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Mourning for Companion Animals in Digital Space A Discursive Framework of Pathemisation

Скорбь по домашним животным
в цифровом пространстве
Дискурсивные рамки патемизации

Абстракт

С развитием цифровых дискурсов, связанных со смертью животных, таких как группы поддержки и порталы памяти, траур по нечеловеческим компаньонам становится все более заметным социолингвистическим явлением. Настоящая статья представляет собой исследование французскоязычного веб-сайта под названием Amonami. Анализ, основанный на французской лингвистической теории дискурса, сосредоточивается на вопросе патемизации и ориентирован на определение влияния дискурсивных факторов на выражение эмоциональных состояний, связанных со смертью животных, а также на характеристику языковых средств, используемых в этом контексте их опекунами. Он представляет сценографию портала как рамку для высказываний, публикуемых на веб-сайте и называемых данью уважения (фр. *hommage*). Исследование указывает на наличие в рассматриваемых высказываниях различных языковых средств патемической экспрессии,

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Abstract

With the development of digital discourses related to animal death, such as support groups and commemorative portals, mourning for nonhuman companions becomes a more and more commonly observed sociolinguistic phenomenon. The present article is a case study of the French-language commemorative website called Amonami. The analysis, rooted in French linguistic discourse theory, is focused on the issue of pathemisation. It aims to describe how discursive factors influence expressing emotional states after losing beloved animals and to characterise linguistic means used by animal owners in this context. The study presents the scenography of the portal as a framework for enunciations, called homages (French: *hommage*), published on the website. The analysis also indicates the presence of various linguistic means of pathemic expression in the studied enunciations, such as metaphors, axiologically marked vocabulary, affectonyms and agentive expressions.

в частности метафор, оценочной лексики, аффектонимов и агентивных выражений.

Ключевые слова: патемизация, коммеморативный дискурс, цифровой дискурс, смерть животных, дань уважения

Keywords: pathemisation, commemorative discourse, digital discourse, animal death, homage

1. Introduction

The death of a companion animal tends to be a source of painful emotions for their owner.¹ Saying goodbye to a beloved creature does not only affect one's mental state, but may also constitute a starting point for ostracism. As Nadia Veyrié observes, the general social rules assume that public expression of grief related to an animal's decease is an exaggeration, often judged as inappropriate.² Therefore, some animal owners seek safe spaces allowing them to describe their feelings without being exposed to offensive comments.³ As a result, it is possible to observe a development of support groups and online commemorative portals devoted to mourning for companion animals.⁴

Arising websites of this type seem to be an interesting and linguistically understudied area of animal owners' discursive activity. The research conducted so far emphasises the pathemic dimension of commemorative portals,⁵ where animal owners may express their grief explicitly, or through evoking memories or using specific imagery.⁶ However, pathemisation, understood as a discursive strategy aimed at increasing the emotional charge of utterances in order to align the listener's

¹ Lucja Lange, "Opłakiwane zwierzęta domowe. O radzeniu sobie ze śmiercią zwierzęcia w praktyce weterynaryjnej oraz doświadczeniu opiekunów zwierząt," *Zoophilologica. Polish Journal of Animal Studies* (2023): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.31261/ZOOPHILOLOGICA.2023.S.08>.

² Nadia Veyrié, "De la mort industrielle « donnée » à l'animal domestique à la perte des animaux de compagnie. Quelles sont les conséquences d'une société mortifère?," *Etudes sur la mort* 1, no. 145 (2014), <https://doi.org/10.3917/eslm.145.0047>.

³ Fenella Eason, "Forever in Our Hearts' Online: Virtual Deathscapes Maintain Companion Animal Presence," *OMEGA – Journal of Death and Dying* 1, no. 84 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1177/0030222819882225>.

⁴ Marie-Laure Florea and Adeline Wrona, "Présentation : Deuil en ligne. Les discours funéraires à l'ère du numérique," *Semen* 45 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.4000/semen.11587>.

⁵ Michał Bryja, "La construction identitaire de propriétaires d'animaux de compagnie dans le discours commémoratif numérique français," *Studia Romanica Posnaniensia* 1, no. 51 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.14746/strop.2024.51.1.2>.

