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**The Language of Death:
Euphemism and Conceptual Metaphorization in Victorian
Obituaries**

Abstract

Some experiences are too intimate and vulnerable to be discussed without linguistic safeguards. One of them is undoubtedly death, a timeless taboo in which psychological, religious and social interdictions coexist. It is the aim of this paper to explore the euphemistic language on obituary pages from the mid-nineteenth century, a time when the sentimentalization of death provided a fertile soil for the flowering of euphemism. Given the pervasiveness of metaphor to refer to human mortality, the present study proceeds to trace an account of the different conceptual metaphors aiming at substituting the notions of death and dying in Irish early Victorian newspapers within the framework of the well-known Conceptual Metaphor Theory initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The results obtained support the idea that there was a tendency to present sentimental obituaries in which the taboo of death can be accounted for by various conceptual metaphors, most of which view death as a desirable event under the influence of Christian beliefs.

1. Introduction¹

Mankind's failure to come to terms with death has been pervasive in different times and societies. In fact, human beings have traditionally felt reluctant to deal with the subject of death using straightforward terms. Whether owing to superstition, fear or social respect, the fact remains that when facing death language users try to soften the effect of what they really wish to communicate. To this end, they resort to euphemism, i.e. the semantic or formal process thanks to which the taboo is stripped of its most

¹ I would like to thank the three anonymous reviewers of this paper for their insightful comments and suggestions on an earlier version. I also want to express my gratitude to Clive Alexander Bellis, of the Department of English Studies, University of Alicante, for proof-reading the paper. Of course, I assume full responsibility for all forms of error still remaining.

explicit, offensive or obscene overtones. From this viewpoint, euphemism is not merely a response to a forbidden subject; rather, it provides a way to speak about the taboo, that is, about the unspeakable, about those concepts banned from public domain and removed from our consciousness. This refusal to speak freely of human mortality is, as Sexton (1997: 335) points out, symptomatic of the overall discomfort with the subject of death as whole.

Despite this reluctance to mention the subject of death, there are communicative situations in which one cannot evade the notions of death and dying. This is the case of obituaries, those newspaper notices devoted to recording and announcing a death. Given the obvious need to refer to mortality, the seriousness of the situation and the formality which the printed page imposes, it is no surprise that obituary columns are a breeding ground for euphemistic words and expressions related to the taboo of death.

The main concern of this paper is to explore the euphemistic language of death found in a sample of Irish Victorian obituaries. As metaphorization constitutes a potent source for euphemistic reference (Casas Gómez 1986: 217–218, Warren 1992: 146–149) and a common device to cope with death (Goatly 1997: 159, Sexton 1997), the focus in this paper will be predominantly on the conceptual categorization of the metaphors for death and dying as a euphemistic resource within the frame of the well-known Metaphor Conceptual Theory initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). This seems to be a worthy concern, because while there is substantial body of literature on the cognitive value of figurative language, including relatively recent studies devoted to the metaphorical conceptualization of human mortality (Marín Arrese 1996, Sexton 1997, Bultnick 1998), not much scholarly ink has been spilled over conceptual metaphor as a purely euphemistic device, an approach followed by Chamizo Domínguez and Sánchez Benedito (2000: 101–133) and Crespo Fernández (2006) concerning the taboo of sex. Thus, I attempt to gain an insight into the cognitive role of metaphorical euphemism as a resource to tone-down the taboo of death in early Victorian Ireland.

2. The taboo of death and obituaries

Death is, as Allan and Burridge (1991: 153) have argued, “a Fear-based taboo” in which different fears coexist, namely fear of the loss of loved ones, fear of the corruption of the body, fear of evil spirits and fear of what comes after death. The dread to look death full in the face is especially noteworthy in primitive societies in which the word associated with the taboo of death is believed to possess the same force as the taboo itself. In fact, for some Australian tribes the taboo of death imposes such serious verbal restrictions that it is strictly forbidden to pronounce the name of someone who has died (Gross 1985: 203); they even avoid words rhyming with the name of the deceased (Sánchez Mateo 1996: 47).² In such cases, the word associated with death is believed to possess magical powers which provide the term with the same force as the taboo. In this respect, such figures as Ullmann, Coseriu, Grimes and Jespersen (cited in Casas Gómez 1986: 21) have stressed the magical connection between the term and the concept (“the name for death is death”). So it seems that, when dealing with linguistic taboos, the boundaries between the linguistic sign and its referent are certainly fuzzy.

Therefore, the euphemistic alternative does not always mitigate the taboo, as happens in certain communicative situations in which the allusion to death is, regardless of the degree of indirectness or vagueness employed, utterly unacceptable. This is so because in the very act of alluding indirectly to the unmentionable concept, the euphemistic substitute calls it to mind. On these occasions, the only effective way to ameliorate the taboo is silence, which constitutes an evident proof of the interdictive strength of the taboo.³ Thus, silence sometimes coexists with paralinguistic elements with the purpose of avoiding the taboo words *death* and *die*. Indeed, a set gesture can be used to refer to death, as is the case of the traditional Chinese manner of clenching the hands and throwing the head slightly back (Gross 1985: 204).

² Lillo Buades (1995: 28–29) deals with the role of rhyme in the taboo of death for primitive societies.

³ This is also applicable to the taboo of sex, as Crespo Fernández (2005: 385–386) has demonstrated in Victorian England, when this taboo proved to be stronger than any verbal mitigation. For this reason, the sexual taboo was generally silenced in public discourse.

The taboo of death in the nineteenth century cannot be properly understood without considering the crucial role that religion played in sepulchral matters. In the Victorian Age, religion was generally thought to provide a reason not only for living, but also for dying. In fact, Victorians were obsessed with the subject of death and took for granted that religious practices and funerary rituals greatly contributed to ease the transition from life to death. In this sense, consolation was based on the Christian hope of the resurrection of the dead, a belief that meant taking on a completely new existence in Heaven, that blessed destination which represented for Victorians the fulfilment of their Christian faith (Wheeler 1994: 6–13). Hence, religious beliefs provided some sort of relief in the face of death, particularly the promise of an eternal life beyond physical death, a hope which constituted the basis of sound doctrine and determined much of the metaphorical euphemism employed in obituaries, as I will explain further on.

