *Her spirit flew home to Heaven* (2) *Flew on angel wings to Heaven* (3) *Flew away on angel's wings*	(a) *Jej dusza poleciała do Nieba* lit. *Her spirit flew to Heaven* (b) *Poleciała do Nieba na skrzydłach anioła* lit. *She flew to Heaven on the wings of an angel* (c) *Odleciała na skrzydłach anioła* lit. *She flew away on angel's wings*
(1) *Heaven gained another angel*	(a) *Niebo zyskało (właśnie) nowego anioła* lit. *Heaven has (just) gained a new angel*
(1) *Climbed the stairs to Heaven*	(a) *Wspiął się po schodach do nieba* lit. *Climbed the stairs to Heaven*
(1) *crossed over into the promised land*	(a) *Przeszedł do Ziemi Obiecanej* lit. *Crossed over to the Pomised Land*
(1) *Made her journey to Heaven*	(a) *Udałeś się w podróż do Nieba* lit. *You made your journey to Heaven*
LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *to be called to higher service* (2) *Was called home by the angels*	Ø

(3) *God called home an angel* (4) *Was called home to take his place in heaven* (5) *was called to her Heavenly Home* (6) *Was called by the Lord to join him in heaven*	Ø Ø Ø Ø Ø
(1) *Entered the gates of heaven dancing and rejoicing with her Lord and Savior* (2) *Entered his heavenly home*	Ø Ø
(1) *Left us for heaven* (2) *Left us here on earth* (3) *left the cares of this world and entered into the joys of Heaven* Ø Ø	Ø Ø Ø (a) *opuścił swój ziemski dom* lit. *Left his earthly home* (b) *Anioł Ziemski mnie opuścił* lit. *An Earthly Angel left me*
(1) *made his transition to his heavenly home* Ø	Ø (a) *Przeszła w Panu Bogu w niewyobrażalny, inny świat* lit. *Transitioned in God into an ubelievable, other world*
Ø	(1) *Odszedł do domu Pana* lit. *Left to Lord's home*

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Ø	(2) *Odszedł do domu Ojca* lit. *Left to Father's home*
Ø	(3) *Odeszła po nagrodę do Pana* lit. *Left to the Lord for a reward*
Ø	(4) *Odszedł do Pana w ciszy I spokoju* lit. *Left to the Lord in silence and peace*
Ø	(5) *Odszedł nagle do Pana* lit. *Left to the Lord suddenly*
Ø	(6) *Odszedł do Ojca w Niebie* lit. *Left to the Father in Heaven*
Ø	(7) *Odeszła niespodziewanie do Pana* lit. *Left unexpectedly to the Lord*
Ø	(8) *Odeszła od nas do innego świata* lit. *Left us for another world*
Ø	(9) *Nasz kochana Córeczka odeszła do Nieba* lit. *Our beloved Daughter left for Heaven*
(1) *went home to be with Jesus*	Ø
(2) *Went to be with his Lord and saviour*	Ø
(3) *went to be with her lord Jesus*	Ø
(4) *went home to be with her Lord and saviour*	Ø
(5) *went to be with our LORD*	Ø
(6) *went to join the Lord*	Ø
(7) *went home to the Master*	Ø
(8) *went home to heavenly Father*	Ø
(9) *went to heavenly home*	Ø
(10) *went into the presence of his Lord*	Ø
(11) *went to her new home in heaven*	Ø
(12) *went to the Lord peacefully*	Ø

(13) *went to live with her Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (14) *went peacefully to be with the Lord*	Ø Ø
(1) *received his wings* (2) *was joyously received by God and all the angels* (3) *was received into the hands of her Lord Jesus* (4) *was received into heaven* Ø	Ø Ø Ø Ø (a) *Niech dobry Pan przyjmie Twoją duszę do raju* lit. *May the good Lord receive your soul into paradise*
(1) *joined the silent majority* (2) *joined the love of her life in heaven* (3) *joined God and his kingdom* (4) *joined his heavenly Father*	Ø Ø Ø Ø
(1) *Met the Lord Almight* (2) *met his Saviour* (3) *Met his Maker* (4) *Met Jesus Christ* (5) *Met the angels*	Ø Ø Ø Ø Ø

(1) *Jesus Christ took him home* Ø Ø	Ø (a) *Pan wziął go do domu/Ojciec zabrał go do Domu* lit. *The Lord/The Father took him Home* (b) *W daleką podróż zabrał Cię Bóg* lit. *God took you for a long journey*
(1) *Relocated to heaven* (2) *Relocated to be with his father*	Ø Ø
(1) *Accepted God's invitation to Heaven*	Ø
(1) *Took off from the runway of life* Ø	Ø (a) *Wystartował w swój ostatni lot* lit. *Took off for his light flight*
Ø Ø Ø	(a) *Pan Jezus zaprosił go w swoje skromne progi* lit. *Jesus invited him to his humble abode* (b) *Pan zaprosił do Siebie* lit. *The Lord invited to his Place* (c) *Bóg zaprosił do Siebie* lit. *God invited to his Place*
(1) Graced heaven	Ø
Ø Ø	(a) *Odleciał* lit. *Flew away* (b) *Zbyt szybko odleciał Twój samolot do nieba. Nie na tą wycieczkę pakowałeś walizki.* lit. *Your plane departed for heaven too early. You weren't packing for this trip*
Ø	(a) *Niech dobry Bóg przygarnie Twoją duszę*

	lit. May the good God accept Your soul
(1) *enjoy your ride to heaven on the wings of a butterfly* Ø	Ø (a) *Niech cieszy się w świętych Niebiosach Światłem Wiekuistym* *lit. May he rejoice in the holy Heavens with Everlasting Light*
(1) *left us for a marvelously peaceful destination high above which will allow her ever-present spirit to eternally watch over those of us left here on earth*	Ø
Ø	(a) Uskrzydlona jak ptaki swobodna mimo braku skrzydeł i piór Szalonymi marzeniami niesiona dotknęłaś chmur *lit. Winged like birds, free despite the lack of wings and feathers* *Carried by crazy dreams you touched the heavens*
(1) *Was granted his angel wings*	Ø
(1) *The Lord gave him wings*	Ø
(1) *Grew her wings*	Ø
(1) *Was greeted by her savior*	Ø
(1) *Was carried by the angels to heaven*	Ø
(1) *walked into God's warm, inviting embrace* (2) *walked on to her heavenly home* Ø	Ø Ø (a) *Powędrowała do nieba i do nieograniczonego szczęścia*

	lit. She walked to heaven to limitless joy
(1) *made his transition to his heavenly home*	Ø
(1) *Ascended into Paradise* Ø	Ø (a) *uniosła się w nieskończoność* *lit. Ascended into infinity*
(1) *Journeyed to heaven*	Ø
(1) *Live in infinity in his heavenly home*	Ø
(1) *Became one of God's angels*	Ø
(1) *Was claimed by his heavenly father*	Ø
Ø	(a) *A szlakiem górskim znajdziesz drogę do nieba* *lit. And on this mountain trail you will find the way to heaven*
(1) *Was welcomed into the Kingdom of Heaven*	Ø
Ø Ø Ø	(a) *Ja jestem już w Domu Ojca* *lit. I'm already in the House of the Father* (b) *Jest w rękach Boga* *lit. He is in God's hands* (c) *Mamusiu, mamy nadzieję, że jesteś już Tam na miejscu* *lit. Mummy, we hope that you reached your destination*
Ø	(a) *Ukończyć ziemską wędrówkę*

This particular metaphorical mapping is by far the most prolific, hence it incorporates a number of other metaphors. The verticality aspect within this conceptualization lies in various components making up the semantic foundation. First and foremost, the concept of UP within the metaphor in question is presupposed in both languages in several ways.

The divine or supernatural elements are present in both languages (and most contemporary ones). One cannot deny the unquestionable train of thought that occurs upon hearing phrases such as: *He went to see the Holy Father* or *She was called by God*. People naturally conceptualize death in terms of the soul migrating to heaven, which is located above us and not below. The verticality aspect is presupposed by means of the conventional beliefs of Christians, that heaven, i.e. where all the divinities reside, is always conceptualized in terms of UP and never the other way round. Both Polish and English has a plethora of phrases incorporating this mapping. Upon passing away, one can be called by the maker →*zostać wezwanym przez stwórcę, Enter into heaven in the arms of Jesus* → *Wstąpić w objęcia Pana Jezusa Chrystusa, Pass on to join God* → *Odejść do Boga, go home to be with the Lord* → *Pójśc do domu Ojca, Join the Lord* → *dołączyć do Pana or Meet the Father* → *spotać się z Ojcem*. All of these phrases are also the embodiment of the to DIE is TO MEET A DIVINE BEING metaphor.

In this particular set of metaphorical expressions both languages use passive and active voice in equal measures, which is not the case in other mappings. What is noticeable, however, is that a vast number of lexemes signify the UP direction not by means of verb phrases, but rather by presupposing it. Most verbs in both languages i.e. *enter* → *wejść, leave* → *opuścić, step* → *wstąpić, go* → *pójść* and others are associated with horizontal movement rather than vertical, especially when used in earthly terms. Metaphorically they acquire new meanings, especially when linked with supernatural elements.

An interesting element which is present in both languages that indicates the UP movement, is one utilizing aviation to suggest the direction one "flies" to after their demise. While no direct equivalents are present, the idea remains the same, hence the deceased can *take of from the runway of life* or simply *odlecieć* (lit. *Fly away*), *wystartować w swój ostatni'* (lit. *Took off for his light flight*) or using a complex metaphor *zbyt szybko odleciał Twój samolot do nieba. Nie na tę wycieczkę pakowałeś walizki* (lit. *Your plane departed for heaven too early. You weren't packing for this trip*). What is curious, however, is that none of the following expressions, were used with regard to airline pilots, which is a common occurrence with other proffesion-driven obituaries, i.e. *to go fishing with the Lord* (for fishermen or fishing enthusiasts), *went to his final hunting grounds* (for hunters) or *went for the last hike (*for

mountain lovers). Both Polish and English use the metaphor TO DIE IS TO FLY AWAY again signifying the direction our otherworldly self travels to after death. Corresponding examples can be found, *such as her spirit flew to Heaven* → *Jej dusza poleciała do nieba*, with the former and the latter being examples of metaphtonomies, or the exclusively English *Flew away on angel's wings* and *flew on angel wings to Heaven*.

Metaphor B: <DEATH IS SLEEP>

One of the most common ways to conceptualize death is in terms of sleep. Such a metaphorical mapping has been chosen for a number of reasons. First of all, sleep is a universal phenomenon and we all experience it on a daily basis. Secondly, sleep as opposed to death is a temporary process, it has a beginning, a middle and an end. It is therefore logical to conceptualize death as sleep for it mitigates the permanent aspect of passing, and for religious individuals provides additional comfort that the deceased may potentially "wake up" one day. The metaphor itself has been in use for millennia and references are rife in various historical sources. Its dates back to ancient times and can be found in classical Greek literature, i.e. Sophocles or Homer's *Iliad*. The Greek New Testament acts a solid example as it contains numerous passages incorporating the mapping in question. Two separate terms are used to refer to sleep, *katheudo* and *koimaomai*. While the former is likely to describe "natural sleep", the latter is attested to have been used figuratively to refer to sleep in general, yet its predominant use was one linked to death. In fact, during the early years of Christianity, burial grounds were frequently referred to as *koimeteria* 'sleeping places', that the word cemetery is derived from.

What needs to be mentioned is that every time the term *sleep* is used in the Bible to refer to death, the reference is made not to the disposition of the soul, but that of the body. In one of the passages Daniel claims that the people who *[...] sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake* (Dan. 12:2). The reference is made to the physical body rather then the soul of the deceased. The awakening suggests the imminent bodily resurrection. In another passage Jesus addresses his disciples: *Our friend Lazarus has fallen asleep; but I may awake him out of sleep* (Jn. 11:11). Much like in the previous context, the "awakening" is linked to the resurrection of Lazarus' body. The verb used in this case is *koimao* derived from *keimai* meaning 'to lie down'. Due to this it is just the body that lies down in death not the soul. Yet another instance of such a metaphorical use can be found in Job (3:11-17) – *For now I would be lying down in peace: I would be asleep and at rest.*

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Since death (especially peaceful) bears some resemblance to sleep, it is inevitable that a wide range of euphemistic expressions exploit this unfortunate similarity. The origins of this metaphor may be traced back to the Greek mythology in which Thanatos, who was the embodiment of death, was the twin brother to Hypnos the personification of sleep (See Dąbrowska 2009). The artistic world was also heavily influenced by the imagery of death in the form of a sleeping person. Dead people were frequently depicted in their beds, at ease, with no pain and strain. Among the Polish prominent literary figures one may quote some of Kochanowski's "Laments" which presented a vivid imagery of his deceased daughter[129]. Consequently, this symbolical approach towards death as an eternal, peaceful sleep, has gathered much momentum and popularity among numerous authors and artists over the centuries.

There is also another side of this metaphor, namely the idea of the final rest, after one's life struggles. Within this category we can enumerate the following conceptual categories:

- to die is **to sleep**
- to die is **to go to sleep**
- to die is **to rest**
- to die is **to fade**

One who died may be referred to as *being at rest* or *laid to rest* (Polish *spoczywać w pokoju*), although the verb *rest* itself is commonly used when talking about the deceased (i.e. *Rest In Peace* (Polish *Spoczywać w pokoju)*). The frequently used *R.I.P.* inscription also exploits the metaphorical idea of death being a point of eternal peace; hence one may upon many occasions come across euphemistic expressions such as *finally at peace* or *peace at last* carved on numerous tombstones. Following the initial premise there are some other terms that refer to the same idea. In many cases people who died are referred to as *sleeping*, *having a sleep of death* or *last sleep*[130], much like *entschlafen* → *to fall asleep* in German (Polish *zasnąć*). The Russian language is also rich and plentiful in euphemistic expressions within the field of death, and much like English it metaphorizes death on many occasions. The sleep analogy is equally present in fixed phrases such as *засыпать вечным сном* → *to sleep an eternal dream*, *класть*

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[129] Around, and wrap her, hold her.
A hard, unwaking sleep has overpowered
Her limbs, and now the flowered
Cool muslin and the ribbon snoods are bootless ("Lament VII" taken from www.gutenberg.org)
[130] Examples from Ayto (2007:233).

голову →*lay one's head*, Polish *położyć głowę*. Additionally one may, in critical medical condition be *на смертном одре лежать* → *on his/her deathbed* and hopefully in the end *найти покой*[131] → *find eternal peace*, Polish *znaleźć wieczny spokój*. Polish also proves to be exceptionally poetic when referring to death as the deceased go to the *kraina ciemności* →*land of darkness* or *spać mocno/smutnym snem/snem anioła/snem wiecznym*[132] → *sleeping strong/a sad dream/ a dream of an angel/ an eternal sleep*. Sometimes people may simply *be asleep* or when using the Judaeo-Christian tradition – they are *asleep in Jesus* or *asleep in the Lord*. Finally, the most common euphemistic expression used to refer to death and commonly used in films or poems is to *close one's eyes*, the German *die Augen schliessen*[133] or Polish *zamknąć oczy* which serves the same purpose as the previously mentioned expressions.

Let us look at the comparison table below

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Fell asleep* (2) *Fell asleep in Christ*	(a) *Zasnął* lit. *he fell asleep* (b) *zasnęła w Chrystusie* lit. *She fell asleep in Christ*
(1) *you can sleep now*	(a) *Teraz śpij* lit. *sleep now*
(1) *Sweet Dreams*	(a) *Słodkich snów* lit. *Sweet Dreams*
(1) *Closed her eyes*	(a) *Zamknęła oczy* lit. *she closed her eyes*
(1) *Entered into eternal sleep*	(a) *Zapadł w sen wieczny* lit.*He entered into eternal sleep*
(1) *To dream an eternal dream*	(a) *Śnić snem wiecznym*

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[131] Examples taken from Markunas 2010.
[132] Examples borrowed from Dąbrowska 2009.
[133] Examples from http://euphemismen.de.

	lit. *to dream an eternal dream*
LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	
(1) Fell asleep, trusting her Savior to awaken her on resurrection day *(2) Fall asleep in the arms of Jesus to await the Savior's call*	Ø Ø
Ø	*(a) zasnęła w Bogu* lit. *fell asleep in God*
Ø	*(b) zasnęła w Panu* lit. *fell asleep in the Lord*
Ø	*(c) cicho zasnęła* lit. *fell asleep silently*
Ø	*(d) Zasnęła spokojnie* lit. *fell asleep peacefully*
Ø	*(e) Zasnęła na zawsze* lit. *fell asleep forever*
Ø	*(f) Zasnęła snem wiecznym* lit. *fell asleep in an eternal dream*
Ø	*(g) Zasnęła po długiej walce z chorobą* lit. *fell asleep after a long battle with a disease*
Ø	*(h) Zasnęła na wieki* lit. *fell asleep for ages*
Ø	*(i) Usnął na zawsze* lit. *fell asleep forever*
Ø	*(j) Usnął na wieki* lit. *fell asleep for ages*
Ø	*(k) Usnął snem wieczystym* lit. *fell asleep in an eternal dream*
Ø	*(l) Usnąć w Bogu* lit. *fell asleep in God*

Ø	*(m)Cicho usnąć* lit. *'Fell asleep quietly*
Ø	*(n) Zapadł w błogi sen* lit. *fell alseep in a blissful dream*
Ø	*(o) Zasnął wiecznym snem i powiększył grono aniołków w niebie* lit. *Fell asleep eternally expanding the circle of angels in heaven*
Ø	*(a) Ukołysana wiecznym snem Wybranko smutnej niedoli w zaciszu swoim słodko śpij już nic Cię nie boli.* lit. *Lulled by an eternal dream, you are the chosen one with sad misery within, find refuge and sleep tight, your suffering ends tonight*
Ø Ø	*(a) Sen wieczny przyszedł nagle, nikogo o zgodę nie pytał* lit. *eternal dream came suddenly, asking no one for permission* *(b) Przyszedł nagle sen wieczny* lit. *The eternal dream came suddenly*
Ø	*(a) Opuścił nas odchodząc w swój „wieczny sen"* lit. *left us entering his „eternal dream"*
(1) Entered into eternal slumber	Ø
Ø	*(a) Śnić sen, najpiękniejszy ze snów* lit. *to dream a dream, the most beautiful out of them all*
Ø Ø	*(a) Miej piękny sen* lit. *have a beautiful dream* *(b) Przed Tobą sen wieczny*

Ø	lit. *eternal dream awaits* *(c) Ja nie chcę spać, nie ja nie chcę umierać, chcę tylko wędrować po pastwiskach nieba.* lit. *I don't want to sleep, no I don't want to die, I just want to wander on heavenly pastures*
(1) He lies in an eternal slumber	Ø

It would seem that Polish tends to be much richer when it comes to the application of epitaphs to address death not only in this particular mapping, but in more to come. What is more, the Polish metaphorical expressions pertaining to the subject in question are more complex. Polish obituaries are not only longer, but make use of more than a few mappings within a single metaphor, e.g., *Zasnął wiecznym snem i powiększył grono aniołków w niebie* (lit. *He fell asleep eternally expanding the circle of angels in heaven*) (DEATH IS SLEEP, DEATH IS BECOMING A SUPERNATURAL ENTITY, DEATH IS UP) or *Ja nie chcę spać, nie ja nie chcę umierać, chcę tylko wędrować po pastwiskach nieba* (lit. *I don't want to sleep, no I don't want to die, I just want to wander on heavenly pastures*) (DEATH IS SLEEP, DEATH IS A JOURNEY, DEATH IS UP).

One interesting grammatical form found in Polish, yet not present in English, is the use of the first person singular, as if the deceased himself/herself addresses the funeral attendees. Such a form is used in the *Ja nie chcę spać, nie ja nie chcę umierać, chcę tylko wędrować po pastwiskach nieba* (lit. *I don't want to sleep, no I don't want to die, I just want to wander on heavenly pastures*) example, making use of a few metaphorical mappings. Another curious case is represented by *Ukołysana wiecznym snem Wybranko smutnej niedoli w zaciszu swoim słodko śpij już nic Cię nie boli* (lit. *Lulled by an eternal dream, you are the chosen one with sad misery within, find refuge and sleep tight, your suffering ends tonight*), where instead of referring to the deceased in the third person singular, the author addresses his/her loved one directly in the second person singular. Such mechanisms are literally non-existent in the English obituaries, which may seem surprising for, being more personal, they deliver a much stronger impact on the reader. Conversely, most English and Polish obituaries use the third person singular almost as if to separate themselves from the dying. Obituaries for children/babies act as an exception to this tendency and frequently address them directly. This may be due to the fact that we tend to mourn an infant's death stronger than someone who has lived a long, happy life. Calling the

baby directly (even using his/her name) signifies a hope for his/her come back, e.g. *Tak szybko odszedłeś Maciusiu, wszyscy za Tobą tęsknimy* (lit. *You left so quickly Mattie, we all miss You*).

While the whole metaphorical mapping of death through sleep is in essence euphemistic in nature, soothing the imagery of death through the ostensibly temporary act of sleeping, the English language goes even further. Both languages use the words *sleep* → *spać* and *dream* → *sen*, yet English takes the concept of alleviating the harshness of dying even further by incorporating the lexeme *slumber*. Since slumber is even shorter than regular sleep, the element of soothing the negativity surrounding death is even stronger.

What is striking, however, is that while the DEATH IS SLEEP metaphor has frequently been used in art and literature due to its potent imagery, it is a metaphorical category which is rarely utilized in everyday speech. Most common circumstances in which such expressions are used pertain to peaceful deaths or deaths of children. Only then the attributes of sleeping seem to be appropriate to conceptualize death.

Metaphor C: <DEATH IS REST>

Much like sleeping, resting seems an appropriate metaphor for the concept of dying due to its temporary nature. In fact, as argued by Hullah (2016:97), the seemingly *[...] separate states, sleep and death, may be categorized together as manners of 'Rest' in traditionally Christian Salvationist terms*. Most Christians cling to the fact that their loved ones are not gone forever after passing away. Hence it is natural for language users to seek the linguistic means to provide some comfort. This metaphorical mapping is by far the most prolific ones in the corpus and it significantly outnumbers the DEATH IS SLEEP examples. The idea of resting after a difficult life has been part and parcel of literature for decades, and the imagery of both sleep and rest have been utilized by authors and poets alike. Direct reference to this metaphorical mapping can be found in the 18th century English poet Christina Rossetti's work:

Rest, rest; the troubled breast
Panteth evermore for rest
Be it sleep or be it death
Rest is all it coveteth.[134]

And the equally accurate:

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[134] Taken from http://www.poemhunter.com/christina-georgina-rossetti/.

Rest, rest, for evermore
Upon a mossy shore;
Rest, rest at the heart's core
Till time shall cease:
Sleep that no pain shall wake;
Night that no morn shall break
Till joy shall overtake
Her perfect peace.[135]

Let us look at the comparison table below.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Was called to eternal rest*	(b) *Dostał wezwanie na wieczny odpoczynek* lit. *He received a calling for eternal rest*
(2) *Is resting in the arms of our Lord*	(c) *Odpoczywa już w ramionach Pana* lit. *She is now resting in the arms of the Lord*
(3) *Eternal rest grant to him, O Lord*	(d) *Wieczny odpoczynek racz mu dać Panie* lit. *Eternal rest grant to him, O Lord*
(4) *Found rest in her Savior*	(e) *znalazłaś odpoczynek w Panu* lit. *You found rest in the Lord*
(5) *Rest in peace*	(f) *Odpoczywaj w spokoju / Odpoczywaj w pokoju* lit. *rest in peace*
LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Entered into eternal rest* (2) *Entered into rest* (3) *Entered peacefully into eternal rest* (4) *Entered into his eternal resting place* (5) *Entered into eternal rest and peace* (6) *Entered into eternal peace* (7) *Transitioned to eternal rest*	Ø Ø Ø Ø Ø

Z komentarzem [u3]: Wszystkie wyrażenia kursywa?

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[135] Taken from http://www.poemhunter.com/christina-georgina-rossetti/.