⁶ Nadia Veyrié, "Cimetières virtuels pour les animaux de compagnie: les traces d'un deuil?," *Semen* 45 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.4000/semen.11623>.

(or the reader's) feelings with the speaker's (or the writer's) viewpoint⁷ has not been studied in this context as such.

The aim of this article is to describe the influence of discursive factors typical of French-language commemorative portals on pathemisation and to characterise the linguistic means used by animal owners to express their emotional state. The analysis is a case study of the commemorative website called *Amonami*,⁸ created by the French pro-animal organisation *30 millions d'amis* ('30 million friends'). With the object of considering both discursive and linguistic issues, the French linguistic discourse theory will be adopted in the analysis.

2. Theoretical Context of the Study

The French linguistic discourse theory or, in other words, the French school of discourse analysis,⁹ is a research perspective firmly rooted in language sciences, drawing primarily on enunciation linguistics, linguistic pragmatics and textual linguistics, in which the wider social context plays a major role.¹⁰ The foundations of this approach originate mainly in the works of French linguists Dominique Maingueneau and Patrick Charaudeau.

Discourse is understood in French linguistic discourse theory as a transphrastic, contextualised and interactive entity having an influence on the extralinguistic reality and being ruled by sociolinguistic norms.¹¹ Maingueneau describes discursive activities by means of a theatrical metaphor, according to which the act of communication becomes a scene ruled by external requirements: discourse type and genre.¹² These two constructs specify the basic properties of an enunciation, such as communication goals, number of participants, the type of relationship between

⁷ Patrick Charaudeau, "La pathémisation à la télévision comme stratégie d'authenticité," in *Les émotions dans les interactions*, eds. Christian Plantin, Marianne Doury, and Véronique Traverso (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2000), <https://www.patrick-charaudeau.com/La-pathemisation-a-la-television-comme-strategie-d-authenticite.html>, accessed 21 March 2025.

⁸ *Amonami* commemorative portal, <https://amonami.30millionsdamis.fr/>, accessed 21 March 2025.

⁹ Halina Grzmil-Tylutki, *Francuska lingwistyczna teoria dyskursu. Historia, tendencje perspektywy* (Kraków: Universitas, 2010), 23.

¹⁰ Dominique Maingueneau, *Discours et analyse du discours. Une introduction* (Malakoff: Armand Colin, 2021), 10.

¹¹ Maingueneau, *Discours et analyse du discours*, 13–17.

¹² Dominique Maingueneau, *Analyser les textes de communication* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2021), 40–45.

them and the linguistic means applied. Analysing discourse can be done only through the *scenography*, specific and authentic utterances having a physical trace of existence.

With the development of digital discourses, important changes in the structure of enunciation scenography have been observed. As a result of technological changes, it contains not only linguistic elements, but also a complex mechanics, where websites constitute a set of images and are part of a network of pages organised in a particular way. Each website is also characterised by several procedures that structure its operation. Digital scenography has therefore three additional dimensions: iconic–textual, architectural and procedural.¹³ Analysing the scenography of *Amonami* will be the first step to understanding how pathemisation is being framed in the French digital commemorative discourse.

3. Digital Scenography as Ground for Pathemisation

Amonami is a commemorative portal functioning as sub-page of the *30 millions d'amis* foundation's website. The organisation was created in 1982 and focuses on the protection of animals, both domestic and wild. It is well known in France thanks to the television programme called *30 millions d'amis*, a magazine of the same name and its publications in various social media.

In operation since 2006, *Amonami* allows users to pen homages (French: *homage*) to their deceased pets in one of four categories: dogs, cats, equines or new companion animals (French: *nouveaux animaux de compagnie*). The homages contain commemorative texts accompanied by one or more photographs, as well as by a table containing information about the animal: their special markings, favourite treats and toys, or even names of their best friends. The structure of the homages leads to the individualisation of companion animals by highlighting their unique characteristics.

