The Development of Death Notices in America:

A Case Study of The New York Times from 1852 to 2002

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The present study focuses on the text type of death notices and their structural development in the American newspaper The New York Times between 1852 and 2002. Death notice is a term that is used when referring to short notices announcing the death of a person, usually published in newspapers by private persons. The analysis is based on a template model which was originally created for analyzing English death notices by Udo Fries in 1990 and which was further developed by Sarah Borde in 2015. The more recent and extended version of the template created by Borde was used in this study. The extended template model consist of thirteen different structural elements that are considered to be the main components of a death notice. The aims of this study are to observe how the different structural elements have developed in The New York Times death notices during the period of investigation and also to draw comparisons between the development of death notices in English newspapers and in The New York Times. In addition, the general applicability of the template model is tested as well, as it was originally created for English newspapers and is now applied to an American newspaper.

The data of this study consist of samples collected from the American newspaper The New York Times. In total, there are 216 sample death notices that were collected in 20-year intervals between 1852 and 2002. There were nine sample years and 24 sample death notices were collected per year. The different elements in the death notices were analyzed to observe the frequencies of their occurrences and their linguistic realizations during different sample years. These results were then compared with Borde's results on English death notices. However, the emphasis of this study was on the development of the American death notices, as they have not been studied diachronically before.

The results of the analysis indicate that the different structural elements in The New York Times have developed in various ways over the period of investigation and that there are some similarities and some differences between the development of the different elements in English and in American death notices. Some of the differences could be explained with different cultural customs but other differences appeared to be more arbitrary. In general, the template model could be applied well to the death notices in The New York Times. However, as this was only a pilot study that focused on only one American newspaper, future research should be conducted on other American newspapers as well to see if there are regional and/or newspaper-specific differences in the development of the different structural elements.

KEY WORDS: death notice, newspaper, template text, text type, The New York Times

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1 Introduction

Death is a topic that has long been a taboo in many societies. Even in the academic world, death has often been avoided as a topic, as its interdisciplinary nature makes it hard to define within the boundaries of one specific field of research. However, the interest towards death has risen considerably both in the academic world and in everyday life, and its status as a taboo subject has been lifted. To be able to study death from the linguistic point of view, one must turn to texts that explicitly focus on death itself. In this case, newspapers are an excellent source for death-related texts, as there are many texts written by both the newspaper staff and the readers that center around death as a phenomenon.

The focus of this study is on the death-related text type of death notice and its structural elements. Death notice is a term that is used when referring to short notices announcing the death of a person, usually published in newspapers by private persons. However, although death notices are placed by and paid for by the readers of the paper, the contents of the notices are still to some extent curated by the newspapers' editorial staff. This creates an interesting juxtaposition between content created and submitted by the readers and the editorial choices made by the publication. Since death is a topic that has followed us since the dawn of time, death notices and other personal announcements have also been a central section in many newspapers throughout the years. However, death notices should not be confused with obituaries, although unfortunately sometimes the distinctions between these two terms are wavering, and they might be used interchangeably. In short, death notices are shorter and placed in the paper by its readers while obituaries are longer and usually written by the newspaper staff.

The materials analyzed in this study consist of death notices published in the American newspaper The New York Times (hereafter also 'the NYT'). While the NYT is not the oldest or longest-running newspaper in the United States, it has had a respectable run over the years and it has also managed to establish its position as a respected media outlet both in the U.S. and worldwide. Although some previous studies on the form and language of death notices have been conducted before, most notably by Udo Fries (1990a) and Sarah Borde (2015) (see the discussion below in subchapter 3.4), newspapers from the United States have received less scholarly attention on this front. Therefore, an American newspaper, in this case The New York Times, was chosen as the object for this study, as its extensive digital archive yields plenty of material for a diachronic study focusing on American death notices.

The period of investigation in this study is from 1852 to 2002. As my study covers 150 years of material, not all of the death notices available were studied but selected samples were chosen instead to examine the development of different structural elements found in death notices. Death notices can be categorized as so-called template texts, meaning that their form and structure are mostly premeditated by the conventions of their respective text type. The term text type, on the other hand, refers to a unified group of texts that share the same communicative purpose, i.e. they aim to achieve the same target through their use of language, although they do not always appear identical in form or content. However, the communicative purpose of the text is the main unifying component between different texts belonging to a specific text type.

For my actual analysis, I used a template model especially created for categorizing and analyzing different elements of the language in death notices. The template was initially created by Udo Fries in 1990 (Fries 1990a), and it was then developed further but Sarah Borde in 2015 (Borde 2015). Since Borde's version is the newest and most updated version of the template, I have chosen to use only that version to conduct my analysis. As the template was initially created by analyzing newspapers from England (and the corpus in Borde's study also consists of only English newspapers), it is possible to draw comparisons to English newspapers while examining the general development of the different language elements in the death notices of The New York Times. Since the American newspaper culture has its roots in England, I believe this template model can be used to analyze the structure of death notices in American newspapers as well. However, as the scope of this study is limited and the US as country is so vast, no real generalizations of how the language of death notices has developed in the whole of United States can be made. That is why I opted to conduct a case study of only one newspaper, as a pilot study to see how the death notices in this particular newspaper have developed. If the results are promising and my initial assumption that the template model can be applied to American newspapers as well proves to be correct, future research could expand the use of the template model to other American newspapers as well.

The research questions to be discussed in the thesis are:

1) How have the structural elements of death notices developed in the American newspaper The New York Times over a 150-year period?

2) How well can a template model created based on English newspapers to be applied to American newspapers, and do the developments in American death notices follow same patterns as the developments in English death notices?

Death notices have not received the same amount of scholarly attention that obituaries have which is unfortunate, as despite of their more pre-set structure, death notices also include plenty of material to analyze. Analyzing death notices also enables the researcher to get closer to the readers of the newspaper, as the notices are submitted to the paper by its readers instead of being written by the newspaper staff like obituaries. Newspaper texts in general are often rather one-way as they are produced by the writer to be consumed by the reader. The death notices, on the other hand, invite a different kind of interaction, as they are produced by readers to be read by other readers. The death of a person is also a very personal matter and death notices make it possible to examine the expression of grief and loss through linguistic features. The personal nature of the death notices is also what makes them interesting to me, and I personally think that the focus of linguistic studies on death-related texts should now focus more on death notices, as they have previously been very much overlooked.

I begin this thesis by discussing some general background features of the history and development of newspaper publishing in the United States, with specific focus on The New York Times in chapter 2. In chapter 3, I will first discuss genre studies and how they are related to establishing different text types. After that, I define what death notices are, and then move on to briefly discuss previous studies on death-related newspapers discourse. The original template created by Udo Fries and the expanded template created by Sarah Borde will both be introduced as well, with emphasis on Borde's version. Chapter 4 includes a more comprehensive introduction of my research setup, my materials and data, as well as the research methods used in this study. Chapters 5 and 6 contain my analysis and discussion, as I analyze the different elements found in death notices element by element and compare my findings to Borde's results. Lastly, I will conclude my findings and this thesis in chapter 7.

2 Newspapers in the United States

In this chapter I will briefly introduce the historical background related to newspaper publishing in the United States, as well as go over the history of The New York Times as a newspaper[1].

2.1 Newspaper publishing in the United States

The history of newspaper publishing in the United States begins in Boston at the end of the 17th century (Mott 1962, 8-9). The first printing press in the American colonies was set up already in 1638 (Mott 1962, 6), but as free speech and free printing were considered dangerous, the press was heavily regulated and mostly only religious material was printed (ibid.). However, the first actual newspaper was published by Benjamin Harris in September 1690 but was prohibited by the authorities after only one issue (Mott 1962, 9). After the first attempt failed quite spectacularly, it took 14 years before newspaper publishing was attempted again in the U.S. (Mott 1962, 11). In April 1704, the Boston *News-Letter* was founded by John Campbell, and it is dubbed as the first continuous American newspaper (ibid.). The Boston *News-Letter* managed to stay in circulation for over 70 years, paving the way for other newspapers in the U.S. (Mott 1962, 14). Both Harris and Campbell were originally from Great Britain and it should be noted that their papers as well as all the other early American newspapers heavily imitated newspapers from England, especially newspapers from London (Mott 1962, 11).

Although the *News-Letter* did not exactly prosper (an item like newspaper was very much considered to a luxury at the time) (Mott 1962, 12), it did garner some competition within Boston and other papers began publishing during the early 1700s as well (Mott 1962, 14-15). After Boston, other big colonial cities started to publish their own newspapers: Philadelphia started publishing *American Weekly Mercury* in 1719 (Motta 1962, 24) and New York's first newspaper, the *Gazette*, was founded in 1725 (Mott 1962, 30). Like Boston, both cities also saw competition in the field and other newspapers eventually began to emerge as well. Newspaper publishing also eventually spread to the southern colonies, but this development was somewhat slower, most likely due to the preference towards "larger farming units, which hindered the growth of

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[1] This chapter relies heavily on Frank Luther Mott and his research on the history of American journalism. However, Mott was a pioneer in journalism education in the U.S. and his book *American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960* has been regarded as one of the most comprehensive books written on the topic. Therefore, relying on Mott feels justified, as many other books on this topic use him as their main reference as well.

populous towns" in the South (Mott 1962, 40). By 1765, almost all of the colonies published at least one weekly newspaper (Motta 1962, 43).

During the latter half of the 1700s, providing news from abroad was seen as the main purpose of newspapers for several years (Mott 1962, 71). However, as the colonies began to rebel against England towards the end of the century, the importance of publishing news related to domestic American politics grew (ibid.). While the Revolutionary War and the Declaration of Independence were obviously important news topics during the rest of the 18th century, other events and news were also covered in the papers as usual (Mott 1962, 101). However, "deaths and marriages were not noted, as a rule, unless the persons concerned were prominent" (ibid.), meaning that death notices as a generally featured text type had not yet made their way into the newspapers during the 18th century. After the Revolutionary War, new papers began publishing and many of the old papers that were important during the War slowly went out of business before the 19th century (Mott 1962, 113). The emergence and wide spread of newspapers in the post-revolutionary America was due to the freedom the press enjoyed after the war, unlike in many other country (Mott 1962, 142). However, the political partisanship became increasingly obvious in the newspapers after the Revolutionary War, but other topics, both domestic and foreign, were still covered as well (Mott, 1962, 114). This period also saw the emerges of the first daily newspaper in 1783, after which dailies in general started to gain more circulation (Mott 1962, 115-116).

The 1830s saw the rise of the so-called penny press, which made newspapers available to lower-class audiences (Mott 1962, 215). However, the penny press was not immune to the political partisanship either and other, more prestigious newspapers continued to flourish even if the penny press was revolutionary in its own way (Mott 1962, 215-216). The name penny press refers to a (usually daily) paper that was cheaply made, smaller in size and sold for a penny. The previous dailies had usually sold for six cent, thus alienating a large part of the American population (Mott 1962, 241). While the penny papers did reach new audiences through their cheapness, their main purpose was always to make money. In general, the newspaper industry continued to expand as in 1830, there were more than 700 newspapers published in the United States (Schudson 1970, 13). By 1860, the number of newspapers had risen to 3000 (Mott 1962, 216). While the penny papers were very successful, the partisan political press still continued to dominate the majority of the American journalism before the Civil War began in the 1860s (Mott 1962, 253). After the Civil War and towards the end of the century, newspapers sought to

become more independent from the political partisanships that had dominated much of the American press during the previous century (Mott 1962, 388, 406).

After the Civil War, the number of newspapers continued to grow even higher (Mott 1962, 441). Especially the new papers that emerged after the war were "generally independent of political control" (Mott 1962, 412), a goal which the older papers were also hoping to achieve. The latter half of the 19th century also saw the emergence of evening papers, as the competition had pushed the daily papers to be published earlier and earlier (Mott 1962, 446). Therefore there was now more room and demand for papers that could be bought and read during the evening as well (ibid.). Daily papers also began to publish Sunday editions of their papers (Mott 1962, 480). Sunday had been previously reserved for independent Sunday papers but these Sundays-only papers disappeared quite quickly when daily papers began to publish Sunday editions as well (Mott 1962, 480-481).

The turn of the century saw the emergence of the so-called yellow journalism (Mott 1962, 519). Yellow journalism or the yellow press can be distinguished from the more prestigious journalism by its usage of large, bold headlines (which eventually made their way to other newspapers as well), excessive use of pictures, pseudo-scientific and other superficial articles, and colored comics (Mott 1962, 539). However, yellow journalism was not just about sensationalism (although it did play a big role) and some of the techniques used by the yellow press, like the bold headlines, have remained as a part of modern journalism as well (ibid.). In general, the newspapers started to become more varied as they now included pictures, features, and editorials alongside with the actual news (Mott 1962, 577). The news themselves became more varied as well, as topics like sports and foreign correspondence gained more and more coverage (Motta 1962, 578-579).

According to Mott, the era of the modern American newspaper began in 1914 (1962, 609). However, this era was marked by the turmoil of both World Wars and the war correspondence and censorship they brought along to the newspapers. The beginning of the century also saw a huge increase in consolidations between papers (Mott 1962, 636). While some of the larger papers merged together as well, the merger movement mostly occurred between smaller papers (ibid.). While consolidations were nothing new in the newspaper business, the merger movement became truly prominent during the early 20th century, as larger papers had made big investments during the end of the previous century and now sought to eliminate further competition (Mott 1962, 635). Chain or group

ownership also became more prominent during the early 1900s (Mott 1962, 648). In the beginning of the 20th century, the modern tabloid newspaper also emerged (Mott 1962, 666). The term *tabloid* was first used when referring to newspapers with smaller pages, although the small pages themselves were nothing new, as e.g. the penny dailies in the 1830s had had smaller pages in order to cut costs (ibid.). However, in addition to the smaller pages, the tabloids emphasized the overall condensation of the information within the paper, thus differing from the previous small-sized papers (Motta 1962, 666-667, 673).

The Great Depression of the 1930s could have possibly been devastating to the newspaper industry in the U.S. but despite some occasional dips in the circulation during the decade, newspapers managed to retain their position in the society and escape the decade mostly unharmed (Mott 1962, 675). Obviously, some smaller or weaker papers did go out of business but it was not until the end of the decade that newspapers were truly in trouble (ibid.). The rising popularity of the radio in the 1930s as well as its news broadcasts proposed a serious threat to the newspapers. However, although the radio grew more and more popular, the readership numbers for newspapers continued to stay steady throughout the decade as well (Mott 1962, 680).

After the Depression, the American newspaper industry was again facing another World War. This time, the war correspondence was done in co-operation with radio and magazine reporters, as representative of all three medium worked together to cover the war as accurately as possible (Mott 1962, 741). In addition to the War, the newspaper industry faced other difficulties as well, such as problems with labor and wages, during the 1940s (Mott 1962, 780). Both weekly and daily newspapers saw a slight decrease in circulation during the 1940s, as opposed to the increase in circulation that had characterized the earlier decades (Mott 1962, 771). The circulation did, however, start to slowly increase again after the War was over (ibid.), and in general, the 1940s was a profitable decade for newspapers (Mott 1962, 780).