(8) *Slipped away into his eternal rest*	Ø
(9) *Two bright shining eyes are at rest*	Ø
(10) *Parted our fellowship to his final rest with his Lord*	Ø
(11) *Was laid to rest*	Ø
(12) *Is resting in the arms of our Lord*	Ø
(13) *He lies in an eternal slumber*	Ø
	Ø
	Ø
Ø	(a) *Odpocznij utrudzone serce* lit. *rest fatigued heart*
Ø	(b) *Odpocznij teraz i do zobaczenia przy winku po drugiej stronie* lit. *Rest now and see you for a glass of wine on the other side*
Ø	(c) *Odpocznij od swoich trudów* lit. *Rest from your hardship*
Ø	(d) *Odpoczniesz przy rodzicach* lit. *you will rest by your parents' side*
Ø	(e) *A na tych zielonych pastwiskach, niebieskich łąkach, nad wodami gdzie możesz odpocząć niech Ci zabrzmi najpiękniejsza Twoja muzyka.* lit. *And on these green pastures, blue meadows, by the waters where you can rest, let your mos tune acompany you*
Ø	(f) *Wujku Leszku, płyniesz już delfinem do niebieskiego, brajnickiego jeziora, odpocznij, połóż wędkę na pomoście, pozdrów Pana Antoniego... a może gdzieś tam znajdziesz swoją siekierkę?...*

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	lit. *Uncle Leszek, you are swimming butterfly to the blue Lake Brajnicki, rest, put you fishing rod down, say hello to Mr. Antoni… and who knows, maybe you'll find your axe there*
Ø	(g) *A teraz oczy moje są zmęczone I dusza moja w mgły ucieka Idę odpocząć w nieznaną gdzieś stronę By patrzeć Was z daleka* lit. *And now my tired eyes and my soul runs into the mist, I'm going to rest somewhere to the unknown, to look at you from afar*
Ø Ø	(h) *Jesteś teraz uwolniony od frasunków i trudności. Śpijże, odpocznij w pokoju i czuwaj nad nami* lit. *Now you are free of heaviness and difficulties. Sleep and rest in peace, watch over us*
Ø	(i) *Ty sobie odpoczniesz… tylko Nam będzie trudniej żyć* lit. *You're going to rest… yet we will find it more difficult to live*
Ø	(j) *Odszedłeś do cichej krainy, do ciszy wśród niebieskich fal, odpocząć po pracowitym życiu, zostawiłeś smutek i żal.* lit. *You left into a quiet land, into the silence amidst the blue waves, to rest after a hardworking life, you left sadness and sorrow*
Ø	(k) *Tyś tam już doszła, my jeszcze idziemy, trzeba ci było odpocząć*

	po biegu, lecz znowu wstaniesz, boś tu na noc legła lit. *You made it, we are still walking, you needed to rest after the run, yet you will rise again, for you lay down for the night*
Ø	(l) *Odpoczywaj w pokoju wśród aniołków* lit. *Rest in peace among the angels*
Ø	(m) *Odpoczywaj kierowniczko najlepsza z możliwych* lit. *Rest, our best supervisor*
Ø	(n) *Niech odpoczywa w pokoju po tej wyczerpującej walce* lit. *may he rest in peace after this harrowing battle*
Ø	(o) *Sforsowałam rzekę zapomnienia i znalazłam odpoczynek w Hadesie. Stamtąd żegnam moich Przyjaciół, Kolegów, Znajomych i Sąsiadów* lit. *I crossed the river of oblivion and found rest in Hades. From there I bid farewell to my friends, colleagues, acquaintances and neighbours*
Ø	(p) *odszedł na wieczny odpoczynek* lit. *he left for eternal rest*
Ø	(q) *śmierć jest zaproszeniem do odpoczynku* lit. *death is an invitation to rest*
Ø	(r) *Ci którzy walczyli całe życie za sprawę, mają prawo do Świętego Odpoczynku.* lit. *They who fought their whole*

Ø	*lives for the cause, have the right to Holy Rest*
	(s) *Śmierć jest odpoczynkiem podróżnego, jest końcem mozołu wszelkiego (Mors est quies viatoris, finis est omnis laboris) Umberto Eco* lit. *Death is the rest of a traveller, it is the end of all slog*
Ø	(t) *odeszła na wieczny i zasłużony odpoczynek* lit. *She left for eternal and deserved rest*
Ø	(u) *A sprawiedliwy choćby umarł przedwcześnie znajdzie odpoczynek w Panu* lit. *Despite dying to quickly, the just will find rest in the Lord*

In this mapping, Polish expressions dominate the English ones in terms of numbers quite significantly. What is more, much like in some other categories, Polish terms tend to be noticeably more diverse and complex, especially considering the application of complex metaphors when conceptualizing death in terms of rest.

One particular difference that repeats itself over the course of the corpus is the use of passive voice in English sentences such as *was called to eternal rest*. Polish, on the other hand, avoids using the passive as in the Polish equivalent of the above mentioned example, *dostał wezwanie na wieczny odpoczynek* utilizing the more natural active structure. The specificity of passive voice lies in its object concealing capacity, which makes the listener unaware who performs the activity in question. While using passive voice in general suggests that the object is simply irrelevant or obvious, in the case of death-related metaphors it is simply ambiguous.

Both languages make occasional use of metaphtonomies, but Polish have more instances of such mechanism. Also the languages in question, focus on different body parts, which stand for the person. The Polish example *odpocznij utrudzone serce* → *rest fatigued heart*, focuses on the main organ, i.e. the heart, as the one needing the most rest, which makes sense

biologically, for it does play a central part in keeping the body alive. On the contrary, the English example is more direct and visible; *two bright shining eyes are at rest* suggests the obvious parallel between sleeping/resting and the act of passing away. What distinguishes the examples mentioned is the fact, that while we are able to see closed eyes, we cannot see the heart resting. Another Polish example, which also utilizes metaphtonymy is *A teraz oczy moje są zmęczone **i dusza moja w mgły ucieka. Idę odpocząć w nieznaną gdzieś stronę by patrzeć na Was z daleka**→ And now my tired eyes and **my soul runs into the mist, I'm going to rest somewhere to the unknown, to look at you from afar***[136]. As with the previous comparison, the Polish example is more ambiguous, with the soul running away, resting and looking at the relatives from afar. This case of metaphtonymy comprises a few metaphors (DEATH is REST, DEATH is A JOURNEY) and is grounded in the Roman Catholic tradition, which assumes the existence of the soul. Whereas the heart is an object which physically exists, the soul metonymy is even more abstract, since it verges upon the supernatural.

As was the case with some other categories, Polish examples use various persons when referring to the deceased. While in most cases, the third person singular is used, there are instances where dead relatives are addressed directly in the second person singular, for example *Odpocznij teraz i do zobaczenia przy winku po drugiej stronie* → 'Rest now and see you for a glass of wine on the other side'. It may seem that such structures give a more personal touch to the obituary, showing the affection of the family and their mourning. Yet another Polish example is very personal; a rare occurrence in English obituaries, which tend to be template-based. In this particular one, not only is the second person singular used to strengthen the sorrow of the addresser, but the obituary is filled with metaphorical expressions and details from the person's life. Let us look at the example: *Wujku Leszku, płyniesz już delfinem do niebieskiego, brajnickiego jeziora, odpocznij, połóż wędkę na pomoście, pozdrów Pana Antoniego... a może gdzieś tam znajdziesz swoją siekierkę?...* → *Uncle Leszek, you are swimming butterfly to the blue Lake Brajnicki, rest, put you fishing rod down, say hello to Mr. Antoni... and who knows, maybe you'll find your axe there*. To make the obituary even more personal the diminutive form is used together with the most important aspects of his life. Another example in Polish obituaries that is extremely uncommon in English is the previously mentioned *A teraz oczy moje są zmęczone I dusza moja w mgły ucieka Idę odpocząć w nieznaną gdzieś stronę By patrzeć Was z daleka* → *And now my tired eyes and my soul runs into the mist, I'm going to rest somewhere to the unknown, to look at you from afar*, which is not only a complex case of metaphtonymy,

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[136] Bolded parts are intentional.

but the subject is the deceased himself. The first person singular takes the concept of directness onto an even more personal level; it is almost as if the obituary was the final message of the dying individual. The application of personal details is a frequent element in Polish obituaries, as opposed to English ones, as seen in some already mentioned examples and some others such as *Odpoczywaj kierowniczko najlepsza z możliwych* → 'Rest, our best supervisor'.

Yet another interesting difference between the languages in question is the information on the location of where the deceased are to rest or the lack of thereof. English metaphors never specify where the resting ground is, and only presuppose it by including the supernatural beings, i.e. God, the Lord, Jesus, the angels. Polish metaphors, on the other hand, are more specific in terms of details, however vague they may be. One can rest *po drugiej stronie* → *on the other side*, *u boku swoich rodziców* → *by one's parents side*, *w nieznane* → *in the unknown*, *na zielonych pastwiskach* → *on green pastures, tam* → *there, cichej krainie* → *the land of silence*. One curious example, i.e. *Sforsowałam rzekę zapomnienia i znalazłam odpoczynek w Hadesie. Stamtąd żegnam moich Przyjaciół, Kolegów, Znajomych i Sąsiadów lit. I crossed the river of oblivion and found rest in Hades. From there I bid farewell to my friends, colleagues, acquaintances and neighbours* uses the Greek mythology reference to build the metaphorical expression.

One last interesting case in Polish is the use of capitalization when referring to metaphorical rest in *Ci którzy walczyli całe życie za sprawę, mają prawo do Świętego Odpoczynku* → *Those who fought their whole lives for the cause, have the right to Holy Rest*. Much like in a few other categories, Polish tends to be more orthodox when it comes to capitalizing supernatural elements than English.

Metaphor D: <DEATH IS A JOURNEY>

As argued by Barnden and Holyoak (1994:228), in this day and age *[...] life is assumed to be purposeful, that is, we are expected to have goals in life. In the event structure metaphor, purposes are destinations and purposeful action is self-propelled motion toward a destination. A purposeful life is a long-term, purposeful activity and hence a journey*. It is often believed that upon the termination of life another journey begins, one that heralds a new beginning. Apart from the obvious element of unpredictability, *[...] another frightening thing about this capricious transition is that we do not know where this journey will take us* (Hayes 2006:xi). Most religions postulate the existence of the afterlife, where believers head to after dying. The process is frequently long and arduous, taking longer or shorter depending on the person's deeds while being alive. It is one metaphorical mapping that we tend to utilize on a daily basis when,

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according to Simpson (2004:53), *[…] we talk of the 'dearly departed', or someone 'passing away' or 'going to a final resting place'*. As a result, death is often conceptualized in terms of a journey that one sets off to after his/her demise. Upon analyzing the examples below it may be evident that both languages have a strong corpus of DEATH IS A JOURNEY inspired metaphorical projections, and in fact it is one of the most prolific categories across the whole study. While most obituaries follow the Christian tradition of the Promised Land being the final destination, with the Father figure awaiting one's arrival, not all notices are based on religious beliefs. There are numerous examples that either fail to specify or intentionally conceal where the departed is heading. The source of comfort, however, is not the fact that we are unaware of the deceased person's whereabouts, but that the transition is in progress and that we metaphorically keep the person alive, denying death its indubitable power of permanently immobilizing everyone it touches (See Gonzálvez-García 2013). Another source of consolation lies in the fact that the metaphor suggests a spiritual life that starts after the journey has finished. In fact, this metaphorical mapping acts as a conceptual foundation of Allan and Burridge (1991:163-164), i.e. DEATH IS BEGINNING A NEW LIFE. Let us look at the extracted examples given below.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Departed his/this life*	(a) *Opuściłaś życie* lit. *you departed life*
(2) *Departed this Earth peacefully*	(b) *Opuścił ziemski padół* lit. *departed this Earth*
(3) *Departed this earthly life*	(c) *Opuścił ziemski żywot* lit. *departed this earthly life*
(4) *Departed in peace*	(d) *Odszedł w spokoju* lit. *departed in peace*
(1) *Left this world/ Left this world serenely* (2) *Left us for heaven* (3) *Left his earthly home*	(a) *Opuściła ten świat* lit. *Left this world* (b) *Opuściła Nas, i wyruszyła w podróż do Nieba* lit. *Left us and went for a journey to Heaven*

Z komentarzem [u5]: Wszystkie wyrażenia kursywa?

(4) *Left us behind* (5) *Left us suddenly* (6) *Left this mortal life* (7) *Left this Earth*	(c) *Opuścił swój ziemski dom* lit. *Left his earthly home* (d) *Ty odeszłaś, a my zostaliśmy* lit. *You left, we stayed* (e) *Opuściła Nas nagle* lit. *She left us suddenly* (f) *Opuścił życie doczesne* lit. *He left his mortal life* (g) *Opuścił Ziemię* lit. *Left earth*
(1) *Passed on to her eternal home/ Passed away to his eternal home* (2) *Passed from this Earth into Heaven* (3) *Passed from this life into eternity*	(a) *Przeszła z Ziemi do Nieba* lit. *Passed from Earth to heaven* (b) *Przeszła na wieczność do swojego nowego domu* lit. *Passed into eternity to her new home* (c) *Przeszła do wieczności* lit. *Passed into the eternity*
(1) *Transitioned to eternal life*	(a) *Przeszedł do życia wiecznego* lit. *Transitioned into eternal life*
(1) *Completed her earthly journey* (2) *Completed his transition to the uncertain*	(a) *Zakończył swoją ziemską podróż* lit. *Completed his earthly journey*
(1) *Sb's long journey home ended* (2) *Ended her journey in this life*	(a) *Po długiej drodze, wreszcie dotarłeś do domu* lit. *after a long journey, you are finally home* (b) *Zakończył swoją życiową podróż* lit. *Ended his life journey*
(1) *Returned to the loving arms of God* (2) *Returned to her Creator* (3) *Return home to God*	(a) *Powrócił w objęcia Boga* lit. *Returned to God's embrace* (b) *Powrócił do Stwórcy* lit. *Returned to his Creator* (c) *Powróciła do Domu Pana* lit. *Returned to the house of God*
(1) *Crossed over into the Promised Land*	(a) *Przeszedł do Ziemi Obiecanej* lit. *Crossed over to the Promised Land*
(1) *Walked on to her heavenly home*	(a) *Poszła do domu w niebie* lit. *Walked home in heaven*
(1) *Reached the end*	(a) *Dojechał do końca*

(2) *Reached the end of her journey* (3) *Reached the end of her life journey*	lit. *Reached the end* (b) *Osiągnął koniec swoje podróży* lit. *Reached the end of his journey* (c) *Jego ziemska podróż dobiegła końca* lit. *His life journey reached an end*
(1) *Parted our fellowship to his final rest with his Lord*	(a) *Zostawił Nas by odpoczywać przy Naszym Panu* lit. *Parted us to rest by our Lord*
(1) *Moved on to be with the Lord*	(a) *Odjechał na spotkanie z Panem* lit. *Moved on to be with the Lord*
(1) *Took his final journey*	(a) *W ostatnią wyruszyłaś podróż* lit. *You took your final journey*
(1) *Came to the end of her life's journey*	(a) *Jej życiowa podróż dobiegła końca* lit. *Her life's journey came to an end*
(1) *Made her journey to Heaven*	(a) *Ruszyła w podróż do Nieba* lit. *Made her journey to Heaven*
(1) *She is heading to Heaven*	(a) *Zmierza teraz ku Niebu* lit. *She is now heading towards Heaven*
(1) *Journeyed to heaven*	(a) *Wyruszył w podróż do Nieba* lit. *Journeyed to Heaven*
(1) *Arrived into the open arms of Jesus*	(a) *Przybył w objęcia Chrystusa* lit. *Arrived into Christ's embrace*
(1) *Ascended into Paradise*	(a) *Poleciała do raju* lit. *She ascended to Paradise'*
LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Left this life for his eternal home* (2) *Left this existence* (3) *Left his earthly life* (4) *Left us here on Earth* (5) *Left us for his next great adventure* (6) *Left his earthly dwelling to go fishing with the Lord*	Ø Ø Ø Ø Ø Ø
(5) *Transitioned on* (6) *Transitioned to eternal rest* (7) *Made his transition to his heavenly home* (8) *Made his transition to the Lord* (9) *Transitioned from this life to be with her heavenly Father*	Ø Ø Ø Ø Ø

(1) *Returned to her heavenly home* (2) *Returned to our heavenly Father*	Ø Ø
(1) *Slipped the surly bonds of Earth*	Ø
(1) *Crossed over, shedding his physical body to begin truly living in a spiritual reality*	Ø
(1) *Walked into God's warm, inviting embrace*	Ø
(1) *Parted this world to begin a new life with Jesus*	Ø
Ø	(a) *Ruszasz w swą najdalszą podróż* lit. *You're heading for your furthest journey*
Ø	(b) *Ruszył w kolejną podróż* lit. *He headed for his next journey*
Ø	(c) *Ruszył w ostatnią podróż do krainy wiecznych łowów* lit. *He headed for his last journey to the land of eternal hunting grounds*
Ø	(d) *Wyruszyła w swą największą podróż* lit. *She headed for her biggest journey*
Ø	(e) *Wyruszyła w swą najdłuższą reporterską podróż w nieznane* lit. *She headed for her longest, reporter's journey into the unknown*
Ø	(f) *Wyruszył na swoją ostatnią wędrówkę* lit. *He headed for his last trek*
Ø	(g) *Wyruszył w swą ostatnią, najdłuższą wędrówkę* lit. *He headed for his last, longest trek*
Ø	(a) *Udał się w ostatnią wielką podróż* lit. *Went on his last, great journey*

Ø Ø	(b) *Udałaś się w najdłuższą podróż, z której nigdy nie wrócisz* lit. *You went on the longest journey, one, you will never get back from* (c) *Udała się na niebieskie wędrówki* lit. *She went for a heavenly hike*
Ø	(a) *W tę podróż wybrała się sama* lit. *She took this journey all by herself*
Ø	(a) *Twoja ostatnia podróż dołączy Cię do Twojego ukochanego Męża* lit. *Your last journey will join you with your beloved husband'*
Ø	(a) *Zakończył swoją ziemską podróż* lit. *Ended his earthly journey*
Ø	(a) *W daleką podróż zabrał Cię Bóg* lit. *God took you for a long journey*
Ø Ø Ø	(a) *Może wyjechałeś gdzieś bardzo daleko* lit. *Maybe you went somewhere far away* (b) *Pojechała w podróż daleką* lit. *She went on a long journey* (c) *Wyjechałeś na zawsze i już nigdy nie wrócisz* lit. *You left forever and you're never coming back*
Ø	(a) *Modlimy się za Twoją dalszą dobrą Podróż* lit. *We pray for Your further good Journey*
Ø	(a) *Odleciał w swoją wielką podróż* lit. *flew away for his great journey*

Ø	(a) *Odszedł w ostatnią podróż* lit. *Left for his last journey*
Ø	(b) *Odszedł na ostatnią wędrówkę* lit. *Left for the last trek*
Ø	(c) *Odszedł na wędrówkę po Niebiańskich Szlakach* lit. *Left for a trek on the Heavenly Trails*
Ø	(d) *Odszedł na wędrówkę w nieznane* lit. *Left for a trek into the unknown*
Ø	(e) *Tak szybko odszedłeś Maciusiu, wszyscy za Tobą tęsknimy* lit. *You left so quickly Mattie, we all miss You*
Ø	(a) *Zmienia się wygląd wagonu, ale podróż trwa nadal* lit. *The look of the carriage has changed, but the journey continues*
Ø	(a) *Odbyła swoja ostatnią podróż* lit. *Made her last journey*
Ø	(a) *Tam już można wędrować po własnych szlakach* lit. *You can trek on your own trails where you are now*

This metaphorical expression is plausibly the most diverse when it comes to the application of various verb forms to describe the process of afterlife travelling. What is interesting, however, is the specific choice of verbs and the semantic connotations that go with such a decision. Both languages use different action words carrying either a certain level of completion or stressing the transitional stage of the deceased. In many cases, the dead simply *depart* → *odchodzić*, *leave* → *opuszczać* or *take a journey* → *wyruszyć w podróż*, all of which do not focus on the destination, but rather on the activity in progress. If one is to speculate, such choice could reinforce the feeling of longing for the deceased, almost as if the ongoing nature

of the verb would "keep" the relative here for a bit longer. Conversely, other verb forms not only specify the location of the final resting place, but also the fact that the destination has somehow been reached. Action words such as *completed his journey* → *zakończył swoją podróż*, *reached* → *dojechał*, *crossed over* → *przeszedł*, *arrived* → *przybył*, *came to an end* → *dobiegła końca* or *transitioned*, which do not have an exact polish equivalent, but could loosely be translated into *przeszedł*. All of the above signify the the completion of the metaphorical journey in question. When it comes to the location the deceased travels to, both languages use a plethora of options; one can go to *heaven* → nieba, *eternal home* → *domu wiecznego*, *eternity* → *wieczności*, *the uncertain* → *w nieznane*, *promised land* → *ziemii obiecanej*, *Paradise* → *raju*'[137], *heavenly home* → *domu w niebie*, *loving arms of God* → *w objęcia Boga*, *Open arms of Jesus* → *w objęcia Chrystusa* as well as places in respective languages that do not have direct equivalents in one language or the other, including: *spiritual reality* → Ø, *begin a new life with Jesus* → Ø, *next great adventure* → Ø, *najdalszą podróż* → Ø (lit. *furthest journey*), *kolejną podróż* → Ø (lit. *next journey*), *krainy wiecznych łowów*[138]' → Ø (lit. *Eternal hunting grounds*), *ostatnią wędrówkę* → Ø (lit. *last trek*), *niebieskie wędrówki* → Ø (lit. *heavenly hikes*), *gdzieś bardzo daleko* → Ø (lit. *somewhere far away*). Polish mostly utilizes the phrases *podróż* (*journey*) and *wędrówka* (*hike/trek*), yet overall it incorporates more locations than English and is far more specific in determining them. Another curious fact is that in both languages it is on the subject's own volition so to speak that the journey (the dying) takes place. The only exception can be found in the Polish language in the following: *W daleką podróż zabrał Cię Bóg* → Ø (lit. *God took you for a long journey*). This is the only case where the „journey" starts involuntarily, regardless of the deceased. Ironically this is presumably the only mapping where while the phenomenon of dying is euphemized, the element of clinging to reality (induced by the author) seems to be nonexistent, almost as if the person did not object.

The only example that makes an attempt to metaphorically keep the deceased around for longer is the use of Present Simple Progressive tense with such instances present in both languages. The continuous aspect suggests that the journey has not finished yet, hence allowing the family to feel the ostensible presence of their family member before he/she reaches the destined end. English only has one case using this construction as in the following: *She is heading to Heaven*, while we can observe two instances in polish obituaries with the equivalent of the previous English example *Zmierza teraz ku Niebu* → *She is now heading towards Heaven*

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[137] This is one of the few exceptions where the supernatural/sacral element is capitalized in English, yet not in polish.
[138] The English is more likely to use the expression 'Happy Hunting Grounds'

and *Ruszasz w swą najdalszą podróż* (lit. *You're heading for your furthest journey*) being the prime representatives. Additionally, the latter is uses the second person singular to address the deceased directly utilizing the inflected form *ruszasz* (*YOU are heading*), which is a virtually non-existent phenomenon in the English corpus under investigation. The second example is a more complex metaphor; *Po długiej drodze, wreszcie dotarłeś do domu* (lit. *After a long journey, you are finally home*).

Similarly to previously analyzed categories, there is a significant amount of overlap, especially with common metaphorical expressions. However, we can observe, that within the spectrum of complex metaphors, Polish seems not only to outnumber the English ones, but provide a much more complex metaphorical imagery. To mention but a few examples, there are the complex metaphors such as *Twoja ostatnia podróż dołączy Cię do Twojego ukochanego Męża* (lit. *your last journey will join you with your beloved husband*) or *Wyruszyła w swą najdłuższą reporterską podróż w nieznane* (lit. *she headed for her longest, reporter's journey into the unknown*) which incorporate more than one metaphorical mapping within a single metaphor and a case of metaphtonymy; *Zmienia się wygląd wagonu, ale podróż trwa nadal* (lit. *The look of the carriage has changed, but the journey continues*).