I cannot go any further without attempting to define the concept of obituary and establishing its types and linguistic properties. The term *obituary* is a euphemism in itself. It comes from Latin *obitus* ‘departure’, a common euphemistic term for death. The meaning the word has nowadays (“a record or announcement of a death or deaths, especially in a newspaper; usually comprising a brief biographical sketch of the deceased”, *OED2*) first appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century. Obituaries, it should be noted, go beyond the limits of a mere announcement of a demise; rather, they constitute a proof of mankind’s failure to face mortality. These funeral notices are far from being homogeneous, and it is precisely in their variety where much of their richness lies. As Hernando (2001) has argued, obituaries constitute a hybrid genre in which both publicity and information coexist, in which emotion and objectivity go hand in hand. In this way, there are two types of obituaries: those more informative and objective, usually limited to the exposition of facts about the death, the deceased or the place and time of the funeral, and those, supposedly more personal and intimate, used with a social or religious purpose, in which the feelings and emotions of the writer play a significant role. The characteristics of both types of obituaries are indicated below:

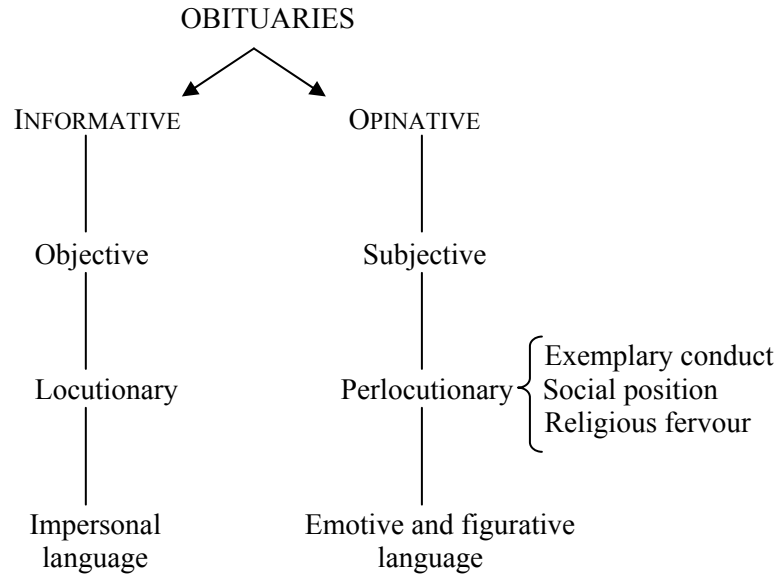


Figure 1. Informative and opinative obituaries

The above figure clearly shows the radically different characteristics of informative and opinative obituaries. The former are objective and rely on an impersonal language devoted to perform a locutionary function, that of transmitting the relevant details of a demise. Nonetheless, opinative obituaries present a subjective nature and, by means of an emotive and figurative language, perform a perlocutionary function, that is, they are oriented towards causing a favourable impression on the reader by showing the social relevance, exemplary conduct or religious fervour of the deceased.

Before moving to the theoretical framework on which the paper relies, it is appropriate to consider the peculiarities of nineteenth century English in Ireland. The standard variety of English was at the head of the linguistic hierarchy in Victorian Ireland and was generally employed in the full range of public domains (Harris 1991: 38–39). Thus, non-standard varieties were totally unacceptable and deemed impolite linguistic behaviour, especially in formal institutional contexts. Blake (1998: 288) puts the point in the following way: “People who spoke in non-standard varieties could never be accepted as fully developed human beings with a fine sense of morality and proper behaviour”. Accordingly, the language of obituaries in Irish newspapers tended to follow the standard British English, whose written

model was generally adopted in Ireland by the vast majority of the population.⁴

3. Theoretical assumptions: the cognitive tradition

The theoretical assumptions on which the present paper is based are derived from the cognitive model of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. This approach claims that metaphors go beyond pointing to the similarities between entities or embellishing a given object; rather, they stand as a means of creating, organizing and understanding reality. In order to reify abstract elements, language users tend to relate them to our social and bodily experiences with the help of figurative (metaphorical and metonymic) language by means of which we are able to conceptualize those abstract concepts. From this standpoint, following Lakoff (1993: 203), a metaphor can be defined as “a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system”; in other words, a set of conceptual correspondences from a source domain (the realm of the physical or more concrete reality) to a target domain (the death taboo, in our case). A metaphorical mapping presents submappings or ontological correspondences between the source and target domains as a result of reasoning about the latter using the knowledge we have about the former. Within the cognitive tradition, metaphor is thus understood as a device with the capacity to structure our conceptual system, providing, at the same time, a particular understanding of the world and a way to make sense of our experience. Hence, the metaphor is, rather than a linguistic expression or a figure of speech with an aesthetic value, a mode of thought and reason:

⁴ During the nineteenth century, Irish was in decline because of several factors such as the introduction of English as the language of education, its adoption by both the nationalist movement and the Roman Catholic Church and the emigration of a considerable part of the Irish-speaking population. Thus, the English used in Victorian Ireland was virtually indistinguishable from that of standard British English, with the exception of a few items of vocabulary borrowed from Irish to refer to local customs and institutions such as *dáil* ‘parliament’ and *taoiseach* ‘prime minister’ (Harris 1991: 38–39).

[T]he metaphor is not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason. The language is secondary. The mapping is primary, in that it sanctions the use of source domain language and inference patterns for target domain concepts. (Lakoff 1993: 208)

Take the conceptual metaphor TO DIE IS TO SLEEP. There is a projection from a source domain (sleep) onto a target domain (die) and the associations that constitute this metaphor map our perception about sleep onto our perception about death. It is in this correspondence between the source and the target domains where cognitive conceptualization fulfils its euphemistic function. The source domain is therefore used to understand, structure and, in some cases, mitigate the target domain. This implies one of the basic aspects of the standard cognitive approach, the principle of unidirectionality, according to which the associative process goes from the more abstract concept to the more concrete reality. That this is so can be gathered from Barcelona (2003b: 214):

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.

As conceptual and metonymic metaphors are grounded in our bodily and social experiences, there exist kinesthetic image-schemas into which our experience is organized, that is, recurring structures coming from our perceptions and bodily functioning (Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1987: 271–278). In fact, everything we do is located in a point of time and space, which provides a metaphorical basis for its linguistic expression. Thus, apart from conceptual mappings, there are also image mappings by means of which to talk about abstract concepts. Viewed this way, our daily experiences can be understood in terms of experiential blocks (containers, links, forces, paths, front-back, center-periphery, etc.) consisting of structural elements which permit us to deal with abstract concepts in particular terms.