From the 1950s onwards, the American newspaper industry has battled with the problem of *the mass audience*, i.e. how to produce content that appeals to a vast audience that consists of people of different backgrounds (Mott 1962, 803). Along with the radio, newspapers were now threatened by the television which began to make its way to American homes by the end of the 1940s (Mott 1962, 804). Despite all this, the circulation numbers continued to increase steadily throughout the fifties (Mott 1962, 805). The 1950s also saw yet another wave of war correspondence, as the Korean War began in 1950 as a continuation of the Cold War situation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The consumption of news started showing signs of halting during the 1960s. While the circulation numbers of different newspapers were still slightly growing all the way until 1970s, the growth was far from the rapidity of the beginning of the century (Barthel 2019). The circulation of daily newspapers peaked in 1984 in the U.S., after which it started to decline (ibid.). Initially, the decline was somewhat modest but it took a steep turn after 2000 and has not shown much signs of recovery (ibid.). The decline of the newspaper coincides with the rise of the internet in the early 2000s, and many newspapers reacted too slowly to this shift in medium. What furthered the decline of the newspaper was the loss of advertisement revenue, as the newspaper industry has lost over $20 billion in ad revenue after the early 2000s (ibid.). Subscription revenue has stayed relatively stable but low over the years and the revenue coming from digital advertising has started to increase during the 2010s but was still only 35% of the total ad revenue in 2018 (ibid.), meaning that the industry is still struggling with digitalization. Nowadays many news websites offer everyday news to be read free of charge by anyone but longer articles and exclusives are hidden behind a paywall in hopes of attracting more paying customers. However, as digital newspapers have become more popular, the daily readership of printed newspapers has steadily declined throughout the 21st century (Kamarck & Gabriele 2015, 4). In addition, social media has become an increasingly important source of news during the 2010s, as news clips and links to news websites are often shared through different social media platforms (Shearer 2018). In 2018, the use of social media for news surpassed the use of printed newspapers, making newspapers the least popular source of news in the U.S. (ibid). The future does not look too bright either, as the circulation of printed newspapers was as its lowest level in 2018 since 1940, and many newspaper companies struggle with layoffs and even bankruptcy due to the huge losses in circulation and advertisement revenue (Grieco 2020).

2.2 The history of The New York Times

Before The New York Times as we know it today came into existence, there were several other attempts to start a paper under the name *The Times* in New York (Berger 1970, 3). The very first of them came out already in 1813, but it did not succeed and only ran few issues (ibid.). After that, six more papers were published under some variation of the name The Times, but none of them found success (Berger 1970, 3-4).

On September 18, 1851, the first issue of the *New-York Daily Times* was published (The New York Times Company 2008[2]). The paper was founded by Henry Jarvis Raymond and George Jones, with the help of Edward B. Wesley (Berger 1970, 13). While it was common for American newspaper to copy each other during these early year of the press, *Daily Times* modeled itself after the London *Times* rather than after other American papers (Mott 1962, 281). The *Daily Times* also started out as a penny paper (Schudson 1978, 20), but it was unusually well edited for a such publication (Mott 1962, 279). The circulation of the new *Daily Times* grew very rapidly, which was unprecedented for a new paper (ibid.). However, the expenses were high as well, which forced the paper to increase its price to two cents during its second year of publishing (ibid.). This caused a huge drop in subscriptions and circulation but it was only temporary, as *Daily Times* also doubled the number of pages when the price was doubled and the paper was able to regain its popularity during the following decades (Mott 1962, 279-280). The *Daily Times* "may be regarded as the culmination and highest achievement of the cheap-for-cash newspaper movement" (Mott 1962, 280), as despite its beginning as a cheap penny daily, The New York Times has managed to evolve and reinvent itself to become the paper that it is known as today. Mott suggests that this is most likely because the *Daily Times* sought to have a higher moral tone than the other competing penny paper in New York and because it focused primarily on news and foreign affairs instead of sensational stories unlike other penny papers at the time (ibid.).

Eventually, the word *Daily* was dropped from the title in 1857 (Mott 1962, 279). The NYT continued to be published steadily, although it never became the most popular newspaper in New York. In response to the need for news during the Civil War, the NYT started to publish Sunday issues in 1861 (The New York Times Company 2008). However, during the latter half of the 19th century, it ran into troubles as the paper failed to modernize itself like other New York based papers as the NYT did not, for example, print any pictures (Mott 1962, 429). The paper was saved by Adolph S. Ochs, who took over its management in 1896 and managed to make it profitable again (Mott 1962, 549). Ochs sought to modernize the NYT in a way that it would respond to the growth of the yellow press at the time, but the changes were made slowly so that the established readership would not be scared away (Mott 1962, 550). He also managed to establish certain characteristics which the NYT later became famous for, such as its exchange of

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[2] An older version of the NYT Company's website from 2008 (archived at archive.org) was used to retrieve information about the paper's history, as it has a better timeline of the important events than the current website.

news with its London namesake as well as its trustworthy coverage of financial, governmental, and political news (Mott 1962, 550-551). The NYT managed to avoid both overt flashiness and total monotony but it was in general considered to be a quite conservative paper (ibid.).

During the First World War, The New York Times gained a considerable amount of prestige and managed to avoid the merger movement of the early 1900s, after which it became one of the most profitable newspapers in world in the following years (Mott 1962, 653-654). After the War, the NYT continued to grow steadily and was not badly affected by the Depression in the 1930s. The first crossword puzzles were introduced in 1942, an international edition of the paper began publishing in 1948 (running for 19 years until 1967), and the first monthly weather chart was published in 1949 (The New York Times Company 2008). Despite these cheerful new additions to the paper during the 1940s, the NYT would also later be criticized for its failures to accurately report the atrocities committed by the Nazis during the Second World War (see e.g. Leff 2005 for this discussion).

In 1971, the NYT reached it next scandal, as it began publishing the Pentagon Papers which were "a series of excerpts from the government's classified history of the Vietnam War" (The New York Times Company 2008). The Nixon administration sought to block the publication of these documents but was unsuccessful (ibid.). Later in the 1970s, the paper introduced several new lifestyle sections as it attempted to attract more diverse readership (ibid), as it had previously been seen as a more conservative and perhaps old-fashioned paper. In 1996, the NYT launched the first version of its own website, nytimes.com (ibid). The NYT printed its first full color picture on its front page as late as in 1997 (ibid.), while most of the other American newspapers had already adopted color photography earlier. During the 21st century, The New York Times has continued to expand even further by launching completely new sections and by bringing back some old favorites (The New York Times Company 2008). In addition to the printed paper, it has also focused on developing its digital resources, such as the nytimes.com website, mobile apps, and the electronic TimesMachine archive.

3 Theoretical Framework

In this chapter I will discuss some theoretical tools that I will be using in my analysis. I will start a discussion on what a text type is and how this term is related to my thesis (subchapter 3.1). As text types may sometimes be called genres as well, I will briefly introduce the basic principles of genre analysis, as it will make it easier to understand my analysis of death notices as a study of a historical text type. I will then continue by defining what death notices are and how they differ from obituaries (subchapter 3.2). I will then move on to discuss some previous studies on death notices in 3.3, and lastly, the two template models created for categorizing different parts of death notices will be introduced in subchapter 3.4.

3.1 Text type and genre studies

Above, I have used the word *text type* when discussing death notices as unified group of texts. However, the terminology related to categorizing texts into specified groups is unfortunately not very straightforward, as the terms *genre* and *text type* are often used to describe what is essentially the same phenomena. Therefore, these terms need to be discussed in more detail before it is possible to fully establish what the term *text type* means. As *genre* is the most common term used when discussing this phenomenon, I will start with a definition of the term provided by John M. Swales (1990), which was developed further by Vijay K. Bhatia (1993, 2004). However, as Swales and Bhatia focus more on present-day genres (especially genres in academic and professional settings), Manfred Görlach's more historical perspective will be discussed as well. Görlach uses the term *text type* in his analysis, and due to his emphasized focus on historical texts, I have opted to use the term *text type* instead of *genre* in my own analysis as well.

John M. Swales has worked with genres and genre analysis already since the 1980s. However, even he notes that "genre remains a fuzzy concept" (1990, 33), as different areas of research such as folklore studies, literary studies, and linguistic studies, apply the term somewhat differently in their research. In his definition of a genre, Swales places most emphasis on the communicative purposes of different texts (1990, 45). According to him, "[a] genre comprises of a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes" (1990, 58). In this case, the term *communicative event* can refer to both spoken and written discourse. A group of otherwise unrelated communicative events can be formed into a genre if the events share a common communicative purpose (or purposes) (1990, 46) and the members of a genre may also

"exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience" (1990, 58). In other words, texts belonging to the same genre share not only the overall communicative purpose but often appear similar in form as well. However, the members of the same genre are not necessarily totally identical in form or purpose, as it is not obligatory to follow all the expected conventions of a specific genre. Swales notes that "[i]f all high probability expectations are realized, the exemplar will be viewed as prototypical by the parent discourse community" (ibid.) which leaves room for realizations that do not feature all the expectations that a prototypical realization would to exist as well.

Vijay K. Bhatia's definition of genre follows similar patterns as Swales'. The main questions through which Bhatia approaches genre analysis are "why is a particular text-genre written the way it is?" (1993, xiii) and "why does a particular use of language take the shape it does?" (2004, 22). Bhatia, too, has emphasized the importance of shared communicative purposes of different texts in the same genre (see e.g. Bhatia 1993 for this discussion). He also notes that "[g]enres are highly structured and conventionalized constructs, with constraints on allowable contributions" (2004, 23), meaning that although the texts belonging to the same genre may not be identical in form or content, there are still specific rules these texts have to follow in order to be able to belong to a particular genre. If the main communicative purpose(s) of the text change, this usually results in a different genre, or if the changes are small, a genre can be further divided into sub-genres (Bhatia 1993, 13). Bhatia also brings up some important issues related to genre analysis, such as the fact that "[a]lthough genres are identified on the basis of conventionalized features, they continually develop and change" (2004, 25) and how in reality genres often overlap, occurring in mixed or embedded forms instead of the idealized pure forms that are usually discussed in theoretical settings (ibid.).

As mentioned earlier, Manfred Görlach prefers to use the term *text type* instead of *genre* in his analysis of different texts. However, it should be noted that this is not the only available definition of the term *text type*, as this term has been used in previous research as well (see Werlich (1976) for the previous discussion on the typology of *text type*). However, Görlach has studies the emergence of different text types especially from the historical point of view (see Görlach 2004). Discussing the historical point of view in text type studies is important, as text types are often defined based on present-day texts and their structures, and these definitions are then applied directly to historical texts (Görlach 2004, 22), although the structures of present-day and historical texts do not

always match in the intended way. Luckily, this is not a problem in my study, as the historical point of view has been taken into account in the template model that I am using in my analysis. The template model will be discussed in more detail in subchapter 3.4 below.

Görlach's idea of *text types* follows similar patterns as the definition of *genre* presented by Swales and Bhatia. However, he defines text types even further as having "a specific linguistic pattern in which formal/structural characteristics have been conventionalized in a specific culture for certain well-defined and standardized uses of language" (2004, 105). The purpose and the objective of a text should be clear both to the reader and the writer, so that they are able to recognize "the correct use of linguistic features obligatory or expected in a specific text type" (ibid.). In other words, the text should be written using adequate formulae with regard to different constituents of the text, such as topic, medium, and register (ibid.) and in a way that the text type can easily be identified by the reader without additional explanations. In general, Görlach emphasizes the roles of the writer and the reader more, as the writer needs to be familiar with the specific text type in order to be able to produce texts belonging to it, and the reader has certain pre-set expectations related to particular text types and what they consist of as well (2004, 100, 105). In addition to the communicative purposes of a text type, the individual communicative competence of the writer is also important, as the text type cannot be realized through incorrect use of the linguistic features related a specific text type (Görlach 2004, 105).

Görlach also adds that "a definition of a text type must specify what variation is part of the definition or at least compatible with its correct use" (2004, 106), which again returns to the definition proposed already by Swales and Bhatia, that there are rules that govern text types and how they are formed but the texts belonging to the same text type do not necessarily have to be identical in content or form. In addition, Görlach notes that "certain text types exhibit greater formal homogeneity, and historically a more consistent development towards structural rigidity than others do" (2004, 108). For example, law texts are texts with this kind of highly rigid structure, whereas other text types, such as jokes, can have a less governed structure.

In addition, "[w]ords denoting text types undergo semantic developments, as other words and concepts do, as a consequence of cultural change" (Görlach 2004, 11), thus returning to the problem of defining text types in a way that the characterized text type can be applied to a wide variety of texts from different periods in time. In this study,

I will examine the text type of death notices, which do indeed share a communicative purpose as well as structural elements within the notices themselves. The communicative purpose of the death notices (informing the readers of the newspaper about the death of a person) has stayed mostly the same over the years (Borde 2015, 104), but the structural elements have changed and developed over time as the text type has evolved. The object of this study is to examine the development of the structural elements in the notices throughout the years.

3.1.1 Move analysis

An important aspect related to genre analysis (and this study) is the notion of *move analysis*. Both Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993) use the term *move* when examining the smaller units within a text. On the surface, texts are categorized into different genres based on the main communicative purpose of the text, but the purpose itself is created by these smaller units called moves, which all serve their own purposes in the texts. However, moves are "always subservient to the overall communicative purpose of the genre" (Bhatia 1993, 30). The moves often occur in a fixed order that is dependent on the genre, and texts that belong to a specific genre usually include most of the moves characteristic for that genre. In addition, moves can be further divided into *steps* (Swales 1990, 141) which are the smaller units used for creating the meaning within a specific move.

While the term *move* is not explicitly used by either Fries or Borde, the template model they both use can be seen as a manifestation of move analysis. In the template, the smaller units are called *elements* instead of *moves* and the elements are not usually divided further in the same manner as moves can be divided into steps (however, this depends on the element, as e.g. FUNERAL can be divided further (date, place, time) but AGE cannot). Other than that, the analysis using the template model follows the same conventions as move analysis, as different parts of the death notices are assigned meanings based on what element they correspond with and what is their function in the text as a whole. The overall communicative purpose of the notices is dependent on the information conveyed by the different elements. These elements and the template model will be introduced in subchapter 3.4 below and the actual analysis with these elements will be in chapter 5.

3.2 Defining death notices

For the purpose of this study, a distinction between death notices (or sometimes also called death announcements) and obituaries should be made. Both of them are text types that appear in newspapers and are related to death, but there are some significant

differences which separate both of them distinctively as text types. To be able to discuss death notices in detail, a clear distinction between all these texts should be made, as it will help the reader to conceptualize what death notices are and how they behave as a text type.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* currently lacks its own entry for 'death notice', although a brief explanation for this term is listed under 'death' as one of the many derivative compound nouns: "**death notice** *n*. an announcement or notification of a person's death, esp. as printed in a newspaper." (OED Online (2014), s.v. "death," n.). This brief description defines death notices quite well, as they are indeed short notices announcing the death of a person and the preferred medium for their publication is newspapers. Since they announce the death of a person, the term *death announcement* may also be used of death notices. However, I chose to use the term *death notice* in this study as most of the previous research related to this text type uses the term *death notice* as well. Death notices are usually inserted to the newspaper and paid for by private persons, such as the relatives or friends of the deceased (Adams 2001, 139). In general, the structure and wording of the notices are quite standardized, as the structure of the notices is usually pre-set by existing models created for death notices, and the person placing the notice is usually asked to select a model they wish to follow (ibid.). Therefore death notices can also be categorized as *template texts*. Nils Enkvist (1987) defines template texts as texts that follow a pre-existing pattern and are tied to the pattern's conventions, i.e. "texts whose macrostructure is set in advance and where the text producer, so to say, enters new data into pre-existing gaps" (Enkvist 1987, 211). In death notices, these pre-existing gaps usually include information such as the name of the deceased, the date of death, and information about the possible funeral arrangements (Adams 2001, 139). Other information may be included as well, but the structure is still highly standardized, as death is a sensitive topic and the death notices are not meant to be inappropriate or offensive to the readers (ibid.). Death notices as template texts and their structure will be discussed in more detail in subchapter 3.4. below.