Metaphor E: <DEATH IS A DEFEAT>

Death is the ultimate adversary, the archenemy, one that lurks behind every corner waiting for the unsespecting prey. While we have been trying to fight against death since the onset of humankind, we can merely delay its imminent visit and resist it as long as possible. As aptly noted by Kellehear (2014:74) *[...] the purpose of any resistance to dying is not to defeat death itself – impossible and widely understood to be impossible – but rather to buy time, to self-consciously earn the right to live, day by day, week by week, month by month*. It is somewhat surprising, that out of all sixteen extracted metaphorical projections, this is the only one having negative connotations within the mapping itself, and while all the others attempt to alleviate the pain associated with dying, this one focuses more on accepting defeat graciously (See Kasher 2007). It also seems that although both languages conceptualize death in terms of victory, drawing parallels with defeat is much more common. Let us consult the following examples.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Passed away after a hard-fought battle with cancer*	(a) *Odeszła po zaciętej walce z rakiem* lit. *Passed away after a hard-fought battle with cancer*
(2) *Passed away after a heroic battle with cancer*	(b) *Odeszła po heroicznej/bohaterskiej walce z chorobą* lit. *Passed away after a heroic battle with an illness*
(3) *Passed away after a gallant battle with cancer*	(c) *Odeszła po dzielnej walce z wieloletnią chorobą* lit. *Passed away after a gallant battle with an illness*
(4) *Passed away after a long and courageous battle with cancer*	(d) *Odeszła po długiej i dzielnej walce z rakiem* lit. *Passed away after a long and courageous battle with cancer*
(5) *Passed away after a long fight with heart disease*	(e) *Odeszła po długiej bitwie z rakiem* lit. *Passed away after a long fight with cancer*
(6) *Passed away after a long struggle with cancer*	(f) *Odszedł po długotrwałej walce z rakiem* lit. *Passed away after a long struggle with cancer*
(7) *Passed away after a lengthy battle with cancer*	(g) *Odszedł po przeciągającej się bitwie z chorobą* lit. *Passed away after a lengthy battle with an illness*
(8) *Passed away after an extended battle with cancer*	(h) *Odszedł po wieloletniej bitwie z rakiem* lit. *Passed away after an extended battle with an illness*
(9) *Passed away after a difficult battle with cancer*	(i) *Odszedł po trudnej walce z rakiem* lit. *Passed away after a difficult battle with cancer*

(10) *Passed away after a brief but intense battle with cancer*	(j) *Odszedł po krótkiej walce z chorobą nowotworową* lit. *Passed away after a brief battle with cancer*
(1) *Succumbed to a short illness*	(a) *Poddał się krótkiej lecz bezlitosnej chorobie* lit. *Succumbed to a short but merciless illness*
(1) *Lost his battle with cancer* (2) *Lost his short battle with cancer* (3) *Lost her valiant battle with cancer* (4) *Lost her courageous battle with cancer* (5) *Lost her last battle*	(a) *Przegrał walkę z rakiem* lit. *Lost a battle with cancer* (b) *Przegrała krótką walkę z ciężką chorobą* lit. *Lost her short battle with a serious illness* (c) *Przegrała odważną walkę z chorobą nowotworową* lit. *Lost a valiant battle with cancer* (d) *Walczyłaś dzielnie, ale przegrałaś* lit. *You fought courageously, but lost* (e) *Przegrał ostatnią walkę o życie* lit. *Lost his last battle for life*

LACK OF EQUIVALENCE

(1) *was called home to eternal life after a valiant journey with cancer*	Ø
(1) *He has fought a good fight*	Ø
Ø	(a) *Odeszła po przegranej walce z okrutną chorobą* lit. *Passed away after a lost battle with a cruel illness*
Ø	(b) *Odszedł po nierównej i bolesnej walce z chorobą* lit. *Passed away after an uneven and painful battle with an illness*
Ø	(c) *Odeszła po wytrwałej walce do ostatnich godzin* lit. *Passed away after a steadfast*

	battle until the final hours
Ø	(d) *Odeszła po wyczerpującej walce* lit. *Passed away after an exhausting battle*
Ø	(e) *Odszedłem po długiej, trudnej, mozolnej i uporczywej walce z chorobą* lit. *I passed away after a long, difficult, arduous and lingering fight with an illness*
Ø	(f) *Odeszła po dramatycznej walce z nowotworem* lit. *Passed away after a dramatic fight with cancer*
Ø	(g) *Odeszła po zdającej się trwać wieczność chorobie* lit. *Passed away after seemingly forever-lasting illness*
Ø	(h) *Odeszła po rozpaczliwej walce z chorobą* lit. *Passed away after a hopeless battle with an illness'*
Ø	(i) *Odeszła po wieloletnich zmaganiach z rakiem* lit. *Passed away after longstanding struggles with cancer*
Ø	(j) *Odeszła po heroicznym zmaganiu z nowotworem*
Ø	(a) *Przegrał swoją najważniejszą życiową walkę* lit. *Lost his most important life battle*
Ø	(b) *Przegrałeś w nierównym starciu* lit. *You lost in an uneven face-off'*

Ø	(a) *Tak ciężko wyruszać na przegraną wojnę, na której można wygrać kilka potyczek, czasem jakąś bitwę, ale która i tak zakończy się klęską.* lit. *It's so difficult to go on a lost war, where one can win a few engagements, maybe a battle, but still one that will end up in defeat*
Ø	*(a) Niestety tej walki nie wygrała* lit. *Unfortunately she didn't win this fight*

There is some correspondence between the DEATH is DEFEAT and the Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) metaphor LIFE is A VALUABLE POSSESION and while the "fighting" and clinging on to life find their reflection in the phraseology, it is a somewhat curious category upon comparing the two languages. The curiosity lies not only in the sheer number of adjectives used to describe the intensity and the length of the fighting, but their choice and the linguistic consequences that go with that. The vast majority of adjectives used in English obituaries are positively-loaded, such as hard-fought, heroic, gallant, courageous, intense, valiant and even good with some neutral ones including: long, lengthy, extended or brief. Polish on the other hand, uses a much more negatively-pregnant set of attributes *okrutna* → *cruel*, *bolesna* → *painful*, *nierówna* → *uneven*, *wyczerpująca* → *exhausting*, *trudna* → *difficult*, *mozolna* → *arduous*, *uporczywa* → *lingering*, *dramatyczna* → *dramatic*, *zdająca się trwać wiecznie* → *seemingly forever-lasting*, *rozpaczliwa* → *hopeless*, *bezlitosna* → *merciless*, *przegrana* → *lost*, with only few neutral examples such as *długa* → *long* or *wieloletnia* → *longstanding*. Semantically, the English attributes evoke an almost medieval knight battle scenario, especially when using *gallant* or *valiant*, both of which are rarely used in modern context. What is more all of these attributes seem to involve a lot more effort on the dying party and a lesser element of hopelessness. In contrast the Polish obituaries seem to draw no positivity from the attempts of the sick to overcome the medical problem. While death is euphemized in both languages mostly by avoiding the verb 'die', the sense of loss is much stronger on the Polish side. It may appear that in polish obituaries the deceased was doomed in the first place, even before any fighting began. Some polish obituaries make literally no effort to conceal the pessimism within, for instance: *Tak ciężko wyruszać na przegraną wojnę, na której można wygrać kilka potyczek,*

czasem jakąś bitwę, ale która i tak zakończy się kleską (lit. *It's so difficult to go on a lost war, where one can win a few engagements, maybe a battle, but still one that will end up in defeat*)

This particular metaphorical mapping somehow links itself to the Bultinck's (1998) example of DEATH is SURRENDER where a rather inexplicit beneficiary is presented with someone's life. While the "enemy" one is defeated by is specified most of the time in both languages, be it cancer or heart disease, there is rarely any mention of direction or any supernatural entity. The only exception can be found in the English corpus with *was called home to eternal life after a valiant journey with cancer*, which incorporates literally every possible metaphor including DEATH IS UP, DEATH IS DEFEAT, DEATH IS A JOURNEY and TO DIE is TO GO HOME. Every other metaphor in this category is rather vague in terms of the aftermath of dying. The fact that life is at stake in every battle lost, is presupposed in both languages.

When it comes to naming the conflict one loses in, both languages make use of similar terms. English mostly uses the term *battle*, yet instances of *fight* and *struggle* are present in a few examples. The Polish corpus utilizes *walka* → *fight* with much higher frequency than English, in fact this is the most common expression, followed by *bitwa* → *battle* and *zmagania* → *struggle*. In two cases, namely *Przegrałeś w nierównym starciu* (lit. *You lost in an uneven clash*) and the already mentioned *Tak ciężko wyruszać na przegraną wojnę, na której można wygrać kilka potyczek, czasem jakąś bitwę, ale która i tak zakończy się kleską* (lit. *It's so difficult to go on a lost war, where one can win a few engagements, maybe a battle, but still one that will end up in defea*t) Polish uses the word *starcie* → *clash* in the former sentence and *wojna* → *war* in the latter. It is interesting to observe that all of these terms evoke military associations. While one fights with a disease or death itself, the nouns describing the confrontation suggest not a single enemy, but almost as if the deceased was facing a whole army. It may therefore be speculated why words such as *duel*, *duel-off* or *face-off* are not present in the corpus. It also seems that dying as a result of ill health is rather conceptualized in terms of combat (be it fists or weaponry) rather than say sports competition also containing an element of losing and winning. Although in a match, the winner becomes the beneficiary at the expense of the losing party, hence making this scenario similar to a military conflict (despite there are likely to be no fatalities) examples such as *He passed away after a close game* or *He was fighting to the last minute, but the bell didn't save him* would probably carry too much informality and take away the dignity of the deceased. Consequently, such terms are missing from the corpus in both languages alike.

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Metaphor F: <DEATH IS A GIFT/REWARD>

Life is often believed to be a transitionary, temporary period, an introduction to eternal life after death – *[…] a blessed state, free from the illusion of mortality, where the dead rejoice in sublime reunion with the Divine source, which created them* Alexander-brume (2014:xi). Suffering is an intrinsic part of life, but our efforts are frequently rewarded in the afterlife. The conceptualization that follows is based on the principle, that a person who perished is rewarded for his/her earthly merits. Both languages under investigation draw parallels between the concept of dying and being rewarded, as shown by the examples below.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Passed on to his eternal reward* (2) *Passed into Glory*	(a) *Odszedł po swoją wieczną nagrodę* lit. *Passed on for his eternal reward* (b) *Odszedł do wiecznej chwały* lit. *Passed into eternal glory*
(1) *His heavenly reward awaits*	(a) *W Niebie czeka już na Ciebie nagroda* lit. *A reward awaits you in Heaven*
(1) *He was awarded eternal life*	(a) *Bóg nagrodził go życiem wiecznym* lit. *God awarded him with eternal life*
(1) *He was gifted with eternal life*	(a) *Został obdarowany życiem wiecznym* lit. *Was gifted with eternal life*
(1) *He was granted eternal happiness*	(a) *Pan ofiarował mu wieczne szczęście* lit. *The Lord granted him eternal happiness*
LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Transitioned from labor to reward*	Ø
Ø	(a) *Odszedł po nagrodę do Pana* lit. *Passed on to the Lord for his reward* (b) *Odszedł do Pana i stał się*

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Ø	*dziedzicem wiecznej nagrody w niebie* lit. *Passed on to the Lord and became the heir to the eternal reward in heaven*
(1) *Entered her heavenly reward* Ø	Ø (a) *Wstąpił w Niebiosa po nagrodę za ciężkie życie* lit. *Entered into Heaven to accept a reward for his hard life'*
(1) *Was called from labor to reward on* (2) *Was called from her earthly labor to her heavenly reward* (3) *Was called to tend God's garden* Ø	Ø Ø Ø (a) *Została wezwana po swoją najpiękniejszą nagrodę* lit. *Was called to accept her most beautiful reward*
(1) *Was invited to pick up his final reward* (2) *God invited him to accept his eternal reward*	Ø Ø
(1) *Transitioned from labor to reward*	Ø
(1) *Went to his eternal reward*	Ø
(1) *Received his crown of eternal life* (2) *Was happily received into glory by her Savior* (3) *Received the ultimate reward* Ø	Ø Ø Ø (a) *Otrzymał wieczną nagrodę w Niebie* lit. *Received his eternal reward in Heaven*
Ø	(a) *Niech dobry Bóg da Ci obiecaną nagrodę w Niebie* lit. *May the good God grant you your promised reward in Heaven* (b) *Niech Cię Bóg wynagrodzi po*

Ø	*ziemskim trudzie* lit. *May God reward you after your earthly hardship*

As mentioned before, death-related metaphors are rarely uniform in nature and substantial amount of overlap is bound to take place across the corpus with various metaphorical mappings incorporating a few categories. Traces of DEATH IS REST, DEATH IS A CALL and TO DIE IS TO MEET A SUPERNATURAL ENTITY may be found in several examples in both Polish and English.

One curious observation which distinguishes this particular mapping from others is the incorporation of passive voice across both languages. This can partially be attributed to the specificity of this particular mapping, as in most cases something; a reward/a gift/an award is given to the subject by a frequently presupposed entity, making the use of the passive more natural in both English and Polish. It is interesting to notice, however, that while in some instances the provider of the reward is specified, he/she/it is blatantly omitted in the vast majority of examples, almost as if it was irrelevant in the context. What is more, the concept of gift giving is infrequently backgrounded such as in the case of *was called to tend God's garden* or *received his crown of eternal life* both avoiding the use of words synonymous with gift, yet presupposing it through the contextual background.

Both languages use a somewhat similar set of nouns denoting the type of reward given to the deceased. Instances of *eternal reward* → *wieczna nagroda*, *heavenly reward* → *nagroda w niebie*, and the language-specific *ultimate reward* and Polish *obiecaną nagrodę* (lit. *promised reward*) or *najpiękniejszą nagrodę* (lit. *the most beautiful reward*) are present within the corpus. Other rewards that one is bestowed upon may include the elusive *eternal life* → *życie wieczne*, *eternal happiness* → *wieczne szczęście* or *passing into Glory* → *odejście do wiecznej chwały*.

One can observe a link between this particular metaphorical mapping and the already discussed DEATH IS REST. Examples can be found across both languages that would suggest that our life is hard labour and the reward is deserved rest, for instance: *Was called from her earthly labor to her heavenly reward*, *Transitioned from labor to reward* or the Polish *Wstąpił w Niebiosa po nagrodę za ciężkie życie* (lit. *Entered into Heaven to accept a reward for his hard life*) or *Niech Cię Bóg wynagrodzi po ziemskim trudzie* (lit. *May God reward you after your earthly hardship*).

The only noticable difference between the languages is the application of particle-based clauses in Polish with *niech* (lit. *may*) being used in both cases, namely: *Niech dobry Bóg da Ci obiecaną nagrodę w Niebie* (lit. *May the good God grant you your promised reward in Heaven*) and *Niech Cię Bóg wynagrodzi po ziemskim trudzie* (lit. *May God reward you after your earthly hardship*). While sentences of such type are quite frequent in the English language, they are extremely rare to come across when browsing obituaries.

Metaphor G: <DEATH IS BIRTH>

A death of a child is always a harrowing experience for the whole family, as we see children and babies as completely vulnerable and unable to defend themselves. Therefore, language used to denote such tragedy is skillfully crafted so that it conceals the feeling of pain and grief. This particular conceptualization is based on the foundation that since the departed had no chance to live on earth, the metaphorical birth happens in the Promised Land. While this mapping is predominantly used for stillborn babies, some studies suggest that it is in fact DEATH IS SLEEP mapping that is used in such cases (e.g. Herat (142 who claims that: *In the twenty first century, the most frequent conceptualization of child death is 'as a sleep' with a frequency of 4.32 per 1000 words*). The following study, however, proves otherwise, with only a few instances of DEATH IS SLEEP being used with reference to an infant's death.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *She was born into eternal life*	(a) *Narodził się na życie wieczne* lit. *Was born into eternal life*
LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Was born silently* (2) *Was born into the arms of angels* (3) *Was born into the arms of Jesus* (4) *Was born an angel* (5) *Was born still and blessed*	Ø Ø Ø Ø Ø
Ø	(a) *Narodziła się dla Nieba* lit. *Was born for Heaven*

Ø	(b) *Narodziła się na nowo w Królestwie Niebieskim* lit. *She was born anew in the Kingdom of Heaven*
Ø	(a) *Śmierć jest narodzeniem do lepszego życia* lit. *Death is birth to a better life*
(1) *An angel in the Book of Life wrote down our baby's birth, and whispered as she closed the book*	Ø

It is worth mentioning that in English obituaries this metaphorical mapping is predominantly and almost exclusively used for babies, especially stillborn. It seems more natural and less harsh to refer to stillborn infants as 'being born' into the heavenly world, rather than 'dying', considering their lack of ability to 'pass', 'go', 'walk' or 'move'. Even in the metaphorical sense (one which is applied within the whole corpus) choosing such set of verbs to denote the addressee in question, would rather be seen as inappropriate. When it comes to Polish, all the examples found express a certain level of universality regarding the age of the deceased, such as the Polish *Narodziła się na nowo w Królestwie Niebieskim* (lit. *She was born anew in the Kingdom of Heaven*). In no point is the age indicated or stressed by the words used, such as in the case of English, which utilizes adverbs/adjectives such as *silently* or *still*. The more common way of mourning infants in Polish obituaries is the use of cherubs or little angels to emphasize their innocence and benevolence (the lack of sin) as will be shown in the DEATH IS LIFE AS A SUPERNATURAL ENTITY section.

When it comes to linguistics, the first major difference in this mapping is the use of passive voice in the English language, due to the specificity of the 'to be born' structure. Consequently, the vast majority of English examples are written in passive voice, whereas all examples in Polish use active voice. Furthermore, only the Polish obituaries specify the location of the birthplace, i.e. *Niebo* → *Heaven* or *Królestwo Niebieskie* → *the Kingdom of Heaven*. In other cases, the location is only presupposed or backgrounded, such as in *was born silently*. This could be due to the fact that 'sending' our loved ones away is never easy, especially, when they perish so quickly, therefore bringing some comfort by clinging on to the deceased and 'keeping' him/her for a little longer (even it if it is only by means of language). One curious instance is the English almost story-like: *An angel in the Book of Life wrote down our baby's*

birth, and whispered as she closed the book, This is a rare occurrence in English, with most death notices being rather simple and straightforward (despite using metaphors).

Metaphor H: <DEATH IS RELEASE>

Much like DEATH IS REST, this category is based on the idea that life is a burden filled with suffering, and it is merely a transitionary phase on the road to eternal happiness and relief. There are numerous references in art and literature, which would suggest that death is not a punishment, but that it is the getaway, releasing us from the earthly misery and allowing to migrate to a better place. The mapping is frequently used in both languages to suggest an element of relief, especially after suffering from a terminal illness or otherwise harrowing experience. Let us consult the following examples.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Was relieved of her suffering*	(a) *Jej cierpienie dobiegło końca* lit. *Her suffering came to an end*
(1) *Left the cares of this world and entered into the joys of Heaven*	(a) *Zostawiła za sobą troski tego świata i wstąpiła do Krainy Wiecznej Szczęśliwości* lit. *She left the cares of this world behind and entered into the Land of Eternal Joy*
(1) *Passed into eternal peace*	(a) *Odszedł do Krainy Wiecznego Spokoju* lit. *Passed into the Land of Eternal Peace*
(1) *Found peace*	(a) *W końcu odnalazła spokój* lit. *She finally found peace*
(1) *Was released from her earthly body*	(a) *Została uwolniona od ziemskiego ciała* lit. *Was released from her earthly body*
(1) Was freed from his struggle	(a) *Bóg uwolnił go od jego trudów* lit. *'God freed him from his struggle'*

LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	
(1) Entered into eternal rest and peace *(2) Entered into eternal peace*	Ø Ø
Ø	*(a) Teraz jest w ciszy i spokoju* lit. *Now he is in silence and peace*
(1) Left the cares of this world and *entered into the joys of Heaven*	Ø

It is surprising to see very little contrast between the two languages, as both conceptualize death in terms of release in almost identical ways. Once again in the vast majority of cases, the release is provided by an invisible force, which is presumably God, or other supernatural entity, yet only one Polish example specifies the agent in question, i.e. *Bóg uwolnił go od jego trudów* (lit. *God freed him from his struggle*), which is almost a direct equivalent of the English *Was freed from his struggle* in which the passive conceals the agent. Another minor difference is the use of *enter into eternal rest/peace* in English, which has no equivalence in the Polish language, presumably due to the fact the phrase *enter into*, which can be translated into *wstąpić do* is naturally used in Polish with closed spaces or rooms, rather than abstract concepts such as rest or peace.

Metaphor I: <DEATH IS A VICTORY>

As presented before, death is more likely to be dyspehmistically metaphorized in terms of defeat, yet there are instances in which dying is actually conceptualized as winning. From a religious point of view, it is quite logical to see dying as a positive phenomenon, because whatever we experience in heaven will indubitably be superior to our life here. Numerous metaphors and expressions stress the sheer superiority of the heavenly kingdom, with terms such as *a better place*, *a place of eternal happiness* or *the Kingdom of Joy*, etc.

One has to remember, however, that death is also frequently portrayed in the Jude-Christian tradition as a curse, being the direct result of the Original Sin. As written in Gen 2:15-17 *The LORD God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it. And the LORD God commanded the man, You are free to eat from any tree in the garden; but you must not eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, for when you eat of it you will surely die*. Both Adam and Eve who could not resist the temptation to eat from the Tree of Knowledge, and consequently all humanity were turned mortal. From this point human beings have been trying to prolong the inevitable treating death as *[…] an enemy that stalks us and*

threatens us. This is why we hate it so. We deserve death because of our sin, but we hate it [...] (Jer 9:21) and it is [...] *the last enemy to be destroyed* (1 Cor. 15:26). Therefore, it would seem that passing away to the afterlife could not be described as a defeat or a punishment, but something, which has to be celebrated.

The Bible is rife in fragments proving this theory and making extensive use of this metaphor. The death of Jesus in particular is the basis for this belief, for, as we know Jesus died, yet *God raised Him from the dead, freeing Him from the agony of death, because it was impossible for death to keep its hold on Him* (Acts 2:24). Hence, believers should follow Christ, for as attested by John 8:51 *I tell you the truth, if anyone keeps my word, he will never see death and John 11:25 Jesus said to her, 'I am the resurrection and the life. He who believes in me will live, even though he dies; and whoever lives and believes in me will never die', those who do will find salvation and will win over death.* Believers hold on to this claim, believing that death is simply a transitional phase, one that leads to eternal life. One may find traces of such tendencies in various historic societies, who saw dying as an honour, especially on the battlefield. The Vikings are a crown example for whom there was no bigger victory than death itself. Those courageous warriors, who fell in battle, were granted access to Valhalla where the great God Odin, would eventually utilize their services in the final battle referred to as Ragnarok, the Apocalypse (See Abel 2009). Despite numerous evidence within the scripture and other historical references, the death related language is noticeably scarce in this particular metaphorical extension. In fact, it is one of the few instances where a negatively loaded alternative i.e. DEATH IS DEFEAT is used more frequently. Let us consult the following examples from both languages.

ENGLISH	POLISH
LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	
(1) Won the battle against cancer with dignity and grace	Ø
(2) Snatched victory from the jaws of defeat, when he earned first place in the race to the inevitable	Ø
Ø	*(a) Walka i tak jest wygrana*

Ø	lit. *The fight is a win anyway* *(b) Nie przegrałeś tej walki, jesteś wielkim zwycięzcą* lit. *You didn't lose this fight, you are the great winner*

While both languages have instances of this metaphor, it is rather scarce and only four examples were found within the corpus. The first example from English takes the DEATH IS LOSS-based metaphors and replaces the word lost with won, making the otherwise negatively loaded sentence into one that backgrounds the pain and suffering, and depicts the phenomenon of dying in a much more positive manner. The second example on the other hand not only indicates that dying is something of an achievement, but also that winning actually requires skill and cunningness, hence the use of the word *snatched* suggesting it was a close call. This metaphor also partially utilizes the DEATH IS A JOURNEY/RACE metaphor without specifying where exactly the journey/race finishes.

Polish uses the more neutral *walka i tak jest wygrana* →*the fight is a win anyway* in which the subject is the fight itself and the person's involvement is hidden. The second example, however, directly addresses the deceased and congratulates him/her on the achievement of winning the fight with death.

What is unexpected is how underrepresented this category is within the whole corpus. One would imagine that mapping the positively-pregnant characteristics of a victory onto a rather grim and pejoratively-loaded concept of death would produce numerous examples in both languages. In truth this category is by far one of the least prolific across the spectrum. As it turns out, while most metaphors aim at alleviating the pain connected with dying, when it comes to winning or losing it is the latter that most of us conceptualize death through.

Metaphor J: <DEATH IS AN EMBRACE>

From the moment we are born, there is nothing that matches the soothing powers of an embrace. A simple gesture of affection, care and love, and yet a potent source of comfort. Upon entering the Promised Land, one may feel left out, hence the support of the Father figure or Jesus, who are ready to greet the departed. This particular mapping (together with DEATH IS A CALL) is quite special and breaks out from the rest of the projections, due to its evident haptic nature. This is the only case, where the deceased touches the elusive, otherwise invisible

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Divinity. Unlike most categories, the number of expressions found in the corpus is perfectly even across both languages.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *God wrapped his loving arms around her*	(a) *Bóg oplótł Ją swymi ramionami* lit. *God wrapped his arms around her*
(1) *Arrived into the open arms of Jesus*	(a) *Pan Jezus otworzył przed nią ramiona* lit. *Jesus opened his arms for her*
(1) *Is resting in the arms of our Lord*	(a) *Odpoczywa w objęciach naszego Pana* lit. *He is resting in the arms of our Lord*
(1) *Passed into the arms of the Lord*	(a) *Odeszła w objęcia Pana* lit. *Passed into the arms of the Lord*
(1) *Fell into the loving arms of his heavenly Father* (2) *Fall asleep in the arms of God*	(a) *Wpadła w miłosierne objęcia Ojca* lit. *Fell into the loving embrace of the Father* (b) *Zasnął w objęciach Boga* lit. *He fell asleep in the arms of God*
LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Was born into the arms of angels (baby)* (2) *Was born into the arms of Jesus (baby)*	Ø Ø
(1) *Entered into heaven in the arms of Jesus* (2) *Entered into God's arms*	Ø
(1) *Passed into the arms of our Lord on their last adventure together (about a couple)*	Ø
(1) *Fall asleep in the arms of Jesus to await the Savior's call*	Ø
(1) *Walked into God's warm, inviting embrace*	Ø

Ø	(a) *I widział Bóg Jej zmęczenie I gdy lekarstwa znikąd nie było już Objął Ją ciepłym swym ramieniem I szepnął "zostań ze mną tu"* lit. *And God noticed her fatigue and when the cure was nowhere to be found He wrapped her with His warm arms and whispered „stay here with me"*
Ø	(b) *I gdy Bóg zobaczył, że drogi zbyt długie, wzgórza zbyt strome, a oddech zbyt ciężki się robi, objął go swym ramieniem i powiedział pokój niech będzie z tobą* lit. *And when God noticed that the tracts were too long, the hills too steep and the breath too heavy, he embraced him with his arms and said, may peace be with you*
Ø	(c) *O pozwól Czarna Madonno w ramionach swoich się skryć* lit. *O Black Madonna, let me hide in you embrace*
Ø	(a) *Trzymaj Ją Panie w ramionach swych* lit. *Oh Lord, hold Her in your arm'*
Ø	(a) *Już jest w ciepłym oplocie Twych ramion* lit. *He is now in your warm embrace*
Ø	(a) *Bóg Ojciec przytulił Ją* lit. *The Heavenly Father coiled her*
Ø	(a) *Miłosierny Pan otulił ją* lit. *The Merciful Lord embraced her*
Ø	(a) *Zatopiła się w objęciach Pana* lit. *Submerged herself in the Lord's*

		embrace

Much like in some other metaphorical mappings, we can observe a substantial element of overlap with other categories and numerous complex metaphors are used across both languages. Components of DEATH IS JOURNEY → *Arrived into the open arms of Jesus*, DEATH IS REST → *Is resting in the arms of our Lord*, DEATH IS SLEEP/DEATH IS A CALL → *Fall asleep in the arms of Jesus to await the Savior's call*, DEATH K IS BIRTH → *Was born into the arms of angels* or *Was born into the arms of Jesus* and DEATH IS SLEEP in both Polish and English *Zasnął w objęciach Boga* (lit. *He fell asleep in the arms of God*) are present across this projection. What is interesting, however, is the fact, that within the partial or exact equivalence section, there are more complex metaphorical mappings on the English side. This could be due to the specificity of both languages in terms of fixed expressions or collocations. One such instance is the one of *Arrived into the open arms of Jesus*, which has a Polish near counterpart, *Pan Jezus otworzył przed nią ramiona* (lit. *Jesus opened his arms for her*), yet the Polish one is devoid of the DEATH IS JOURNEY component, for it would be unnatural to *arrive into someone's arms* in the Polish language (lit. *przyjechać/przybyć w czyjeś ramiona*) as the verb *przyjeżdżać / przybywać* is almost exclusively used with locations/places or metonimies, which stand for locations (i.e. *arrive at John's* → *przyjechać do Janka*).