Though it is not within the scope of this paper to describe metonymy in detail, I will briefly deal with this device of figurative language which coexists and interacts with metaphor in the conceptualization of abstract concepts. Both processes are so closely connected that a large number of conceptual metaphors have a metonymic basis (Goatly 1997: 57, Bultnick

1998: 62–72, Barcelona 2003a and 2003b: 241–246). In this sense, Kövecses (2000: 38), significantly enough, argues that certain metonymies can be considered as “metaphorical metonymies”, a label which accounts for the interaction between metaphor and metonymy. The main difference between both devices, though, lies in the fact that conceptual metonymies do not involve two domains, one of which is more abstract than the other, as is the case with conceptual metaphors; rather, they operate within a single domain in which an aspect of a concept stands for the whole or for another aspect of it. As Kövecses (2000: 5) puts it, “metonymy, unlike metaphor, is a “stand-for” relation (i.e., a part stands for the whole or a part stands for another part) within a single domain”.

4. Data and methods

The corpus samples 228 obituaries excerpted from the funeral sections of the Irish newspapers *The Connaught Journal* (1840) and *The Cork Examiner* (1847), which henceforth will be referred to as TCJ and TCE respectively. As mentioned before, the choice for obituaries as the source of empirical data for this article is based on the fact that obituary columns are a breeding ground for euphemism related to the taboo of death. I decided that it was interesting to focus on some authentic data, avoiding thus an approach to the metaphorical language of death with examples constructed by the author (Marín Arrese 1996) or excerpted from lexicographic sources (Bultnick 1998). In an attempt to minimize variables, the newspapers selected for this study belong to the same historical period (the Victorian era), within this period, to the same decade (1840s) and both were potentially addressed to a spectrum of provincial Irish readers (from Galway and Cork, to be precise).

As it seems to be a consensus that the Victorian period was especially prone to the creation of euphemisms (Rawson 1995: 7–8, Howard 1986: 109–111), I expected that the spread of evasive language for the taboo of death would not be unusual at that age. Furthermore, the nineteenth century saw a strong sense of religious spirituality attached to death (Wheeler 1994, Jalland 1999), which should obviously favour a down-toning language. In this respect, Rawson (1995: 8) talks about a “sentimentalization of death” in Victorian times as an attitude which tended to avoid a straightforward reference to the taboo. The choice for Ireland was not at random either. I

considered that the study of the verbal mitigation in Irish death notices could complement previous works which touched on the issue of euphemisms in obituaries in England (Gross 1985: 214–215), Australia (Allan and Burrige 1991: 161–164) and the United States (Hume 2000).⁵

As for the methods employed, I searched the Irish newspapers in their entirety for euphemistic substitutions of the taboos of death and dying on their obituary pages. In order to organize the wide variety of euphemisms that existed, once I detected a euphemistic substitute, I assigned it to its corresponding linguistic level(s) according to its method of formation. Regarding metaphors, I included them in their conceptual mapping following the model of Cognitive Linguistics.

5. Euphemism and the metaphorical conceptualization of death

Euphemistic words and expressions related to the taboo of death abound in the obituary pages consulted. In fact, out of a total of 228 obituaries, I have collected 119 euphemistic substitutes for the taboos of death and dying, whereas the “forbidden” words *death* and *die* have only appeared 33 times. The force of the death taboo is also seen in the 158 obituaries in which all allusion to mortality is avoided in the corpus. The linguistic mechanisms employed to substitute the taboos of death and dying in the obituaries consulted are shown in quantitative terms in the table below in the semantic, lexical and morphological levels:⁶

⁵ Of particular interest is the study carried out by Hume (2000), who surveys more than 8,000 newspaper obituaries of New York City, New Orleans, Baltimore, Chicago and San Francisco from 1818 to 1930.

⁶ The classification proposed in the table is the result of a method for collecting euphemisms according to a set of phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical and semantic devices which I used in a previous study (Crespo Fernández to appear). Here, I have only included those linguistic levels which are responsible for the creation of euphemistic substitutes in the obituaries consulted. This classification of euphemisms is based on those offered by Casas Gómez (1986) and Warren (1992).

Semantic devices		Lexical devices		Morphological devices	
Metaphor	80	Technical terms	12	Acronyms	1
Metonymy	7	Learned words	3		
Generic terms	7	Borrowings	1		
Hyperbole	4				
Circumlocution	3				
Reversal	1				

Table 1. Euphemistic devices in obituaries

Before going to the metaphorical conceptualizations of death found in the obituaries, which constitutes the primary focus of this paper, I will briefly describe the devices used to mitigate the taboo of death, as euphemism is not restricted to metaphor on the obituary columns consulted, as shown in the table above.

As regards the semantic devices, metonymy is responsible for seven euphemistic references to mortality. There are two groups of metonymic associations in the obituaries consulted: first, those which focus on the result of death for those left alive, which constitute instances of the conceptual metonymy *THE SENTIMENTAL EFFECTS OF DEATH STAND FOR DEATH* (*dissolution, void and separation*); second, those which stress the final moment under the metonymic principle *THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF DEATH STAND FOR DEATH*⁷ (*breathe one's last breath and put a period to one's earthly sufferings*). In addition, some conceptual metaphors encountered in the corpus present a metonymic basis. This is the case of *DEATH IS A REWARD* and *DEATH IS A LOSS* which, though intrinsically metaphorical in nature, and considered as such in the present paper, enable us to understand a metaphor for death via its cause and effect.

Also within the semantic resources, the euphemistic hyperbole (4), i.e., a device which fulfils its mitigating function by considerably

⁷ Concerning conceptual metaphors and metonymies on the basis of our experience of the physiological effects of death, see Marín Arrese (1996: 40–41) and Bultnick (1998: 27–30).

upgrading a desirable feature of the referent, aims not only at complimenting the deceased, but also at praising and magnifying the biological act of dying by means of overstatements based on Christian beliefs. In this sense, far from having simply died, the deceased is said to be *in a kingdom, in Heaven* or enjoying a *holy and uninterrupted communion with God*, something which, from the Christian point of view, supposes the fulfilment of happiness. It is worthy of note that some metaphors present hyperbolic overtones, like *world of unending glory* or *eternity of happiness* 'death'. Other semantic mechanisms employed are the use of generic terms (7) such as *concern* and *event* and circumlocutions (3) like *go where care or pain can reach her no more* 'die'. Also of interest is the reversal with a metaphorical origin *eternal life in Heaven*, which bases its euphemistic force on the opposition life against death.

The obituary writer also resorted to lexical devices of euphemism formation, for example to a shift in the stylistic level to cope with the taboo by means of technical terms (12). Indeed, death is substituted by *decease* (7) and *demise* (5), legal terms which fulfil a mitigating function when used in a nonlegal context like that of the obituary. In this respect, the dead person is the *deceased* or the *lamented deceased*. The stylistic shift commented also takes place in the learned word *expire*, repeated three times.