The architecture of the portal also provides a comments section below each homage, where users who have created a free account can share their reactions. It is possible to choose between a ready-to-publish formula, called *un geste d'amour* ('a gesture of love'), containing both a textual element and an image, and an original comment written by the user themselves. The existence of such functionality

¹³ Dominique Maingueneau, "Genres de discours et web : existe-t-il des genres web?," in *Manuel d'analyse du Web en sciences humaines et sociales*, ed. Patrick Charaudeau (Paris: Armand Colin, 2013), 74–98.

influences the homage by integrating secondary enunciations with the initial one, which leads to its extension and collectivisation.¹⁴

The hypertextual construction of *Amonami* enables and encourages users to interact, and thus facilitates the creation of a discursive community. As a result, a commemorative portal becomes a virtual meeting place, where pet owners can share their experiences with other users, who, in most cases, had faced a similar difficult situation. Most comments are intended to comfort and show support to the speaker, often referring to the commenters' private experiences. Responses to commemorative texts can be interpreted as legitimization of the original speaker's emotional state.

The collective aspect of mourning experiences seems to be a profound change in the attitude to animal death. Whether it is a routine, conventional comment or a lengthy, tender response, the reactions and positioning of the commemorative portal's visitors guarantee almost unlimited acceptance of what is said by the enunciator and open the door to all kinds of expressive acts and anthropomorphic comparisons unimaginable in other social situations.

Pathemisation is framed not only by the portal's architecture, but also by means of the teaser video displayed on the home page, where the president of the *30 millions d'amis* foundation addresses website users as follows:

Alors, devant la mort d'un ami tant aimé, nous redevenons des enfants, nous pleurons à chaudes larmes, sans retenu. Cette attitude est souvent mal comprise par notre entourage alors on préfère garder pour soi cet immense chagrin, se faisant en aiguë encore plus la douleur. [...] Nous partageons tous le besoin de se souvenir de nos animaux. Ici, nous pouvons leur rendre hommage et, à notre tour, nous pouvons soulager la peine de tous ceux qui sont dans le chagrin. Cet espace est le vôtre mais il est aussi le leur car nos animaux sont éternels et à travers vos messages ils resteront pour toujours dans nos cœurs.¹⁵

Faced with the death of a beloved friend, we become children again, weeping uncontrollably. This attitude is often misunderstood by those around us, so we prefer to keep this enormous grief to ourselves, thereby sharpening the pain even more. [...] We all share the need to remember our pets. Here, we can pay homage to them and, in turn, ease the pain of all those who are grieving. This space is yours, but it is also theirs, since our pets are eternal, and through your messages they will remain forever in our hearts.¹⁶

¹⁴ Marie-Anne Paveau, *L'analyse du discours numérique. Dictionnaire des formes et des pratiques* (Paris: Hermann Editeurs, 2017), 146.

¹⁵ *Amonami* commemorative portal, <https://amonami.30millionsdamis.fr/>, accessed 21 March 2025.

¹⁶ All translations from French presented in the study are ours.

The scenography of the studied portal encourages companion animal owners to express their internal and private insights, to share experiences associated with their animals, and propagates supportive attitude towards other users. *Amonami*, in consequence, promotes realisation of the emotive function of language, related directly to the speaker's mourning.

The last component of the framework of pathemisation in the examined context is associated with pseudonymity. As using emotional language referring to animal death can be a threat to the enunciator's positive face,¹⁷ pet owners rarely indicate their legal names in their homages; they tend to resort to pseudonyms. As Marie-Anne Paveau observes, pseudonymity carries two contradictory connotations in digital discourses: a negative value linked to falsehood and questionable facticity, and a positive value related to the facilitation of free expression and to the existence of the digital self.¹⁸ It seems that the commemorative discourse foregrounds this second value, associated with the protective function of pseudonymity, enabling free and uncensored expression of reflections after one's animal's death.

The next phase of the analysis will be focused on linguistic resources typical of commemorative texts, serving as exponents of pathemisation.

4. Linguistic Markers of Pathemisation

The effect of pathemisation can be achieved by using diverse linguistic means, depending on the general discursive characteristics of the utterance and the speaker's personal choices. The qualitative analysis of *Amonami* allows us to observe four main groups of linguistic processes employed to increase the emotional charge of homages: presentation of personal perspective on events, use of metaphorical expressions, positive valorisation of the animal and enhancement of the animal's agentivity.