The other common death-related text type, obituary, can be described as a death notice that also includes a brief biography of the deceased, making it considerably lengthier than average death notices (Roland 2001, 334). Obituaries are also usually written in prose and in full paragraphs (as opposed to the shorter elliptical style of death notices) and they may be written either by someone who knew the deceased or by the newspapers staff (ibid.). Obituaries are customarily written when a famous and/or public

person dies, and in addition to the information related to the death itself, they outline the life and the achievements of the deceased (ibid.). Sometimes a picture of the deceased may be included as well. While obituaries are not as structured as death notices and do not follow similar pre-existing models, their structure is still also very standardized, as they, too, need to include all the necessary information about the deceased and their death (ibid.). The OED offers the following definition for 'obituary': "A record or announcement of a death, esp. in a newspaper or similar publication; [--] of an eminent or well-known person who has recently died, typically including a brief biography." (OED Online (2004), s.v. "obituary," n.), which again emphasizes both the biographical aspect of obituaries as well as the fact that these lengthier texts are usually reserved for more distinguished members of the society.

However, it is not uncommon that both the terms *death notices* and *obituaries* are used interchangeably when discussing death-related text types in newspapers. This is partially because death notices are sometimes referred to as *paid obituaries* (Roland 2001, 334), as they operate somewhat similarly as obituaries but they are paid for by the family or friends of the deceased (as opposed to obituaries that are usually written by the newspaper staff and are not paid for by the family in a similar manner). The amount of information included in the death notices has increased over the years, thus somewhat blurring the line between death notices and obituaries, but death notices have traditionally been relatively more personal than obituaries, despite their limited length (ibid.). Due to this, Grzegorz Cebrat (2016b) also suggests that since obituaries are usually written by the newspaper staff, they should be treated as more news like items and that the term 'obituary' should be explicitly reserved for these professionally written texts (Cebrat 2016b, 103). Death notices, which in practice are paid advertisements, should be called as they are so that the difference between these two text types stays distinct (ibid.).

What is also worth noting is the fact that the section in the newspaper where deaths are announced can be named in a confusing manner. This is also mentioned in the OED entry for 'obituary': "Also (formerly): †the section of a newspaper in which deaths are announced (*obsolete*)" (OED Online (2004), s.v. "obituary," n.). While the OED entry does note that this use is now obsolete, the word 'obituary' can still be used in a manner that confuses the average reader. For example in the present-day The New York Times, the whole section that includes obituaries and death notices is labeled *Obituaries* at the top of the page and there is a separate, smaller heading *Deaths* for the death notices listed on the same page. However, the average reader may not be able to distinguish this

difference as the overall heading for the page is *Obituaries*, which then easily leads to the usage of 'obituary' as a general term for both text types. Therefore it is important to define death notices as their own text type and make clear distinction between them and obituaries, as there are considerable differences both in form and content between these text types.

3.3 Previous studies on death-related newspaper discourse

Among death-related newspaper texts, obituaries have received much more academic attention than death notices (see e.g. Hume (2000) for discussion on obituaries in the U.S.). It is difficult to name any single reason for this, but it can be surmised that this is, for example, due to the fact that obituaries are often longer and more descriptive, thus offering a larger amount of material for analysis. In addition, obituaries are usually written by professionals, meaning that word choices and writing style are possibly more thought out and might not be restricted by the form of the death notice or the cost of placing the notice on the paper, meaning that they again yield more material for analysis. However, as death notices are usually placed in the newspaper by private persons, focusing on them offers a way to get closer to the readers through the notices. Newspaper texts, such as pieces of news or longer articles, are usually quite one-way type of texts that are written by the staff and read by the readers. However, death notices are a deviation from this pattern, as they are written by readers to be read by other readers. Although the form of the death notices is somewhat pre-fixed, there are always ways to make it more personal which again offers an interesting linguistic point of view to see how death and dying are processed through the language choices in the death notices.

Some previous research has been carried out on the linguistic features of death notices, but the focus has mostly been on European death notices and newspapers. Udo Fries has conducted several studies onto the genre of death notices (see Fries 1990a, Fries 1990b, and Fries 2006), focusing on English and German newspapers. In his first study, Fries (1990a) created a template model through which the generic features of the English death notices could be categorized. In this case, generic features refer to the different constituents that the death notices are comprised of, such as the name of the deceased and the time of death, that give meaning and define death notices as a text type. In this diachronic study that covers 200 years of material, Fries focused solely on the English newspaper *The Times*, starting from 1785. Based on his findings, Fries created the initial version of the template model that is used in my study as well. In his next study, Fries studied several English-language newspapers from Great Britain, Canada, and the US,

and compared them with German-language newspapers from Germany, Switzerland, and Austria (1990b). Although some interesting regional differences between newspapers from different countries and areas are observed in this study, it is otherwise rather difficult to follow, as Fries, for example, fails to mention the time period from which he has chosen his samples. In addition, I personally felt that the analysis was rather superficial as there were so many papers that none of them could be analyzed in much detail. Different newspapers from Great Britain, the U.S., and Canada are grouped together as 'English(-language) newspapers', which erases much of the regional differences between these countries. This is also one of the reasons why I wanted to focus on an American newspaper and its death notices, as there is currently no diachronic study focusing solely on them. In his third study from 2006, Fries examined the beginnings of death notices as a text type at the end of the 17th century and during the 18th century by studying material from the Zürich English Newspaper (ZEN) Corpus. The ZEN Corpus is a collection of early English newspaper texts from the late 17th and 18th centuries (more specifically between 1661 and 1791) that covers the most common text-classes that can be found in newspapers (such as e.g. news pieces, announcements, and advertisements).

The template created by Fries in 1990 was developed further by Sarah Borde in 2015 (see Borde 2015). The original template consists of nine categories that Fries considers the key elements in English death notices. Borde extended the template by adding four new elements into it, bringing the total number of categories to thirteen which allows a more thorough categorization of the elements in death notices. For the purposes of her study, Borde created a small corpus which included material between the years 1801 and 2012 from five different English newspapers: *The Times* as well as *The Morning Chronicle, The Daily News, The Guardian,* and *The Observer*. This corpus allowed Borde to not only draw a more comprehensive outline of the development of death notice in England, but also enabled her to make comparisons between the use of each element in the notices in different newspapers. Both the original template and the expanded template created by Borde will be discussed in more detail in subchapter 3.4 below.

While death notices in American newspapers have received somewhat less attention from researchers in the previous years, they have not been completely forgotten. Bernice Halbur and Mary Vandagriff conducted a study in 1987 comparing the sex differences in newspaper death notices in Birmingham, Alabama between the years 1900 and 1985. However, the focus of their article is more socio-cultural than strictly linguistic. Grzegorz Cebrat has also written articles on American death notices and his doctoral

thesis in English philology focuses on the death notices of The New York Times (see Cebrat 2016a). However, Cebrat's focus was synchronic, as he studied a period of only three months from 2012. Cebrat used the move and step analysis created by John M. Swales and Vijay K. Bhatia which has its roots in genre analysis and was discussed in subchapters 3.1 and 3.1.1 above. While Cebrat and I both use material from the same newspaper, Cebrat's analysis is very detailed (he analyzed over 1000 notices in his 350-page thesis) and therefore I am not able to mirror his study in this thesis. However, one aspect of his study proved to be useful for my analysis as well, and it will be introduced in more detail in subchapter 3.3.1 below.

As a conclusion, I chose to follow Borde's study in my thesis, as her study has a diachronic focus and the amount of data is closer to mine. In addition, the template created by Fries and further developed by Borde has the same base idea as the move analysis, but it is specifically created for analyzing death notices, making it more suitable for the analysis that will be conducted in this thesis. Since Borde's version of the template is the more recent one, I opted to use it instead of Fries' version. In addition, although some previous studies on American death notices do exist, there are no studies with a diachronic approach to the development of the language in the death notices in American newspapers. This study then seeks to provisionally fill that gap by diachronically examining death notices and their language in one specific newspaper, and hopefully future studies will expand on that and analyze the death notices in other American newspapers as well.

3.3.1 Different types of death notices categorized by Cebrat

While I will mainly follow Borde's study and analysis in this study, one aspect of Cebrat's will be partially used in my analysis as well. Cebrat categorized the different death notices he analyzed into four different categories based on their communicative purposes: *informative, farewell, condolence,* and *anniversary death notices* (see Cebrat 2016a). As discussed above in 3.1, texts that share the same communicative purpose belong to the same text type, but if there are small but noticeable difference between the texts, the main text type category can be further divided into sub-types. This is the case with Cebrat's material as well, as on the surface, all his text sample are death notices, but when analyzing the structure further, differences in form and content arise. While this categorization is not fully utilized in my study, it needs to be briefly discussed here as I encountered different types of death notices in my material as well, and they cannot be fully analyzed without taking these sub-type differences into account.

Out of the four sub-types outlined by Cebrat, *informative death notices* are the most common type of death notices (2016a, 254). The main communicative purpose of informative death notices is already suggested by the name of the sub-type: their main purpose is to inform about the death of the deceased. The informative death notices can either be short and lean more towards a telegraphic style or longer and more obituary-like, but their main purpose is to be as informative as possible (Cebrat 2016a, 244-246). The person who wrote an informative death notice cannot usually be determined from the notice itself, as they are usually not signed (Cebrat 2016a, 254).

Condolence death notices are the second most common type of death notice in Cebrat's corpus (2016a, 298). Condolence death notices can be either institutional, i.e. placed by a representative of an institution (such as different organizations, societies, companies, associations, etc.) who wish to condolence the family of the deceased who was somehow connected to them, or private, i.e. the notice is placed by private persons who are otherwise connected to the deceased, e.g. friends, acquaintances, or colleagues (Cebrat 2016a, 298-299). As again suggested by their name, condolence death notices are used for offering condolences to the reader of the notice (ibid.). The condolences can be offered in two different ways: "to the person(s) who is/are closest to the author (e.g. friend whose family member died), or the person who was closest to the deceased (e.g. his/her spouse, partner, parent or child)" (Cebrat 2016a, 299). Nevertheless, the main purpose is to offer condolences through the notice, and while that is the primary aim of these types of notices, there may sometimes be condolence death notices that exist in a hybrid role and perform informative or farewell functions along with their main purpose of condoling (ibid.).

The main communicative purpose of the third sub-type, *farewell death notices,* is to say the last goodbye to the deceased. Farewell death notices are usually posted when the person placing the notice in the paper wants to remember the deceased and acknowledge their passing without providing further details about the deceased itself in the process (Cebrat 2016a, 296). Farewell death notices can also be either institutional or private like condolence death notices, but they can be posted by the family members of the deceased as well. (Cebrat 2016a, 257-258). However, the main communicative purpose of these two sub-types is different, as the main purpose of farewell notices is remembering and not necessarily condoling, although aforementioned hybrid forms of both types do exist. Farewell death notices can also be addressed to different recipients:

it can be either directed to the deceased themselves, to the readers of the newspaper in general or, in some cases, to both (Cebrat 2016a, 258).

The last sub-type, *anniversary death notice*, is the least common sub-type (Cebrat 2016a, 344). The main purpose of anniversary death notice is to commemorate an important date related to the deceased, meaning that it can be e.g. the anniversary of the death itself or the birthday of the deceased (ibid.). The most common function is to commemorate the anniversary of the death of the deceased (ibid.) While death notices belonging to the other three sub-types are usually published quite quickly after the death, anniversary death notices can be published years and even decades after the actual death (Cebrat 2016a, 359). Much like farewell notices, anniversary death notices can also address either the deceased directly or the readers of the newspaper (ibid.).

This subchapter has been a very brief introduction to Cebrat's typology of death notices and for a more detailed discussion on these different sub-types of death notices, please see Cebrat 2016a. While most of the death notices in my data are informative death notices, there are some occurrences that fall into the other sub-types. Therefore this brief overview was included so that my analysis could be more accurate and easier to understand.

3.4 The template model created by Fries and further developed by Borde

As mentioned already above, death notices can be categorized as *template texts*. Nils Enkvist (1987) has categorized different text strategies, or "guiding principles of text production" (1987, 203), and mentions the term template text as one possible text strategy. According to Enkvist, a text strategy is "a goal-determined weighting of decision-affecting factors" (1987, 205), meaning that the writer of the text must have a goal they want their text to achieve and they must decide what means they plan to use to achieve this goal. Therefore, the text strategy dominates the arrangement of the text and how it is produced (Enkvist 1987, 206). Enkvist continues by defining template texts as texts that follow a pre-existing pattern and are tied to the pattern's conventions: "texts whose macrostructure is set in advance and where the text producer, so to say, enters new data into pre-existing gaps, as when filling a hotel-registration card or an income-tax return" (Enkvist 1987, 211). However, not all template texts are as rigidly pre-set as tax return forms as there can be even a considerable amount of strategic freedom within the structure of the text and in practice, most template texts fall between the extreme rigidness and the unlimited freedom (ibid.)

To be able to study death notices more thoroughly, Udo Fries (1990a) created a template model in which he categorized and labelled the abovementioned pre-existing gaps that appear in death notices. To create the model, Fries examined death notices published in the English newspaper *The Times* between 1785 and 1985. He collected data mostly in 25-year intervals, although the first interval was only 15 year and the last one 35 years. Fries does not explicitly mention how many sample notices his data consists of in total, but based on his analysis of the death notices, he created the template model which is depicted in Table 1 below. In total, the final version of his template includes nine sections for different structural elements:

DATE	PLACE	AGE	CIRCUMSTANCES	NAME	RELATION	ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	OTHER INFORMATION

Table 1 Template model created by Fries (1990a)

The first two elements, DATE and PLACE, refer to the time and place of death, and the third element, AGE, to the age of the deceased. CIRCUMSTANCES refers to the circumstances surrounding the death, such as final illness before passing. NAME is the name of the deceased. RELATION refers to the relatives of the deceased and in addition to their names, this element may include other information, such as the relatives' occupations or places of origin as well. RELATION is closely linked with NAME, as for example in the earlier death notices from the 18th and 19th century, women are often mentioned in relation to their husbands or male relatives instead of being mentioned on their own (Fries 1990a, 64). This results in death notices that refer to the deceased as e.g. *Mrs. Acton, wife of John Acton Esq. of Childerley,* which emphasizes the woman's relationship to her husband instead of, for example, mentioning her first name (ibid.). ORIGIN refers to the place of origin of the deceased and OCCUPATION to their job or profession. The last element, OTHER INFORMATION, includes all the other information given in the death notices that cannot be placed under the other categories.

According to Fries, NAME is the only element that is clearly obligatory within death notices, as otherwise they would not make much sense (1990a, 60-61). He does note, however, that although the other elements are more or less optional, some elements are always given more importance even if all of them are essentially labelled as optional (1990a, 61). However, Fries does not mention in more detail which elements exactly are the ones that receive this heightened importance. On the other hand, the first version of Fries' model, which he discusses in his 1990a study before presenting the final version (depicted in Table 1 above) and which only lists DATE, PLACE, NAME, RELATION and OCCUPATION, implies that for example AGE could be seen as a less important element

(1990a, 60). He also does not examine ORIGIN or OCCUPATION at all in his study but does not explain why these elements are not examined further (1990a, 61). In addition, he does not specify why the elements are placed in this particular order in the template, but my assumption is that it could be, for example, the order in which the elements most often appear in the death notices.