What differentiates this particular mapping from the others is that in many previously discussed categories, the supernatural entity's involvement was backgrounded or understated. All the examples within this category specify the supernatural being, be it *God* → *Bóg*, *Jesus* → *Pan Jezus*, *The Lord* → *Pan*, *The Father* → *Ojciec* or the language specific *angels* and *Czarna Madonna* (lit. *Black Madonna*). The only case present across both languages, where the supernatural entity is conjectural and concealed by means of a capitalized possessive adjective is the Polish *Już jest w ciepłym oplocie Twych ramion* (lit. *He is now in your warm embrace*)

When it comes to the level of complexity, Polish once again proves itself to be more likely to incorporate longer and more complex metaphors compared to English. Two prime examples of that claim are: *I widział Bóg Jej zmęczenie I gdy lekarstwa znikąd nie było już Objął Ją ciepłym swym ramieniem I szepnął "zostań ze mną tu"* (lit. *And God noticed her fatigue and when the cure was nowhere to be found He wrapped her with His warm arms and whispered „stay here with me"*) and *I gdy Bóg zobaczył, że drogi zbyt długie, wzgórza zbyt strome, a oddech zbyt ciężki się robi, objął go swym ramieniem i powiedział pokój niech będzie z tobą* lit. *And when God noticed that the tracts were too long, the hills too steep and the breath too heavy, he embraced him with his arms and said, may peace be with you*. Both cases are extremely

complex, not only metaphorically-wise but also linguistically-wise. Apart from incorporating numerous metaphors within one single conceptualization, the two epitaphs resemble short stories, with the deceased being the main character. Such examples are non-existent in the English corpus.

While addressing the deceased is relatively common, especially in Polish obituaries (as opposed to English), addressing the supernatural entity directly is rather infrequent in both languages. Within this metaphorical mapping, however, we can observe one Polish example turning to God in a straightforward way, namely in: *Trzymaj Ją Panie w ramionach swych* lit. *Oh Lord, hold Her in your arms*. In all the other examples it is almost always the deceased who is the subject of the sentence, with the object being the embracing party There are few instances in which the parties are switched, and the supernatural entity becomes the subject and the dying individual is the one being embraced.

Metaphor K: <DEATH IS A REUNION>

One of the fundamental aspects of religion is believing in the afterlife. The idea, that the soul or the spirit migrates to an otherworldly location is frequently reinforced by the hope to meet the ones who had passed away. The metaphor is also based on the idea that while religion is founded purely on belief and the metaphysical, the loved ones who are already in the Promised Land are the only physical element that we feel certain about. As shown by the examples below, this particular mapping is among the less represented categories across both languages, with only a few examples on each side.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Left his earthly family to join his heavenly family*	(a) *Zostawił Nas by dołączyć do swojej niebiańskiej rodziny* lit. *Left us to join his heavenly family*
(1) *Joined his beloved wife in Heaven* (2) *Joined the love of her life in Heaven*	(a) *Dołączył do swojej ukochanej żony w Królestwie Niebieskim* lit. *Joined his beloved wife in the Kingdom of Heaven* (b) *Dołączył do swojej największej*

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	miłości w Niebie lit. *Joined the love of his life in Heaven*
(1) *Was reunited with his beloved wife/husband*	(a) *Ponownie zjednoczył się ze swoją ukochaną żoną* lit. *Was reunited with his beloved wife*
LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	
Ø	(a) *Odeszła od nas, aby połączyć się z Rodzicami* lit. *'Left us to rejoin her Parents'*
(1) *Joined them pass*	*Ø*
Ø	(a) *Dołączył do grona towarzyszy ordynansujących Panu Bogu* lit. *Joined the circle of companions serving God*
Ø	(b) *Dołączyłeś do Niebieskiej Eskadry* lit. *Joined the Heavenly Squadron*
Ø	(c) *Dołączyłaś do tych innych, którzy odeszli* lit. *Joined the ones that left*
Ø	(d) *Dołączyłeś do naszych najbliższych* lit. *You joined our closes ones*
Ø	(e) *Połącz mnie kiedyś, o Panie, z tymi, których znałam i ukochałam na ziemi* lit. *Rejoin me one day, O Lord, with the ones I knew and loved on earth*
(1) left this world for a place where he could go hunting, fishing and play euchre with family and friends awaiting his arrival	*Ø*

The first observation is an almost complete lack of supernatural intervention in both languages, almost as if reuniting with dead family members or friends happens of one's own

accord. The only exception is the Polish *Połącz mnie kiedyś, o Panie, z tymi, których znałam i ukochałam na ziemi* (lit. *Rejoin me one day, O Lord, with the ones I knew and loved on earth*), which incorporates God into the context. One possible reason for using such structures could simply be to avoid mentioning the dying process itself and presenting the deceased as just visiting relatives or friends.

One major difference between the two languages is the previously mentioned use of various grammatical persons in the Polish language, as opposed to English, which resorts to the 3rd person singular in the vast majority of cases. Using other persons may serve to strengthen the bond between the deceased and the family bidding the last farewell. Polish uses all persons in the singular across this mapping including the already mentioned first person singular case dead family members or friends happens of one's own accord. The only exception is the Polish *Połącz mnie kiedyś, o Panie, z tymi, których znałam i ukochałam na ziemi* (lit. *Rejoin me one day, O Lord, with the ones I knew and loved on earth*), with the deceased directly addressing God and asking Him to be reunited. The rather uncommon second person singular is present three times in: *Dołączyłeś do Niebieskiej Eskadry* (lit. *Joined the Heavenly Squadron*), *Dołączyłaś do tych innych, którzy odeszli* (lit. *Joined the ones that left*) and *Dołączyłeś do naszych najbliższych* (lit. *You joined our closes ones*), as well as the most frequent 3rd person singular in the rest of the examples.

When it comes to specifying the person/people the deceased is reunited with after perishing, both languages are rather straightforward. Most frequent cases include wives, husbands, parents or the ones that had left, yet there are a few instances, which may seem more ambiguous such as the non-capitalized 'heavenly family' and the Polish capitalized *Niebieska Eskadra* (lit. *the Heavenly Squadron*). Incorporating capital letters, frequently signifies the element of the supernatural or religious components in the context.

One stand-out example within the English corpus is *left this world for a place where he could go hunting, fishing and play euchre with family and friends awaiting his arrival*, purely because of the length, as in the vast number of cases English is rather scarce with words, and despite using metaphorical expressions, it tends to be more economical with the word count.

Metaphor L: <DEATH IS SYSTEM SHUTDOWN>

This category is indubitably the break-out one, for it incorporates jargon and humour to soothe the harshness of dying. While all the other metaphorical mappings have existed for centuries and have been utilized in art, literature and everyday speech, this particular mapping

is definitely a new-comer. Since the onset of the technological revolution of the 21st century, IT-derived vocabulary and concepts have long gone beyond their original field and are frequently applied to non-IT related phenomena. What has to be noted is that none of the examples below come from obituaries, for their rather disrespectful undertone does not fit in with a predominantly solemn form a notice of death is bound to follow. Their inclusion was rather to show that talking about death and dying must not necessarily be associated with unduly pompousness. The following examples were not found in obituaries and their main aim is to serve as a contrast to the toned down nature of typical funeral notices. What is more, the following examples comprise merely a tip of an iceberg, and require a separate study.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Logged out for the last time*	(a) *Wylogował się z życia* lit. *Logged out of life*
(2) *His life account was banned*	(b) *Jego życiowe konto zostało zbanowane* lit. *His life account was banned*
(3) *He saw the blue screen*	(c) *Zobaczył niebieskie ekran śmierci* lit. *He saw the blue screen of death*
(4) *He errored*	(d) *Błąd 404* lit. *Error 404*
(5) *He was formatted*	(e) *Format życia* lit. *Life's format*

If life can be conceptualized in terms of a system, be it hardware, software, a game or an account, it can metaphorically be both started, booted, set up, but also shut down. We can find examples which make use of this metaphorical mapping in terms of portraying the phenomenon of passing away. Upon drawing similarities between life and an email/social media account, dying is metaphorized in terms of logging out for the final time or getting one's personal account banned by an administrator (AGENT) figure (GOD). Both metaphors are really contextual in this day and age, with some funeral homes already offering tombstones which include a person's internet statistics regarding his/her online activity.

Yet another action common in the world of computers is having your account banned, which result in your inability to play. A life *game over* so to speak, however humorous it sounds is a simile made in both languages.

Following the extremely common MAN is a MACHINE metaphor, if parallels are to be drawn between a person and a computer system, death could be conceptualized in terms of an operating system failure (indicated by the colloquially and ironically called *blue screen of death*[139]"). A somewhat similar case is made by the *error 404* example, yet this time the metaphorical comparison is made between a "dead" webpage and a dead person who is not "responding" any longer.

Last but not least, is the metaphorical extension conceptualizing a person's life in terms of a hard drive (or any other data storage device for that matter). When data is wiped or removed, our life vanishes and may not be recovered. Treating memories and thoughts as clusters of information is a common occurrence within modern languages, with examples such as *I need to format myself* (spoken before going out for a drink) or *I need to save it for later* treating information passed during spoken interaction much like a computer file, which can be saved and edited at a later time. Consequently, if all our "data" is lost, we perish without the possibility of being brought back.

What is surprising, is that in this category there are no terms that would be exclusive for any of the languages. This could stem from the fact that the language of IT is generated mostly by English speakers and most of the IT-related terminology is borrowed, with the form rarely changing. Most terms connected with computers are universal for most languages, yet their application in the context of death metaphors may vary from language to language and would have to be backed up by a separate study.

Metaphor M: <DEATH IS A CALL>

This is yet another standout category, for it is based on direct interaction between The Divine (be it God or Jesus) and the departed themselves. Rarely do we see such scenario and in most cases the supernatural entity is either concealed, presupposed and sometimes omitted completely. This metaphorical conceptualization is based on the foundation that we reside on Earth only temporarily, and if need be, we are called for higher purpose to the Kingdom of

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[139] As quoted by Wikipedia, the Blue Screen of Death '*is an error screen displayed on a Windows computer system after a fatal system error, also known as a system crash: when the operating system reaches a condition where it can no longer operate safely*'.

Heaven. Some expressions specify this purpose, i.e. being a servant, a companion, a soldier, etc. while others do not. Since it is the third most prolific out of all the mappings, there is certainly room for creativity across both languages under investigation, as evidenced by the following cases.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Heard His call*	(a) *Usłyszał jego wezwanie* lit. *Heard his call*
(1) *Was called home to meet his maker* (2) *Was called to eternal rest* (3) *Was called home by God/ God called you home* (4) *Was called to her Heavenly Home* (5) *Was called to heaven* (6) *Was called home by the angels* (7) *Was called to serve our Heavenly Father* (8) *Was called upon to be with the Lord* (9) *God called her from labor to rest*	(a) *Został wezwany do domu na spotkanie z Panem* lit. *Was called home for a meeting with the Lord* (b) *Został wezwany na wieczny odpoczynek* lit. *Was called to eternal rest* (c) *Bóg wezwał go do domu* lit. *God called him to come home* (d) *Został wezwany do swojego domu w Niebie* lit. *Was called to his home in Heaven* (e) *Został wezwany do Nieba* lit. *Was called to Heaven* (f) *Anioł Pański wezwał go do domu* lit. *The Lord's Angel called him home* (g) *Został wezwany na wieczną posługę* lit. *Was called for eternal service* (h) *Pan wezwał go do Siebie* lit. *The lord called him*
(1) *Answer the Master's call* (2) *Answered God's call*	(a) *Odpowiedziała na wezwanie Pana* lit. *Answered the Lord's call* (b) *Odpowiedziała na wezwanie Boga* lit. *Answered God's call*
LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	

(1) *God called a special angel to his side*	Ø
(2) *Was called by the Lord and given his angel wings*	Ø
(3) *God called home an angel*	Ø
(4) *Was called from labor to reward on*	Ø
(5) *Was called to her Heavenly Father*	Ø
(6) *Was called from her earthly labor to her heavenly reward*	Ø
(7) *Was called by the Lord to join Him in heaven*	Ø
(8) *God called home an angel*	Ø
(9) *Was called home to take his place in heaven*	Ø
(10) *God called her from labor to rest*	Ø
(11) *Was called to tend God's garden*	Ø
(12) *God called her from labor to rest*	Ø
(13) *Was called home to eternal life after a valiant journey with cancer (COMPLEX METAPHOR)*	
Ø	(a) *Pan wezwał go przed swoje oblicze* lit. *The Lord called him before his presence*
Ø	(b) *Został wezwany na prywatną audiencję u Boga* lit. *Was called for a private visit with God*
Ø	(c) *Pan okazał mu miłosierdzie i wezwał do Siebie* lit. *The Lord showed him mercy and called him*
Ø	(d) *Bóg wezwał go do Siebie, bo widocznie Tam – w Niebie – potrzebował go bardziej* lit. *God called him, because apparently He needed him more There – in Heaven*
Ø	(e) *Ojciec go wezwał i teraz jest z Nim* lit. *The Father called him and he's*

	with Him
Ø	(f) *Bóg wezwał go przed swój Tron w niebie* lit. *God called him before his Throne in Heaven*
Ø	(g) *Los wezwał go na wieczną wachtę* lit. *Fate called him for an eternal watch*
Ø	(h) *Pan wezwał go w stosownej chwili* lit. *The Lord called him in the right moment*
Ø	(i) *Pan wezwał Ją do domu niebieskiego* lit. *The Lord called her into the Kingdom of Heaven*
Ø	(j) *Pan wezwał ją do wieczności* lit. *The Lord called her to eternity*
Ø	(k) *Pan wezwał go do swojego królestwa* lit. *The lord called him to his kingdom*
Ø	(l) *Boże wezwałeś go do Siebie za wcześnie* lit. *O God, you called him to early*
Ø	(m) *Bóg wezwał go, by obejrzeć z nim derby (written about a Real Madrid fan)* lit. *God called him to watch the derby with him*
Ø	(n) *Bóg ją do siebie wezwał a jemu się nie odmawia* lit. *God called her, and you don't say no to him*
Ø	(o) *Panie dlaczego wezwałeś ją tak*

Ø	*szybko?* lit. *Oh Lord, why did you call her so quickly?* (p) *Wezwałeś Go Boże do siebie... za wcześnie Nie byliśmy rozstać się gotowi... jeszcze Wybacz, prosimy, nasz smutek i żal, pomóż zrozumieć Twój Boski Plan* lit. *Oh God you called him… to early. We weren't ready to part with him … at least not yet. Forgive us, we beg you, our sadness and sorrow, help us understand your Divine Plan*
(1) *Answered his heavenly call* (2) *Answered the phone from beyond* (3) *Answered the call* (4) *Answered the Father's call*	Ø Ø Ø Ø
(1) *Fell asleep in the arms of Jesus to await the Savior's call*	Ø
(1) *God dispatched an angel of mercy and called her*	Ø

First and foremost, it is worth mentioning, that the source domain i.e. the call itself is somewhat ambiguous in nature. In most cases, we may only presuppose what the form of the calling is, be it gesture, sound or some type of spiritual force. There are, however, three instances where the medium is specified (or conjectural) within the projection. The first example is present across both languages and suggests that voice signals are used to call upon the deceased individual, hence the sensory word *heard*' → *usłyszał* is utilized, as shown in: *Usłyszał jego wezwanie* (lit. *Heard his call*). The second instance, present only in Polish is: *Bóg ją do siebie wezwał a jemu się nie odmawia* (lit. *God called her, and you don't say no to him*) in which the type of call is not directly specified, yet the *saying no* component would also suggest an oral invitation. Last but not least, since, the last few decades have been dominated by technology it is a welcomed addition to see the English: *Answered the phone from beyond*. An even more contextual (considering the today's reality) *Received a text from Heaven/God* was not present in the corpus, yet its application is bound to happen sooner or later, especially in more lighthearted discourse.

The first major difference between this category and the ones discussed before is that previously, dying seems to be a voluntary action, with very little involvement from any supernatural entity. In the vast number of cases the individuals simply *go*, *pass*, *travel*, *fly* or *move* to their final resting place (wherever it may be), and even if the supernatural entity is present, he frequently acts as a passive observer or is heavily backgrounded. Within this particular set of phrases, however, *God → Bóg*, *The Father → Ojciec* and *The Lord → Pan*, *The Master* or *the angel of mercy → Anioł Pański* are the subjects in most examples across both languages and they are the ones performing the calling. One exception is present in the Polish language, where it is *los → fate* that does the calling, making the sentence devoid of any religious elements.

Another significant difference lies in the application of complex metaphors in both languages, to a much larger extent compared to other categories. Numerous references to DEATH IS UP, DEATH IS A JOURNEY, DEATH IS REST, DEATH IS SLEEP, DEATH IS REALEASE, DEATH IS A DEFEAT, DEATH IS AN EMBRACE and DEATH IS LIFE AS A SUPERNATURAL ENTITY are present within this group of terms. Some more prominent examples of complex metaphors include the English *Was called home to eternal life after a valiant journey with cancer* (DEATH IS UP, DEATH IS A CALL, DEATH IS A JOURNEY, DEATH IS DEFEAT), *Was called home to take his place in heaven* (DEATH IS A CALL, DEATH IS UP), *Fell asleep in the arms of Jesus to await the Savior's call* (DEATH IS SLEEP, DEATH IS AN EMBRACE, DEATH IS A CALL) or *God called her from labor to rest* (DEATH IS A CALL, DEATH IS REST) to quote but a few instances.

When it comes to capitalization, Polish is indubitably more consequent in terms of consistency. As mentioned before, this could simply be due to the general specificity and tendency to capitalize more, however, one could link such tendencies with convention and respect. It is enough to look at: *Bóg wezwał go do Siebie, bo widocznie Tam – w Niebie – potrzebował go bardziej* (lit. *God called him, because apparently He needed him more There – in Heaven*) to see the extent of capitalization in Polish obituaries. This of course, does not mean that English death notices do not capitalize elements of paramount importance (such as religious elements, supernatural entities or the deceased themselves), but that less focus is placed on this particular grammatical aspect. English obituary authors also tend to be more inconsistent when using capital letters with numerous occasions of *lord*, *heaven*, *maker* or *angel of mercy*, all of which are rather capitalized in the case of Polish. The only exception is the word *God → Bóg*, which is capitalized in all categories across both languages. Polish obituaries on the other hand express a certain level of arbitrariness in terms of capitalizing dative case pronouns or

possessive adjectives, which are frequently capitalized, yet not always, as in the case of: *Bóg ją do siebie wezwał a jemu się nie odmawia* (lit. *God called her, and you don't say no to him*) and *Pan wezwał go przed swoje oblicze* (lit. *The Lord called him before his presence*). In both cases, *jemu* → *him* and *swoje* → *his*, are written in lower case, however, a few examples can be found across other categories, where the same items are capitalized.

There is one element which differentiates Polish obituaries from English ones and that is addressing God directly in both affirmative and question forms, as evidenced by *Panie dlaczego wezwałeś ją tak szybko?* lit. *Oh Lord, why did you call her so quickly?* and *Wezwałeś Go Boże do siebie... za wcześnie Nie byliśmy rozstać się gotowi... jeszcze Wybacz, prosimy, nasz smutek i żal... pomóż zrozumieć Twój Boski Plan* lit. *Oh God you called him... to early. We weren't ready to part with him ... at least not yet. Forgive us, we beg you, our sadness and sorrow... help us understand your Divine Plan*. The former indirectly puts the blame on God himself for calling the deceased family member too early. While it could simply be the person lamenting over the departed, it could also be interpreted as demanding explanation from the one performing the call. The latter example is more complex, yet its structure is rather broken, with 3 ellipses separating it into half-sentences. The separators may act as silent pauses for the speaker to take a breath while crying and uttering the sentence parts. While in this case, one can also feel the component of blame placed on the God figure, the sentence is much less aggressive compared to the first instance. Elements such as *wybacz* → *forgive us* and *prosimy* → *we beg you* express humility on part of the speaker.

One final difference is the incorporation of personal information within the metaphorical projection *Bóg wezwał go, by obejrzeć z nim derby* (written about a Real Madrid fan) lit. *God called him to watch the derby with him*. While such instances are quite common in Polish obituaries, English ones seem to be largely template-based.

Metaphor N: <DEATH IS A CELEBRATION>

Death is indubitably a harrowing experience for the family of the deceased. As mentioned before, rarely do we approach death with positivity, and even when euphemized, death still arouses ambivalent feelings, frequently ones verging upon the negative. One also has to remember, the customary and religious attitudes towards death in countries such as Poland with a frequently orthodox outlook on Christian tradition. Such approaches find their reflection in the language used to describe the subject in question. What may seem surprising is how few

metaphorical mappings of this type are present in English, considering their much more casual (Halloween or the Dia de Muertos) attitude towards death and dying. Here are some extracted examples.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Celebrating life eternal*	(a) *Wreszcie może świętować życie wieczne* lit. *He can finally celebrate eternal life*
(1) *Left the cares of this world and entered into the joys of Heaven where he can celebrate with all the angels*	(a) *Zostawił troski tego świata i wstąpił do Królestwa Wiecznej Szczęśliwości, gdzie może świętować z Aniołami Pańskimi* lit. *Left the cares of this world and entered the Kingdom of Eternal Happiness, where he can celebrate with the Lord's Angels*
LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	
Ø	(a) *Dzisiaj świętuje dzień wiecznej szczęśliwości* lit. *Today she's celebrating the day of eternal happiness*
(1) *Entered the gates of Heaven dancing and rejoicing with her Lord and Savior*	Ø
Ø	(a) *Dzisiaj jest Jej święto* lit. *It's his celebration today*

The first interesting element is the use of Present Continuous in both languages, as shown in: *Celebrating life eternal* and the Polish *Dzisiaj świętuje dzień wiecznej szczęśliwości* lit. *Today she's celebrating the day of eternal happiness*. As mentioned before, the use of such

grammatical tense may induce a certain level of comfort, suggesting the departed is celebrating, hence, still being metaphorically alive.

The next metaphorical projection, i.e. *Left the cares of this world and entered into the joys of Heaven where he can celebrate with all the angels* and the almost identical Polish: *Zostawił troski tego świata i wstąpił do Królestwa Wiecznej Szczęśliwości, gdzie może świętować z Aniołami Pańskimi* (lit. *Left the cares of this world and entered the Kingdom of Eternal Happiness, where he can celebrate with the Lord's Angels*, are both complex metaphors, combining elements of DEATH IS UP, DEATH IS A RELEASE, DEATH IS REST and DEATH IS A CELEBRATION. What is curious, however, is that, there are merely a few instances where near equivalents of such length and complexity are present on both sides. It is hard to determine whether it is common or not for some languages (for instance Polish) to directly translate English obituaries or use universals such as RIP, which found its way to most modern languages.

When it comes to noticeable differences, we may observe that both Polish: *Dzisiaj świętuje dzień wiecznej szczęśliwości* (lit. *Today she's celebrating the day of eternal happiness*) and *Dzisiaj jest Jej święto* (lit. *It's his celebration today*) treat a person's passing as a celebration, yet only the former specifies what is being celebrated. The English *Entered the gates of Heaven dancing and rejoicing with her Lord and Savior* on the other hand is more exuberant when it comes to describe the emotions and actions associated with the celebration, i.e. dancing and rejoicing. Also the English stresses the involvement of the departed more than the polish obituaries.

Metaphor O: <DEATH IS HAPPINESS>

Death is one of the most euphemized phenomena in our daily life, and while such linguistic device is used to alleviate the pain associated with it and to conceal its negative impact, the vast majority of death-related metaphors (most of which are euphemistic in nature) have an element of sorrow and mourning. Rarely is death referred to in positive terms, hence this mapping serves as an exception to this tendency.

ENGLISH	POLISH
NO EQUIVALENCE	

(1) *Joy came to her in the morning*
(2) *Left the cares of this world and*
    entered into the joys of Heaven
 	
Ø
 	
Ø
	Ø
	
	(a) *Dzisiaj świętuje dzień wiecznej*
	    szczęśliwości
	    lit. *Today she's celebrating the day of*
	    eternal happiness
	
	(b) *Powędrowała do nieba i do*
	    nieograniczonego szczęścia
	    lit. *She walked to heaven to limitless*
	    joy

Only a few examples were found within the whole corpus across the two languages, for it seems that death is simply not metaphorized in term of happiness (at least in the corpus analysed). While the English case is rather simple, the sentence carries a number of interesting traits. First of all, we can only guess what *joy* really stands for in this particular context; it could simply be death (the phenomenon), yet it could also be Death (i.e. the Grim Reaper), or a form of relief or release, the person was waiting for. In general, since *joy* is not written in quotes, which would suggest a figurative meaning, it is really hard to assume the real intention of the speaker, without knowing the context. Another observation is the fact that *joy* is the subject of the sentence with the deceased passively waiting for it and having no involvement in the process. What is more, since the dying individual was anticipating the moment of *joy*, we may presuppose that *Joy (FINALLY) came to her in the morning*, yet using the adverb directly would be inappropriate considering the context. The Polish on the other hand uses a complex metaphor combining the elements of DEATH IS A CELEBRATION and DEATH IS HAPPINESS. As opposed to English, the Polish directly uses the word *happiness*.