All examples presented in this section come from the research corpus derived manually from the studied portal by the author. It includes 2625 commemorative texts, written in French, concerning animals that died between 1 January 2019 and 31 December 2024. They are divided into five sub-corpora based on animal species: cats (1,284 texts), dogs (1,095 texts), non-traditional animals (141 texts), equines

¹⁷ The positive face is understood as a social façade, the self-image that we wish to present to the outside world. It is threatened by acts of enunciation that transgress social rules. See Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson, *Politeness. Some Universals in Language Usage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

¹⁸ Paveau, *L'analyse du discours numérique*, 278.

(15 texts), and unspecified (90 texts). Importantly, as a verbocentric approach has been applied to this part of the analysis, the corpus does not consider iconic elements (such as photos and gifs).

a. Personal Perspective on Events

The first linguistic feature of studied texts, crucial for the expression of pathemisation, is the presence of the enunciator in discourse. Pet owners leave traces of their personal perspective by using possessive, personal and reflexive pronouns and determiners:

- (1) J'aurai aimé continuer **ma** routine et **ma** vie avec lui mais, malheureusement, **je** ne peux pas.
*I would love to continue **my** routine and **my** life with him but, unfortunately, **I** can't.*
- (2) **Nous** avons vécu beaucoup d'aventures ensemble, elle **nous** a accompagnée dans nos expatriations à l'étranger et a visité de nombreux pays, et **nous** a soutenue dans les moments difficiles de **notre** vie.
*We've had many adventures together; she's accompanied **us** on **our** relocations abroad and visited many countries and supported **us** through the difficult times in **our** lives.*

As can be observed in the examples above, the enunciator can present their own positioning (Example 1) or refer to a bigger whole, such as family (Example 2). It is also possible to find forms of identification below the homages, and these are, in most cases, the owners' first names, initials or pseudonyms. Some of them may also specify their relational value (e.g. *Ton ami pour toujours* 'Your friend forever,' *Ta famille* 'Your Family').

What is more, companion animal owners tend to use affective evaluations, i.e. descriptions of reality based on their subjective feelings and reactions:

- (3) J'ai l'impression que le sort s'est acharné sur nous ces derniers mois, tu ne méritais pas ça.
I have the impression that fate has been unleashed on us these last few months, you didn't deserve this.
- (4) Je regrette tellement que tu sois partie sans que je puisse être à tes côtés comme tu l'as été pour moi pendant ces 5 ans.
I regret so much that you left without me being able to be at your side, like you were for me during those 5 years.

- (5) **Je suis si fière de toi**, la petite courageuse qui a su se débrouiller toutes ces années et qui malgré tout a tant donné.
I'm so proud of you, the brave little girl who has managed all these years and who, despite everything, has given so much.

Verbal expressions used in the examples, as well as others, such as *avoir peur* 'be scared' or *s'en vouloir* 'blame oneself', can be classified as appreciative modalities (French: *modalité appréciative*),¹⁹ employed with the aim of conveying despair and suffering caused by the pet's death, guilt, or gratitude oriented towards the deceased animal.

b. Metaphorical Expressions

As stated above, the effect of pathemisation can be achieved by showing explicitly one's perspective on events. However, enunciators may also increase the emotional charge of utterances by applying rhetorical figures, notably metaphors. A qualitative analysis proved that the most visible were the metaphorical expressions based on lexemes *cœur* 'heart' and *vide* 'void':

- (6) Mon **cœur saigne**, tu me manque terriblement.
My heart is bleeding, I miss you terribly.
- (7) Ta mort soudaine **crée un vide profond** en moi.
Your sudden death creates a deep void inside me.

The lexeme *cœur*, strongly associated with the emotional aspect of human existence, co-occurs in the corpus with the verb *saigner* 'bleed,' as well as with other verbal and adjectival forms, such as *pleurer* 'cry,' *brisé* 'broken,' *serré* 'tight,' *lourd* 'heavy,' and *arraché* 'ruptured.' The second lexeme, *vide*, is mostly associated with the following adjectives: *abyssal* 'profound,' *incommensurable* 'immeasurable,' and *sidéral* 'sidereal.' Moreover, this noun occurs as an object in such verbal phrases as *laisser un vide* 'leave a void' and *ressentir un vide* 'feel a void.'

In addition to these two groups of metaphors, the corpus contains figures of speech based on nouns denoting feelings associated with an animal's death, such as grief, sorrow, sadness, regret, loneliness and despair:

- (8) C'est un grand vide sans lui, **cette solitude qui m'envahit**.
It's a great void without him, this loneliness that invades me.