In 2015, Sarah Borde conducted a study that aimed to complement Fries' original study on *The Times*. As death notices had not received much scholarly attention after Fries' initial study, there was definitely room for a more comprehensive take on the topic. Although both studies cover 200 years of material, Borde's corpus includes material from five different English newspapers and between the years 1801 and 2012. Most of her samples are from *The Times* (167 notices) and *The Guardian* (149), and the remaining sample notices are *The Morning Chronicle*, *The Daily News*, and *The Observer*. In general, there are 33-39 sample notices per sample year (except in 2012 where there is only 17 sample notices) and in total, her corpus consist of 400 death notices. The data is otherwise collected in 20-year intervals, but the last interval between 2001 and 2012 is only eleven years. However, Borde does not see this as a problem, and instead, the last two sample years are often treated as a collective sample for the 21st century in her analysis. Since her data extends to the 21st century, Borde concludes that the template model created by Fries should be updated as well as expanded to better facilitate a detailed analysis on the structure of death notices also in modern newspapers. After all, the template is meant to be usable for all death notices analyzed in a diachronic setting, not just the earliest ones or the more contemporary ones.

Borde introduces four new elements into the template: GRIEF, FUNERAL, REQUESTS and VERB DENOTING DEATH (VDD) and the total number of elements in the updated template is thirteen. Borde's extended template is depicted in full in table 2:

NAME	VDD	DATE	PLACE	CIRCUMSTANCES	OCCUPATION	RELATION	ORIGIN
AGE	GRIEF	FUNERAL	REQUESTS	OTHER INFORMATION			

Table 2 The extended template model created by Borde (2015)

Since the template has been expanded, it is now depicted in two rows following the original presentation by Borde. As opposed to Fries, Borde explains that she arranged the elements in her template in the order they would appear if all the elements were present in the same notice, although her data does not include such an occurrence (2015, 114). She also notes that while OTHER INFORMATION is placed as the last element, it in fact does not have a pre-set position in the notices and can appear anywhere, depending on

the realization of the element in different notices (ibid.). The elements that were featured already in the original template model operate the same way in Borde's template as they did in Fries'. Out of the new elements, GRIEF refers to state of bereavement experienced by the family and/or friends of the deceased, and FUNERAL offers information related to the possible future funeral arrangements for the deceased. REQUESTS "describes any kind of appeals to the readers with the aim of trying to control their actions (e.g. No flowers please, but any donations to be made to Kidney Research)" (Borde 2015, 114). Lastly, VERB DENOTING DEATH (VDD), such as *died* or *passed away*, is an element that, according to Borde, appears only at the end of the 20th century (2015, 114). Therefore it can be understood to be an element that is characteristic to more modern death notices (ibid). In my opinion, adding all these new categories to the template seems justified, as updating it based on newer data and newer findings makes it a useful tool also for future research on death notices. The additional elements also make the analysis of the notices much easier and more accurate, as now there are distinct categories for several reoccurring elements that were previously ignored or included in e.g. OTHER INFORMATION. While OTHER INFORMATION is a useful category, it should not be used for elements that can be easily categorized on their own. The development of the death notices over time should also be taken into account in the template, and therefore it is justifiable to also add elements that only appear during certain periods of time during the period of investigation, as those elements can be extremely important in the notices during the time they occur.

4 Research Methodology

In this chapter I will introduce my primary materials in more detail and go through the methods I used while eliciting data from the materials and while analyzing the data itself. Some aspects related to the visual components of the NYT death notices are discussed as well. In addition, I will discuss the objectives of this study and my research questions in more detail.

4.1 Primary materials

The data analyzed in this study consist of material drawn from the electronic archives of The New York Times. The textual archive is available free of charge and covers most of the articles published in The New York Times from the year 1851 until today. The full TimesMachine archive, containing high quality, full-page image scans of each individual issue since 1851 up until the end of 2002, is unfortunately behind a paywall. Nevertheless, the full TimesMachine archive was chosen for this study, as I wanted to see what the death notices look like and where they are placed in the papers. The reason NYT in general was chosen for this study was the large electronic archive available online and because the archive contains material from a wide enough period so that a diachronic study is fully possible. The NYT has also established its position as one of the most recognized and respected newspapers both in the United States and worldwide, making it worth studying also in academic context. The problem with many early American newspapers is that they are often quite short-lived, meaning that a detailed diachronic study on the development of a that specific newspaper and the different elements within may not be possible. As mentioned earlier, NYT began publishing in 1851, and all of its issues have been preserved ever since, giving me 150 years of material to analyze.

Since there is an abundance of material, not every single NYT issue and its death notices can be studied in detail. This is why a corpus containing selected samples was created, following the way samples were selected in the previous related studies. In the studies conducted by Fries (1990a) and Borde (2015), Fries collected samples in 25-year intervals, and Borde in 20-year intervals. In this study, I opted to use the 20-year intervals like Borde, with one exception. My first sample year will be 1852, although The New York Times began publishing already in 1851. However, as I wanted to include data as sets of full years and the first issue was published as late as in September 1851, I chose to exclude the few months of material from 1851 from this study. After 1852, I will move on chronologically to 1872, 1892, 1912, 1932, 1952, 1972, 1992, and finally to 2002. The

last interval is the exception, as the scanned archive does not go beyond 2002. However, 2002 was included in this study although there is only a 10-year interval between the last two sets of samples, as it seemed redundant to end with 1992 when there was still plenty of material available. Using the 20-year intervals like Borde seemed logical for my study, as I am using her template and pacing my results the same way she did makes it easier to compare my results to hers, although our sample years are not directly matched. The last 10-year interval is unfortunate, but since I want to use the full archive instead of just the textual one, it did not leave me with much choice. Personally, I felt that the smaller interval fits better at the end of the material, as now the intervals are paced more evenly for the sample years during the 19th and 20th centuries, where there is more material to analyze and the even intervals make the comparisons between sample years more accurate. In addition, Borde also has a similar uneven interval towards the end of her data instead of the beginning of it, which again makes comparing our results easier. Pacing the intervals in the way I did also enables me to pass over both of the World Wars quite neatly in my analysis. While death notices related to both wars would definitely be interesting, I personally felt that a more general approach achieved by examining everyday death notices would be better suited for a pilot study such as this.

For the nine different sample years, I chose to collect 24 singular death notices per year, two notices per each month, meaning my total number of samples will be 216 death notices for the whole 150-year period. While sometimes there were multiple notices published for the same person within the same paper, only the first one was included in the data. The newspaper issues where the notices were chosen from were selected quite arbitrarily, but in a manner that there is at least three days between different selected issues across the whole sample year. If the notices in the selected issue were for some reason unreadable, another issue from the same month was chosen. While the scans themselves are very high in quality, the original papers that were scanned were in some cases damaged or the print itself was lopsided, misaligned, or too faded to be read. However, as I my focus is not on specific dates or issues of the paper, I simply chose another issue from another date to overcome the unreadability. No specific dates or days of the week were preferred within the selection process, although it should be noted that the first sample year, 1852, does not include any samples from issues published on Sundays as The New York Times did not publish a Sunday edition before 1861.

From the selected issues, two samples were chosen per month: one for a woman and one for a man. For the sake of consistency, the death notice for a woman was always

chosen from the first selected issue of the month, and the death notice for a man from the second selected issue. If the selected issue included death notices for only men or women, another issue was selected. Selecting an equal amount of death notices for both genders per year allows me to draw comparisons between how men and women were presented in the notices. In addition, choosing the notices from different issues was done in order to get a more diverse set of data per month and per year. Since hundreds of death notices were (and still are) published per year, including samples from multiple issues across the year (vs. selecting all the material from very few issues) enables me to get a more detailed insight into the language used in the notices. In most cases, the selected papers had more than one death notice published at the same time and while it was tempting to analyze all of them or to select the one that appeared the most interesting to me, the first suitable death notice on the list was always chosen. Suitable, in this case, refers to the gender of the deceased and my way of selecting notices from the selected issues as explained above.

Furthermore, while it would be interesting to know how many death notices were and are published in the NYT per year, it is simply not possible to retrieve this information from either of the archives. The textual archive does not have any search function at all, and the TimesMachine archive's search function is rather limited. For example, if you search the suggested keyword 'deaths (obituaries)', the TimesMachine archive only gives you 9422 hits, which is quite little. Another suggested keyword 'deaths' only gives 216 815 results, but 'obituaries' (which is not suggested by default) gives 1,152,198 results. Since the search engine does not seem reliable and it is not possible to count all death notices by hand, the total number of death notices in total or per year in the NYT is unfortunately not available.

My main mode of analysis is close reading and analyzing each appropriate element in the death notices according to the template provided by Borde. Since her template is the more recent one and includes more categories (thus giving me more tools for analysis), I opted to use it instead of the original template created by Fries. While it should be noted that Fries only analyzed data from one newspaper like I am doing, and Borde from five different newspapers, I still prefer Borde's model for the reasons mentioned above. In addition, Borde's period of investigation, although slightly longer, is closer to the period of investigation in my study, making it easier to draw comparisons between her and my data. While Borde also has more data than me (she has 400 death notices in total, around 35 notices per sample year vs. my 216 death notices in total, 24

notices per sample year), the difference is not too drastic and comparisons between our data can still be made.

The material from the TimesMachine archive was usable on its own as well, as the scans in the archive are quite high in quality. However, as it is a web-based archive, it is not possible to make any markings on scans on the archive website itself. Therefore screencaps of the appropriate sections were taken and the death notices were re-written into text form so that a detailed analysis with annotations could be conducted. Occasionally, however, there were letters and sometimes even whole words in the notices that were not entirely readable. These occurrences have been placed inside square brackets in my re-written notices to indicate these instances as my own interpretations of the missing letters. The use of these square brackets can be seen in several example notices in chapter 5. In general, many missing letters were quite easy to deduce from the context of the notices but as all of the occurrences are what I interpreted to be missing, I opted to mark them separately in the texts. For the analysis, different elements in the notices were marked with different colors, and frequencies of different element occurring in the notices were manually counted. The linguistic realizations of different elements were also counted and compared based on their form and frequency during the period of investigation.

4.2 Medium-specific aspects of the NYT death notices

The death notices in the NYT have gone through various visual changes throughout the years and so has their position in the paper. This subchapter is a brief overview of some of the visual changes the death notices have gone through during the period of investigation. As these changes are not a part of my actual analysis of the structural elements of the death notices, they will be introduced in this chapter instead of chapter 5.

Position in the newspaper

In the beginning, the death notices are usually placed on the last pages of the NYT, i.e. on page three or four. There are few instances in 1852 where the death notices can be found on the first page as well, but these occurrences seem to be more due to there being a suitable space for them to be printed on the first page than intentionally moving them there, as this only happens occasionally. In 1872, the NYT death notices can almost always be found on page five (the total number of pages during this sample year is usually eight). After this, the page count of the paper starts to grow considerably, and there is no specific page appointed for the death notices anymore. However, they are usually placed

around the middle or towards the end of the paper but are not placed on the very last page. This positioning lasts until 1992, and after that, the position of the death notice section can be almost anywhere in the paper depending on the issue (however, they are never placed within the first ten pages of the paper). This practice of placing the notices continues in the papers from 2002.

Layout and typography

The layout and the typography of the death notices have not changed much in the NYT over the years. All entries within one paper are always printed in a uniform type, but the type has been slightly altered over the years. The most notable change in type is in 1972, when the font was changed to a more minimalistic style. In 1852, the names of the deceased are usually (but not always) printed in capitals within the text of the notice (see Figure 1). In 1872, the surnames of the deceased are moved to the front position and are now always printed in capitals (see Figure 2). The use of the hanging paragraphs (see Figure 2) to separate the notices begins in 1892 and has been used ever since. The individual notices only include text (i.e. there are no pictures) and they are listed under the header of the section. The header is initially *Died* but is changed to *Deaths* in 1932. In addition, starting in 1932 as well, a separate list containing the names of the deceased listed in the death notices is now added to the beginning of the section where death notices are placed so that it is easier to find specific names without reading through all the notices.

Principles of order

In 1852, the death notices appear to be ordered randomly in the NYT. The ordering does not follow chronological or alphabetical order, nor are the notices arranged by gender or age. Starting in 1872, the surname of the deceased is placed in the front position in the notices and the notices are now arranged alphabetically (see Figure 2). The alphabetical ordering has not been changed after 1872.

DIED.

On Sunday, August 1, SARAH, wife of Samuel Wennman. and daughter of Charles and Eliza Alderton, in the 21st year of her age.

The relatives and friends are respectfully invited to attend her funeral this afternoon, (Tuesday,) at 3 o'clock, from her late residence, No. 249 West 24th-st.

A East Brooklyn, on Saturday, July 31, CAROLINE M., daughter of Ira and Margaret P. Losee, in the 7th year of he age.

Figure 1 An example from 1852, when the names are capitalized but not yet in the front position. The original header *Died* is used (NYT August 3, 1852).

Deaths

ADAMS-KELLEY — Helen Redington, mother of Henry H. Adams, Mrs. John D. Barrett and Mrs. Albert B. Ashforth, on Dec. 20, at her home in Greenwich, Conn., in her eighty-fifth year. Funeral private.

ADLER—Philip, beloved father of Max and Beatrice Wittel. Funeral from his late residence, 440 East 175th St., 1 P. M., Thursday. Interment Acacia Cemetery.

BARTHOLOMEW—At Roosevelt Hospital, New York City, on Dec. 20, 1932, Henry Smith Bartholomew, M. D., of Napanoch

Figure 2 An example from 1932, where the surnames have been moved to the front position, the notices are arranged alphabetically, and the hanging paragraph is used to separate the notices. The new header *Deaths* is also used (NYT December 22, 1932).

Text length

Death notices are typically quite short and written in elliptical style. The average length of the death notices in the NYT has stayed relatively stable over the years, and an increase in length does not appear until towards the 21st century. The average text length between 1852 and 1974 is 41 words (the lowest word count, 37, can be found in 1952 and the highest, 46, in 1972). However, in 1992 the word count increases to 58 words on average per notice and further to 74 words in 2002. Both the shortest and the longest death notice in the data can both be found in 2002, with the shortest having only 14 words and the longest having 202 words. The major reasons for the increased text length are the increased importance of the element RELATION (i.e. more relatives are identified in the notices) as well as the shift towards a more personal style, which includes discussing the life of the deceased in a biographical manner. These factors will be discussed in more detail in subchapters 5.7 and 5.13 below.

4.3 The objectives of this study

The objective of this study is to examine the different structural elements of death notices and how they have developed in the American newspaper The New York Times between 1852 and 2002. I will examine how frequently different elements have appeared in the notices throughout the period of investigation and if there are noticeable differences in frequency between distinct sample years. I will also examine the linguistic realizations of different elements, i.e. what words or phrases have been used during different sample

years to actualize the elements in the notices, and how the language has developed over time. In addition, as I am using a categorization template that was created based on English newspapers and death notices, I will also make brief comparisons to see how well the template can be applied to American newspapers and death notices, and if the death notices in the NYT follow the same developmental patterns as their English counterparts. This means that I will compare the frequencies of the elements appearing as well as the linguistic realizations between the NYT and England by comparing my findings to the results presented by Borde in her 2015 study. However, the main focus will be on the death notices of The New York Times.