Metaphor P: <DEATH IS LIFE AS A SUPERNATURAL ENTITY>

Our earthly body is just a temporary shell and it is quite common to believe that upon dying and entering the Promised Land, one is likely to take some kind of supernatural form. It is curious, however, that based on the Bible itself (Colossians 1:15-17) Angels are completely different from humans and were created by God to carry out his plan. At no point in the Bible

it is said that angels were previously humans, but that they originated as angels. What is more both the concepts of redemption and salvation are not for them to experience. Based on 2 Corinthians 5:8, after perishing the body of an individual dies and the spirit of the believer travels to be with the Lord. As written in 1 Thessalonians 4:13-18 by Paul, the faithful ones are asleep in Jesus i.e. their human bodies are dead but their souls are much alive. Upon Christ's return all those who are asleep by his side Will be raised and made anew devoid of sin. Therefore, we shall serve the Lord forever yet not as angels, but along with them. Ironically, considering the source material, the vast majority of obituaries utilizing this mapping conceptualize dying in terms of becoming an angelic creature. Both languages utilize the imagery of angels in relatively the same way, as represented by the examples below.

ENGLISH	POLISH
PARTIAL OR EXACT EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *Was granted his angel wings*	(a) *Otrzymał skrzydła anioła* lit. *was granted angel wings*
(1) *Heaven gained another angel*	(a) *Niebo zyskało nowego aniołka* lit. *Heaven gained another angel*
(1) *Flew on angel wings to Heaven* (2) *Flew away on angel's wings*	*(a) Poleciała do Nieba na skrzydłach anioła* lit. *She flew to Heaven on the wings of an angel* *(b) Odleciała na skrzydłach anioła* lit. *She flew away on angel's wings*
LACK OF EQUIVALENCE	
(1) *God called a special angel to his side* (2) *Was called by the Lord and given his angel wings* (3) *God called home an angel*	Ø Ø Ø
(1) *Was born an angel*	Ø
(1) *Became one of God's angels*	Ø
Ø	(a) *Zasilił Niebiańskie Zastępy* lit. *Joined the Heavenly Army*

	(b) *Zasilił Niebiański Szwadron* lit. *Joined the Heavenly Squadron*
Ø	(a) *Bóg zamienił ją w anioła* lit. *God turned her into an angel*
Ø	(a) *Nasz mały aniołek założył skrzydła w Niebie* lit. *Our little angel put on angel wings in Heaven*
Ø	(a) *Odeszłaś jako Anioł do Nieba* lit. *You passed on to Heaven as an Angel*

Both languages are almost identical in incorporating the element of angel wings in the transition process of the departed. The two languages have two scenarios in which the deceased is endowed with the wings of an angel, as if a gift, and the second, where the wings are actively used to travel to heaven. These metaphorical expressions, also use the metaphor DEATH IS UP, as all of them utilize the action verb *fly* specifying the direction in which the departed goes to.

Much like in some other projections, there is very rarely any involvement from any supernatural entity. There are three exceptions in English obituaries, i.e. *God called a special angel to his side*, *was called by the Lord and given his angel wings* and *God called home an angel* and one in Polish *Bóg zamienił ją w anioła* (lit. *God turned her into an angel*), where it is specified who turns the person into an angel. In all the other examples, the supernatural entity responsible for the transformation is presupposed or hidden.

One curious element present only in the Polish example is the utilization of militant terms such as *zastępy* → *army* and *szwadron* → *squadron* in *Zasilił Niebiańskie Zastępy* (lit. *Joined the Heavenly Army*) and *Zasilił Niebiański Szwadron* (lit. *Joined the Heavenly Squadron*. Such terms evoke the imagery of war, almost as if God was gathering an army of angels. English is devoid of such examples and it is likely to incorporate the imagery of companionship, tending to God's garden or rejoicing and dancing by his side.

Last but not least, both languages utilize the imagery of angels to refer to stillborn babies, yet only two cases are present on each side. The Polish obituary is more pronounced using the diminutive form of angel i.e. *aniołek* → *little angel* as evidenced by: *Nasz mały aniołek założył skrzydła w Niebie* (lit. *Our little angel put on angel wings in Heaven*). The

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English obituary on the other hand, uses a complex metaphor adding the element of DEATH IS BIRTH as shown in: *Was born an angel*.

Concluding Remarks:

Death is indubitably a broad phenomenon as it touches upon various fields of our life and may not be treated as an exclusively biological process. Its ramifications and influence stretches across psychology, sociology, literature, art and of course linguistics. Language is a phenomenal tool for shaping reality and conveying messages, whether directly or indirectly. Death is regarded by many as a taboo and the language we use to address it frequently verges on euphemistic and metaphorical. When it comes to devices aimed at extending the scope of our linguistic portfolio, these two processes are unquestionably one the most prolific and creative ones. Death-related vocabulary and expressions are extremely diverse and very often merge the obvious elements of religion and the supernatural, as well as those of awe, fear and sheer grief associated with one's passing. Since death induces such ambivalent emotions, it is evident that these find their reflection within the language used to soothe the harshness of this natural, yet tragic event. This particular study was focused on two languages, i.e. Polish and English, to see how they address the subject of death, conceptualize it (using a plethora of linguistic devices including, metaphor, metonymy, metaphtonymy, euphemisms, dysphemism, jargon or slang) and whether there exist striking differences between them.

The following study acts as a contribution to the ever-growing research regarding the concept of metaphor. The table below aims to present and quantify some trends and tendencies when addressing the subject of death in both Polish and English. What needs to be mentioned is that the numbers given under the EQUIVALENTS column treat the English metaphorical expression together with its Polish counterpart as one.

METAPHORICAL PROJECTION	EQUIVALENTS	NON-EQUIVALENTS	ENGLISH	POLISH	NUMBER OF METAPHORICAL PROJECTIONS
DEATH IS UP	42	100	61	39	**142**
DEATH IS A JOURNEY	36	43	17	26	**79**
DEATH IS A CALL	12	35	19	16	**47**

DEATH IS REST	5	34	13	21	**39**
DEATH IS SLEEP	7	27	4	23	**34**
DEATH IS DEFEAT	16	16	2	14	**32**
DEATH IS A GIFT/REWARD	6	18	11	7	**24**
DEATH IS AN EMBRACE	6	14	7	7	**20**
DEATH IS LIFE AS A SUPERNATURAL ENTITY	4	10	5	5	**14**
DEATH IS A REUNION	4	8	2	6	**12**
DEATH IS BIRTH	1	9	6	3	**10**
DEATH IS A RELEASE	6	3	2	1	**9**
DEATH IS A CELEBRATION	2	5	3	2	**7**
DEATH IS A SYSTEM SHUTDOWN	5	0	0	0	**5**
DEATH IS VICTORY	0	4	2	2	**4**
DEATH IS HAPPINESS	0	4	2	2	**4**
TOTAL	**152**	**330**	**156**	**174**	**481**

481 metaphorical expressions have been extracted from both languages for the purpose of this study, 152 of which had direct (or very near) equivalents in the second language and 330 which had no corresponding counterparts. The difference is more than twofold, suggesting that while the metaphorical projections used in both languages are the same, the way death is conceptualized through the medium of metaphors is not. When it comes to the number of exclusive metaphorical mappings, 156 English terms have been found, and a slightly larger 174 Polish ones. Such distribution suggests that both languages are varied and different in terms of metaphorizing the concept of death.

First and foremost, it is worth noting, that within the discussed 16 metaphorical projections only two, i.e. DEATH IS DEFEAT and DEATH IS SYSTEM SHUTDOWN are in themselves negatively-loaded. As it turns out, death is either conceptualized in terms of positive or neutral source domains. In fact, the first 5 most prolific (regarding the number of examples)

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metaphorical mappings are mostly positive in nature with the uplifting DEATH IS UP represented in 142 instances, followed by DEATH IS A JOURNEY with 79 examples, the neutral DEATH IS A CALL with 47 examples and the more positive DEATH IS REST with 39 cases and DEATH IS SLEEP present in 34 projections. The first negative metaphorical mapping appearing in the table i.e. DEATH IS DEFEAT, is number six in terms of the number of examples. One interesting observation is that overly positive metaphorical mappings i.e. DEATH IS VICTORY and DEATH IS HAPPINESS are significantly underrepresented within the corpus taking 2 last positions in the table with only 4 examples in each category. As evidenced by numerous examples, while the projections themselves are positive and almost always try to conceal the pain within, the specificity of the target domain in question (death) frequently induces the feelings of **disappointment** (*Zbyt szybko odleciał Twój samolot do nieba. Nie na tą wycieczkę pakowałeś walizki*. lit. *Your plane departed for heaven too quickly. You weren't packing you bags for this trip*), **longing** (*W daleką podróż zabrał Cię Bóg* lit. *God took you away for a long journey*), **hope** (*Niech dobry Pan przyjmie Twoją duszę do raju*. Lit. *May the good Lord accept your soul to Paradise*), **sorrow** (*Opuścił nas odchodząc w swój „wieczny sen"* lit. *left us entering his „eternal dream*), **envy** (*Ty sobie odpoczniesz... tylko Nam będzie trudniej żyć* lit. *You're going to rest... yet we will find it more difficult to live*), **shock** (*Opuściła Nas nagle* lit. *she left us suddenly*), **sad acknowledgement** (*Udałaś się w najdłuższą podróż, z której nigdy nie wrócisz* (lit. *you went on the longest journey, one, you will never get back from*), **uncertainty** (*Może wyjechałeś gdzieś bardzo daleko* lit. *Maybe you went somewhere far away*), **hopelesness** (*Wyjechałeś na zawsze i już nigdy nie wrócisz* lit. *you left forever and you're never coming back*), **discouragement** (*Tak ciężko wyruszać na przegraną wojnę, na której można wygrać kilka potyczek, czasem jakąś bitwę, ale która i tak zakończy się kleską*. lit. *It's so difficult to go on a lost war, where one can win a few engagements, maybe a battle, but still one that will end up in defeat*) **pity** (*Niestety tej walki nie wygrała* lit. *Unfortunately, she didn't win this fight*), **grudge** (*Boże wezwałeś go do Siebie za wcześnie* lit. *O God, you called him to early*). It is curious to notice that the element of semantic negativity is present mostly within Polish obituaries, especially upon using emotionally loaded vocabulary indicating the above mentioned feelings. Prefixed verb phrases with 'od' i.e. *odszedł* → *left* (as opposed to *poszedł*, which suggests an individual would be coming back) or *odleciał* → *flew away* following the same train of thought, are both devoid of hope. Furthermore, Polish is more likely to incorporate definitive terms such as *na zawsze* → *forever* or *nigdy* → *never* both taking away the element of hope maintained within English obituaries. Another case present in Polish obituaries is the use of mostly negatively loaded attributes within the DEATH IS DEFEAT

projection, as opposed to English ones. While some verbs used to denote the fight/battle lost by the departed are neutral, such as long, lengthy, extended or brief, the rest is mostly positively-pregnant with examples including hard-fought, heroic, gallant, courageous, intense, valiant and even good. Polish obituaries, on the other hand utilize a vast array of adjectives arousing pejorative connotations such as: *okrutna* → *cruel*, *bolesna* → *painful*, *nierówna* → *uneven*, *wyczerpująca* → *exhausting*, *trudna* → *difficult*, *mozolna* → *arduous*, *uporczywa* → *lingering*, *dramatyczna* → *dramatic*, *zdająca się trwać wiecznie* → *seemingly forever-lasting*, *rozpaczliwa* → *hopeless*, *bezlitosna* → *merciless*, *przegrana* → *lost*, and minor instances of neutral ones including: *długa* → *long* and *wieloletnia* → *longstanding*. It would seem that when it comes alleviating the pain associated with bidding farewell to the deptarted, Polish makes much less linguistic effort to provide comfort and only limits itself to obfuscating the process of dying itself, by avoiding the word 'die'.

Death is a painful topic and the language used to refer to it is frequently one that tries to soothe its negative impact. As a result, within the scope of this particular corpus, close parallels can be drawn between the concept of metaphorization and euphemization. While the focus of the former one is that of enlightenment and the latter one that of obfuscation, it is evident, that within this set of metaphorical projections, metaphors and euphemisms work in tandem, with the vast majority of metaphors being euphemistic in nature (aiming to alleviate the harshness of a negative phenomenon).

One of the most prolific metaphorical mappings within the whole study is indubitably DEATH IS UP, as it incorporates a number of projections from other categories. What is more, this particular mapping is largely based on the concept of verticality, which is crucial in the Judeo-Christian tradition due to the belief in Heaven, located above. While the body is placed in the ground after the funeral, it is commonly believed that the soul migrates somewhere that is likely to be above and not below. When it comes to similarities and differences, it is interesting to notice, that while most metaphorical mappings conceptualize death in terms of UP movement, hence both languages use a number of verbs including such as *ascend*, *fly*, *climb*, *rise* or *take off* to name but a few, it is also relatively common for both English and Polish to use a set of verbs normally associated with horizontal movement including i.e. *enter* → *wejść*, *leave* → *opuścić*, *step* → *wstąpić* or *go* → *pójść* which acquire a new meaning when used in a metaphorical sense. Yet another element shared by both languages, is the use of the verb *fly* → *latać* (and the prefixed variations *polecieć* and *odlecieć*), which notably stress the verticality factor, crucial for this particular mapping. One curious observation, however, is the fact that none of the languages use this verb phrase to bid farewell to airline pilots, which is frequently

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the case in obituaries addressing specific professions, i.e. i.e. *to go fishing with the Lord* (for fishermen or fishing enthusiasts), *went to his final hunting grounds* (for hunters) or *went for the last hike* (for mountain aficionados).

While conceptualizing death in terms of sleep has been a common occurrence in art and literature due to their evident resemblance, its use in modern-day obituaries is noticeably scarce. It is somewhat curious that a mere 34 metaphorical projections were found across the corpus, the vast majority of which are Polish. One quick observation is that Polish metaphorical projections pertaining to SLEEP ten to be significantly more complex and varied, frequently utilizing more than one mapping within a single projection (i.e. *Zasnął wiecznym snem i powiększył grono aniołków w niebie* (lit. *Fell asleep eternally expanding the circle of angels in heaven*).

It would seem that comparing death to sleep would bring in an element of comfort due its temporality, yet we can see a striking lack of such expressions in the English language (being used contemporarily). One major element, which differentiates between the languages is the use of all singular grammatical persons in Polish obituaries. When it comes to English obituaries, all of them are written in third person singular, creating some separation between the departed and the family. Polish on the other hand uses the first person singular (i.e. *Ja nie chcę spać, nie ja nie chcę umierać, chcę tylko wędrować po pastwiskach nieba*. lit. *I don't want to sleep, no I don't want to die, I just want to wander on heavenly pastures*) and the second person singular (i.e. *Ukołysana wiecznym snem Wybranko smutnej niedoli w zaciszu swoim słodko śpij już nic Cię nie boli*. (lit. *Lulled by an eternal dream, you are the chosen one with sad misery within, find refuge and sleep tight, your suffering ends tonight*) on numerous occasions. Such structures can in fact bring in an element of closeness as they address the deceased directly or give him/her the voice. One final interesting distinction between both languages is the use of *slumber* in English obituaries, pushing the concept of temporality even more, while Polish only uses lexemes associated with sleep. It could be speculated why no instances of *nap* were found in the corpus, to shorten the time to an extreme. One explanation could be that, death evokes a sense of awe and respect, and few instances can be found across the corpus, that utilize borderline colloquial or casual vocabulary. Such items would be in most cases seen as inappropriate and the only projection that does it openly and intentionally is DEATH IS SYSTEM SHUTDOWN, yet it is a standout category in this study and should not be treated as a trend-setter. Its inclusion is rather a proof of linguistic and social flexibility to address any topic, even one that is perceived as taboo.

Another universally applied metaphorical mapping is DEATH IS REST, which is even more common in the corpus than DEATH IS SLEEP, despite being based on a similar principal. Much like in the case DEATH IS SLEEP, there are very few equivalents in both languages, yet the non-equivalent part is extremely diverse and complex, especially on the Polish side. Similarly to the previous category, there are more metaphorical expressions found in Polish obituaries pertaining to this particular mapping. What is more, these tend to be much longer than English ones and more often incorporate a few mappings within single metaphorical expressions (i.e. *Wujku Leszku, płyniesz już delfinem do niebieskiego, brajnickiego jeziora, odpocznij, połóż wędkę na pomoście, pozdrów Pana Antoniego... a może gdzieś tam znajdziesz swoją siekierkę?...* (lit. *Uncle Leszek, you are swimming butterfly to the blue Lake Brajnicki, rest, put you fishing rod down, say hello to Mr. Antoni... and who knows, maybe you'll find your axe there*). Additionally, polish obituaries are more likely to incorporate personal information and metaphorical expressions contextual for the departed rather than using impersonal templates. Yet another idiosyncrasy evidenced by the example quoted above (and a few other) is the use of diminutive forms when addressing family members, i.e. *Wujku* instead of *Wuju*, *Leszku* not *Lesławie* or *Lechu*[140], *Mamusiu* not *Mamo* or *Córeczko* instead of *Córko*. English obituaries are in general devoid of such cases and tends to use regular forms of names or uses personal pronouns. Last difference lies in the use of first person singular on the Polish side, as exemplified by *A teraz oczy moje są zmęczone I dusza moja w mgły ucieka Idę odpocząć w nieznaną gdzieś stronę by patrzeć Was z daleka* (lit. *And now my tired eyes and my soul runs into the mist, I'm going to rest somewhere to the unknown, to look at you from afar*). One peculiar example that stands out across all the metaphorical projections is the inclusion of Greek mythology into the mapping, as evidenced by *sforsowałam rzekę zapomnienia i znalazłam odpoczynek w Hadesie. Stamtąd żegnam moich Przyjaciół, Kolegów, Znajomych i Sąsiadów* (lit. *I crossed the river of oblivion and found rest in Hades. From there I bid farewell to my friends, colleagues, acquaintances and neighbours*).

The second largest group of expressions falls under the DEATH IS A JOURNEY mapping with 79 examples found across both languages. Yet again, Polish surpasses English in terms of non-equivalent projections quite noticeably. When it comes to the application of verb phrases indicating the stage of the journey in questions, both languages use a number of action verbs suggesting its beginning (*opuścił* → *departed*, *poszła* → *walked on* or *wyruszył* →

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[140] This particular diminutive may or may not be the form of either Lesław or Lech, it all depends on the context, but since the diminutive is used in the case of 'Wujek', we may assume that the name has also undergone this process.

journeyed), middle (*zmierza* → *heading*) and end (*completed his journey* → *zakończył swoją podróż*, *reached* → *dojechał*, *crossed over* → *przeszedł*, *arrived* → *przybył*). When it comes to specifying the final destination of the journey, both languages have plent of options including *heaven* → *nieba*, *eternal home* → *domu wiecznego* , *eternity* → *wieczności*, *the uncertain* → *w nieznane*, *promised land* → *ziemii obiecanej*, *Paradise* → *raju*[141], *heavenly home* → *domu w niebie*, *loving arms of God* → *w objęcia Boga*, *Open arms of Jesus* → *w objęcia Chrystusa* and others. What differentiates them, however, is that Polish incorporates more locations than English and is more specific. Interestingly, both languages use the Present Continuous tense to indicate the journey in progress, which may bring about more comfort and "keep" the departed "alive" for longer. Once again Polish metaphorical projections are much more complex and usually express an element of overlap with other mappings (i.e. *Twoja ostatnia podróż dołączy Cię do Twojego ukochanego Męża* (lit. *your last journey will join you with your beloved husband*). Interestingly, in both languages, the journey commences of the deceased own volitions, almost as if nothing/nobody influenced such course of action. The only exception within this group of mappings is the Polish *W daleką podróż zabrał Cię Bóg* (lit. *God took you for a long journey*) where the supernatural entity is specified.

The only metaphorical projection which utilizes a rather negatively loaded source domain is DEATH IS DEAFEAT. As mentioned before, there is a visible contrast between the languages under investigation, especially in terms of using negatively-pregnant attributes when referring to battle/fight/war. Polish obituaries use a plethora of such adjectives when addressing the engagements in question, as opposed to English which focuses on the departed person's effort rather than his/her complete failure. Upon analyzing both languages, there is rarely any information of the location ones goes to after losing the battle, nor there is ever any supernatural force involved. When it comes naming the conflicts, English predominantly utilizes the term battle, whereas Polish is likely to use *walka* → *fight*. All terms within this category, however, together with the attributes evoke a war-like scenario with more than one enemy. Surprisingly, no terms suggesting an engagement with a single enemy, such as duel, duel-off or face-off were found in the corpus. What is more the type of confrontation is presupposed in each case, yet we may assume it was some kind of combat, due to the set of attributes used across both languages. Surprisingly, no other form of defeat is used but combat related, metaphors based on i.e. sport are missing in both languages, presumably because of the level of informality.

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[141] This is one of the few exceptions where the supernatural/sacral element is capitalized in English, yet not in polish.

When it comes to DEATH IS A GIFT/REWARD mapping, there are no major differences across both languages. Both utilize passive voice due to the directionality of the gift/reward giving action. In fact, this is the only category where passive voice is used in Polish and English in equal measures, as opposed to other projections, where Polish is likely to use the more natural active voice. Both languages structure their mappings based on the LIFE IS HARD LABOUR metaphor i.e. after its completion one is entitled to a gift/reward. The only minor difference found within this particular category is the use of particle-based structures in polish obituaries, as exemplified by *Niech dobry Bóg da Ci obiecaną nagrodę w Niebie* (lit. *May the good God grant you your promised reward in Heaven*). In fact, such clauses are present across the corpus in relatively substantial number, yet they are nowhere to be found on the English side.

One of the more controversial metaphorical projections is DEATH IS BIRTH, not only due to its antonymic nature, but also because it is predominantly utilized by both languages with regards to children/babies. The use of birth imagery is somewhat relevant considering an infant's undeveloped ability to *walk* or *go into Paradise*. While English is fixated on using this particular projection exclusively with stillborn babies, Polish on the other hand expands the age range and makes the projection more universal in terms of the age of the deceased. Two final minor differences are the inclusion of passive voice in English and a surprisingly complex, almost story-like projection on the English side (i.e. *An angel in the Book of Life wrote down our baby's birth, and whispered as she closed the book*). Such instances are a rare occurrence in English obituaries, which are more likely to use concise structures.

No substantial differences have been identified within the DEATH IS RELEASE, nor has there been an abundant source material, with the mapping having only a few instances in both languages. English and Polish are alike in terms of conceptualizing death through the medium of release. As with some other categories, there is no mention of who provides the release for the departed, apart from the single Polish case of *Bóg uwolnił go od jego trudów* (lit. *God freed him from his struggle*) where the provider of release is specified.

While DEATH IS DEFEAT is largely represented across both languages, conceptualizing death in terms of VICTORY seems less common, with only 4 examples found in the corpus under investigation. It is somewhat striking to see the dissonance between the number of examples in these two projections, yet it is evident that both languages are more likely to map the features of defeat onto the death, rather than those of a victory.

What is special about the DEATH IS AN EMBRACE mapping is the element of physicality involved, which stresses the involvement of the supernatural entity. In most other

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projections, such entities are backgrounded or conjectural, whereas here, the agent is specified across most cases in both languages. Similarly to most projections, Polish obituaries surpasses English ones in terms of complexity and sheer length, with examples such as: *I widział Bóg Jej zmęczenie I gdy lekarstwa znikąd nie było już Objął Ją ciepłym swym ramieniem I szepnął "zostań ze mną tu"* (lit. *And God noticed her fatigue and when the cure was nowhere to be found He wrapped her with His warm arms and whispered „stay here with me"*).

As opposed to the previous category, the God-figure is visibly missing in both languages, almost as if the reuniting was a self-induced activity. The only exception is the Polish: *Połącz mnie kiedyś, o Panie, z tymi, których znałam i ukochałam na ziemi* (lit. *Rejoin me one day, O Lord, with the ones I knew and loved on earth*). The main difference between both languages is the use of first and second person singular forms in Polish, as opposed to English which tends to resort to third person singular only. Last but not least, while both languages use family members as objects in most cases, two somewhat curious examples were found in the corpus under investigation, i.e. the English non-capitalized *heavenly family* and the Polish militant and capitalized *Niebieska Eskadra* (lit. *The Heavenly Squadron*). Because of the lower and the upper case in both examples, the projections are rather ambiguous.

As mentioned before, death is a powerful, awe-inspiring, yet terrifying phenomenon, frequently approached with fear and reverence. One single metaphorical projection, which does not fit in with this mindset is indubitably DEATH IS A SYSTEM SHUTDOWN. This category links itself directly with the very common MAN IS A MACHINE metaphor, allowing us to draw parallels, between dying and a broadly defined system (be it, email account, operating system or a storage device). While none of the expressions listed within this mapping have been present in any of the obituaries, the category was included in the study to provide some contrast and exemplify the two extreme approaches to a taboo topic. Since only a few instances have been listed to supplement the existing corpus, it is interesting to notice, that there were no non-equivalents found. It would be eye-opening to delve deeper into this particular category from a translation studies point of view and determine, whether the vast majority of idiomatic phrases related to IT are in fact borrowed, considering the fact that English acts as a linguistic trend-setter in a number of fields including business, social concepts and Information Technology to name but a few.