¹⁹ Patrick Charaudeau, *Grammaire du sens et de l'expression* (Paris: Hachette Livre, 1992), 604.

(9) Je suis **effondré de chagrin**.

I'm crushed with grief.

(10) Une **peine incommensurable** a envahi mon cœur.

An immeasurable sorrow has invaded my heart.

The enunciators characterise the way in which these emotional states begin and affect their minds, and they emphasise their unforeseen nature using semelfactive verbs (Examples 8 and 9). What is more, pet owners refer to the intensity of emotional states, with adjectives such as *infini* 'infinite' and *immeasurable* illustrating the inability to describe how strong their emotions are (Example 10).

c. Positive Valorisation of Animals

Presenting a personal perspective on events and transferring emotional charges through metaphors are not the only pathemic elements present in digital homages. Enunciators also tend to show their animals as unique creatures, and to highlight their positive impact on human life, using axiologically marked adjectives, such as *exceptionnel* 'exceptional,' *merveilleux* 'wonderful,' *extraordinaire* 'extraordinary,' *unique* and *parfait* 'perfect.' Emphasising an animal's uniqueness and qualities seems to be rooted in the epideictic dimension of commemorative discourse at large, which translates on the pragmatic level to exposing positive image of the described entity.²⁰

Additionally, valorisation of animals is linguistically constructed by a specific vocabulary category called *affectonymes*, understood as appellatives occurring in the form of words or phrases used in situations of intimacy.²¹ Affectonymes are highly frequent in the studied discourse and rely on different, heterogenic semantic fields.²² Most importantly in the context of pathemisation, in many cases they are associated with the type of relationship between a human and an animal that usually draws on the conceptual system typical of human-to-human interactions, both familial and social:

²⁰ Anne Régent-Susini, "L'éloge: quoi de neuf?," *Exercices de rhétorique* 11 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.4000/rhetorique.613>.

²¹ Jacek Perlin and Maria Milewska, "Afehtonimy w polskim, francuskim, hiszpańskim i niderlandzkim. Analiza morfologiczna i semantyczna," *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Język a Kultura* 14, no. 2229 (2000), 165.

²² Michał Bryja, "Czułość międzygatunkowa w obliczu śmierci, czyli jak o zmarłych zwierzętach towarzyszących mówią ich opiekunowie," *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 6, no. 73 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.18290/rh257306.2>.

- (11) **Mon fils, mon amour de ma vie.** Voilà bientôt 5 mois que tu as rejoint les étoiles.
 [...] **Ta maman** qui t'aime plus que tout.
My son, the love of my life. It's been almost 5 months since you joined the stars.
 [...] *Your mother who loves you more than anything.*
- (12) À toi, **mon ami**, toi qui n'as pas eu de chance au début de ta vie.
To you, my friend, you who were unlucky at the beginning of your life.

The use of affectonyms in the examined discourse accentuates the importance of the animals for their owners, presenting pets as friends and family members, the latter phenomenon having been extensively studied by social sciences.²³ Showing an animal's closeness to human communities can be interpreted as a way of elevating their social status and implicitly legitimising the state of mourning.

d. Animal Agentivity

The last phenomenon discussed in the present study – certainly not the last one employed in digital commemorative discourse – is related to animal agentivity. Originating from formal linguistics, agentivity can be understood in discourse analysis as a set of linguistic means employed by language users in reference to animals for the purpose of presenting them as cognitively and behaviourally independent.²⁴

Homages to companion animals foreground different aspects of animal agentivity, such as their influence on human well-being, volition, intentionality of actions, as well as emotional and communicative capacities:

- (13) J'ai adoré tous les moments où tu venais sur mon ventre pour faire la sieste avec moi ou quand **tu venais me chercher** dans mon bureau **pour que** je m'occupe de toi ! J'ai aimé aussi ton côté affirmé quand **tu ne voulais pas** quelque chose.
I loved all the times you'd come and take a nap with me on my tummy, or when you'd come and get me in my office to make me take care of you! I also loved your assertiveness when you didn't want something.