First of all, I surmise that the categorization model created by Borde can be applied to American newspapers without much problems. After all, America was colonized by the English and the British and the American newspaper culture has its roots on the British Isles. Some minor differences in frequency or linguistic realizations could be expected, especially in the early materials, as the conventions of newspaper publishing were not yet widely established. This might have led to varying conventions before the customs were fully regularized. On the other hand, it is also possible that the differences appear more towards the present day, as the development of the newspaper language could have gone to different direction on different sides of the Atlantic. However, in general I expect that the death notices in The New York Times have followed quite similar patterns in their development as have death notices in English newspapers. In addition, it will be interesting to observe how frequently different elements occur in the American death notices over time, and what kind of developmental patterns different structural elements have during different decades and how similar or not similar they are to English death notices. Since diachronic studies of American death notices have not been conducted yet, the main focus will be on how the different structural elements have developed in the US, and comparisons to England are drawn mostly because of the templates origins.

5 Analysis

In this chapter I will present my analysis of the different elements of the death notices in The New York Times. Each of the sub-chapters begins with a table in which I present the overall frequencies of all the elements, and the tables include both the actual numbers of how many notices feature the element per sample year and the same numbers presented in percentages. The elements will be analyzed in the same order they are presented in Borde's template. Along with the analysis, my results are compared to Borde's findings on English death notices. Based on their frequency, Borde categorized the elements in her findings as obligatory (70%–100% of the death notices include the element), supplementary but optional (30%–70% of the notices include the element) and as marginal and optional (less than 30% of the notices include the element) (2015, 114). However, I opted to not fully implement this categorization, as the size of my data is so small. In addition, for space saving and practical reasons, the written example notices featured in this chapter do not follow their original layout, i.e. they are presented in one paragraph without indentations or hanging paragraphs.

5.1 Name

1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
24 / 24 (100%)	23 / 24 (96%)	24 / 24 (100%)	24 / 24 (100%)	24 / 24 (100%)	24 / 24 (100%)	24 / 24 (100%)	24 / 24 (100%)	24 / 24 (100%)

Table 3 The overall frequency of the element NAME in the NYT death notices per sample year

NAME is undoubtedly the most important and central element of a death notices. Both Fries (1990a, 60-61) and Borde (2015, 115) consider it to be the most important element in English death notices and the same can be observed in the NYT as well, as NAME appears in 99% or in 215 samples out of 216, making it the only element that is truly mandatory for this text type. NAME is the key communicative element of death notices, as it is difficult to communicate to the readers that someone has died if the deceased is not named. The frequency of this element is almost identical in Borde's data, as 99.5% of all the death notices in her data feature NAME (Borde 2015, 115).

In this study, NAME refers to the way the deceased is identified in the body of text of the notices. This is due to the fact that the way the name of the deceased is reported in the death notices changed drastically already between 1852 and 1872 in the NYT. In 1852, the format of the notices was somewhat less organized and the name of the deceased, while written in capitals, did not have a fixed position in the notices. There were also no rules on how the name should be stated, i.e. sometimes the full name of the deceased was

included and sometimes only their first name. However, from 1872 onwards, the surname of the deceased is moved to the front position in the notices, it written in capitals, and the notices are arranged alphabetically according to the surname. Due to this, I have focused on the way the name is written in the actual bodies of text of the notices.

In the NYT, there are only two samples that do not explicitly mention the name of the deceased. Both are from the 19th century, with the other being a death notice for an infant son who died at the age of five months in 1872. The parents of the deceased son are named in the notice so the readers are able to identify him, but nevertheless, he is not explicitly named in the notice himself, and the names of the parents fall under the element RELATION instead of NAME in this study. The other sample, however, could be debated, as the deceased is identified only through the surname of her husband:

(1)   On the morning of the 27[t]h Nov., on board steamer Go[ld]en Gate, [n]ear Memphi[s]. Tenn, **Mrs. Richardson**, wife of S. S. Richardson, of Winchester, Mass., while on her way S[o]uth for [t]he benefit o[f] her health. Her remains were to be conveyed East for interment.

(Thursday, December 9, 1852)

I decided to analyze this as an occurrence of NAME, as the deceased is indirectly given a name, unlike in the case of the infant son, who is just being referred to as a son. Borde also has two cases from the 19th century where the deceased is left unnamed, and both of them are cases where the deceased is female and identified only in relation to her husband (Borde 2015, 115). However, they are not given an even implicit name and are just being referred to as "the relict of Sir D. Ogilvey" and "the beloved wife of Joseph James Sheffield" (ibid.), which is slightly different from my example. This is why *Mrs. Richardson* was included in my analysis as an occurrence of NAME, meaning that there is only one death notices in my data that does not feature the element NAME.

When analyzing the linguistic realizations of NAME in the NYT, 28 different realizations for this element can be found. However, not all of them appear during every sample year, and some of them can only be found once in the data. The four most common structures used for NAME over the period of investigation in the NYT are:

Linguistic realization	Examples
First name only	**Stella**. Beloved aunt of […] (2002)
First name + middle name initial(s)	**Herbert L**. Dear brother of […] (1972)
First name + surname	[…] **LUCY HEBARD**, aged 44 […] (1852)
First name + middle name initial(s) + surname	[…] **JULIA R. ALLEN**, wife of […] (1892)

Table 4 The most common linguistic realizations of NAME in the NYT death notices

Both *first name only* and *first name + middle name initial(s)* can be found throughout the whole period of investigation. However, during the 19th century, linguistic realizations with surname (*first name + surname* and *first name + middle name initial(s) + surname*) are more common. Although the surname was moved to the front position already in 1872, surname stays popular in the NYT death notices until 1912, after which it becomes uncommon to repeat it in the text again. The names in the text are still written in capitals until 1912, even when the frontal surname is already in capitals. Starting in 1932, the structure *first name only* becomes the most popular and it stays so until 2002. *First name + middle name initial(s)* also gains more usage in 1932 and becomes the second most favored structure for the rest of the 20th century and 2002. In England, the structure *first name + surname* is the most common one used during the whole period of investigation, with *first name only* being the second most popular structure (Borde 2015, 116-117).

Along with the name, different kind of titles can also be used. In this study, components analyzed as titles include social titles (e.g. *Mrs.*, *Mr.*), military titles (e.g. *Capt.*, *Col.*), and different titles related to occupations, such as *Rev.*, *Dr.*, and *Hon.* Titles in general are not vert common in the NYT, as only 13 death notices in total include them. The social titles are mostly used during the 19th century, but one notice features an occurrence of *Mrs.* as late as in 1952. Military titles only appear during 1912. Titles related to occupations can be found throughout the data, although *Rev.* can only be found during the 19th century. The use of titles decreases over time in England as well, as social titles and *Rev.* are mostly used during the 19th century and mostly disappear during the 20th century (Borde 2015, 117). However, other titles related to occupations appear steadily during the 20th century and there is even a slight increase in academic titles (e.g. *Dr.*) towards the end of the century (ibid.). Military titles can be found throughout Borde's data as well (ibid.). I personally suspect that the lack of military titles in my data is not because they were not commonly featured in the NYT notices but because I just happened to select samples that did not include them. However, this conjecture can be verified in future studies with a larger corpus of samples.

5.2 Verb denoting death (VDD)

1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
1 / 24 (4.2%)	1 / 24 (4.2%)	–	1 / 24 (4.2%)	–	–	–	–	9 / 24 (38%)

Table 5 The overall frequency of the element VDD in the NYT death notices per sample year

VERB DENOTING DEATH (VDD) was an element added to the template model by Borde (2015, 130), as she found the addition necessary after the element began appearing in the

English death notices during the 1960s. The usage of VDD in England became even more prominent from the 2000s onwards, when it occurred in 63% of the samples for 2001 and 2012 in Borde's corpus (ibid.). Borde notes that, traditionally, the context in which the notices appear in the newspapers (such as the use of the heading *Died* or *Deaths* above the notices) "substitutes the verb in the individual entries and indicates the subject matter" (ibid.), rendering the explicit use of verbs indicating death unnecessary.

The death notices in The New York Times follow somewhat similar developments, although VDD makes few sporadic appearances throughout the years. As early as 1852, the following poetic expression can be found:

(2)   At Panama, N. G., on the 28th ul., of dysentery, GEO. STOUTENBERGH, of Newark, N. J. He was on his return home from [C]alifornia, when thus **arrested by death.**

(Wednesday, October 20, 1852)

While the last sentence of the notice is something that could be categorized as OTHER INFORMATION (an element which will be discussed in subchapter 5.13 below), it is worth mentioning here as well, since a verb structure denoting death has deliberately been added. After this, two other instances can be found before 2002: in 1872, the structure *fell asleep in Jesus* appears in one notice, and in 1912, *entered into rest* is featured in one notice as well. All in all, the structures used are rather poetic but in general, VDD as an element does not hold a very prominent position during the 19th and 20th centuries. Death in general has been seen as a taboo subject to be avoided in text, and direct references to death are often replaced by euphemisms (Allan & Burridge 2006, 223-224), as can be seen in the examples above. Taboos are generally caused by the social constraints of the society and arise when an individual's behavior causes discomfort to themselves or others (Allan & Burridge 2006, 27). Discomfort related to the topic of death and dying is therefore often avoided by using euphemisms or by leaving the word related to death out altogether.

Nevertheless, in 2002, VDD becomes a more regular element in the NYT death notices. However, even then it only appears in 38% or in 9 notices out of 24, so in less than half of them. Out of these 9 appearances, 7 are the verb *died* and the other two are *passed* and *passed away*, which marks a notable change from the previous poetic but less direct expressions. The development of VDD is similar to England, where *died* is also the most widespread verb used during the 21st century, although the popularity of the element in general does not reach same levels in The New York Times as it did in England. On the other hand, it is possible that verbs denoting death have gained more usage after 2002

in NYT as well, but that is an area to be covered in future studies. However, it does appear that in general, death and dying are not seen as similar kind of taboos anymore and explicit expressions for dying can be used in the death notices during the 21st century.

5.3 Date

1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
24 / 24 (100%)	23 / 24 (96%)	24 / 24 (100%)	21 / 24 (88%)	17 / 24 (71%)	13 / 24 (54%)	12 / 24 (50%)	15 / 24 (63%)	14 / 24 (58%)

Table 6 The overall frequency of the element DATE in the NYT death notices per sample year

Much like their English counterparts (Borde 2015, 117), NYT death notices do not inform the readers of the newspaper about the date of birth of the deceased. Instead, only the date of the death is given. In England, DATE was initially already a fairly frequent element in Borde's data (62% of death notices feature it in 1801) but gained even more popularity throughout the corpus, having an appearance frequency of at least 70% (and often higher) during all the rest of her sample years (ibid.). In The New York Times, however, the development was in fact the opposite, as DATE starts with percentages that range from 96% to 100% for the latter half of the 19th century but which eventually drop to around 50% to 60% in the latter half of the 20th century and 2002. Nevertheless, DATE is still an important element in the NYT death notices as well, as its frequency never goes under 50% during any of the sample years.

Borde mentions that already according to Fries' studies, DATE has developed from an element that initially had relatively lot of freedom towards a more strictly regulated form of expression (2015, 118). Borde's study confirmed this on a wider array of English newspapers (ibid.) and the same can be seen in the NYT as well. The highest number of different expressions in the NYT can be found in 1872, when 12 different expressions are used for DATE. When observing the death notices from 2002, only four expressions are used anymore. All in all, 21 different expressions for DATE are used within all the samples taken from the NYT, although it should be noted that many of them appear only once throughout the whole period of investigation, and many of them are very similar to each other as well.

Despite the variety of possible expressions available for use when posting the notices, strong trends for DATE emerge already early on in the NYT. During the late 1800s, the structure *on [weekday], [month] [day]* (e.g. *on Saturday, Jan. 31*) is the most commonly used one to be found in the NYT sample notices. In 1852, it was also common to mention the time of the day along with this structure (e.g. *on Monday morning, March 8*) and in 1892, the structure that just had the month and day of the death (e.g. *Feb. 24*)

was also popular. However, when examining the notices from the 20th century and 2002, the *on [weekday], [month] [day]* structure largely falls out of use and is replaced by *on [month] [day], [year]* (e.g. *on April 7, 1992*) as the most commonly used expression. As mentioned above, several other varieties can be observed throughout the sample years as well, but their use is marginal compared to the two most common expressions presented above. Throughout the sample years it is also common practice to abbreviate the months with longer names (such as January or February), while the months with shorter names, like June or April, are written in full. It should also be noted that in the NYT notices, the American form of writing the date is used, as the month always precedes the day. This is different from England, as in Borde's corpus, the day is written before the month (2015, 118).

Words used to further specify the date, such as *inst.* or *ult.*[3], are rarely used in the NYT and cease to appear completely before the 20th century. This is again different from the English conventions, as for example *inst.* appears all the way until the latter half of the 20th century in the English death notices (Borde 2015, 118). In the NYT samples, *inst.* only appears in 10 notices out of the 72 sample notices for 1800s and appears to not have been systematically linked to one specific structure used for DATE. *Ult.* is even rarer, with only one occurrence in 1852 and one in 1872. Both *inst.* (*instant*) and *ult.* (*ultimo*) only appear in the abbreviated form in The New York Times. Other similar words mentioned by Borde, such as *last* or *se'nnight* (short for 'seven nights')*,* do not occur in the NYT at all, but they appear to be expressions more commonly used during the 18th and early 19th century (Borde 2015, 118) and thus it is possible they fell out of use already before The New York Time began publishing. Borde also mentions "vague time indicators, i.e. time indicators from which the day of the death cannot be inferred" (2015, 119), such as *a few days ago* or *a short time since* (ibid.). However, these expressions cease to occur after 1821 in her data (ibid.), and they cannot be found in The New York Times samples at all, most likely due to same reasons as *last* or *se'nnight* are not found either.

5.4 Place

1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
9 / 24 (38%)	9 / 24 (38%)	13 / 24 (54%)	12 / 24 (50%)	8 / 24 (33%)	5 / 24 (21%)	4 / 24 (17%)	2 / 24 (8.3%)	2 / 24 (8.3%)

Table 7 The overall frequency of the element PLACE in the NYT death notices per sample year

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[3] *Inst.* is the abbreviation of *instant*, which refers to the current calendar month (OED Online (1989), s.v. "instant," adv.). *Ult.* is short for *ultimo*, which in turn refers to the previous month (OED Online (1989), s.v. "ultimo," adv.)

The place of death seems to be a much less prominent element in the NYT death notices than for example the date of death. The element starts with 38% or 9 out of 24 notices featuring it in both 1852 and 1872, then goes up to 54% in 1892. After that, the percentages start to decrease steadily, coming all the way down to 8.3% for both 1992 and 2002, where it appears in only two notices in both years. In England, the occurrence of PLACE varied between 50% and 90% throughout Borde's corpus, making it a more favored element in English death notices (Borde 2015, 119).

Initially, there are no strong preference towards one single expression used for indicating place of death in the NYT notices. From 1892 onwards, however, the structure *in/at [city], [state]* becomes the most favored one, as 54% of all the sample death notices between 1892 and 2002 use this expression, and it is the most used expression for each sample year during that same period[4]. The preposition *at* is the more favored one at the turn of the 20th century but it is largely replaced by *in* from 1972 onwards. The name of the state is usually abbreviated, unless it is quite short (e.g. Ohio). No other obvious trend related to PLACE emerges from the data. *At his/her (late) residence* and *at his/her home* are modestly popular from 1892 to 1952 but are still used much less than *in/at [city], [state]*. The structures with either *home* or *residence* occasionally include the detailed address of the deceased as well. The relative frequency of this structure suggests that until the 1950s, it was quite common to die at home. However, as the number of hospitals in the U.S. grew during the 20th century and the place of dying increasingly shifted from home to hospitals (Laderman 2005, 3), this structure also fell out of use. Interestingly, any structures directly referring to hospitals as place of death cannot be found in the NYT. Only one notice in 1992 mentions a nursing home as the place of death. This is again in contrast with England, where references to hospitals became the most common linguistic realization of PLACE after 1981 (Borde 2015, 120).