5.1 The conceptual mappings of consolatory metaphors

In turning to the euphemistic devices used in the funeral notices shown in table 1, the first noticeable quality is that metaphor is, by far, the most powerful mechanism in the formation of euphemisms for the taboo of death, with 80 cases detected. The number of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes is actually higher, since the hyperboles used to mitigate the taboo (*kingdom, wreath of glory, eternity of happiness* and *world of unending glory*) also have a metaphorical status.⁸ Even the borrowing (*requiescere in pace*) and its acronymic equivalent (*R.I.P.*) are motivated by the figurative association which conceptualizes death as a rest. In consequence, metaphor is ultimately responsible for 86 euphemistic

⁸ This seems to prove that, as Warren (1992) demonstrated, it is natural for hyperboles to be combined with devices of semantic change.

alternatives, that is, almost three quarters out of the total number of euphemisms recorded. Judging from these data, it becomes evident that metaphor constitutes a potent source of metaphorical reference to the death taboo. This seems to confirm the pervasiveness of metaphor to refer to the topic of death in Victorian times, a device which is considered “not only as a specific figure of speech but also, in its broader sense, as the foundation of language itself” (Wheeler 1994: 21).⁹ Indeed, obituary writers usually resorted to consolatory metaphors, i.e., highly poetic and connotative metaphors which aimed at evading the linguistic taboos *death* and *die* with the purpose of providing some sort of consolation to those left alive and help them accept the reality of the loss of a loved one.

Given that poetic and connotative metaphors were commonplace in nineteenth century obituaries, it is hardly surprising that over a half of the funeral notices collected (to be precise, 120 out of 228) fall under the category of opinative obituaries. After all, the greater or lesser degree of subjectivity in death recordings is mainly due to external factors closely linked to the sociocultural norms of each historical period,¹⁰ and the Victorian over-sentimentalization provided a fertile soil for the development of sentimental obituaries. Accordingly, purely informative death notices, with the aim of reporting the necessary details concerning the death and the deceased by means of an impersonal language and a concise expression, like the one offered below, were not very representative of Victorian social and religious attitudes to mortality:

⁹ The pervasiveness of metaphor to refer to human mortality is not restricted to the Victorian period, but it is also a defining feature of the contemporary approach to death in Western societies. As Sexton (1997: 337) argues, “one would be hard pressed to find a type of reference to death in this culture which is both frequently used and without metaphoric content. Rarely is death called by its own name”.

¹⁰ In this sense, Belmonte (1998: 153) maintains that the subjective nature of death notices in Spain during the 1830s is a consequence of the literary romantic vein of the period, a tradition which had an obvious influence on the newspapers edited at that time.

- (1) At Pusey, on the 8th ult., of scarlet fever, Henry Algernon Herbert, second son of the Hon. Edward Herbert, in the eighth year of his age. (TCE, March 3)¹¹

Within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics, the metaphors observed in the obituaries collected can be analysed in terms of the cognitive mappings to which they may be assigned. This provides significant information concerning the way in which the taboo of death was actually used, perceived and, what is more important for the aim of this paper, mitigated. I have found six conceptual mappings for the consolatory metaphors excerpted from the obituaries: DEATH IS A JOURNEY (14 different metaphors), DEATH IS A JOYFUL LIFE (13), DEATH IS A REST (6), DEATH IS A REWARD (6), DEATH IS THE END (5) and DEATH IS A LOSS (2).¹²

It must be noted that the majority of metaphors view death as a positive event, as a sort of reward in Heaven after a virtuous life on earth. In fact, by virtue of their cognitive support, and under the influence of Christian faith, four out of the six conceptual metaphors pointed out conceptualize the domain of death in terms of a domain with positive connotations, namely as a joyful life, a journey, a rest and a reward. There are only two sets of correspondences in which death is portrayed negatively: a loss and the end. Accordingly, most of the conceptualizations in my corpus imply a positive value-judgement of death. In this respect, it is interesting to note how the positive or negative value-judgement in the death-related mappings depends, as Simon-Vandenberg (cited in Bultnick 1998: 84) has argued, on the nature of the source domain. Indeed, it seems evident that a joyful life, a journey, a rest and a reward are concepts with positive connotations. The graph below displays the

¹¹ It is worth noting that all the obituaries for children collected for the present research are informative. As for the treatment of the death in children in Victorian times, see Wheeler (1994: 46–50).

¹² In the same vein, Allan and Burridge (1991: 161–164) analysed the conceptual metaphors DEATH AS LOSS, DEATH AS WORRIES ABOUT THE SOUL, DEATH AS A JOURNEY and DEATH AS BEGINNING A NEW LIFE in relation to a total of 536 ‘Death’ and ‘In Memoriam’ notices in the *Melbourne Sun* in May 1988. Bultnick (1998: 22–61) offered a survey of the conceptualizations of death in contemporary English, namely DEATH AS MOVEMENT, DEATH AS DOWNWARD MOVEMENT, DEATH AS SLEEP, DEATH AS LOSS, DEATH AS SURRENDER, DEATH AS LIGHT GONE OUT and DEATH AS END-POINT. In addition, this author studied the conceptual basis of expressions related to the physiological effects of death, to the feelings concerning the dead and to religion, mythology and “folk-stories”.

percentage of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes in each cognitive domain:

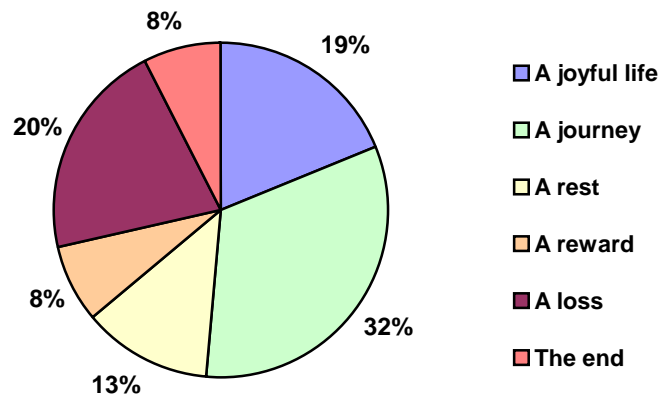


Figure 2. Conceptual domains for death in the obituaries

The conceptual metaphor DEATH IS A JOURNEY (26 substitutions) is the most relevant from a quantitative point of view, followed by DEATH IS A LOSS (17), DEATH IS A JOYFUL LIFE (15) and DEATH IS A REST (10), whereas the associations DEATH IS A REWARD (6) and DEATH IS THE END (6) are the least frequent. In what follows, I will attempt to clarify how the source domains shown in figure 2 (a journey, a loss, a joyful life, a rest, a reward and the end) are actually applied to target euphemistically the taboo concepts of death and dying. To this end, I will first deal with those conceptualizations that refer to the larger number of metaphorical substitutes in the corpus data.