²³ See for example Antoine Doré, Jérôme Michalon, and Teresa Líbano Monteiro (eds.), "Place et incidence des animaux dans les familles," *Enfances, Familles, Générations* no. 32 (2019), <https://www.erudit.org/fr/revues/efg/2019-n32-efg04858/>, accessed 21 March 2025.

²⁴ Elsa Eskenazi and Marie-Anne Paveau, "Les affichettes d'animaux perdus. Discursivité, agentivité, anthroponymie," *Itinéraires 2* (2020), <https://doi.org/10.4000/itineraires.8637>.

- (14) Attachée par un fil de fer dans un cimetière où tu avais été abandonnée lâchement, trouvée par un membre de notre famille, **tu nous as adoptés** et fourni tant de bonheur et d'amour pendant 18 années.

*Tied up by a wire in a cemetery where you'd been cowardly abandoned, found by a member of our family, **you adopted us** and provided so much happiness and love for 18 years.*

- (15) Toujours pleine d'énergie, **elle bavardait beaucoup**, des miaous suivis de clins d'œil, des yeux remplis d'amour pour ses maîtres.

*Always full of energy, **she chatted a lot**, with meowing followed by winking, eyes full of love for her masters.*

Enunciators use various lexical and syntactic linguistic means to express animal agentivity. They employ final clauses to highlight purposefulness of their animals' actions (Example 13), change syntactic-semantic structure of transitive verbs to show their pets' volition (Example 14) and include in their homages verbs of speech to present the animals as capable of communicating (Example 15).

It is important to note that agentivity, in terms of linguistic discourse analysis, does not allow us to evaluate animals' abilities *sensu stricto*. The degree of agentivity is indicative of their representation in the studied discourse, showing people's attachment to and professed attitude towards their companion animals.

However, the role of the examined strategy should not be underestimated either. The research corpus demonstrates the existence of various linguistic innovations, partially inconsistent with linguistic representation of animals, characterised by, *inter alia*, grammatical restrictions,²⁵ stereotypical vocabulary²⁶ and their objectification in media discourse.²⁷

5. Conclusions

The conducted analysis demonstrates how iconic-textual, procedural and, most importantly, architectural dimensions of digital commemorative discourse frame

²⁵ Tomasz Nowak, "Kim (czym) jest zwierzę i kto (co) jest zwierzęciem? Garść uwag językowych," *Linguistica Copernicana* 9, no. 1 (2014), 183–202, <https://doi.org/10.12775/LinCop.2013.009>.

²⁶ Lian Chen, "Les stéréotypes dans la zoo-anthroponymie française et chinoise," *Itinéraires* 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.4000/itineraires.8563>.

²⁷ Marc Bonhomme, "Les animaux dans les slogans publicitaires : analyse rhétorique," *Pratiques*, no. 199–200 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.4000/pratiques.13329>.

the strategy of pathemisation. Thanks to interactive functionalities and a supportive teaser video, *Amonami* creates a safe space for presenting personal points of view full of emotional engagement.

Digital commemorative portals address an important social issue of mourning for companion animals. Even though the contemporary capitalist market provides more and more services linked to animal decease, such as memorial ceremonies,²⁸ they seem unavailable for a large group of people due to geographical and financial restrictions. In contrast, digital portals remove the dependence of the commemorative act on a specific place, thus making expressions of mourning more democratic at a cost of dematerialisation of animal death.²⁹

Pathemisation is constructed by various linguistic means, referring to the enunciator's mental state as such (appreciative modalities, metaphors) or linked to the figure of the deceased animal (axiologically marked vocabulary, affectonyms, agentive expressions). Homages to companion animals are an emanation of intimate experiences, sometimes kept away from other people in defence against social ostracism.

To better understand the phenomenon of pathemisation in digital commemorative discourse, further analyses are necessary. The qualitative study presented in this article indicates the heterogeneity of pathemic expressions in the context of animal death but does not allow us to draw clear conclusions concerning their frequency. It would therefore be worthwhile to make use of quantitative methods in the future.

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²⁸ Nadia Veyrié, "Cimetières pour les animaux de compagnie et micro-rites funéraires. Quelles frontières entre humains et animaux?" *L'Homme & la Société* 2, no. 210 (2019), 93, <https://doi.org/10.3917/lhs.210.0085>.

²⁹ Florea and Wrona, "Présentation," 20.

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