As mentioned above, *in/at [city], [state]* is the most common structure used for PLACE in the NYT. The popularity of the structure with both city and state names could be due to the fact that the U.S. is a very large country and there are several cities with the same name in different states. Mentioning the appropriate city and state of the deceased would ensure that the readers of the paper are able to identify the deceased person correctly. The same kind of specifying information is usually also added to notices that mention a deceased that has died abroad, such as *Paris, France* (there are several cities

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[4] In this study, *in [city], [state]* and *at [city], [state]* are treated as different variants of the same expression. This is due to their very close similarity as well as the fact that the occurrences for PLACE are quite scarce in the data overall.

names Paris in the U.S. as well), or *Saskatoon, Manitoba* (less obvious as it does not mention a country, but still more informative than just Saskatoon alone, as Manitoba is a place name that is only used in Canada).

Sometimes, however, the reader of the newspaper is expected to have quite a lot of knowledge about both New York City and New York the state. For example in 1892, there are several notices that only list *in Brooklyn* as the place of death without any further information. Brooklyn is, of course, a quite well-known borough in New York City but there are other cities in the U.S. with that same name as well. In addition, other difficulties arise with the inconsistent use of areal abbreviations in the death notices. This can be demonstrated by the following two notices, both from 1912:

(3)   AMBERG. – **At Stamford, N. Y.**, on Oct. 23, 1912, Henry H. Amberg, husband of Catherine Amberg and brother of Mrs. Mary Habermann and John Amberg. Funeral will take place from the residence of his daughter, Catherine D. Theiss, at 741 East 4th St., Brooklyn, on Saturday, Oct. 26, at 9:30 A. M. Solemn requiem mass will be held at St. Rose of Lima Church, Webster Av., east of Ocean Parkway, at 10 A. M. Interment Calvary Cemetery.

(Friday, October 25, 1912)

(4)   BURFORD. – Suddenly, **at Elmhurst, N. Y.**, on Dec. 30, 1912, Thomas S. Burford, in his 78th year. Funeral services on Wednesday at 2 P. M. at the Methodist Episcopal Church. Interment at Mount Olivet.

(Tuesday, December 31, 1912)

In both notices, the abbreviation N. Y. is used. In example (3), it refers to the state of New York, as Stamford is a town located around the center of the state. In example (4), however, N. Y. refers to the city of New York, as Elmhurst is a neighborhood in the borough of Queens, an area that had become part of New York City in 1898. This demonstrates well the fact that although there were some conventions that were favored (such as the structure *in/at [city], [state]*), their usage is not always consistent and appears to be dependent on the wording chosen by the person placing the notice.

It is also notable that the structure *of [place]* gains more usage from 1952 onwards. The structure is demonstrated in the following example:

(5)   BALDASSARE – Henrietta (nee Aster). **Of the Bronx, NY**. Beloved wife of the late Joseph. Devoted mother of Dr. Jack Baldassare and the late Mark Baldassare. Loving grandmother of Dean & Garrett, Lila, Aviva, Jessica, Anna and Celeste. Cherished great-grandmother of Billie Dove. Services Monday, 1 PM, at "Wien &Wien," 402 Park St., Hackensack.

(Monday, March 4, 2002)

However, due to the use of the preposition *of*, it is not possible to say if this structure actually refers to a) the place of birth and/or of origin of the deceased, b) the place where they lived most of their life before dying (but it is not their final place of death) or c) the place where they lived and subsequently died as well. Since the precise meaning behind this structure cannot be deciphered from the context, these cases have not been examined as part of the element PLACE in this thesis. The use of *of [place]* will be discussed in more detail under the element ORIGIN in subchapter 5.8 below.

5.5 Circumstances

1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
9 / 24 (38%)	8 / 24 (33%)	6 / 24 (25%)	9 / 24 (38%)	1 / 24 (4.2%)	_	_	1 / 24 (4.2%)	5 / 24 (21%)

Table 8 The overall frequency of the element CIRCUMSTANCES in the NYT death notices per sample year

CIRCUMSTANCES is again an element that did not gain immense popularity in The New York Times. Its usage varies between 25% and 38% for the sample years 1852, 1872, 1892, and 1912, after which it essentially disappears from the notices until 2002. Even in 2002, its frequency is only 21% as 5 out of 24 notices include it. This is somewhat in accordance with Borde's findings, as CIRCUMSTANCES occurs between 8% and 30% during the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century in England (Borde 2015, 120). However, from 1961 onwards, its importance increases in the English death notices and reaches a frequency of 66% both in 2001 and 2012 (ibid.), as opposed to the development in the NYT notices.

In the NYT sample notices, there are three major trends that can be observed in the data before 2002. In 1852, it was common to mention in detail the actual cause of death with the structure *of [disease]*:

(6)   On Wednesday. Sept. 22, **of consumption**, Mr. AUGUSTUS WARDEN, aged
         34 years. His friends and relatives are requested to attend his funeral on Friday,
         Sept. 24, from No. 157 Sands-st., Brooklyn.

                                                                    (Friday, September 24, 1852)

Diseases mentioned within this structure include, for example, the aforementioned consumption (an old term for pulmonary tuberculosis), bronchitis, dysentery, and convulsions. These are all illnesses that do not really pose a threat to any modern person anymore, but they used to be quite deadly 170 years ago. After 1852, *suddenly* gains more usage and is the most common structure used in 1892, while the usage of *of [disease]* becomes obsolete in the notices after 1872. In 1912, both *suddenly* and *after a [...] illness* are equally popular structures. The structure *after a [...] illness* usually features a

temporal adjective (such as *short* or *lingering*) that further specifies the circumstances of the death. In England, noun phrases referring to time or expressions of both time and modality (e.g. *short but severe*) can also be used with this structure (Borde 2015, 120-121) but they cannot be found in the NYT death notices at all. *After a [...] illness* was the most popular structure in general used in England during the 19th century, but was replaced by *suddenly* in the beginning of the 20th century (ibid.)

After one occurrence for CIRCUMSTANCES in 1932, this element is not used again during the rest of the 20th century in the NYT. It timidly emerges again in 2002, when three notices use *peacefully* and three mention the deceased's battle with an illness (one notice had both expressions). What is notable is that while the structure *after a [...] illness* re-emerges in a way, two of the three notices featuring it now explicitly mention that the deceased was battling cancer. Therefore, there are interesting developments from a more descriptive style towards less descriptive and again towards a more descriptive style during the whole period of investigation. Of course, more data from 2002 and from the 2010s are needed to fully confirm this conclusion but these preliminary results at least seem to suggest so. More research on this is needed, as Borde mentions that in English death notices, the trend seems to be towards a less precise style even during the 21st century, where *peacefully* is the most common expression used (2015, 121).

5.6 Occupation

1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7 / 24 (29%)	12 / 24 (50%)

Table 9 The overall frequency of the element OCCUPATION in the NYT death notices per sample year

OCCUPATION appears to be a rather marginal element in The New York Times death notices, as it does not even appear in the samples before 1992. There are few cases before that where the supposed occupation of the deceased is mentioned in the title that precedes their name (such as military titles), but since titles were analyzed in relation to NAME in this thesis, they will not be considered further here. In addition, it is usually not even possible to ascertain from the context of the notices if for example the men who have their military titles listed actually had a career in the army or if they were in fact e.g. veterans and had an entirely different career after their service.

In 1992, 7 out of 24 or 29% of the NYT death notices mention the occupation of the deceased. When examining the notices from 2002, however, the number of mentions for OCCUPATION rises to 12 out of 24, meaning that half of the samples now mention the former profession of the deceased. In England, OCCUPATION is included in 38% of the

notices in 1801 but its importance decreases after that and it is only a marginally used element during the rest of the 19th century and 20th century (Borde 2015, 122). During the beginning of the 21st century, however, its popularity rises back to 37% (ibid.). In The New York Times, including OCCUPATION seems to be slightly more popular in death notices that announce the death of a male person (5 out of 7 in 1992 and 7 out of 12 in 2002), but it does appear that the distribution of OCCUPATION is more equal in the NYT than it is in England, where only four sample notices altogether over the period of investigation mention the occupation of a female deceased (Borde 2015, 122). Of course, it should be noted that in England, this element is found throughout Borde's period of investigation, whereas it only appears during two sample years in my data, making this comparison quite uneven.

When OCCUPATION is reported in the NYT death notices, there seems to be two ways which are the most preferred ones. The first way is to just mention the occupation without including any further information related to it, treating it as a more matter-of-fact type of element in the notices. Occasionally some further information, such as previous education can be reported along with OCCUPATION in this style, but they are usually kept quite brief as well:

(7)   BUHLER – Nelson. Age 77, in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, on October 21, 1992. **World War II Japanese war crimes trial lawyer. Estates, trusts, and foundations attorney. Columbia College Class of 1936. New York University School of Law Class of 1940. Admitted to New York Bar 1940.** Survived by Sydney S. Buhler, wife of 44 years, son, Nelson Jay Buhler, daughter, Millary Buhler Morton, grandchildren Christopher Morton and Kendra Morton, sisters Carol Mann and Doris Kaufman. Funeral arrangements private. Donations may be made in Mr. Buhler's memory to Columbia College, Class of 1936 Scholarship Fund, Office of Alumni Affairs and Development, Central Mail Room, Box 917, New York, New York 10027.

(Saturday, October 24, 1992)

Sometimes attributes related to how the person did their job can be included as well (see example (8) below).

The other way is to include plenty of additional information related to the occupation of the deceased and to kind of construct the entire notice around this element in general. The importance of OCCUPATION is especially highlighted in death notices that are posted by supposedly other people than the family of the deceased. While it is not usually explicitly stated that the notices are or are not placed by family, it can often be assumed to be the case from the context, as the notices placed by family usually list surviving family members and have detailed information about the possible funeral

arrangements. In addition, the death notices presumably placed by non-family members usually include some kind of signature after the notices itself, like in the following example:

(8)   ALBERT – Stephen. The Juilliard School mourns the tragic death of **composer** and **faculty member**, Stephen Albert. A **dedicated teacher** and passionate advocate of excellence, he will be greatly missed by his colleagues and students. Our deepest condolences are extended to his family. May we be able to find solace in the extraordinary music which he has left for us all.

June Noble Larkin
Chairman, Board of Trustees
Joseph W. Polisi
President
James Sloan Allen
Provost and Dean
(Thursday, December 31, 1992)

The example (8) above is what could be called a *condolence death notice*. This is a categorization term used by Grzegorz Cebrat in his doctoral thesis which was already introduced and discussed in subchapters 3.3 and 3.3.1. The other sub-types of death notice he established were *informative*, *farewell*, and *anniversary death notices*. Out of these different sub-types, OCCUPATION as an element is closely linked to especially condolence death notices. Condolence death notices are usually posted in order to offer condolences to the family of the deceased, and it is common practice by different companies and organizations to post these kind of notices when e.g. one of their employees or members dies. In these notices, the occupation of the deceased is evidently more important, as it is often the connecting factor between the deceased and the people who submitted the notice, instead of family ties. In the NYT, condolence death notices first seem to emerge during the sample year 1932, and their popularity appears to increase towards 2002. However, since the categorization into condolence and other sub-types of death notices is not used in this thesis, a more detailed analysis of the different sub-types of notices must be left for future research.

5.7 Relation

| 1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
13 / 24 (54%)	17 / 24 (71%)	18 / 24 (75%)	15 / 24 (63%)	21 / 24 (88%)	20 / 24 (83%)	24 / 24 (100%)	20 / 24 (83%)	21 / 24 (88%)

Table 10 The overall frequency of the element RELATION in the NYT death notices per sample year

Along with NAME and DATE, RELATION is one of the more important elements in the NYT death notices. Overall, 78% of the notices feature this element and even when examining year-specific frequencies, over half of the notices for each sample year feature RELATION

as an element. After 1932, at least 20 out of the 24 sample notices for each year include RELATION, meaning that the percentages do not go below 83% for the rest of the period of investigation. This is considerably higher than in England, where the popularity of this element varies around 70% during the 20th century (Borde 2015, 122) but decreases to 60% for 2001 and 2012 (ibid.).

RELATION is a peculiar element in the sense that its explicit purpose noticeably changes throughout the years. This change can be seen in the NYT and was noted by Borde as well (2015, 123). Initially, RELATION acts as a descriptive element, offering more information about the deceased through their relations to other people. However, when approaching the modern times, this function becomes less obvious and needed, and the focus of RELATION shifts from the deceased themselves more towards the mourning friends and relatives. In general, the whole style of the death notices moves from a more informative and pragmatic style towards a more personal style, where the purpose of the notice is to reminisce the deceased and not simply inform the readers of the paper that a person has died.

According to Borde's findings, RELATION can be found more frequently in death notices for female deceased than for male deceased in England (2015, 122). In her data, 81% of all the sample notices for female deceased feature RELATION, while the percentage is only 37% for death notices for male deceased (ibid.). Similar trend can be observed in the NYT as well, but the differences are less stark, as the overall percentages are 93% for death notices for female deceased and 64% for death notice for male deceased. The gender differences in the NYT samples are more distinct during the 19th century and 1912, but starting in 1932, the differences become more even, as almost all the notices for each sample year include the element in general. However, as a generalization it could be said that RELATION is an element that is more often attached to the death notices of female deceased. The differences in frequency for both genders in the NYT are depicted in Figure 3 below:
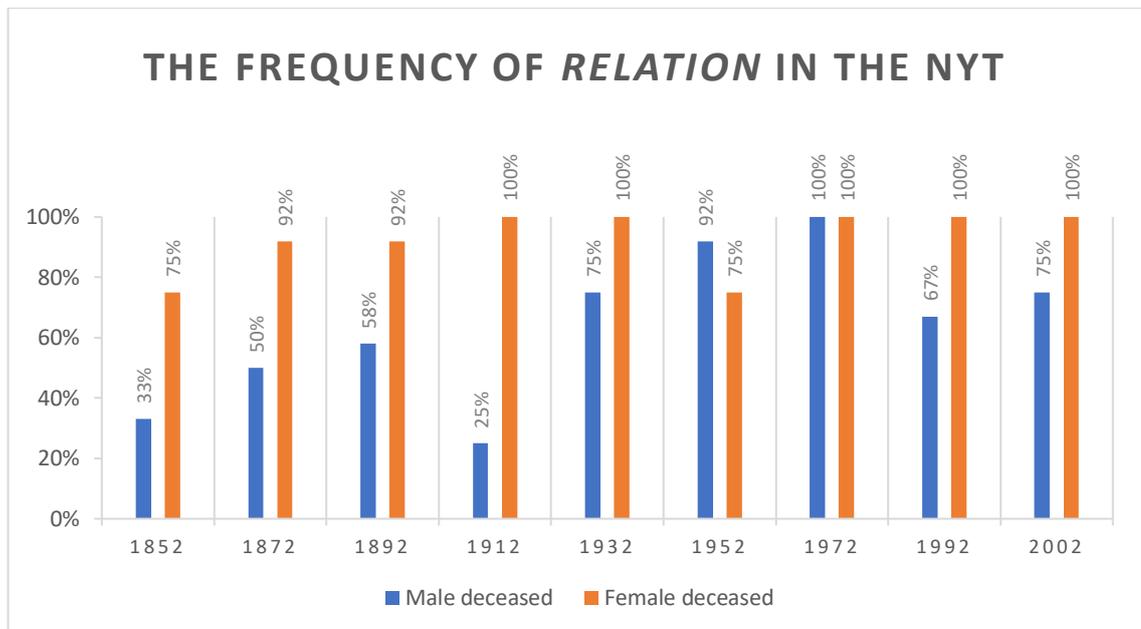
Figure 3 The frequency of RELATION in death notices for both female and male deceased in the NYT

There are 12 death notices per gender per year, so the percentages represent how many of those 12 notices include RELATION. However, it should be remembered that this is quite a harsh generalization based on a very small set of samples. Nevertheless, the trends of including RELATION for both genders are quite similar as in Borde's findings (2015, 123), although none of Borde's sample years have a similar situation where death notices for male deceased had more occurrences of RELATION than death notices for female deceased, like I have in 1952. However, this is most likely just due to the samples that were chosen and not an overall trend for the year.