While DEATH IS A CALL is one of the few metaphorical mapping, that specifies the supernatural entity performing the "call", it is the "call" itself, which raises a level of ambiguity. From a semantic standpoint, the action of calling has evolved to include communication via the medium of modern technology. Only two instances in Polish and two in suggest what type

"calling" is performed by means of sensory verb phrases such as *heard* → *usłyszał*, *Bóg ją do siebie wezwał a jemu się nie odmawia* (lit. *God called her, and you don't say no to him*) and the only instance utilizing modern technology present in English obituaries: *Answered the phone from beyond*. It would be reasonable to speculate whether the inclusion of *SMS*, *Skype* or *Facebook* will be part a parcel of death notices in the foreseeable future. For now, such terms are missing from the corpus. When it comes to the supernatural performing the "call", both languages use a similar set of subjects, with *God* →*Bóg* and *The Lord* → *Pan* being the most common. The inclusion of *Fate* in one of the Polish obituaries as an agent acts as an exception within this metaphorical projection. Last but not least, this metaphorical mapping is probably the most diverse in terms of using complex metaphors. Traces of DEATH IS UP, DEATH IS A JOURNEY, DEATH IS REST, DEATH IS SLEEP, DEATH IS REALEASE, DEATH IS A DEFEAT, DEATH IS AN EMBRACE and DEATH IS LIFE AS A SUPERNATURAL ENTITY are present across both languages.

As mentioned before, despite most of the terms present within the corpus are positive or neutral in nature, the overly positive metaphorical projections, i.e. DEATH IS CELEBRATION AND DEATH IS HAPPINESS occupy the bottom of the table with few examples across both languages. When it comes to the former, both languages use the present continuous tense as evidenced by: *Celebrating life eternal* and the Polish *Dzisiaj świętuje dzień wiecznej szczęśliwości* (lit. *Today she's celebrating the day of eternal happiness*. Such device may bring comfort to the family, suggesting that the celebration is happening at the moment of speaking, hence the departed is "still around". Much like in some other metaphorical projections, English obituaries tend to be more articulate when it comes to expressing emotions associated with the celebration, as opposed to Polish ones, which tend to be more formal and informative. The latter projection (i.e. DEATH IS HAPPINESS) occupies the last place in the table, with only two documented examples. It would seem that since the vast majority of examples discussed on the canvas of this study are not only metaphorical, but also euphemistic in essence, there would be more examples drawing parallels between death and happiness. In reality such instances are a rarity.

Finally, both languages conceptualize death in terms of living as a supernatural entity in a likewise manner. Both use the imagery of angels with the departed either receiving angel wings as a reward, or utilizing them to reach the Promised Land. The only two noteworthy differences between languages, are the Polish use of God figure as the one turning the deceased into an angel and the use of the militant sounding: *Zasilił Niebiańskie Zastępy* (lit. *Joined the*

Heavenly Army) and *Zasilił Niebiański Szwadron* (lit. *Joined the Heavenly Squadron*). Only Polish obituaries utilize such terminology across a few metaphorical projections.

One interesting observation is the use of capitalization or the lack of thereof, when referring to various religious elements. While some may be misspellings, oversights or result from haste, some general tendencies can be noticed. Polish obituaries tend to be much more orthodox when addressing divinities (*God, The Lord, Jesus, The Creator, the Father*, etc.) or final destinations (*Heaven, The Promised Land, the Kingdom of God, Home*, etc.). Be it religion, social convention or awe, the Polish always capitalize the above mentioned terms. When it comes to English obituaries the very same lexemes display an element of deconsecration and seem to on many occasions, ignore the element of capitalization. In fact, some extreme cases can be noticed, where expressions such as the good lord accepted one into the promised land, and some instances with an element of hyper-correctness and addressing the *LORD* with all letters capitalized. All in all, it is quite evident that Polish obituaries are much more consistent in terms of capitalizing, compared to their English counterparts. One possible reason for such tendencies could be linked directly to the person writing the obituary, if he/she is not Christian, the need for capitalizing the elements in question may seem of little relevance. The second more risky claim could be that the need for capitalization in modern day and age regardless of the topic is in decline. Analysing discourse in social media or internet communication serves as a living proof of such tendencies, whether it could apply to such a solemn event, it remains a question and would have to backed by further, quantitative research.

Final Remarks:

- Employing the cognitive approach for the purpose of this study was crucial due to the complexity of the topic in question, for it is not only associated with language, but also philosophy, religion, history, anthropology, art, medice, and numerous others. This makes it a perfect target for interdisciplinary research.
- A substantial amount of extracted metaphorical expressions (328) are used exclusively by one language or the other as opposed to only 152 projections used by both languages. This shows, that while source domains in terms of which death is metaphorized are the same, constructing metaphorical expressions is different.
- DEATH IS UP is by far the most productive category within the whole study, incorporating elements of numerous other categories.

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- Both languages conceptualize death in terms of the same source domains, yet some are more common in one language and other in the second one.

- A substantial amount of overlap is present across most categories, with complex metaphors (especially in Polish) utilizing two or more metaphorical mappings within a single clause.

- Death as a process is euphemized and obfuscated across the vast majority of examples

- Death is one of the few fields of life where metaphorization is frequently synonymous with euphemization

- Death tends to rather be conceptualized in terms of positive or neutral source domains, with DEATH IS DEFEAT being the only exception. However, the overly positive DEATH IS VICTORY and DEATH IS HAPPINESS occupy the bottom of the table with the fewest examples across the corpus. z

- While English uses a much more diverse set of verbs metaphorizing the dying process, it is in fact Polish that surpasses English in terms of the number of metaphorical expressions.

- While most death notices are religious in nature, the supernatural elements are frequently missing from the context and are either backgrounded, presupposed or conjectural.

- Both languages express a different attitude towards capitalization, with Polish being more consistent and orthodox in most cases

- Only two metaphorical mappings out of the whole corpus involve a sensory element, i.e. DEATH IS A CALL an DEATH IS EMBRACE, yet the latter is the only projection where physical contact between the deceased and the supernatural entity is suggested.

- Both languages use the Past Simple across most examples, yet instances of Present Continuous, to indicate the journey in progress, are present in both languages.

- Polish tends to utilize more negatively-pregnant words and attributes when referring to the dying process.

- Despite utilizing an element of slang and humour within the DEATH IS SYSTEM SHUTDOWN projection, death remains an awe and fear-inducing topic which continues to be treated with the utmost respect.

- Metonymy alone is not used in the corpus under investigation, but instances of metaphtonymy are present in both langugages.

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- Polish obituaries utilize a number of war-related terms such as: *armia* → *army*, *szwadron* → *squadron* or *zastępy* → also translated as *army* suggesting that being part of Paradise is not only eternal peace but if need be one is to be ready to fight against the forces of evil (presumably).

- While English obituaries never address God directly, it is quite common in Polish ones such as: *Panie dlaczego wezwałeś ją tak szybko?* (lit. *Oh Lord, why did you call her so quickly?*) or *Wezwałeś Go Boże do siebie... za wcześnie Nie byliśmy rozstać się gotowi... jeszcze Wybacz, prosimy, nasz smutek i żal, pomóż zrozumieć Twój Boski Plan* (lit. *Oh God you called him… to early. We weren't ready to part with him … at least not yet. Forgive us, we beg you, our sadness and sorrow, help us understand your Divine Plan*).

- Poetic metaphors with rhyming patterns was found only in Polish obituaries such as e.g. *Uskrzydlona jak ptaki swobodna mimo braku skrzydeł i piór Szalonymi marzeniami niesiona dotknęłaś chmur* lit. *Winged like birds, free despite the lack of wings and feathers Carried by crazy dreams you touched the heavens* or *Wybranko smutnej niedoli w zaciszu swoim słodko śpij już nic Cię nie boli* lit. *Lulled by an eternal dream, you are the chosen one with sad misery within, find refuge and sleep tight, your suffering ends tonight.*

- Upon the the completion of this study I encountered an eye-opening statistical research done by Legacy.com encompassing almost 2,5 million online obituaries and a visual representation of each individual state in America and the most characteristic word for 'dying' in each state. Based on the study we may see, that while death is still heavily euphemized and metaphorized, the awe-inducing *died* is no longer an ubreakable taboo and is utilized quite frequently, much like the polish *zmarł* or *umarł* (lit. *died*). It is hard to say how this study compares to newspaper obituaries, but it would seem that in the digital world, death appears to have lost some of its potency. Let us look at the visualization[142]:

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[142] Image borrowed from: http://mentalfloss.com/sites/default/files/map_click_to_enlarge.png

MOST CHARACTERISTIC WORDS FOR DYING IN 2015 OBITUARIES, BY STATE

SOURCE: STATE BY STATE BREAKDOWN OF 2015 LEGACY.COM OBITUARIES PROVIDED BY COMPANY.

mental_floss

- There are still questions, which remain unanswered, ones that could act as a spark for further deliberations. It would be interesting to analyze the discourse of online obituaries and traditional obituaries to see whether the same metaphorical patterns apply. What is more making an in-depth analysis of the DEATH IS SYSTEM SHUTDOWN mapping, could bring some curious observations upon how the language of the online community addresses the act of dying. Carrying out a scrutiny that would encompass more than 2 languages could also bring about some revealing results, especially with more diverse languages. Delving deeper into the etymological background and their interrelation with philosophical theories regarding the act of dying could have a beneficial outcome, proving or disproving the claim that the way we conceptualize death today has a solid background in philosophical deliberations. Last but not least, it would be interesting to analyze regional metaphorical expressions found in local village cemeteries. These are freuquently linguistic pearls, which could not be compared to common metaphors for they create a category of their own.

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Streszczenie w języku polskim – Polish summary

Język jest fascynującym narzędziem, którego używamy każdego dnia, często nie zastanawiając się nad tym jak bardzo złożone a zarazem piękne są mechanizmy odpowiedzialne za jego produkcję. Jednym z elementów, który stanowi podwaliny współczesnej mowy, jest niebywale zjawisko metafory. Współcześni językoznawcy tacy ja Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) or Kövecses (2000, 2002, 2005), postrzegają metaforę nie tylko jako narzędzie służące do ubarwiania języka, ale jako nieodzowny komponent naszego procesu konceptualizacji rzeczywistości. Okazuję się bowiem, że znaczna część tego jak postrzegamy świat wokół nas, ma zabarwienie metaforyczne, a większość z tych wyrażeń jest używana podświadomie.

Praca, którą trzymacie Państwo w rękach ma stanowić wkład do ciągle rosnącego wachlarzu interdyscyplinarnych badań na temat śmierci, a także zainspirować dalsze badania. Znaczące badania językoznawcze traktujące o tematyce śmierci to między innymi skupiające się na języku angielskim prace takich autorów jak: Bultinck (1998), Arrese (1996), Turner (2000), Fernández (2006), jak również badania związane z naszym rodzimym językiem, autorów takich jak: Jasik (2009), Dąbrowska (1993, 2009), Krzyżanowska (1997) and Czerwińska (2014). Inspiracją do napisania tej rozprawy był fakt, iż pomimo znaczącej liczby prac na temat aktu umierania, są to często prace mono lingwistyczne i brak jest pracy kontrastywnej zestawiającej ze sobą język polski i angielski.

Pisanie o śmierci może się wydawać absurdalne, jednak jak się okazuje jest to temat bardzo „żywy" zarówno w naszej świadomości, jak również w języku, którego używamy kiedy mówimy o tym zjawisku. Moją intencją nie było stworzenie przygnębiającego przewodnika po świecie śmierci, ale pokazanie, że ma „Ona" również swój koloryt (jakkolwiek depresyjny) i, że śmierć jest nieodłączną częścią naszego życia manifestującą się w języku.

Śmierć jest niewątpliwie fascynującym tematem, gdyż jako jedno z niewielu zjawisk wywołuje tak ambiwalentne odczucia jak szacunek i strach, ale również tęsknota czy radość. Niektórzy za wszelką cenę chcą ją odstraszyć, inni przywołać, z nadzieję, że „tam" będzie im lepiej. Zjawisko to tworzy również niesamowite spektrum językowe, które zawiera elementy uniwersalne na przestrzeni większości kultur, ale w dużej mierze podatne jest na zmiany kulturalne i obyczajowe. Podczas analizowania zjawiska śmierci, możemy się spotkać z niebywałym wręcz zróżnicowaniem językowym, które ma w sobie głęboko zakorzenioną bezbronność wobec procesu, którego boimy się od zarania dziejów. Strach przed śmiercią był

zawsze nieodzowną częścią życia, i pomimo, że w dzisiejszych czasach ludzie zdają się być bardziej „znieczuleni", jest to nadal temat do którego podchodzi się z wielkim szacunkiem.

Stwierdzenie, że prace nad zjawiskiem śmierci utknęły w martwym punkcie, zdają się być krzywdzące, gdyż ciągle prowadzone są badania o charakterze interdyscyplinarnym, które dostarczają nowych i ciekawych obserwacji na temat aktu przemijania. Pomimo, że stworzony został specjalny nurt naukowy, traktujący o śmierci (tanatologia), to tematyka nie jest obca innym dziedzinom takim jak: filozofia, przedmioty ścisłe, statystyka, antropologia, historia, badania społeczne, czy medycyna. Jednakże, mimo setek publikacji, nadal pozostaje wiele pytań natury moralnej, biologicznej, językowej i historycznej, na które brakuje odpowiedzi. To właśnie sprawia, że śmierć jest idealnym tematem do badań interdyscyplinarnych. Śmierć jest zjawiskiem ponadczasowym, nie posiada jednej, jasnej definicji, i co najważniejsze, nadal pozostaje tajemnicą to co dzieje się z nami kiedy odchodzimy. Wielu filozofów i mędrców próbowało stworzyć granice czy systemy, które mogłyby sprowadzić śmierć do poziomu zjawiska w pełni określonego i namacalnego, jednak jak dotąd stworzone zostały tylko wątpliwe hipotezy niepoparte badaniami empirycznymi. To wszystko sprawia, że śmierć jest syntezą dwóch różnych światów, pierwszego, czysto spekulacyjnego i drugiego, którego nie możemy doświadczyć za życia.

Z drugiej strony, językoznawcy, antropologowie i historycy mają poniekąd większe możliwości do prowadzenia badań. Podczas gdy konsekwencje śmierci w kontekście duchowym czy religijnym pozostają w dużej mierze niezbadane, historia, folklor, mitologia i inne dziedziny są bogate w informacje dotyczące językowego i społecznego obrazu śmierci. Jak się okazuje, zjawisko to jest postrzegane różnie przez społeczności na całym świecie, chociaż zauważyć można wiele elementów uniwersalnych. Śmierć może być widziana jako część obrzędów religijnych, może przynosić pecha czy choroby, ale także szczęście i bogactwo dla danej społeczności jeśli jest traktowana z należytym jej szacunkiem. Publikacja ta ma na celu zabrać czytelnika w fascynujący świat śmierci na przestrzeni wieków i pokazać, że nie jest ona czymś zdefiniowanym i oczywistym, ale jest w pełni otwarta na interpretację i kontemplację. Część analityczna natomiast, jest kontrastywną analizą języka polskiego i angielskiego w kontekście tego jak konceptualizujemy dzisiaj śmierć poprzez wyrażenia metaforyczne. Uważam, że praca ta przyniesie szereg interesujących obserwacji i zwróci uwagę na pewne tendencje, elementy uniwersalne, a także różnice pomiędzy badanymi językami i będzie cennym wkładem do istniejącej już puli badań na temat śmierci.

Praca została podzielona na sześć rozdziałów, z czego pierwsze pięć będzie stanowiło tło teoretyczne dla ostatniego rozdziału analitycznego.

Rozdział 1 pokazuje, krótki opis różnych podejść do tematu śmierci z pespektywy filozoficznej, historycznej, społecznej i kulturalnej. Na początku przyjrzymy się tematyce śmierci w ujęciu analizy filozoficznej i tego jak była postrzegana przez ostatnie tysiąclecia. Zwrócimy również uwagę na rozważania dotyczące aktu przemijania w kontekście elementów uniwersalnych i tych, które przeżyły do dnia dzisiejszego w sposobie w jaki konceptualizujemy analizowane zjawisko. Od starożytnych myślicieli greckich takich jak: Sokrates czy Epikur, aż do współczesnych filozofów jak Thomas Nagel i wielu innych, którzy w swoich rozważaniach ujęli tematykę śmierci. Następnie omówiony zostanie konceptualny obraz śmierci w podejściu dziedzin naukowych i nienaukowych. Kolejna część będzie traktować o różnych podejściach do aktu przemijania w ujęciu historycznym na bazie różnych trendów wśród badaczy, historyków i antropologów. Opisane zostaną również krótkie charakterystyki obrzędów pogrzebowych na przestrzeni wieków, a także alegoryczne wizje śmierci. Trzeci podrozdział

Rozdział 2 skupia się na procesie eufemizacji i po krótce omawia jego socjolingwistyczne konsekwencje. Na początku przedstawione zostanie podłoże historyczne i definicyjne procesu eufemizacji. Następnie zjawisko to zostanie porównane z pokrewnymi takimi jak żargon, slang, metafora, tabu, poprawność polityczna, propaganda, nowomowa, neologizmy, parafraza czy synonimika, aby podkreślić różnice i podobieństwa między tymi zjawiskami. Następnie opisane zostaną klasyfikacje eufemizmów, zasady odpowiedzialne za ich tworzenie. W ostatniej części omówione zostaną właściwości eufemizmów.

Znaczna część rozdziału 3 dotyczy Teorii Pól zapoczątkowanej przez takich badaczy jak: Ipsen (1924), Jolles (1934), Porzig (1934) czy Trier (1934). Teoria i ruch z nią związany przyczynił się do rozwinięcia językoznawstwa kognitywnego. W rozdziale omówiono kamienie milowe i koncepcje związane z Teorią Pól, a także opisano kluczowe badania przeprowadzone nad domenami leksykalnymi. W ostatniej części opisano koncepcję analizy komponencjalnej w Europie i Stanach Zjednoczonych, krótkie podsumowanie badań Rzeszowskiej Szkoły Semantyki Diachronicznej nad polami leksykalnymi, a także krytykę podejścia komponencjalnego.

Rozdział 4 opisuje główne założenia ruchu kognitywnego, który stanowi podłoże metodyczne dla aktualnego badania. Współczesna lingwistyka kognitywna jest następstwem amerykańskiego ruchu antropologicznego środka XX a także prac wyżej wspomnianych autorów takich jak Ipsen (1924), Jolles (1934), Porzig (1934) czy Trier (1934). Wszystkie kluczowe elementy zostały opisane a także poparte przykładami. Ponadto omówiono dwa kluczowe mechanizmy kognitywne w postaci metafory i metonimii. Chociaż ten drugi nie jest obecny w analizowanym korpusie, to pojawia się sporadycznie w formie metaftonimii. W obu

przypadkach podano podłoże teoretyczne (terminologie i typologie) a także przykłady. Na końcu porównano oba zjawiska a także opisano zjawisko metaftonimii i jego taksonomię.

Rozdział piąty stanowi metodologiczny wstęp do ostatniej analitycznej części, opisując cele, metodologię a także uzasadnienie wyboru tego materiału badawczego. Ponandto precyzuje cele anlizy a także oczekiwane rezultaty.

Ostatni rozdział jest kontrastywną analizą metaforycznych wyrażeń związanych ze śmiercią w 16 różnych mapowaniach, takich jak: UP, JOURNEY, CALL, REST, SLEEP, DEFEAT, GIFT/REWARD, EMBRACE, LIFE AS A SUPERNATURAL ENTITY, REUNION, BIRTH A RELEASE, A CELEBRATION, A SYSTEM SHUTDOWN, VICTORY i HAPPINESS. Materiał badawczy został pozyskany głównie z polskich i angielskich nekorlogów internetowych, aczkolwiek kilka przykładów zaczerpnięto ze źródeł leksykograficznych, a także nagrobków. Dodatkowym źródłem był internet, który dostarczył kilka ciekawych przykładów metafor i wyrażeń slangowych, które mogłby zainspirować dodakowe badania w oddzielnej publikacji. Korpus podzielony został na odpowiednie projekcje a następnie przedstawiony w formie tabeli. Forma taka pozwala na szybkie ale też gruntowne porównanie w kontekście różnych aspektów takich jak: formy gramatyczne, ilośc wyrażeń, długość, sposoby konceptualizowania, wybór frazeologizmów itd. Na końcu przedstawiono konluzje i osteteczne komentarze.

Zdefiniowanie zjawiska jakim jest śmierć okazuje się trudnym do realizacji zadaniem. Jest to wszakże pojęcie podlegające dyskusji i niejednoznaczne. Wiadomym jest, że śmierć czeka nas wszystkich, jednakże to w jaki sposób sobie z nią radzimy i to jak funkcjonuje w naszej świadomości jest indywidualny dla każdego. Śmierć ma dwa wymiary, a mianowicie indywidualny i zbiorowy. W dzisiejszych czasach coraz częściej śmierć kojarzy się z samotnością i instytucjami takimi jak szpital czy hospicjum. W przeszłości natomiast większą uwagę przywiązywano do aspektu społecznego i rodzinnego a pogrzeb był często głębokim, metafizycznym przeżyciem. Współcześnie sakralny aspekt śmierci zmienia się diametralnie i zastąpiony zostaje przez technologię, która ma na celu sprawić aby akt przemijania był bezbolesny.

Śmierć jest zjawiskiem uniwersalnym, stąd też jest często podejmowanym tematem przez różnorodne dziedziny naukowe i nienaukowe. Jedną z dziedzin, która od setek, a nawet tysięcy lat prowadzi rozważania na temat aktu przemijania jest niewątpliwie filozofia. Na wstępie warto podkreślić, że to co czyni te rozważania ciekawymi jest fakt iż wielu filozofów wywodziło się z innych dziedzin naukowych takich jak matematyka, fizyka czy literatura co dodaje kolorytu ich hipotezom.

Już w czasach starożytnych filozofowie zastanawiali się nad sensem istnienia i życiem po śmierci. Antyczni myśliciele nie obawiali się śmierci gdyż wierzyli, że śmierć jest po prostu niekończącym się snem (Sokrates), albo kompletną anihilacją, której i tak nie możemy doświadczyć za życia (Epikur), stąd strach przed śmiercią jest zupełnie nieuzasadniony. Co na pewno zwraca uwagę to fakt, iż wiele przemyśleń dotyczących śmierci ma podłoże metaforyczne. Wspomniany wyżej Sokrates postrzegał śmierć jako sen, która jest jedną z bardziej produktywnych kategorii w niniejszej pracy. Stoicy wierzyli w istnienie duszy, jednak była to inna wizja niż ta obowiązująca w religii chrześcijańskiej. Uważali, że posiadamy tak zwany „boski oddech", ukryty w naszej racjonalności. Trudno jednoznacznie stwierdzić czy wyrażenia takie jak *ostatni oddech* czy *wyzionąć ducha* były zainspirowane taką koncepcją, ale trudno nie zwrócić uwagę na uderzające podobieństwo. Kolejną metaforą obecną w rozważaniach filozoficznych była wizja Fichte, który uważał, że śmierć to narodziny (powszechnie używana dzisiaj w przypadku śmierci noworodków). Dla Schopenhauera, życie było jedną wielką ekonomiczną metaforą, w której śmierć spełnia rolę wierzyciela, a ludzie spłacają kredyt w postaci snu. Te i wiele innych metafor można zauważyć w koncepcjach filozoficznych na przestrzeni ostatnich dwóch tysięcy lat. Nie da się do końca zweryfikować ile z nich zainspirowało dzisiejsze metafory, jednak niewątpliwie stanowią one podwaliny tego jak postrzegamy dzisiaj proces przemijania.

Istotną gałęzią nauki, która zajmuje się poznawaniem istoty śmierci, a także jej przyczynami oraz żalem, który jej towarzyszy jest tanatologia. Jej początki sięgają końca XVIII wieku kiedy to po raz pierwszy została użyta w literaturze medycznej i w 1832, kiedy to po raz pierwszy została zdefiniowana w jednym z francuskich słowników jako „teoria śmierci". Obecnie tanatologia poszerzyła obszar swoich badań i można ją określić jako rozpatrywanie „wypowiedzi na temat śmierci" Warto jednak mieć na uwadze to, że tanatologia nie posiada jeszcze wyraziście określonego obiektu badań, który można by było dekonstruować lub rekonstruować, a także nie posiada ona swojej strategii badawczej.

Innymi dziedzinami, które zajmują się zgłębianiem istoty śmierci są sztuka i literatura. Posiadają one unikatowy sposób przedstawiania zjawiska, jakim jest śmierć. Dzieje się to za sprawą tego, że poruszają tematykę oraz wykorzystują materiały, styl, przesłania, które tworzą różnorodne formy, obrazy, prezentacje dotyczące aktu wygasania życia oraz żywota po śmierci. Jedną z gałęzi sztuki jest malarstwo, które ujmuje tematykę śmierci za pomocą portretów osób zmarłych, obrazów dotyczących Sądu Ostatecznego, apokalipsy, piekła, raju czy samej śmierci. Innym przykładem jest rzeźba, która ukazuje tematykę śmierci za pomocą czaszek i ich odlewów, posągów czy popiersi. Obrazy śmierci można także znaleźć w

architekturze, która ukazuje je za pomocą grobowców, cmentarzy, mauzoleów a także domów pogrzebowych. Ważną rolę w ukazywaniu śmierci odgrywa także muzyka. Dzieje się to wszakże za sprawą marszów pogrzebowych, symfonii, requiem czy medytacji dotyczących końca świata.

Bardzo dużą rolę w zdobywaniu wiedzy na temat śmierci i z tym czym się ona wiąże, odgrywają nauki humanistyczne oraz społeczne. Jedną z nich jest historia, dzięki której zagadnienie śmierci zostało wzbogacone o ważne kwestie, na skutek badania mentalności oraz periodyzacji. Należy wziąć pod uwagę to, że każda epoka historyczna charakteryzowała się innym podejściem do śmierci. Często wynikało to z konwencji społecznych a także z zasad religijnych panujących w danym okresie. Rola historyka w badaniu zagadnienia dotyczącego śmierci polega na ustaleniu charakterystycznych cech współczesnej śmierci.