5.1.1 Death is a journey

The conceptual metaphor which understands death in terms of a journey with a spiritual destination is the most relevant in quantitative terms. It is, in fact, the source of 26 consolatory metaphors in the funeral notices analysed, which makes up 32% of the total number of the metaphors found. By virtue of this conceptualization, based on the trivial assumption that the dead person is no longer around, as Bultnick (1998: 31) points out, human mortality is conceptualized as a departure from this world in which a basic domain of experience like death is understood in terms of a different and

more concrete domain, as a journey, an association which provides the basis for the verbal mitigation of the taboo.

This metaphorical mapping transfers different attributes from the source domain of a journey to the target domain of death. More specifically, it presents different sets of conceptual correspondences as a result of using the knowledge we have about journeys to talk about the taboo of death: first, the act of dying corresponds to the act of leaving; second, the destination of the journey is an encounter with God in Heaven; third, the dying person is the one that embarks on the journey. Though the nature of the source domain is radically different from that of the target domain, the immediate understanding of the euphemistic reference to death on the part of the reader is a consequence of the fact that these conceptual correspondences are already part of the receiver's cognitive system (cf. Lakoff 1993: 210). This is mostly so because the religious background of the nineteenth century reader shapes the knowledge of journeys in religious terms, similar to what happens with the domains of a joyful life and a reward. In what follows, I will attempt to clarify how the submappings just mentioned are used to target euphemistically the experiential domain of death.

In the metaphors which respond to this conceptual association, the act of dying corresponds to the act of leaving and, consequently, the deceased is obviously the person who embarks on the journey. The vast majority of the metaphorical substitutes observed (*depart/departure* –together with their variants *depart this life* and *departure out of this world*– *leave*, *pass from the sorrows of Earth*, etc.) focus on the act of leaving, on the journey itself, rather than on its conclusion. The final destination of the journey, that is, the encounter with God in Heaven, is based on the Christian belief of a joyful meeting with the Saviour, a notion which provides the euphemistic support of expressions such as *draw to God* and *go to one's eternal rest*. Curiously enough, the metaphor *pass away*, an old euphemism favoured by Victorian sentimentality which dates back to the fourteenth century (Rawson 1995: 309), has not been encountered on the obituary pages consulted. The two examples that follow illustrate the conceptual correspondences in the DEATH-IS-A-JOURNEY mapping discussed so far: the journey in (2) by means of *departed this life* and its heavenly destination in (3) with *gone to eternal rest*:

- (2) The Earl of Enniskillen *departed this life* at his residence Florence Court, county of Fermanagh, on Tuesday morning last. (TCJ, April 16)¹³
- (3) They will only find consolation in contemplating [...] that their darling has *gone to her eternal rest* ... (TCJ, February 27)

Some death-related expressions with the verb *leave* tend to emphasize the role of the survivors rather than the death itself. This is the case of the following obituary, in which the expression “has left two interesting children” clearly focus on the survivors of the one that has embarked on a journey:

- (4) Suddenly, Monday morning, at her residence, Fermoy, Mrs. Julia Desmond. She *has left two interesting*¹⁴ *children* to mourn the loss of a fond and tender parent. (TCE, March 17)

In the journey-metaphor the deceased corresponds to the person that has been capable of embarking on the journey. The dying person is thus supposed to have moved and, for this reason, considered to be somehow alive.¹⁵ That this is so can be gathered from the ways in which the deceased is verbalized (*departed*, *departing child*, *departed spirit* and *departed youth*) and in the use of verbs of motion (*depart*, *go*, *leave* and *pass*). By denying the total cessation of bodily movement as an intrinsic attribute of death, these metaphors do imply a negation of death as well. It is in this view of the deceased as an alive being that these metaphors fulfil their euphemistic function. This conceptualization has again its origin in a religious belief, that of an afterlife beyond death where the soul will live forever in God.

There are, however, some metaphors in which the dying person is not conceptualized as an alive being somehow capable of acting as such;

¹³ Hereafter, the terms and expressions that I want to highlight in the obituaries offered as examples will appear in italics.

¹⁴ In this obituary, the adjectival form *interesting* is employed to describe children as having the qualities of appealing to the emotions of the readers (*OED2*: s.v. “interesting”).

¹⁵ The importance of the concept of movement in this cognitive mapping is out of doubt. In fact, according to Bultnick (1998: 34–38), the conceptual metaphor DEATH AS A JOURNEY is a subdivision of the more general conceptualization DEATH AS MOVEMENT.

rather, in some obituaries the journey is seen as the result of an action performed by some external agent, someone who helps to bring about departure (Lakoff 1993: 232), like Providence (“It has pleased Providence to bestow upon him the rewards of his pious life”, TCJ, February 13) and God¹⁶ (“the man just called by the will of the Almighty before his throne of mercy”, TCE, January 1) in three cases each (see appendix). The journey may also be motivated by an unknown force, as in *be carried off in the prime of life* (TCJ, April 16) and *be cut away in the bloom of life* (TCJ, November 4). These two phrases are instances of a conceptualization in which death is viewed as an adversary, as a cruel enemy which can destroy us (Marín Arrese 1996: 43).

Therefore, from this standpoint, the two cases just mentioned can be said to convey a dysphemistic approach to death, rather than a euphemistic one, given the unfavourable connotations that these phrases transmit. This stands as a proof of how euphemism and its opposite dysphemism¹⁷ do not always form clear-cut categories; in fact, particular references to taboo topics display degrees of membership to one category or the other depending on contextual and pragmatic considerations which are beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say, as Allan and Burridge (1991: 28) point out, that “[l]ike euphemism, dysphemism is not necessarily a property of the word itself, but of the way it is used”.

5.1.2 Death is a loss

The domain of death is understood in terms of the domain of loss in 20% of the metaphors detected. This cognitive association has a metonymic basis (THE EFFECTS OF DEATH STAND FOR DEATH) which focuses on the negative results of death. Following Bultnick (1998: 44–45), the conceptual basis of this mapping lies in the fact that life is perceived as a valuable object and death is thus seen as the loss of this possession. Therefore, contrary to what

¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the word *God* is avoided in the vast majority of the obituaries consulted. This term is the source of euphemistic substitutions like *the Almighty*, *Creator*, *Redeemer* or *Saviour*.