Especially during the 19th century, it is common to refer to women through their relationships with their male relatives, particularly husbands and fathers. Sometimes both are mentioned in the same notice:

(9)   VAN VORST. – At Jersey City, Aug. 31, KATIE, **daughter of S. E. Swain, Esp., and wife of William B. Van Vorst**, in the 21st year of her age. Relatives and friends of the family are respectfully invited to attend the funeral, on Tuesday, Sept. 3, at 2 o'clock P. M., from her late residence, No. 159 Wayne-st., Jersey City.

(Sunday, September 1, 1872)

In addition, the husband or the father could also be mentioned even if they had died before the deceased themselves:

(10)   CHAUNCEY. – On April 2, MARY [R]ENSHAW, **widow of Rev. Peter Schemerhorn Chauncey**, in the 77th year of her age. Funeral services on Tuesday morning, April 5, at 10 o'clock, at the Church of the Trans[fi]guration, East 29th St.

(Monday, April 4, 1892)

There are also sample notices for female deceased that do not include the element RELATION at all, but when it is included, it always features a mention of a male relative during the 19th century. Death notices for male deceased occur more often without RELATION but they, too, always refer to male relatives, as the deceased is usually identified as the son of a father. Female relatives are not mentioned alone during the 19th century, as they are always mentioned along with a male relative when someone (often a child) is identified in relation to both of their parents instead of just a father. However, it should be noted that in general, female relatives are mentioned already in the 19th century death notices in the NYT as opposed to England, where a female relative is mentioned for the first time in 1900 (Borde 2015, 123). It is a similar occurrence as in the NYT, as "a child is identified in relation to both parents" (ibid.). After this, female relatives also occur exclusively in English death notices (ibid.). In the NYT, the first time a death notice exclusively refers to a female relative can be found in 1932. However, there are two occurrences already in 1912 where the female relative (a wife) is the main relative being referred to, but as the children of the deceased are listed and include sons as well, I did not consider these to be cases that refer only to a female relative.

In general, 1932 seems to be a watershed for how RELATION occurs in the death notices in The New York Times. Before that, usually only one (spouse) or two relatives (spouse + parent or both parents) are identified in the death notices. Male relatives are heavily favored, meaning that generally it is the husband and/or the father that are identified. However, after 1932, female relatives start to become more featured in the realizations of RELATION and the number of relatives identified in general increases. This is mostly due to the custom of listing the children of the deceased as well, which becomes popular during the 20th century. In addition, it becomes more common to mention that the deceased was someone's sibling or grandparent, and it is not uncommon for the notices from the latter half of the 20th century to list the names of the possible grandchildren as well. Of course, some notices still prefer to mention e.g. just the spouse of the deceased but in general the realizations of RELATION become more versatile during the 20th century:

(11)   BENAMY – Roslyn (nee Heldecorn). Age 72. Of Teaneck. **Beloved wife of Daniel. Devoted mother of Philip and Lois, Leonard and Ewa, David and Shelley and Leah and David. Cherished grandmother of Gabriel, Maxx, Sarah Shai, Ayoi and No'ama, loving sister of Charlotte Healey. Loving aunt of Phyllis and Danny Macchia.** She was a docent at the Jewish Museum in New York City and a Professor Emeritus of Rockland Community College SUNY, a worldwide traveler and Fulbright scholar. Roslyn was an activist who

believed in and worked for Tikkun Olam, the repair of the world. May her effort be continued. Services Wednesday, 10:30AM, at Temple Emeth, 1666 Windsor Road, Teaneck, N.K. For info: "Gutterman Musicant" Hackensack 1-800-522-0588.

(Tuesday, May 7, 2002)

The example (11) above demonstrates well how many different relative can eventually be named within one death notice. However, this is a rather extreme example, as usually the number of relatives identified within one notice does not go above ten.

The most common linguistic realization of this element during all the sample years is *kinship term + of* + the name of the family member (e.g. *wife of David*). During the 19th century, the name of the family member is always given in the full first name + surname form but eventually, the surnames start to fall out of use during the 20th century. Children are usually listed with just the first name, although sometimes the surnames may be included for daughters even in the more modern death notices (particularly if the daughter has married and changed her surname). Other common realization is the use of just the kinship term without any names (e.g. *dear grandfather*). The structure *kinship term + of* + the name of the family member is also the most common in English death notices (Borde 2015, 123-124).

Along with the actual relationships mentioned in the notices, Borde also examined the attributes that were attached to the deceased in the death notices (2015, 124). Analyzing the attributes in addition to direct expressions of RELATION is very useful, as the attributes chosen by the person(s) placing the death notice often implicitly describe their relationship with the deceased. In England, "[t]he occurrence of these attributes increases from 20 per cent in 1801 to 47 per cent in 1901 and 81 per cent in 2001/2012" (ibid), and the different variants of attributes increased from two in 1821 to twelve in 1981 (ibid). In The New York Times, attributes for the deceased are used scarcely during the 19th century but staring in 1932, again, they become widely more featured in the notices. Although they become more popular, the use of attributes is rather formulaic, as no more than seven different attributes can be found at a time during any of the sample years. Overall, fifteen different attributes are attached to the deceased in the NYT throughout the period of investigation.

The attributes in the NYT can roughly be categorized into two groups: attributes referring to age and attributes reflecting devotion. Borde separated attributes referring to age as several smaller groups in her analysis (Borde 2015, 124), but I prefer to refer to analyze them as one group due to their shared functionality. Attributes referring to age include the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives (such as *younger* or *eldest*)

as well as ordinals (e.g. *second*) and other words defining the age of the deceased (e.g. *infant*). These attributes disappear from use in in the beginning of the 20th century and are largely replaced by attributes reflecting devotion. The same happens a little bit later in England as well, as all attributes referring to age disappear after 1961 (ibid.). This is also in accordance with how in general RELATION as an element and the style of the death notices in both countries have changed from more pragmatic and informative towards more personal and intimate when approaching the 21st century.

On the other hand, the more popular group out of the two, attributes reflecting devotion, becomes widely popular beginning in 1932 in the NYT. By far the most popular attribute reflecting devotion is *beloved*, as it is the most common one used during every sample year from 1932 onwards. This is slightly different from England, where attributes reflecting devotion appear already in 1841, and the most favored attribute reflecting devotion seems to differ between different sample years (Borde 2015, 124). In England, the four most common attributes reflecting devotion are *beloved*, *dearly-loved*, *dear* and *much loved* (ibid.). As mentioned, *beloved* is clearly the most favored one in the NYT as well, and it is followed by *devoted*, *loving*, and *dear(est)*. Some other variations can be found too, but these four attributes are by far the most common ones used in the NYT. Interestingly, the attributes often seem to be used in specific roles as well, as *beloved* is most often used when the deceased is being referred to as a spouse (e.g. *beloved wife/husband*), *devoted* and *loving* are often related to parenthood (e.g. *devoted father*, *loving grandmother*) and *dear(est)* seems to be a general attribute for all kinds of familial relationships (e.g. *dear brother, dearest grandmother*). These are, of course, generalizations and the attributes can take other roles as well, but these kind of patterns for their usage could be observed in the NYT death notices. Lastly, Borde also mentions attributes containing a form of *surviving*, (e.g. *last surviving*) (2015, 124) but these cannot be found in the NYT samples at all.

5.8 Origin

1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
6 / 24 (25%)	4 / 24 (17%)	6 / 24 (25%)	2 / 24 (8.3%)	2 / 24 (8.3%)	2 / 24 (8.3%)	5 / 24 (21%)	8 / 24 (33%)	8 / 24 (33%)

Table 11 The overall frequency of the element ORIGIN in the NYT death notices per sample year

ORIGIN is a somewhat difficult element to examine, as it is not always clear to what or to whom the notices are referring to when this element is used. To analyze ORIGIN at least a little, I have chosen to include all the structures that can be categorized as somehow related to ORIGIN into my analysis. Most of these structures use the expression *of [place]*

but there are few other realizations of ORIGIN to be found as well. In general, ORIGIN is not a very commonly featured element in the NYT death notices. Its popularity varies throughout the sample years, and it again follows the pattern where this element is initially somewhat popular (25% in 1852), then suffers a decrease in popularity during the early 20th century (8.3% for 1912, 1932, and 1952), after which it rises back to a more favored position (33% in 1992 and 2002).

The name of the element itself, ORIGIN, suggests that the realizations of this element are somehow related to the hometown, country or other place of origin of the deceased. However, it appears that this is rarely the case. Instead, it seems that it is quite common to use a structure that could be thought of as a realization of ORIGIN to inform the reader of the place(s) of residence of the deceased. However, it is not always possible to decipher the actual referent from the context of the notices either. In the notices that do not mention any relatives of the deceased, it can quite safely be assumed that the element refers to the deceased. In some other cases, it is not always so clear, as demonstrated in example (12):

(12)   In Brooklyn, Oct. 30, ELIZABETH W., wife of George Kissam, and daughter of the late E. P. Rose, **of [T]renton, N. J.**

(Tuesday, November 2, 1852)

Due to the wording of this notice, it is not possible to say for sure if the structure *of [T]renton, N. J.* refers to the deceased, her husband, her father, or perhaps to all of them collectively. As discussed in the previous subchapter 5.7, women were often seen and written about in relation to their male relatives, so the most probable option here is her father, as the element is placed after his and not the husband's name. This is a problem that is especially prominent in the earlier notices, as the placement of the element in the later notices makes its usage more articulate:

(13)   BERNSTEIN – Victor H. On November 17, 1992. **Of New Milford, CT**. Author and journalist. Uncle of Richard Bernstein of Burlington, VT and Wendy Wolffson of Yonkers, NY. Services will be private.

(Thursday, November 19, 1992)

In example (13), it is very clear that the use of ORIGIN here refers to the deceased himself. This notice also demonstrates the custom of listing the places of residence for the possible relatives as well. Previously, it was rather common to list the place of residence/origin for e.g. the husband or the father of the deceased, but especially from the late 1900s

onwards, the custom of mentioning where each surviving child and/or sibling of the deceased lives as well gained popularity (if they were listed in the notice, that is).

However, another problem in example (13) arises as it is not possible to say if New Milford is the place of origin, place of residence, or the place of death of the deceased in this notice. This is the problem related to *of [place]* that was already mentioned in subchapter 5.4. Due to this, it is extremely difficult to analyze ORIGIN properly as there is often no way to extract enough information from the notices alone. Sometimes, the adverb *formerly* might be placed before *of [place],* suggesting a change in the place of residence of the deceased. However, *formerly* alone is not enough to reveal if the former place was indeed the place of origin or just a former place of residence. Sometimes there may even be several places listed along with *formerly*, making the analysis even harder. Therefore the origin of the deceased often cannot be deciphered from the notices at all.

Borde did not analyze ORIGIN in detail in her study and suggested instead that the terminology related to this element should be specified further to allow the proper analysis of the element (2015, 122). According to her, ORIGIN should perhaps be divided into two separate categories, ORIGIN and RESIDENCE, if possible and if the material allows it (ibid.). I am inclined to agree with Borde's suggestion, as it is currently not possible analyze this element in as much detail as the other elements of the template model.

5.9 Age

1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
16 / 24 (67%)	17 / 24 (71%)	13 / 24 (54%)	8 / 24 (33%)	4 / 24 (17%)	2 / 24 (8.3%)	3 / 24 (13%)	2 / 24 (8.3%)	8 / 24 (33%)

Table 12 The overall frequency of the element AGE in the NYT death notices per sample year

AGE was initially a relatively important element in the NYT death notices during the 19th century but has since lost its popularity as a featured component. The frequency of the element appearing in the death notice goes from the overall of 64% in all the notices during the 19th century to the overall of 16% during the 20th century. However, sample notices from 2002 indicate that including AGE in the death notices could be gaining more popularity once again, as the frequency rises back up to 33% in the samples from 2002.

During the latter part of the 19th century, AGE was listed in over half of the sample death notices examined: 67% of the notices in 1852, 71% in 1872, and 54% in 1892 respectively included the element AGE. The two most popular structures for expressing the age of the deceased were *in the [...] year of his/her age* and *aged [...] years* (possibly followed by *[...] months and [...] days*). The first expression appears in

39% of all 19th century sample notices that contain the element AGE, while the latter expression appears in 52% of the notices that include the element, making *aged [...] years* a slightly more popular structure. Both expressions are used for men and women alike, but the structure *aged [...] years* seems to be favored in notices for younger people (in this case, people who died before the age of 50). When used in notices for younger people, and especially for children, it was quite common to include the months and days with the structure as well:

(14)   On Tuesday morning, of convulsions, IDA JUDITH KIP, daughter [o]f G. Frederick Ziegler, **aged 2 years, 9 months and 27 days**. The relatives and friends of the family a[r]e respectfully invited to attend the funeral on Friday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, from No. 83 Horatio-st.

<div align="right">(Friday, April 9, 1852)</div>

In The New York Times, this structure almost always includes the word *years* after the number, as only few notices include the form *aged [...]* without it. A few instances of the structure *in his/her [...]th year* appear already during the 19th century as well, but with only 4 out of 72 notices including it, its use is rather marginal.

When examining the sample notices from the 20th century, the frequency of AGE appearing in the notices decreases drastically. Listing the age of the deceased in the notices seems to go out of fashion during the 20th century when the percentages first drop to 33% in 1912 and decrease further throughout the years to as low as 8.3% in both 1952 and 1992. The overall number of notices containing AGE during the 20th century is 16% or 19 out of 120 notices in total. In 1912, the aforementioned *in his/her [...]th year* seems to be the favored structure for expressing the age of the deceased, although only one third of the sample notices from 1912 include the element in the first place. After 1912, however, there appears to be no singular structure that is favored over the others during the 20th century. Both structures that were popular during the previous century (*in the [...]th year of his/her age* and *aged [...] years*) disappear from use as AGE is included less and less frequently throughout the century.

Although only one sample year could be selected from the 21st century, that year and its set of samples suggests that AGE could be gaining new popularity as a component in the NYT. 33% of the notices from 2002 included the age of the deceased again, a noticeable rise from the 8.3% in 1992. It is also worth noting that in 2002, AGE seems to have become an element that is mostly featured in death notices posted for older people, as in all the notices where AGE is included, the deceased was at least 60 years old.

AGE as an element went through rather similar developments in the death notices in England (Borde 2015, 124). While being quite popular during the latter half of the 19th century, its importance decreased during the 20th century. Nevertheless, AGE appears to have been able to retain more of its popularity in England during the 21st century, as according to Borde, 66% of the death notices from 2001 and 2012 feature the age of the deceased. Linguistically, the structure *aged […] years* is the most common structure in England as well, although there it appears more often without the word *years* at the end, and it remains popular throughout all the sample years (ibid.).