Nauki zajmujące się istotą śmierci w bliski sposób związane są ze statystyką oraz demografią. Owe dyscypliny w bardzo dokładny sposób dostarczają informacji, które dotyczą: śmiertelności oraz średniej długości życia w danej epoce. Opisują także związek śmierci z płcią, wiekiem, statusem społecznym, wyznaniem czy z pochodzeniem z danego państwa, miasta a także wsi. Rozpatrują także istotę śmierci pod względem jej przyczyn, okoliczności, miejsca, nakładu pieniężnego dotyczącego śmierci i pochówku, miejsca spoczynku czy samych wypowiedzi dotyczących śmierci i zmarłych. W zestawieniu powyższych danych bardzo pomocne okazują się wszelkie wykresy, tabele, skale, krzywe, które wykorzystać mogą zarówno osoby związane z naukami ścisłymi jak i społecznymi

Dwie główne dziedziny naukowe, które podejmują temat śmierci to niewątpliwie medycyna i biologa. Zajmują się one rozpatrywaniem sytuacji, w których jednocześnie występuje życie i śmierć, poszukują granicy między życiem a śmiercią, badają przyczyny powodujące starzenie się, zwiastuny i powody umierania gatunków, etapy i warunki umierania, które rozpatruje się jako proces. Dzięki najnowocześniejszym technologiom, dziedziny te są w stanie bardzo precyzyjnie zbadać organizm przed śmiercią, podczas a nawet wiele setek lat po (analiza węglem). Istotną rolę w dziedzinie medycyny spełnia też lekarz, który dzięki temu, że spotyka się z różnorodnymi chorobami, patologiami, starością i także ze śmiercią – potrafi rozpoznać jej objawy, staje się on wiarygodnym źródłem obiektywnych faktów i przeżyć. Lekarz odgrywa także istotną rolę w kwestii podpisania aktu zgonu, tym samym wydając zgodę na spalenie bądź pogrzebanie zwłok, a także decyduje o pozwoleniu przeprowadzenia eutanazji lub jej zakazaniu. Często zdarza się, że jego działalność ma związek z etyką. Nauki biologiczno – medyczne bardzo potrzebują poparcia ze strony innych nauk, aby móc przeprowadzać różne badania dotyczące poruszanego problemu.

Należy podkreślić to, że wiedza na temat istoty śmierci tworzona jest przez różne dziedziny nienaukowe oraz dyscypliny naukowe. Dzięki nim można dostrzec, że zagadnienie śmierci rozpatrywane może być pod wieloma i różnorodnymi względami. Wiedza jaką dostarczają owe dyscypliny i nauki, pomaga w stworzeniu tanatologii pełnego obrazu ujęcia śmierci. Zagadnienie śmierci wiąże się także z różnymi postawami oraz ujęciami. Można je rozpatrywać pod względem historycznym, społecznym oraz kulturowym

Należy mieć na uwadze to, że śmierć pomimo iż jest uniwersalna, dotyczy każdej jednostki ludzkiej, to ma ona pewną historię, która rozpościera się w czasie. Oznacza to, że można wyróżnić różne podejścia do osób zmarłych a także postawy wobec śmierci. Wynikają one między innymi z wpływów takich czynników zewnętrznych jak na przykład: zmiana relacji społecznych, rozwój techniki, prywatyzacja życia, częstsze umieranie w szpitalu niż w domu.

Jednym z głównych przedstawicieli francuskiej tanatologii historycznej jest Philippe Ariès, który ukazuje historię śmierci na przestrzeni czasu. Wyróżnił on pięć obrazów śmierci, a mianowicie: śmierć oswojona, śmierć własna, śmierć przewlekłą i bliską, twoją śmierć i śmierć odwróconą. Pierwszy obraz wyraża się poprzez świadomość tego, że wszyscy umrą, jest to śmierć wspólna. Śmierć nie była dla ludzi zaskoczeniem, człowiek najczęściej był uprzedzony o zbliżającym się końcu. Dlatego też robił on odpowiednie przygotowania np. należało leżeć w łóżku, w razie niemożności na ziemi, głowę mieć skierowaną ku wschodowi – w stronę Jerozolimy

Następny obraz śmierci można zaobserwować od XI-XII wieku i jest nim śmierć własna. Charakteryzuje się ona tym, że człowiek zaczyna mieć bardziej indywidualny, osobisty stosunek do śmierci. Wspólnota nie odgrywa już tak silnej roli jak poprzednio. Rodzi się silne przywiązanie do istot oraz rzeczy będących za życia człowieka. Jednostka będąca indywidualną, pod względem duchowym poszukuje miejsca dla siebie. Śmierć staje się zjawiskiem, w którym człowiek może odnaleźć siebie. Bardzo ważną rolę zaczyna odrywać testament.

Obraz śmierci przewlekłej i bliskiej pojawia się w XVIII wieku. Jej obraz ukazuje się poprzez niezwykłość oraz coś fascynującego. Przyczyn takiego obrazu można upatrywać we wcześniejszej wizji śmierci, która zostawała zakryta. Człowiek pragnie odkrywać to, co zostało ukryte. Śmierć nie jest już oswojona, staje się dzika oraz tajemnicza. Warto także wspomnieć o życiu po śmierci, które budzi jednocześnie lęk i ogromną ciekawość tego, co istnieje po śmierci. Pojawia się także myśl, że istnieje stan pomiędzy życiem a śmiercią.

Twoja śmierć to obraz śmierci romantycznej, który dotyczy sfery uczuć. Bardzo dużo motywów oraz scen z zakresu literatury oraz sztuki łączyło miłość i śmierć, czyli Erosa z

Tanatosem. Podobnie jak wcześniej przy umierającym obecna jest grupa ludzi, lecz jest ona znacznie mniejsza np. może być to rodzina. Nie zmienił się obyczaj śmierci w łożu, wśród bliskich. Zmiany można zaobserwować wśród postaw obecnych podczas aktu umierania. Obecni, którzy obserwują śmierć bliskiej osoby targani są uczuciami, nie utrzymują oni powagi tak jak to było wcześniej. Zgromadzeni płaczą, modlą się, gestykulują, rozpaczają. Poruszenie i silne uczucia targają ludźmi nie tylko podczas aktu umierania, wspomnienia o umarłym, ale także myśl o śmierci wywołuje silne emocje.

Ostatnim obrazem śmierci jest śmierć odwrócona. Polega on na sprywatyzowaniu przestrzeni publicznej. Człowiek egzystuje w samotności. Jego indywidualizacja powoduje rozkład wielu więzi. Stosunki międzyludzkie zostają zatracone. Człowiek stara się wyłącznie o odnoszenie sukcesu finansowego i czuje dystans do wszelkich niedogodności. Tymczasem śmierć staje się źródłem dochodu, oferowane są wszelkie usługi związane z pielęgnacją ciała umarłego, zawiezieniem go na cmentarz, z pomocą psychologiczną dla bliskich. Mistycyzm śmierci zostaje zatracony. Bliscy zatajają przed umierającym prawdę – nadchodzącą śmierć. Zamiast ciepła, miłości i serdeczności bliskich osób obecna jest aparatura szpitalna. Śmierć zostaje okryta chłodem oraz zapomnieniem przez jednostki, które kiedyś i tak jej doświadczą.

Biorąc pod uwagę rozważania dotyczące historii wizerunków śmierci na przestrzeni czasów, można stwierdzić, że świadomość śmiertelności była zawsze na świecie obecna. Z poczynionych tu rozważań widać, że śmierć, z którą człowiek dzieli się z innymi jest oswojona, naturalna, nie budzi ogromnego lęku. Lęk w takim przypadku dzielony jest na umierającego i obecnych podczas umierania. Z kolei tam gdzie człowiek przeżywa samotnie śmierć, odczuwa on ogromną indywidualizację, odosobnienie, obraz śmierci staje się przerażający, budzący niepokój a nawet odrzuca się go w zapomnienie. Poprzez oczywistość i realność śmierci odebrana zostaje jej naturalność.

Istotnym elementem w procesie analizy zjawiska śmierci jest niewątpliwie kwestia rytuału pogrzebowego. Na początku tych rozważań warto wyjść od stwierdzenia, że pogrzeb dla każdego społeczeństwa jest jego nieodzowną częścią, wpisuje się on w głęboko zakorzenioną tradycję. Społeczeństwa niegdyś miały lub mają przekonanie, iż życie ziemskie jest niewielkim elementem egzystencji ludzkiej, a śmierć przenosi człowieka do innego wymiaru – życia. To co na pewno zwraca uwagę to ogromne zróżnicowanie rytuałów pogrzebowych. Cywilizacje dawnego świata uważały rytuały pogrzebowe za główny element ludzkiego życia, dlatego też były one otoczone bogactwem i przepychem. We współczesnym świecie pogrzeby ukazują różnice między klasami społecznymi, potęgę rodu, miejsce jakie zajmował zmarły wśród społeczeństwa.

Na przestrzeni wieków, można było zauważyć różne tradycje związane z obrzędami pogrzebowymi. Jedną z cywilizacji starożytnego świata, która przywiązywała dużą uwagę do ceremonii pogrzebowej był Starożytny Egipt. Egipcjanie traktowali życie i śmierć jako jedność. Jeżeli przyszła śmierć, to życie istniało dalej w mogile, w symbolicznym znaczeniu jak i dosłownym. Przed utworzeniem państwa faraonów zmarłych grzebano w ziemi. Na początku myto ciało, następnie kładziono je w mogile na boku ze zgiętymi nogami (pozycja embrionalna) i było ono już gotowe do narodzin w innym świecie. W Starym Państwie, czyli od 2686r. p.n.e. ciało układane było na wznak, twarzą do wschodu, aby mogło przywitać wschodzące słońce.

Inną cywilizacją, która rozwijała się w starożytności była Starożytna Grecja. Zostawiła ona po sobie mitologię, opowieści dotyczące kultury zachodniej. Grecy z powagą podchodzili do pogrzebów. Obawiali się, że mogą pozostać na ziemi w postaci zjaw. Ceremonie pogrzebowe wykazywały różnice spowodowane miejscem zamieszkania, czy też upływem czasu. Pierwszym etapem było wyłożenie ciała. Ciało myto, nacierano olejkami, przykrywano całunem i wystawiano. W odwiedziny do zmarłego przychodzili krewni, przyjaciele, a gdy zmarłym była osoba znana to odwiedzała go znaczna część społeczeństwa. Następnym etapem był transport ciała. Zmarłą osobę kładziono na wozie i zawożono ją na cmentarz. Towarzyszyła przy tym procesja, w której często znajdowali się muzycy. Rodzina głośno opłakiwała zmarłego, rozrywała szaty, uderzała się po głowach, by w taki o to sposób wyrazić swój ból i smutek za zmarłym. Rytuał płakania i wyrażania bólu świadczył o tym, jak bardzo osoba zmarła była ceniona wśród społeczeństwa. Dzięki czemu wykształcił się zawód profesjonalnych płaczek. Ciało zmarłego umieszczano w grobie lub na stosie i poddawano procesowi kremacji. Prochy grzebano, składano w urnach albo w dzbanach. Występowały także znaczące różnice, które dotyczyły płaszczyzny grobów. W okresie klasycznym groby były dołami zrobionymi w ziemi. W okresie egejskim były one dorodniejsze. W okresie mykeńskim natomiast ciała chowano w ziemi, pieczarach lub jamach. Podobnie jak w Egipcie tu także zostawiano żywność, wodę. Ciała ważnych osobistości chowano w grobowcach o kształcie pszczelego ula.

Naśladowaniem Greków zajmowali się Rzymianie, którzy nawiązywali do ich rytuałów pogrzebowych. Rzymianie silniej wierzyli w to, że do śmierci trzeba podchodzić z ostrożnością. Osoby zmarłe Rzymianie umieszczali na cmentarzach, które umieszczone były na obrzeżach miasta, blisko głównych dróg. Ludzie wierzyli w to, że osoby niepochowane błąkały się po ziemi, prowadziły nocne życie. Ci, którzy zostali pochowani łączyli się z boską wspólnotą. Rzymianie wierzyli także w to, że osoby zmarłe są zależne od żyjących osób z rodziny. Nieśmiertelność zmarłych trwała dopóki rodzina modliła się za nimi i odprawiała obrzędy. Podczas święta obchodzonego na wspomnienie zmarłych między trzynastym a dwudziestym

pierwszym lutego (Parentalia), rodzina zmarłego odwiedzała groby, składała ku ich czci ziarna, wino oraz oliwę, które wylewano na płytę lub do grobu. Pierwszy wiek naszej ery była czasem, gdy Rzymianie budowali proste, skromne grobowce.

W średniowieczu ogromny wpływ na życie ludzkie miał Kościół. Wpływał on na różnorodne aspekty życia ludzkiego. W tym także i na rytuał pogrzebowy. Głowę zmarłego owijano całunem i odsłaniano twarz. Następnie przychodził kapłan, odmawiał modlitwę i wszyscy wraz z konduktem żałobnym wyruszali do kościoła. Zgromadzeni mieli głowy przykryte kapturem, był to znak pogrzebu oraz żałoby. W świątyni ciało składano do trumny i zamykano ją. Po odprawionej mszy zgromadzeni wyruszali na cmentarz. W przypadku gdy zmarła osoba była biedna, chowano jej ciało do ziemnego grobu. Gdy natomiast zmarły był bogaty, zwłaszcza gdy była to osoba związana z Kościołem, chowano ją pod posadzką kościoła. W późniejszym czasie za zmarłych odprawiano liczne msze np. gregoriańskie.

W okresie renesansu pogrzeb przybrał charakteru wyrafinowania oraz blasku. W baroku pogrzeb obfitował w przepych oraz ogromną okazałość. Pogrzeb zmarłego magnata był wielkim wydarzeniem, jego rodzina wydawała mnóstwo pieniędzy, aby uczcić jego śmierć. Ów pogrzeb niejednokrotnie zaczął przeradzać się w widowisko. Przygotowania do pogrzebu od śmierci zmarłego trwały około miesiąca. Aby ciało nie uległo rozkładowi podobnie jak i we wcześniejszych czasach balsamowano je. Następnie ubierano zmarłego w odświętny strój i przenoszono go do pałacowej kaplicy. Podczas przygotowań dekorowano kościół, zapraszano gości oraz pisano mowy i kazania pogrzebowe. Kapłan wygłaszający kazanie pogrzebowe, sam popadał w szał wielkiego przepychu. Jego mowa była pompatyczna i pełna wyniosłości. Na pogrzeb przybywało bardzo dużo duchownych, którzy nie tylko przybywali z pobudek duchowych, ale przede wszystkim finansowych licząc na to, że zmarły zapisał w testamencie część swojego majątku duchownym. Orszak żałobny składał się z urzędników, księży, zakonników, rodziny, przyjaciół. Istotnym aspektem ceremonii pogrzebowej było przedstawienie teatralne, które odgrywano przed oczyma zgromadzonych na pogrzebie. Do świątyni na koniu wjeżdżał sługa w stroju zmarłego pana, po chwili spadał on z konia. Przedstawienie to ukazywało tryumf śmierci nad życiem ludzkim. Następnie odbywały się modlitwy przy trumnie zmarłego oraz chowano jego ciało.

Wiek XIX przyniósł ogromne zmiany w ceremonii pogrzebowej. Pogrzeby ludzi, którzy odnieśli sukcesy dla narodu lub jego kultury przybierały charakteru manifestacji. W okresie wojen, mimo konspiracji pogrzeby i groby były wyrazem odczuć patriotycznych. Z kolei XX wiek przyniósł ogromne uproszczenie rytuałów pogrzebowych, wygasło wiele obyczajów. Pojawiać zaczęły się ceremonie cywilne, czyli takie w których aspekt religijny

został w mniejszym lub większym stopniu odłożony na bok. Opisane tutaj rytuały pogrzebowe w danych epokach mają na celu ukazanie holistycznego pojmowania aspektu śmierci i rytuałów z nią związanych. Niezależnie od epoki pogrzeb wzmacnia istotę śmierci, jej realność.

Od zarania dziejów powszechne jest zjawisko zastępowania zmarłego różnymi wcieleniami śmierci. Wizja zmarłego w postaci alegorii nie budzi strachu wśród ludzi. Wizje te nie powodują lęku, gdyż człowiek ma świadomość tego, że jest to obraz, a nie coś, co istnieje naprawdę. Za pośrednictwem symbolicznego ukazania śmierci, jej realność została przemieniona w mrzonkę. W Starożytności śmierć ukazywana była za pomocą wielu różnych wizji. Przykładowo, w Starożytnej Grecji śmierć ukazana została pod postacią czarującego Tanatosa – boga śmierci. Inną, starożytną wizją śmierci była śmierć brutalna wręcz makabryczna. Była ona ukazywana za pomocą Syreny, która wabiła ludzi swoim czarującym głosem. Kolejną wizją śmierci była śmierć – porywaczka. Ukazana była ona pod postacią odrażających Ker i Harpii. Inną personifikacją śmierci jest śmierć ukazana w osobie Płaskonosej i Anioła śmierci. Warto także podkreśli to, że śmierć w postaci szkieletu pojawiła się początkowo we Włoszech w XV wieku.

Przywołane powyżej personifikacje śmierci mają na celu ukazać, że oswajanie człowieka ze śmiercią było przedmiotem rozważań w różnych okresach czasu. Śmierć, która upodabniała się do różnych postaci, zjawisk, czynności nie była śmiercią, która wywoływała wśród ludzi przerażenie. Była czymś, co dało się stopniowo oswoić, a czasem nawet zaakceptować.

Należy pamiętać iż śmierć ma również wymiar społeczny. Śmierć jest zjawiskiem, które wpisane jest w życie ludzkie, podobnie jak i narodziny. Współcześnie jest ona traktowana z wielkim dystansem. W pogoni za pieniędzmi, karierą, w natłoku różnych spraw ludzie zapominają iż jest ona nieuchronna i może zdarzyć się w każdym momencie życia ludzkiego. Śmierć przez społeczeństwo traktowana jest na wiele różnorodnych sposobów. Może ona budzić strach, przerażenie, niepokój, albo może być zupełnie zapomniana. Można także zauważyć zjawisko upotocznienia śmierci, które polega na produkcji różnorakich produktów, zabawek dla dzieci, które opierają się na istocie aktu wygasania życia. Coraz częściej staje się to czymś powszechnym i nikt nawet nie zauważa, że śmierć zaczyna przybierać zupełnie nowego znaczenia.

W procesie analizowania śmierci warto zwrócić uwagę na to jak śmierć jest postrzegana i respektowana w różnych społecznościach. Okazuje się bowiem, że pomimo znaczącego zróżnicowania w procedurach pogrzebowych, wszyscy, niezależnie od wyznania i miejsca zamieszkania dzielimy pewne wspólne cechy. Pierwszą rzeczą jaką można zauważyć to wielki

szacunek nie tylko do zmarłego, ale całego procesu pożegnania. W niektórych krajach trwa on kilka godzin, w innych, nawet kilka tygodni. Na większości kontynentów istnieje więź z naturą, co często widać w metaforycznym postrzeganiu procesu przemijania w kontekście zmieniających się cykli natury. Na wszystkich kontynentach szczególną uwagę zwraca się na okres żałoby, gdzie istotną rolę spełnia symbolika kolorów, zachowania i słownictwo używane do określania zmarłych.

Śmierć jest też nieodzowną częścią różnych wyznań religijnych. Dane wierzenia postrzegają ją na różne sposoby. Obecne są tu również metaforyczne i symboliczne wyobrażenia aktu przemijania. Może być on ukojeniem, przejściem do nowego życia, ale może być także pustką, nicością, niekończącą się wędrówką, która przynosi ból i strach. Ludzie obawiają się odejścia z życia ziemskiego. Obawa wobec śmierci może wynikać z różnych powodów i jest ona dla każdej jednostki społeczeństwa indywidualna.

Ze śmiercią jest ściśle związane zjawisko eutanazji. Jest to problem, który dotyka niemalże wszystkie społeczeństwa współczesnego świata. Nie da się jednoznacznie określić, czy eutanazja jest potrzebna czy też nie. Z pewnością zanim do niej dojdzie należy dobrze zbadać powody do jej realizacji. Okazać się bowiem może, że jest ona ucieczką od trudów codziennego życia.

Umieranie człowieka jest też ściśle związane z miejscem, w którym ono następuje lub dopiero nastąpi. Jest to problem, który jest bardzo złożony. Wszakże nie można z góry założyć, iż człowiek powinien odchodzić z tego świata w domu czy też w hospicjum. Podjęcie decyzji o miejscu przebywania osoby umierającej zależy od predyspozycji rodziny umierającego a także od niego samego. Należy jednak pamiętać o konsekwencjach jakie niesie ze sobą podjęcie danej decyzji.

Śmierć spełnia również istotną rolę w kulturze i często pojawia się jako motyw przewodni w kinematografii, fotografii i literaturze. Sztuka filmu od zawsze używa śmierci jako potężnego medium do przekazywania emocji, zarówno negatywnych jak i pozytywnych. W dzisiejszych czasach, skomercjalizowany obraz śmierci, sprawia, że jest ona często trywializowana, a niekiedy staje się obiektem żartów (tak jak w przypadku tej przedstawionej w jednej ze skeczy grupy Monty Python). Często używa się jej też w filmach grozy, aby wzbudzić w widzach strach, jednak zamiast wywoływać refleksje, zazwyczaj wiąże się z kiczem i przewidywalnością. To na co należy jednak zwrócić uwagę to fakt, iż sztuka filmu oswaja nas ze zjawiskiem śmierci, która często posiada cechy ludzkie, ma słabości czy zakochuje się.

Fotografia jest kolejną dziedziną sztuki, która potrafi uchwycić nie tylko wyjątkowe chwile, ale także emocje. Jest również w stanie upamiętnić osobę zmarłą i tym samym poradzić sobie z cierpieniem związanym ze stratą kogoś ważnego. Dzięki fotografiom, możemy ciągle czuć obecność osoby, która odeszła, nawet jeśli jest to tylko pozorne wrażenie. Sztuka ta jest też również potężnym medium komunikacyjnym, które jest w stanie zwrócić uwagę na problemy takie jak przemoc czy dyskryminacja, tak powszechne na całym świecie. W dzisiejszym świecie, fotografia zatraca niestety swoją wyjątkowość i staje się zjawiskiem pospolitym.

Temat śmierci jest często obecny w literaturze, gdyż jest to zjawisko, które funkcjonuje na wielu różnych poziomach i często jest kontrowersyjne. To w jaki sposób śmierć jest przedstawiania w powieściach, często wzbudza różne uczucia wśród czytelników. Autor jest nawigatorem, który steruje emocjami odbiorcy i pokazuje jak powinien patrzyć na zjawisko przemijania. Tak jak w przypadku filmu, tak i w literaturze, śmierć jest często uczłowieczona, poprzez nadanie jej cech ludzkich. Książkowa śmierć ma również wartość moralną, gdyż czytanie o nieludzkim traktowaniu innych czy mordowaniu, sprawia, że wzrasta w nas poczucie empatii.

Pomimo, że głównym tematem niniejszej pracy jest zjawisko metafory, to w analizowanym korpusie, większość wyrażeń metaforycznych wyselekcjonowanych z polskich i angielskich nekrologów wykazuje tendencje eufemistyczne. Pomimo, że oba zjawiska często się zazębiają, ich intencje są różne. Jednak w przypadku ŚMIERCI, wygląda na to, że znaczna część metafor w obu językach nie tylko konceptualizuje akt przemijania a pośrednictwem uniwersalnych domen źródłowych takich jak PODRÓŻ, SEN czy WYZWOLENIE, ale również ma na celu złagodzenie cierpienia związanego z odchodzeniem i zakamuflowaniem zjawiska, które wciąż postrzegane jest jako tabu.

Zjawisko eufemizacji jest zdefiniowane zarówno w źródła językoznawczych, jak również tych socjolingwistycznych. W najprostszy sposób eufemizację możemy zdefiniować jako proces zastępowania słowa lub wyrażenia innym słowem, który ma bardziej pozytywny wydźwięk. Istnieje również wiele innych procesów, które spełniają podobną funkcję, albo często wchodzą w interakcję z omawianym procesem. Niektóre z nich to: dysfemizacja, żargon, slang, metafora, tabu, poprawność polityczna, propaganda, nowomowa, parafraza, neologizmy czy synonimika. Wymienione narzędzia są dzisiaj używane na porządku dziennym, w wielu przypadkach aby zmanipulować, okłamać lub skontrolować daną społeczność. Wizje świata zdominowane przez Nowomowę pojawiają się często w literaturze,

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chociażby w dystopijnej powieści Georga Orwella *1984*. Język może być potężnym orężem ale także tarczą, która blokuje niechciane ataki.

Eufemizmy możemy klasyfikować na wiele sposób, począwszy od tego czy funkcjonują one od zawsze, lub czy są używane tylko w celach stylistycznych. Niektóre eufemizmy używane są świadomie, inne zupełnie nieświadomie. Interesującym też jest to, co sprawia, że niektóre wyrażenia eufemistyczne zostały stworzone setki lat temu i nadal funkcjonują w naszym języku, a inne znikają szybciej niż się pojawiły. To co na pewno czyni eufemizm eufemizmem, to jego zdolność do łagodzenia tematu do którego nawiązuje, a także wyczuwalny związek z koncepcją źródłową, co pozwala na zrozumienie kontekstu. Eufemizmów nie używamy tylko do „zmiękczania" języka; proces jest szeroko stosowany na wielu różnych poziomach, zaczynając od wspomnianej wyżej funkcji manipulacyjnej, a także: opisowej, implikacyjnej, estetycznej, literackiej, wymijającej czy zwyczajowej.