¹⁷ Following Allan and Burridge (1991: 26), a dysphemism can be defined as follows: “[A]n expression with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or to the audience, or both, and it is substituted for a neutral or euphemistic term for just that reason”.

happens in the majority of the conceptual mappings observed in the obituaries, the metaphorical substitutes arising from this figurative association cannot be said to provide any sort of consolation or relief. In fact, as Allan and Burridge (1991: 162) maintain, the conceptual metaphor of death as loss evokes death as “malign fate”, as an event that human beings cannot control, leaving them powerless in the face of the unavoidable event. Euphemistic alternatives like *loss* (by far, the most employed euphemism in this domain with 13 occurrences, as shown in the appendix) and *bereavement* fall under this cognitive equation. In the following obituary the DEATH-AS-LOSS conceptual mapping is the source of the euphemistic substitution:

- (5) [...] his *loss* to society will be long and deeply felt, and the sympathy of his friends is now the only balm that we can pour on the bosom of his mourning family, with which a sense of religion can alone sustain them under the *bereavement*. (TCJ, June 18)

Granted that death is conceptualized as a loss, those who are left alive will *regret* and *lament* the loss. In fact, both *regret* and *lament* are terms commonly found on the obituary pages to stress the grief experienced by the relatives and closest friends of the deceased. Take the two death notices below:

- (6) At his lodgings, Cove, on Saturday the 3d inst., John Daniel Harnett, Esq., of Laurel Hill, Blarney, deeply *regretted* by his family and friends. (TCE, April 7)
- (7) The Right Hon. The Earl of Mountcashell, who was on friendly intercourse and intimacy with the *lamented* deceased. (TCJ, October 1)

In (6) and (7) the dying person is absent in the conceptualization, given the fact that the ed-participles *lamented* and *regretted* emphasize the role of the survivors rather than focusing on the person that dies. The shift of focus from the deceased to those left alive also takes place in certain uses of the verb *leave*, as seen in 5.1.1. Further, in these two obituaries, not only a direct reference to the subject of death is avoided, but also any euphemistic alternative. This seems to prove the mitigating effectiveness of silence.

5.1.3 Death is a joyful life

The Christian ideal of a joyful life, that is, a peaceful and everlasting existence with God in Heaven, is used to conceptualize death euphemistically in 19% of the metaphorical substitutes. This conceptual metaphor is based on one of the main principles in the Judaeo-Christian tradition: the belief in an afterlife in which the deceased will joyfully expect the resurrection in Heaven flanked by God and the celestial angels.

This cognitive mapping transfers the attributes from the domain of a joyful life to the domain of death. In this regard, the metaphors of hope and consolation found in the obituaries that arise from this conceptual association, such as *abode of peace*, *better world*, *joyful expectation of the resurrection of the just*, *happiness*, etc., present positive overtones to ameliorate the death taboo. Death is even verbalized in this mapping by means of the hyperbolic metaphor *holy and uninterrupted communion with God*, in reference to the ideal state for Christian faith. More specifically, this metaphorical phrase is a clear example of the metaphor DEATH IS ETERNAL LIFE proposed by Marín Arrese (1996: 44). In fact, under the belief in the resurrection of the dead on which the conceptual equation relies, this conceptual metaphor which understands death as an eternal life is but a projection of the DEATH-IS-A-JOYFUL LIFE metaphor considered here. The euphemistic sense of the source domain in all the metaphorical expressions proposed in this mapping is understood instantly, given the marked tendency of the Christian faith to reason about death, as is the case in the DEATH-IS-A-JOURNEY metaphor, commented in 5.1.1.

Due to the fact that the taboo domain of death is seen in terms of the domain of joy, life is viewed in negative terms. This conceptualization is reflected in metaphors like *lower scene*, *scene of wretchedness* and *anxiety and earthly care*, among others, which can be included in the conceptual mapping LIFE IS MISERY. A representative example is the obituary below in which religion inspired a positive view of death (*eternal rest*, *abode of peace*) and a negative view of earthly life (*scene of wretchedness*):

- (8) They will only find that consolation in contemplating the purity and virtues of the being that has left them – [...] in the pious and firmly grounded hope, that their darling has gone to the *eternal rest* – and that in the fullness of time, when it shall please God to call them from that *scene of wretchedness*, they will join her in that

abode of peace, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. (TCJ, November 27)

Of particular interest is the substitute for the verb *die* as *close existence on this side of the grave* in the obituary below in which both life and death are conceptualized as a grave:¹⁸

- (9) At Ballygar Lodge, on the 5th instant, the Rev. John KYNE, R.C.C, brother to Mr. KYNE, Merchant of this town. The pious, zealous, and exemplary Ecclesiastic *closed existence on this side of the grave*, by a malignant Fever,¹⁹ which he caught in the discharge of those consoling rites of religion, with which the Catholic Church assuages the *last agonies* of her departing children, and prepares them for the *Joys of a better world*. (TCJ, February 13)

In this respect, there is a change of focus from life to death, in which the latter is paradoxically viewed as an ideal state for the deceased with the aim of providing some sort of consolation to those left alive.²⁰ It is interesting to note that this conceptual association is especially common in the death notices of those who devoted their lives to religion. A good case in point is (9), in which the obituarist understands the transition from life to death as a passage from misery (*last agonies*) into happiness (*Joys of a better world*).

¹⁸ As an anonymous referee correctly observes, the grave could also be viewed as a bridge between life and death.

¹⁹ It is worthy of mention that an epidemic fever devastated Ireland during the years 1847 and 1848. Dr. Callanan of Cork reported in the *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science* (1849) that “the obituary of our workhouse here for the year 1847 gives the appalling return of 3,329 deaths”. As it could not be otherwise, given that TCE dates from 1847, one of the most disastrous years of the epidemic, this fever is testified by numerous references on the obituary pages of this newspaper. A good case in point is the following: “At Castlemain, county Kerry, of the prevailing epidemic [...]. This excellent and promising young clergyman was the fourth victim amongst his order in this county to the awful times in which we live” (TCE, April 14). Other obituaries are more explicit: “A few weeks since, we recorded the death of his worthy father; to-day we deplore the death of the son. Both fell victims to that scourge of that city—fever” (TCE, March 15).

²⁰ Paradoxes and contraries as affirmations of faith have their origin in the New Testament, more specifically in passages from John and II and I Corinthians 15 which view life in terms of death and incorruption in terms of corruption (Wheeler 1994: 5).