We współczesnym językoznawstwie funkcjonują głównie dwa nurty, a mianowicie formalizm i funkcjonalizm. Ten pierwszy postrzega język w kontekście naukowym, wręcz blokowym, tak aby ułatwić analizę matematyczną. Według naukowców formalnych, język powinien mieć sztywno wydzielone elementy i granice. Problem takiego podejścia tkwił w ograniczonym podejściu do języka z synchronicznego punktu widzenia, z czym nie zgadzali się językoznawcy funkcyjni, którzy wierzyli, że język jest swoistym kontinuum z niewidocznymi granicami.

Początki Teorii Pól sięgają lat 20tych i 30tych XX wieku, kiedy to badacze tacy jak: Ipsen (1924), Jolles (1934), Porzig (1934) czy Trier (1934), zaczęli swoje rewolucyjne badania. Idea opierała się na mozaikowym systemie klasyfikacji pól językowych. Wielu językoznawców skrytykowało takie podejście mówiąc, że *[...] zgodnie z założeniami teorii pól słowo jako składnik pola odnajduje swoich partnerów w obrębie danej grupy leksykalnej i w relacjach do nich wyznacza swe miejsce w systemie językowym bądź w strukturze tekstu. Inaczej ujmuje tę kwestię teoria ram interpretacyjnych. Tutaj bezpośrednim partnerem słowa staje się coś, co wykracza poza język, a wiąże się z konwencjami kulturowymi, ludzką wiedzą i doświadczeniem* Tokarski (2006:37). Teoria pól wpłynęła bezpośrednio na powstanie narzędzia, które przyczyniło się do powstania setek badań na temat najrozmaitszych kategorii i makroktegorii, a mianowicie analiza komponencjalna (składnikowa).

Analiza ta zakłada, że poszczególne jednostki wewnątrz danego pola mogą być zdefiniowane i zbadane na podstawie wyróżniających je cech (komponentów/składników) i oznaczone albo + albo – w zależności od tego czy dana cecha występuję czy nie. I tak na przykład, w najprostszym ujęciu. *Kobieta* może być zdefiniowana cechami +CZŁOWIEK, +

DOROSŁY, - MĘSKI, podczas gdy *mężczyzna* cechami +CZŁOWIEK, + DOROSŁY, +MĘSKI (Kleparski 1990:20).

Pomimo, że metoda zyskała szerokie grono zwolenników (m.in. Heger (1964), Geckeler (1971a, 1971b), and Baldinger (1980), a także lokalnych badaczy z Rzeszowskiej Szkoły Semantyki Diachronicznej takich jak: Kleparski (1996, 1997), Kochman-Haładyj (2007,2008a, 2008b), Kleparski (2002), Kiełtyka (2005, 2006), Kiełtyka and Kleparski (2005a, 2005b) and Górecka-Smolińska (2007, 2008, 2009a, 2009b)), to niestety okazała się mieć swoje ograniczenia. Przede można stwierdzić, że analiza składnikowa nie ma tak dużej siły wyjaśniającej jak podejście kognitywne, ponieważ nie bierze pod uwagę przyczyn pozajęzykowych, takich jak chociażby związek języka z kulturą. Metoda przez lata była krytykowana przez m.in.: Saeed (2009), Bolinger (1965) czy Lyons (1968,1995). Problem nie polegał tylko na formalnym podejściu do analizowanych pól, ale także na ograniczonym zastosowaniu i częstej potrzebie dodawania nowych komponentów na potrzeby badań. Często kwestionowano, skąd biorą się komponenty, i ile wystarczy aby analiza miała jakąkolwiek wartość. Niektórzy lingwiści tacy jak np. Kay (2000) określali analizę składnikową jako anemiczną, parającą się trywialnymi tematami.

Ruch kognitywny zaczął się we wczesnych latach 70tych i był bezpośrednią konsekwencją niemożności wyjaśnienia ciągle rosnącej liczby problemów natury językowej przez istniejące wtedy teorie językoznawcze. Kognitywiści nie byli zadowoleni z powszechnej wówczas gramatyki generatywnej stworzonej przez Noam Chomsky, a także z nieudanymi próbami stworzenia spójnej formy semantyki generatywnej. Jak sama nazwa wskazuje lingwistyka kognitywna za swoją misję obrała wyjaśnienie połączenia języka i procesów poznawczych (kognicyjnych). Słowo ruch, w pierwszym zdaniu tego paragrafu zostało użyte celowo, gdyż lingwistyka kognitywna sama w sobie nie była teorią, ale bardziej podejściem, które zainspirowało narodziny wielu zazębiających się a niekiedy rywalizujących teorii. Trzy publikacje, które stanowią podwaliny lingwistyki kognitywnej to niewątpliwie: *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) Lakoff and Johnson, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* (1987) Lakoff Langacker *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar* (1987-91).

Jednym z głównych elementów lingwistyki kognitywnej jest analiza modeli konceptualizacji w oparciu o twierdzenie, że to w jaki sposób myślimy ma odzwierciedlenie w języku, którego używamy. Kognitywiści uważali bowiem, że język jest zwierciadłem ludzkiego umysłu. Podejście to sprawiło, że kognitywizm stał się jednym z najbardziej ekscytujących i kreatywnych podejść do badania języka i procesu myślenia.

Jednym z fundamentalnych pojęć w językoznawstwie kognitywnym jest

już wspomniana wcześniej konceptualizacja. Wiążą się z nią przede wszystkim dwie figury retoryczne a mianowicie metafora i metonimia. Drugi proces, pomimo, że często postrzegany jako równie (albo nawet bardziej) istotny jak metafora, jest obecny tylko w nielicznych przykładach korpusu analizowanego w tej publikacji i to w formie metaftonimii (połączenia metafory i metonimii). Po publikacji sławnego *Metaphors we live by* przez Lakoffa i Johnsona, diametralnie zmieniło się postrzeganie tego tematu przez współczesnych językoznawców. Autorzy stwierdzili bowiem, że metafora nie jest tylko narzędziem stylistycznym, ale, że nasze myślenie samo w sobie jest z natury metaforyczne. Rezultatem ich rozważań była Teoria Metafor Konceptualnych, która stałą się nieodłączną częścią semantyki kognitywnej, a także nadała kierunek wczesnym badaniom kognitywnym.

Głównym celem tej rozprawy była analiza wyselekcjonowanego korpusu wyrażeń metaforycznych związanych ze śmiercią w polskich i angielskich nekrologach internetowych w myśl idei kognitywnej. Miałem też na celu przedstawienie jednego z pól z niezwykle rozbudowanej kategorii ŚMIERĆ i chociaż częściowo określić produktywność mechanizmów poszerzania słownictwa takich jak metafora, metaftonimia, eufemizacja czy slang używanych w nekrologach. Dane językowe i liczbowe zostały przedstawione w formie tabelek, co powinno ułatwić ich zrozumienie, a także dostrzec podobieństwa i różnice między dwoma językami.

Analiza dotyczyła 479 wyrażeń metaforycznych wyselekcjonowanych z 20000 nekrologów internetowych. 152 wyrażenia funkcjonują w obu językach w identycznej lub podobnej formie. Pozostałe 328 wyrażeń jest używanych tylko w jednym lub drugim języku. Na wstępie warto podkreślić, że i język angielski i polski używają tych samych domen źródłowych podczas konceptualizowania tematu śmierci. Na przestrzeni pracy poczyniono wiele obserwacji dotyczących obu języków, nie tylko z perspektywy samego języka ale także tych dotyczących różnic kulturalnych.

Najliczniejszą kategorią w badaniu jest niewątpliwie ŚMIERĆ JEST RUCHEM W GÓRĘ, która łączy w sobie elementy innych kategorii. Koncepcja wertykalności ma swoje podłoże w tradycji chrześcijańskiej, jako, że niebo (jeśli takowe miejsce istnieje) zlokalizowane jest nad nami a nie pod. Pomimo, że ciało chowane jest w ziemi, to chrześcijanie (i nie tylko) wierzą, że dusza opuszcza ciało i unosi się ku górze. Oba języki używają często czasowników, które sugerują kierunek, w którym udajemy się po śmierci. I tak możemy zaobserwować takie czasowniki jak *wzlecieć, polecieć wspiąć się, czy wystartować*, wszystkie sugerujące kierunek ku górze. Zdarzają się jednak wyjątki i pomimo że miejsce docelowe omawianej „podróży" jest nad nami, to w obu językach używane są też czasowniki sugerujące ruch na płaszczyźnie poziomej takie jak *wejść, opuścić, wstąpić* czy *pójść*.

Jedną z liczniejszych kategorii w badaniu okazała się być ŚMIERĆ JEST PRZEGRANĄ. Co na pewno dziwi, jest fakt, iż w języku polskim mamy do czynienia ze znacznie bardziej negatywnym obrazem śmierci niż w języku angielskim. Manifestuje się w wyrażeniach przymiotnikowych stosowanych do określania walki/bitwy/wojny którą przegraliśmy ze śmiercią. Polskie nekrologi są pełne negatywnie nacechowanych przymiotników takich jak: *okrutna* → *cruel*, *bolesna* → *painful*, *nierówna* → *uneven*, *wyczerpująca* → *exhausting*, *trudna* → *difficult*, *mozolna* → *arduous*, *uporczywa* → *lingering*, *dramatyczna* → *dramatic*, *zdająca się trwać wiecznie* → *seemingly forever-lasting*, *rozpaczliwa* → *hopeless*, *bezlitosna* → *merciless*, *przegrana* → *lost*. W świadomości użytkowników języka polskiego śmierć jest ewidentną metaforyczną klęską i nie powinniśmy dopatrywać się w niej niczego pozytywnego. Angielskie nekrologi są natomiast bardziej optymistyczne kładąc nacisk na odwagę i starania zmarłej osoby w walce z niewidzialnym przeciwnikiem.

Drugą najliczniejszą kategorią jest ŚMIERĆ JEST PODRÓŻĄ, w której znalazło się aż 79 przykładów w obydwu językach. Oba języki używają szeregu czasowników, które sugerują początek: *opuścił* → *departed*, *poszła* → *walked on* or *wyruszył* → *journeyed*, środek: *zmierza* → *heading* i koniec podróży: *completed his journey* → *zakończył swoją podróż*, *reached* → *dojechał*, *crossed over* → *przeszedł*, *arrived* → *przybył*. W obu językach podobne jest również miejsce gdzie podróż się kończy np. *heaven* → *nieba*, *eternal home* → *domu wiecznego* , *eternity* → *wieczności*, *the uncertain* → *w nieznane*, *promised land* → *ziemii obiecanej*, *Paradise* → *raju*[143], *heavenly home* → *domu w niebie*, *loving arms of God* → *w objęcia Boga*, *Open arms of Jesus* → *w objęcia Chrystusa.* Interesującym jest fakt, iż w obu przypadkach używany jest czas teraźniejszy ciągły, który sugeruje, że czynność podróżowania wciąż trwa, tym samym "zatrzymując" na jakiś czas zmarłą osobę. Kolejnym intrygującym elementem jest kwestia swoistej dobrowolości jeśli chodzi o rozpoczęcie podróży. W większości przypadków wygląda na to, że osoba chciała rozpocząć podróż do lepszego świata, zupełnie jakby mogła o tym zadecydować. Jedynym wyjątkiem jest polski *W daleką podróż zabrał Cię Bóg,* gdzie sprecyzowana jest siła wyższa. Podobną sytuację możemy zauważyć w kategorii ŚMIERĆ JEST WYZWOLENIEM gdzie brakuje informacji kto sprowadza to wyzwolenie, poza jedynym wyjątkiem w języku polskim *Bóg uwolnił go od jego trudów.*

Jedną z bardziej kontrowersyjnych kategorii jest niewątpliwie ŚMIERĆ TO NARODZINY, i to nie tylko ze względu na swoją antonimiczną naturę, ale przede wszystkim

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[143] This is one of the few exceptions where the supernatural/sacral element is capitalized in English, yet not in polish.

ponieważ używana jest najczęściej w obu językach w przypadku śmierci dzieci i noworodków. Wykorzystanie koncepcji narodzin zdaje się być bardzo trafne ze względu na to, że niemowlęta czy noworodki nie są w stanie „pójść" czy „udać" się do Nieba. Podczas gdy w języku angielskim wyrażenia to dotyczą tylko dzieci, język polski okazuje się być bardziej plastyczny i posiada również przykłady z osobami dorosłymi.

Zaskakiwać może na pewno niewielka ilość wyrażeń metaforycznych związanych z kategorią ŚMIERĆ JEST SNEM; motyw, który był dosyć często używany przez stulecia w literaturze czy sztuce ze względu na swoje uderzające podobieństwo do aktu przemijania. Tak jak w przypadku kilki inny kategorii, polskie metafory śmierci jako snu są znacznie bardziej złożone i zawierają często kilka mapowań metaforycznych w obrębie jednego wyrażenia. Jedną z ciekawych różnic, jest również użycie w języku angielskim słowa *slumber* → *drzemka*, które to jeszcze bardziej zwiększa moc łagodzącą całego wyrażenia.

Kolejną ciekawą obserwacją jest fakt, iż język angielski korzysta w większości przypadku z 3 os. lp., tym samym odcinając się w pewnym sensie od osoby zmarłej. Polskie nekrologi natomiast są pełne wyrażeń metaforycznych, które pisane są albo w 2 os. lp., np. *Ukołysana wiecznym snem Wybranko smutnej niedoli w zaciszu swoim słodko śpij już nic Cię nie boli*, lub w 1 os. lp. *Ja nie chcę spać, nie ja nie chcę umierać, chcę tylko wędrować po pastwiskach nieba.* W obu tych przypadkach odczuwa się większą bliskość i emocje związane z odejściem kochanej osoby; taki zabieg językowy nie jest wykorzystywany w języku angielskim.

Jedną z kategorii, która została dodana celowo, aby pokazać, że śmierć nie jest tylko rozpatrywana z pełną powagą i szacunkiem jest ŚMIERĆ JEST ZAMKNIĘCIEM SYSTEMU. Metaforyczne porównanie życia do systemu komputerowego, konta internetowego, czy też nośnika pamięci, jest w pełni uzasadnione biorąc pod uwagę powszechną konceptualizację metaforyczną CZŁOWIEK JEST MASZYNĄ. Kategoria ta nie powinna być traktowana jako wyznacznik pewnych prawidłowości czy trendów, ale bardziej jako dowód językowej i społecznej plastyczności w stosunku do tematów tabu.

Dziwić może fakt, że dwie najbardziej pozytywnie nacechowane mapowania metaforyczne, a mianowicie ŚMIERĆ JEST ZWYCIĘSTWEM i ŚMIERĆ JEST SZCZĘŚCIEM okazują się być najmniej produktywnymi, zajmując ostatnie dwa miejsca w tabeli. Wygląda na to, że niezależnie od tego jak bardzo staramy się łagodzić zjawisko śmierci poprzez użycie wymijającego języka, to rzadko konceptualizujemy to zjawisko w kontekście czegoś pozytywnego. Akt przemijania wiąże się ze smutkiem, bólem i tęsknotą, a nie z wygrywaniem i radością.

Kolejne interesujące tendencje możemy zaobserwować w kategorii ŚMIERĆ JEST ODPOCZYNKIEM. Zaskakiwać może fakt, iż pomimo podobnej idei jak w przypadku metaforyzowania śmierci poprzez sen, jest to znacznie liczniejsza grupa wyrażeń. Co więcej, polskie wyrażenia metaforyczne są znacznie dłuższe i bardziej złożone od tych angielskich, często wykorzystując kilka metafor w obrębie jednej konceptualizacji, tak jak np. *Wujku Leszku, płyniesz już delfinem do niebieskiego, brajnickiego jeziora, odpocznij, połóż wędkę na pomoście, pozdrów Pana Antoniego... a może gdzieś tam znajdziesz swoją siekierkę*. Częstym zjawiskiem w polskich nekrologach jest również użycie zdrobnień jak np. *Wujku* zamiast *Wuju*, *Leszku* zamiast *Lesławie* lub *Lechu*, *Mamusiu* nie *Mamo* i *Córeczko* zamiast *Córko*.

Pomimo, że większość nekrologów ma podłoże katolickie, bardzo często metafory nie tylko ukrywają i łagodzą proces umierania, ale ukrywają również elementy religijne (to gdzie idziemy, kto nas zabiera, kto daje nam nagrodę, kto nas woła, itd.). Są to często elementy domyślne i bardzo rzadko są precyzowane i opisywane.

Ciekawym zjawiskiem jest stosowanie dużych liter (lub ich brak) w odniesieniu do różnych elementów religijnych. Podczas gdy niektóre z takiej lubi innej decyzji mogą być rezultatem literówek, przeoczeń lub wynikać z pośpiechu, można zauważyć pewne tendencje. Polskie nekrologi zdają się być o wiele bardziej ortodoksyjne odnosząc się do jednostek nadprzyrodzonych (Bóg, Pan, Jezus, Stwórca, Ojciec, itd.) lub miejsc docelowych do których udajemy się po śmierci (Niebo, Ziemia Obiecana, Królestwo Niebieskie, Dom, itd.). Ciężko stwierdzić, czy powodem jest religia, czy też społeczna konwencja albo szacunek, jedna podane powyżej wyrazy są zawsze pisane z dużej litery w języku polskim. W języku angielskim natomiast panuje swoista dowolność, bo podczas gdy kluczowe terminy takie jak Bóg czy Jezus są pisane z dużej litery tak np. Niebo czy nawet pan już niekoniecznie. Zdarzają się też ekstremalne przypadki hiper poprawności tak jak w przypadku wyrażenia LORD → Pan, gdzie wszystkie litery napisane są z dużych liter. Powodów takiego rozgraniczenia można doszukiwać się bezpośrednio w osobie piszącej nekrolog. Jeśli nie jest chrześcijaninem, to potrzeba pisania pewnych wyrazów z dużej litery może nie mieć dużego znaczenia. Kolejnym (być może lekko ryzykownym) stwierdzeniem jest fakt, że potrzeba stosowania dużych liter w dzisiejszych czasach, niezależnie od kontekstu zmniejsza się w zastraszającym tempie. Analizując dyskurs portali społecznościowych czy komunikacji internetowej, jest żywym dowodem na takie tendencje. Czy tak samo może się stać w przypadku tak poważnego tematu jakim jest śmierć pozostaje pytaniem, które powinno być poparte danymi liczbowymi.

W pracy poczyniono następujące wnioski i obserwacje:

- Śmierć jest zjawiskiem uniwersalnym, które przez ostatnie stulecia było omawiane i analizowane przez wiele różnych dziedzin naukowych i nienaukowych

- Od ponad 2000 lat, filozofowie próbowali ustosunkować się do tematu śmierci i życia po życiu, tworząc wszelakie hipotezy. Część z nich miała zabarwienie metaforyczne, zupełnie tak jak nasze postrzeganie śmierci w dzisiejszych czasach

- Historia i antropologia dostarczają nam cennych informacji na temat aktu przemijania na przestrzeni wieków i tego jak zmieniało się podejście społeczne do tego zjawiska

- Przez tysiąclecia, można zaobserwować różne rytuały pogrzebowe, która jednak posiadają również cechu wspólne i uniwersalne, takie jak szacunek dla zmarłych, element żałoby, czy istota przygotowań do ceremonii pogrzebowej.

- Śmierć była często postrzegana jako alegoria i przyjmowała różne postaci od syren i harpii po kościotrupy i anioły śmierci.

- Śmierć jest zjawiskiem społecznym i jest integralną częścią życia ludzkiego

- Różne kontynenty i religie postrzegają akt przemijania w różny sposób, jednak tak jak w przypadku rytuałów pogrzebowych zauważa się tu pewne elementy uniwersalne.

- Strach przed śmiercią jest uczuciem naturalnym i często wynika z dzisiejszego sterylnego i przekalkulowanego podejścia do życia. Śmierć jest często nagła i nieprzewidywalna, tym samym wzbudza lęk.

- Eutanazja to wciąż jeden z najbardziej kontrowersyjnych tematów w wielu krajach.

- Umieranie w domu powoli przestaje być powszechne i często odbywa się w szpitalach lub hospicjach.

- Śmierć w kinematografii jest często trywializowana a nawet wyśmiewana, tym samym jesteśmy z nią oswojeni, gdyż poprzez nadanie jej ludzkich cech jest nam bliższa i bardziej namacalna

- Poprzez medium fotografii możemy zapamiętać osobę zmarłą i emocje z nią związane.

- Literatura od stuleci wykorzystuje tematykę i metaforykę śmierci. Powieści gdzie motywem przewodnim jest umieranie, skłaniają do refleksji i uczą nas empatii, a także sprawiają, że zaczynami kontemplować własne życie.

- Eufemizmy są zjawiskiem niezwykle powszechnym i używane są w wielu różnych sytuacjach. Możemy klasyfikować je na wiele różnych sposób i mają wiele właściwości poza oczywistą rolą „zastępowania" tabu.

- Teoria pól, analiza komponencjalna, a także podejście formalne do języka, stanowi bezpośrednią inspirację dla ruchu kognitywnego, który jest metodologiczną podstawą tego badania.

- Językoznawstwo kognitywne zostało stworzone w wyniku niezadowolenia formalnym podejściem do języka. Kognitywiści uważali, że języka nie można rozpatrywać w formie schematu, ale że jest pewnego rodzaju nieograniczonym kontinuum. Najważniejszymi koncepcjami w podejściu kognitywnym jest metafora i metonimia.

- Śmierć jest najczęściej konceptualizowana w kontekście RUCHU DO GÓRY

- Oba języki konceptualizują śmierć w kontekście tych samych domen źródłowych, jednak niekiedy występują znaczące różnice w powszechności danej domeny w jednym lub drugim języku.

- Często domeny źródłowe zazębiają się i mamy do czynienia z metaforami złożonymi (zwłaszcza w języku polskim)

- Śmierć jest eufemizowana w większości metafor dotyczących śmierci

- Tym samym jest to jedno z niewielu zjawisk gdzie wielokrotnie można postawić znak równości między zjawiskiem eufemizacji i metaforyzacji

- Śmierć jest z reguły konceptualizowana w kontekście neutralnych lub pozytywnych domen. Jedynym negatywnym przykładem jest ŚMIERĆ TO PRZEGRANA. Aczkolwiek nadmiernie pozytywne domeny źródłowe takie jak ZWYCIĘSTWO czy SZCZĘŚCIE są najmniej produktywne i zajmują ostatnie miejsca w tabeli.

- Pomimo, że język angielski używa znacznie bardziej zróżnicowanej i licznej grupy czasowników w procesie metaforyzowania śmierci, to okazało się, że metafor śmierci jest więcej w języku polskim.

- Pomimo, że większość nekrologów ma zabarwienie religijne, to elementy te są często ukryte albo domyślne w obu językach

- Język polski jest bardziej konsekwentny, a niekiedy wręcz ortodoksyjny w stosowaniu wielkich liter, podczas gdy w angielskim panuje swoista dowolność.

- Tylko dwa mapowania metaforyczne z całego korpusu posiadają element sensoryczny, a mianowicie ŚMIERĆ JEST WEZWANIEM i ŚMIERĆ JEST UŚCISKIEM, chociaż tylko to drugie jest jedyną projekcją w całym korpusie gdzie pojawia się element fizycznego kontaktu z jednostką nadprzyrodzoną

- Oba języki używają czasu przeszłego dokonanego w większości przypadków, jednak zdarzają się przypadki czasu teraźniejszego niedokonanego, który sprawia, że osoba zmarła „jest z nami" jeszcze przez chwilę.

- W języku polskim zauważamy tendencję do używania negatywnie nacechowanych atrybutów w procesie odnoszenia się do śmierci. Dodatkowo tylko w polskich nekrologach pojawiają się słowa związane z wojną takie jak armia, szwadron czy zastępy sugerujące, że bycie częścią raju to nie tylko wieczny odpoczynek ale gotowość do walki z siłami zła (prawdopodobnie).

- Angielskie nekrologi nigdy nie zwracają się do Boga bezpośrednio tak jak polskie, jak np. *Panie dlaczego wezwałeś ją tak szybko? (lit. Oh Lord, why did you call her so quickly?)* czy *Wezwałeś Go Boże do siebie... za wcześnie Nie byliśmy rozstać się gotowi... jeszcze Wybacz, prosimy, nasz smutek i żal, pomóż zrozumieć Twój Boski Plan* (lit. *Oh God you called him ... to early. We weren't ready to part with him ... at least not yet. Forgive us, we beg you, our sadness and sorrow, help us understand your Divine Plan*).

- Poetyczne metafory z elementem rymowania pojawiły się w tylko w języku polskiem jak np. *Uskrzydlona jak ptaki swobodna mimo braku skrzydeł i piór Szalonymi marzeniami niesiona dotknęłaś chmur* lit. *Winged like birds, free despite the lack of wings and feathers Carried by crazy dreams you touched the heavens* or *Wybranko smutnej niedoli w zaciszu swoim słodko śpij już nic Cię nie boli* lit. *Lulled by an eternal dream, you are the chosen one with sad misery within, find refuge and sleep tight, your suffering ends tonight.*

- Pod koniec tworzenia niniejszej pracy, portal Legacy.com udostępnił badanie statystyczne, które przeprowadzono na podstawie 2.5 miliona internetowych nekrologów w USA. Badanie polegało na przedstawieniu najpopularniejszych określeń na *umrzeć* używanych w nekrologach. Patrząc na wyniki przedstawione poniżej można zauważyć, że pomimo, iż zjawisko śmierci jest nadal eufemizowane i metaforyzowane, tabuizowane *died → umarł* jest używane w wielu stanach, podobnie jak polskie *zmarł* i *umarł*. Ciężko powiedzieć jak to badanie odnosi się do nekrologów papierowych, ale wygląda na to, że w cyfrowym świecie, śmierć utraciła nieco swoją moc. Wizualizacja poniżej.

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