5.1.4 Death is a rest

Closely associated with the view of death as a desirable condition, I have found 10 metaphors (13% of the metaphorical euphemisms detected) which betray a conceptualization of death in terms of a peaceful rest after an earthly existence. Thus, all these metaphors show a positive judgement of death. The most frequent term in this mapping is *rest*, observed in phrases such as *eternal rest*, *rest in Him* and *rest in peace*, together with the more elaborate euphemisms *rest from the labours of a well spent life* and *rest on the merits of one's Saviour*, as shown in the appendix. Furthermore, *rest* appears in the well-known formula *rest in peace* (together with its Latin equivalent *requiescere in pace* and its acronym *R.I.P.*) and is likewise the source of euphemistic substitutions such as *resting place* 'grave'. Within this conceptual metaphor, I have also included *repose* and *sleep* in the expression *fall asleep in Christ*, in which a rest could easily resemble a gentle *falling asleep*.

The underlying notion of all the metaphors included in this mapping is based on the fact that a rest, a repose or a sleep are temporary, and therefore, death is also conceptualized as a temporary event. This analogy implies that the cessation of bodily functions and speech are not automatically identified with the symptoms of physical death, as they are also present in a peaceful sleep. The conceptualization which relates death to a rest or a sleep provides an effective euphemistic reference to the taboo mainly because this association ultimately leads to the denial of death as such: the dying person is no longer dead, but sunk in a comforting sleep.

In addition to this, within this conceptual metaphor, death is thought to provide some sort of relief for the dying person, a notion on which the euphemistic force of this mapping is also based. Consider the following obituary:

- (10) The Right Hon. William Gregory, for many years Under Secretary of State in Ireland, has *paid the debt of nature*. Full of years and of honours, his grey hairs have descended to the grave, and in the joyful expectation of the resurrection of the just, he *rests from the labours of a well spent life*. (TCJ, April 16)

In the death notice above, the relief is expressed in terms of a rest "from the labours of a well spent life". In this sense, the association between a death

and a rest is closely connected to the DEATH-IS-A-REWARD metaphor that I will analyse under the next heading.

5.1.5 Death is a reward

The domain of death is understood in terms of a reward for those virtuous human beings who have led exemplary lives in 8% of the metaphors found in the funeral notices consulted. Death is conceptualized as an event which, far from being fearful or harmful, involves a sort of liberation thanks to which the deceased and his or her survivors will find some hope and consolation. This conceptual mapping is built on a metonymy as it understands death via one of its effects, the same as the DEATH-IS-A-LOSS conceptual metaphor seen above. However, the DEATH-IS-A-REWARD cognitive association adopts a diametrically opposed perspective, since the metaphorical euphemism is based on the positive effects of death as a means for relief.

The knowledge of what constitutes a reward permits the obituarist to refer to death euphemistically. In this regard, I have observed two sets of conceptual correspondences in the obituaries consulted: the act of dying is a religious reward and the act of dying is a reward after a virtuous life on earth. In the first case, the Christian belief in a meeting with God in Heaven constitutes the source of the reward and is therefore used to mitigate the target domain of death. As a result of this analogy, death is verbalized as *a reward for someone in Heaven* or as *a blissful reward in the world of unending glory*. In the second submapping, the death is figuratively associated with a reward achieved by moral discipline after a life full of good deeds, as in the metaphor *enjoyment of the fruits of a well spent life*. This is also the case of the expression *enjoyment of that peace and bliss that await the virtuous and the good* in the following death notice that focuses on the virtuous earthly life of the deceased:

- (11) The unostentatious piety of her life, the charity and the domestic virtues which she invariably practiced give an assurance that she is now in the *enjoyment of that peace and bliss that await the virtuous and the good*. (TCJ, November 9)

5.1.6 Death is the end

By virtue of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema into which our everyday experience may be organized, life can be understood as a process with a starting, an end point and a time span. As Lakoff (1987: 275) puts it,

[c]omplex events in general are also understood in terms of a source-path-goal schema; complex events have initial states (source), a sequence of intermediate stages (path) and a final state (destination).

From this perspective, death is conceptualized as the final stage of our lifespan by means of the image mapping DEATH IS THE END, which provides the basis for understanding and mitigating death and dying in 8% of the euphemistic terms and phrases. The most obvious case in this conceptualization is *end*. In the example that follows, death is viewed as the end of the process of human life:

- (12) On Monday morning, the 15th inst., at eight o'clock, Mr. John O'Sullivan, grocer, of No. 2, Great George's-street, after a severe illness of six month's duration; leaving a widow and five young children to deplore his ultimately *end*. (TCE, March 17)

Furthermore, expressions containing the adjective *last* such as *last struggling moments of existence* and *last agonies* also belong to this cognitive network in the sense that they help to understand human death in terms of finality (cf. Bultnick 1998: 59). In this sense, metonymic expressions related to the physiological effects of death like *breathe one's last breath* and *put a period to one's earthly sufferings* can be considered to present the same metaphorical basis, in another proof of the interaction between metaphor and metonymy in the conceptualization of abstract concepts, as seen earlier.

The DEATH-IS-THE-END mapping has the implication that death is seen as the final debt one must pay just before leaving earthly existence as part of the concluding phase of a sort of economic transaction, as Ayto (cited in Marín Arrese 1996: 46) argues. This principle applies in the metaphorical expression *pay the debt of nature* in (10), where the euphemistic reference to death is the result of mapping the knowledge about that last moment (the need to settle one's accounts before leaving) onto knowledge about death.

6. Results and concluding remarks

The sentimentalization of death so characteristic of Victorian times provided a fertile soil for the flowering of metaphorical euphemistic language to conceptualize and verbalize the taboo of death. Indeed, there was a tendency to present elaborate and sentimental obituaries which commonly supposed exaggerated displays of grief and were supported by a considerable amount of poetic metaphors aiming at providing some sort of relief in the face of death.²¹ The great frequency of metaphORIZATION proves that this device fits the purpose of euphemism particularly well. In fact, I have found 80 metaphorical euphemisms out of a total of 119 euphemistic alternatives for the notions of death and dying. This proliferation of metaphorical euphemism seems to confirm the nineteenth-century attitude towards this taboo pointed out by Brown (cited in Rawson 1995: 309):

During the eighteenth century, according to my churchyard observation, people were allowed, quite simply, to die. [...] But about the year 1830 everything goes... Simplicity vanishes as well as the stately and sonorous rhythm. People no longer die, like Adam: they pass over, they go home, they are carried to rest, they fall asleep [...]. Anything but the plain fact of death.

Despite the large quantity of euphemisms, down-toning words and expressions cannot always mitigate the taboo, however hard they try. Indeed, the force of the death taboo can be observed in the 158 obituaries in which all allusion to the taboo is left out. This seems to demonstrate that, as commented earlier, on certain occasions silence stands out as the most effective euphemism. Thus, in some funeral notices, like (13), the only death references are the past tense of the verb employed (*bore*) and the ed-participle *regretted*:

- (13) At his residence, Upper Rathmines, after a painful and protracted illness, which he *bore* with Christian resignation, Mr. George Walker, for many years Conducting Printer to the Messrs. Grierson, her Majesty's Printers, aged 45 years, deeply and deservedly *regretted*. (TCE, December 31)

²¹ This sentimentality attached to death was also noticeable in the euphemistic poetic expressions collected by Pound (1936: 196–198) concerning the usage of American English in the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century.

Following the Conceptual Metaphor Theory initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), I have observed a rich variety of conceptual associations in the euphemistic figurative language of the taboo of death in the obituaries consulted. In fact, this paper attests that the model of Cognitive Linguistics provides solid tools for understanding and analysing how the taboo of death and its mitigation were dealt with in print in early Victorian Ireland. From this standpoint, the metaphors collected map different kinds of conceptual mappings and image-schemas. I have analysed six conceptual categories into which the consolatory metaphorical terms and expressions substituting the notions of death and dying can be included: DEATH IS A JOURNEY (32% of the consolatory metaphors observed), DEATH IS A LOSS (20%), DEATH IS A JOYFUL LIFE (19%), DEATH IS A REST (13%), DEATH IS A REWARD (8 %) and DEATH IS THE END (8%). In turn, these cognitive mappings entail further submappings or ontological correspondences between the source and target domains. Many of the metaphors included in these mappings rely on Christian beliefs. In this regard, most of the metaphorical language is based on the Christian hope that those who have died will enjoy a better life in Heaven. In the same vein, religion also inspired a positive view of death and a negative view of earthly life.

What emerges from the approach to death carried out in obituaries is that silence coexists with a euphemistic figurative language, mainly religious metaphors, to cope with the taboo of death. To a lesser extent, other semantic devices such as metonymies, generic terms and hyperboles, as well as lexical resources like learned terms, also play a significant role in the formation of euphemistic substitutes for the notions of death and dying (see table 1). In addition to this, though beyond the research interest of the present paper, it is interesting to note that the obituarist also resorts to direct references to the taboo –the words *death* and *died* appear 30 and 6 times respectively– and allusions to death which present dysphemistic overtones, as commented in 5.1.1.

In conclusion, the analysis of early Victorian obituaries excerpted from Irish newspapers in relation to the euphemistic substitution of the taboos of death and dying has revealed different features of the language of death which can be summarized in two main points. In the first place, the cult to sentimentalization surrounding death in the Victorian period is reflected in the proliferation of consolatory metaphors aiming at assisting those left alive in coping with the pain of loss. In the second place, death is

most commonly conceptualized as a liberation from a miserable earthly life under the influence of the religious belief in an eternal life beyond death.

Appendix

The following appendix lists the euphemistic substitutions for the taboos of death and dying excerpted from the newspapers used in the present research. Each headword is followed by the number of times that the substitute has been found in the 228 obituaries consulted, which provides information regarding the lexical frequency of each alternative, and the linguistic device which generates the euphemistic term or expression. Some substitutes are considered to be the result of more than one linguistic mechanism. In such cases, the first device to appear is that which more significantly contributes to the mitigating option. Square brackets mark a specific subject. The following abbreviations are used in the appendix:

ACR.....	Acronym	LEW.....	Learned word
BOR.....	Borrowing	MET.....	Metaphor
CIR.....	Circumlocution	MTN.....	Metonymy
GEN.....	Generic term	REV.....	Reversal
HYP.....	Hyperbole	TEC.....	Technical term

Death

- | | |
|---|--|
| - abode of peace (1) MET | - enjoyment of that peace and bliss that await the virtuous and the good (1) MET-CIR |
| - bereavement (4) MET | - eternal life in Heaven (1) MET-REV |
| - better world (1) MET | - eternity of happiness (1) MET-HYP |
| - blissful rewards in the world of unending glory (1) MET | - eternal rest (1) MET |
| - concern (1) GEN | - event (3) GEN |
| - decease (7) TEC | - fact (1) GEN |
| - demise (5) TEC | - full enjoyment of the fruits of a well spent life (1) MET |
| - departure (1) MET | - happiness (1) MET |
| - departure out of this world (1) MET | |
| - dissolution (1) MTN | |
| - end (2) MET | |

- in Heaven (1) MET
- holy and uninterrupted communion with God (1) MET-HYP
- joyful expectation of the resurrection of the just (1) MET
- kingdom (1) MET-HYP
- last agonies (1) MET
- last struggling moments of existence (1) MET
- loss (13) MET
- melancholy event (2) GEN
- reward for someone in Heaven (1) MET
- rewards of a pious life (1) MET
- separation (1) MTN
- visitation of Providence (1) MET
- void (2) MTN
- world of unending glory (1) MET-HYP
- wreath of glory (1) MET-HYP

Die

- be called by the will of the Almighty before his throne of mercy (1) MET-CIR
- be carried off in the prime of life (1) MET
- be cut away in the bloom of life (1) MET
- bestow upon someone the rewards of a pious life [Providence] (1) MET
- breathe one's last breath in peace (1) MTN
- call someone from this scene of wretchedness [God] (1) MET
- close existence on this side of the grave (1) MET
- depart (1) MET
- depart this life (4) MET
- descend to the grave [one's grey hairs] (1) MTN
- draw to God (1) MET
- enjoy the fruits of a well spent life (1) MET
- expire (3) LEW
- fall asleep in Christ (1) MET
- find eternal rest among the Joys of Heaven (1) MET
- go to the eternal rest (1) MET
- go to one's eternal rest (1) MET
- go where care or pain can reach one no more (1) MET-CIR
- join someone in that abode of peace (1) MET
- leave (4) MET
- meet the parent (1) MET
- pass from the sorrows of Earth (1) MET

- pay the debt of nature (1) MET
- put a period to one's earthly sufferings (1) MTN
- receive the unexpected summons of the tribunal of one's judge (1) MET
- release from all earthly pain and suffering [God] (1) MET
- remove from all anxiety and earthly care [Providence] (1) MET
- repose (1) MET
- requiescere in pace (1) BOR-MET
- R.I.P. (1) ACR-MET
- rest from the labours of a well spent life (1) MET
- rest in Him (1) MET
- rest in peace (1) MET
- rest on the merits of one's Saviour (1) MET

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