5.10 Grief

1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
–	–	–	1 / 24 (4.2%)	2 / 24 (8.3%)	2 / 24 (8.3%)	–	4 / 24 (17%)	4 / 24 (17%)

Table 13 The overall frequency of the element GRIEF in the NYT death notices per sample year

GRIEF is another element that was added to the template model by Borde. She mentions early on in her analysis that GRIEF is not a very frequent element in English death notices, which is most likely due to the nature of expressing grief in England (2015, 125). Borde quotes Tony Walter, who notes that in England "the norm is that grief should be private and not disturb others" (Walter in Borde 2015, 125). Therefore, it is not surprising that GRIEF is not a very common element in the English death notices. Its frequency varies between 5% and 10% during the 19th century and is even less during the first half of the 20th century (Borde 2015, 125). However, the way of expressing grief seems to become more open and varied in England during the second half of the 20th and towards the 21st century. Borde also notes that "different generations respond differently to grief" which in turn is reflected to some extent in the frequency of GRIEF in the notices during the period of investigation (ibid.). In general, Borde's decision to add this category to the template seems justified, as it is clearer to categorize the parts of the notices that contain explicit expressions of grief into their own category instead of grouping them together with for example OTHER INFORMATION.

GRIEF does not appear in the NYT death notices at all during the 19th century, and its occurrences during the 20th century are quite scarce as well. Only one notice in 1912, and two notices both in 1932 and 1952 feature this element. There is a slight increase in frequency starting in 1992, when four notices include GRIEF and this continues over to 2002 when four notices include the element as well. Grief in the U.S. seems to operate quite similarly as in England, as there not much tolerance for public expressions of grief (Bartalos 2009, 23). However, unlike in England where grief seems to be more

accepted as long as it is kept private, the mourners in the U.S. are expected to move on quickly (ibid.). On the other hand, there seems to be some trends (such as tattoos commemorating the deceased) which are becoming more popular during the 21st century and also bringing the grieving back to public and making it more acceptable in the U.S. (Bartalos 2009, 23-24).

In her data, Borde observes the use of verbs such as *lamented, regretted, mourned, remembered*, and *missed* for expressing GRIEF (2015, 126). The verb is usually preceded by an intensifier or an adverb and is also often followed with a structure *by [friends/family/etc.]*, e.g. "*deeply lamented by his family and friends*" (ibid.). Different verbs seem to be favored during different centuries, as e.g. *lamented* and *regretted* are mostly used during the 19th century, but are replaced during the 20th century by *mourned, missed*, and *remembered,* with *missed* being the most favored one after 1961 (ibid.). However, the death notices in The New York Times do not primarily rely on verbs in a similar manner to express GRIEF. Instead, an adverbial phrase is usually used:

(15)   BADGLEY – Mrs. Frank (Martha M.). The Board of Managers of the New York Diet Kitchen Association records **with deep sorrow** the death of its oldest and most loyal and devoted member.

<div align="right">Mrs. NICHOLAS R. JONES, President.
(Wednesday, August 6, 1952)</div>

The most common structure is *with [deep/great/profound] [sadness/sorrow/regret]* and while the adverb is not strictly necessary, it is often included. All the adverbial phrases found in the NYT use some combination of the adverbs and nouns presented above. Interestingly, Borde does not mention adverbial phrases in her analysis at all. This could be because she does not consider them as a way of expressing grief, or simply because they are not found in her data due to verbs are more favored for expressing GRIEF. The only verbs found in the NYT death notices are *mourn* and *miss*. In 1992, *mourn* is used one and *miss* twice, and in 2002, both are used twice, which hints that verbs could be becoming more common for expressing GRIEF in the NYT:

(16)   ABRAHAM – Jacob W. We **mourn** the passing of the Honourable Jacob W. Abraham, whose distinguished career was marked by wisdom, compassion, deep spirituality and love of the law. Our heartfelt sympathy goes to his loving wife Regina. We shall all **miss** him. Rest in peace, dear cousin.

<div align="right">Ruth Rosenberg and family
(Thursday, March 28, 2002)</div>

Curiously, *mourn* and *miss* seem to always appear together in the NYT, as the notices often start with the proclamation that the death of the deceased is being mourned which

is then followed by an affirmation that the deceased will be missed (see example (16) above). *Miss* is also always preceded by the auxiliary verb *will/shall* which accentuates the grief experienced by the mourners and how it is going to last into the future. While *miss* is popular in England as well, the preference for *mourn* in the NYT is again in contrast with England, where this verb is quite frequent during the 20th century but is taken over by *missed* in 1961 (Borde 2015, 126). In the NYT, they appear to be equally popular in the beginning of the 21st century.

In addition, it appears that all the notices in the NYT that feature the element GRIEF are either condolence or farewell death notices or a mixture where the base form of the notice is either of the above sub-types mixed with a more informative style. The typology for death notices has already been discussed in subchapter 3.3.1. While it is unfortunate that I must bring the sub-types up again despite not fully using them in my analysis, it is necessary to discuss these different types of death notices here to be able to fully analyze GRIEF in The New York Times. As mentioned in previous chapters, condolence death notices are used to offer condolences to the family of the deceased, and farewell notices are used to reminisce the deceased. The typical structure for a NYT death notice featuring GRIEF is that an association or a company notes the passing of its member or employee as seen in example (15) above. These kind of notices are usually kept quite proper and businesslike, but sometimes a more personal style can also be used, especially when explicitly offering condolences:

(17)   DONNELLEY – Gaylord. The Staff, Fellows and Board of Directors of The Hastings Center note **with sadness** the death of Gaylord Donnelley, father of our esteemed colleague and good friend, Strachan. We, among many others, have benefited from his interest and generosity. To his wife, children and grandchildren, we offer our hopes of solace and peace.

<div align="right">Willard Gaylin, President
Daniel Callahan, Director
(Saturday, April 25, 1992)</div>

The different ways of expressing grief in England and in the U.S. could explain why this element occurs so differently in both countries. In England, personal grief is not such a taboo and it can be expressed more openly also in the death notices. In the U.S., however, grief is kept more private and is not expressed explicitly until towards the 21st century. In this context, similarities between VDD and GRIEF can be observed in the NYT data, as when the overall taboo associated with death has lessened over the years, the frequency of both elements has started to slowly increase. Therefore, as GRIEF is yet again another

element that has become more featured towards the 21st century both in England and in the NYT, I again think that it is a good addition to the template model.

5.11 Funeral

1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
18 / 24 (75%)	21 / 24 (88%)	23 / 24 (96%)	22 / 24 (92%)	23 / 24 (96%)	22 / 24 (92%)	24 / 24 (100%)	20 / 24 (83%)	16 / 24 (67%)

Table 14 The overall frequency of the element FUNERAL in the NYT death notices per sample year

FUNERAL is a very important element in The New York Times death notices. Along with NAME, DATE and RELATION, it can be considered to be a key communicative element in the notices, as the overall frequency of FUNERAL appearing in the sample notices is 86%. The communicative purpose is further underlined when the different constituents of FUNERAL as an element are examined in detail, as especially the early death notices seem to act as public invitations to the funerals along with their principal purpose of informing about the death of a person. FUNERAL is one of the newer elements that were added to the template model by Borde.

The development of FUNERAL in the NYT is again quite different from the English newspapers. In England, the element occurs for the first time as late as in 1881 in *The Guardian* (Borde 2015, 126), whereas in the NYT, it is a prominent element already in 1852 as 18 out of 24 notices or 75% feature FUNERAL. After 1852, FUNERAL retains its position as a key element in The New York Times throughout the period of investigation, as the percentages stay above 80% all the way until 2002, meaning that for each sample year, a minimum of 20 out of 24 notices feature FUNERAL. English newspapers do not reach similar numbers until 1961, as the frequency of FUNERAL is only 10% in 1881, 36% in 1901, and 46% in 1941 in England (Borde 2015, 126). However, in the 21st century death notices the development of this element again goes to opposite directions on different continents as in the NYT, the frequency goes down to 67% in 2002 while in England, 94% of the death notices from 2001 and 2012 feature FUNERAL as an element (ibid.). On the linguistic level, the death notices on both continents follow similar developments, which are depicted below.

During the 19th century in The New York Times, the information related to the funeral is separated into its own paragraph from the rest of the notice. The first paragraph features elements like DATE, NAME, RELATION, and AGE while the second paragraph is solely dedicated to the details about the funeral:

DIED.

ARNOLD.—In Paris, France, on the 19th September, of cholera infantum, FRANCES, younger son of Frances B. and Augusta F. Arnold, of this City.

BOYD.—Suddenly, on Thursday, Sept. 19, EMMA ALICE, only child of George M. and Emily E. Boyd, aged 1 year, 7 months and 19 days.

The friends and acquaintances of the family are respectfully invited to attend the funeral, on Sunday, the 22d inst., from their residence, No. 63 West 38th-st., at 1 o'clock.

CARTER.—At New-Monmouth, N. J., on the 19th

Figure 4 An example from 1872. The first notice (Arnold) does not feature any details about a funeral. In the second notice (Boyd), the separation into two paragraphs is clearly visible (NYT September 21, 1872).

From 1912 onwards, the text in the notices is no longer separated into different paragraphs. However, the separation of the information is still used, as the details about the funeral are usually separated from the information at the beginning of the notices by a full stop and are still placed at the end of the notices. The use of full stop is similar to English customs of separating the details of the funeral from the rest of the notice. (Borde 2015, 127).

Died.

ABBOTT.—On Tuesday, Oct. 8, Grace Van Dusen, wife of Lewis L. Abbott, in the 61st year of her age. Funeral services at her late residence, 153 West 73d St., New York City, on Friday, Oct. 11, at 11 A. M.

BURNS.—On Oct. 10, 1912, at 904 President St., Brooklyn, Anna, beloved wife of Edward Burns. Notice of funeral hereafter.

CADBURY.—At Canton, China, Sara Manatt

Figure 5 An example from 1912. In both notices, the whole notice is in one paragraph and the use of full stop can be seen (NYT October 11, 1912).

The most typical realization of FUNERAL in the NYT includes the information that a funeral service is being arranged, along with the date, time, and place of the funeral. Usually the event itself is referred to as *funeral* and/or *service(s)*, but sometimes there may be additional information related to the type service that is being arranged. For example, one death notice from 1972 lists separate details for both Masonic and religious services that would be arranged for the deceased, and another notice from 1932 lists details for funeral services (with no further details related to the type of services) but mentions that a Requiem Mass (a Catholic mass for the dead) would be arranged after the services. However, usually the nature of the services is not explicitly stated in the notices.

On the other hand, the details about the place can be given in extreme detail, as it is not uncommon to include e.g. a full address if the funeral service is arranged at someone's house. It is also possible that the arrangements are still in progress, in which cases it is mentioned that the particulars of the funeral will be provided later. In these cases, phrases like *Particulars hereafter* or *Notice of funeral hereafter* (as seen in the notice for Burns in Figure 6 above) are used. In addition, the funeral could also be private, which is usually indicated with only short phrases like *Funeral/interment/services private*. Sometimes additional information related to the funeral is given as well. This additional information might be details about further transportation (usually a car or a carriage is waiting when a particular train arrives) or which train should be taken if the guests wish to arrive on time to the funeral. However, the custom of adding additional information related to transport disappears after 1912. Other types of additional information, such as who is officiating the funeral, can be found throughout the data as well but these occurrences are very rare.

In 1852, in 14 out of 18 death notices featuring FUNERAL, the date of the funeral is the same as the date of the paper. After this, it becomes a more favored custom to refer to the funeral as a future event, although mentions for funerals arranged on the same day as the paper is published still occur as well. The first time the funeral is being referred to as a past event does not occur until 1992. In addition, especially during the 19th century, it was common to include an explicit funeral invitation to the notices as well. Phrases such as *Friends and family of the deceased are (respectfully) invited to attend…* and all of its variations can be found in most sample notices from the 19th century, and these phrases continue to appear all the way until 1932. The invitation is also often followed by a phrase *without further notice*, which suggests that sending personal invitations might not have been a common practice, which then further accentuates the dual functions of informing and inviting performed by the early death notices. Including the invitations also suggest that people were expected to read the newspapers quite attentively or otherwise they would miss the funeral completely. While the invitations eventually disappear from the notices (most likely due to other forms of communication becoming more widely accessible), FUNERAL as an element has still managed to retain its position in the more modern notices as well, proving that it is a valuable addition to the template model. As mentioned above, the death notices in England follow the exact similar patterns in their linguistic development (Borde 2015, 126-127) and thus are not discussed further here.

5.12 Requests

1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
2 / 24 (8.3%)	2 / 24 (8.3%)	5 / 24 (21%)	7 / 24 (29%)	5 / 24 (21%)	3 / 24 (13%)	6 / 24 (25%)	7 / 24 (29%)	9 / 24 (38%)

Table 15 The overall frequency of the element REQUESTS in the NYT death notices per sample year

REQUESTS is the last element added to the template by Borde. According to her, "[t]he term 'requests' has been chosen as an umbrella term" (2015, 127) under which she has included all the elements in the notices that usually address the readers directly and ask them to behave in a specific way (ibid.). Borde divided the requests that appear in the English death notices into five groups based on their content: *copy, flowers*, *donations*, *enquiries*, and *intimation* (2015, 127). These groups were used for the categorization of REQUESTS in this study as well, so that comparisons between findings could be made.

In The New York Times, REQUESTS occurs throughout the whole period of investigation, although the frequencies in general are quite low with the overall percentage being 21% or 45 out of 216 notices. REQUESTS occurs for the first time already in 1852 but in only 2 out of 24 or 8.3% of the notices. However, the usage of this element considerably changes over time, as REQUESTS manifests in different categories that emerge and disappear throughout the years. There also appears to be a slight rise in the popularity of this element towards the present, as the percentages for REQUESTS in the NYT are 25% in 1972, 29% in 1992, and 35% in 2002 which are all above the overall average. However, these are all still far away from the overall percentage of 69% for REQUESTS in English newspapers (Borde 2015, 127). Although REQUESTS does not appear in England until 1881, the initial frequency is already 20% and it starts rising after 1921, making it a more common element than e.g. RELATION, AGE, and PLACE in English death notices (ibid.).

Copy is the first type of REQUEST to appear in the NYT death notices. Appearing already in 1852, *copy* is used to ask other newspapers to copy the death notice (e.g. ☞ *Ohio and California papers please copy*). Interestingly, the intended reader of this request is not the regular readers of the newspaper but the staff at other newspapers offices. As mentioned in chapter 2, it was common for especially early newspapers to copy each other, so in that context, adding these direct requests for copying does not seem that odd. The little hand symbol (as seen above) is used during the 19th century and the request is separated from the rest of the notice onto its own line at the end of the notice. The hand symbol disappears by 1912 along with the separation into different paragraphs, although the requests for copying are still placed as the last element of the notice. This custom of

placing REQUESTS as the last element of the notice in general continues today. Only in very few samples, REQUESTS is the second to last element while FUNERAL is the very last. While being the first type of REQUEST to appear, *copy* only appears in one to three notices per sample year. The last time *copy* is featured in the NYT sample notices is in 1932, suggesting that although its overall frequency was quite low, it must have been at least a somewhat common practice to copy death notices from other papers as the requests of this kind were featured for such a long time. Interestingly, *copy* only appears starting in 1881 in England and disappears after 1921 (Borde 2015, 128), hinting that this could possibly be a custom that originates in the U.S. instead of it being copied from England, as the NYT features *copy* already in 1852. Borde also mentions that *copy* is used to ask foreign papers to copy the notices (ibid.) but in the NYT, this request is addressed to domestic newspapers as well. It does seem more conceivable to ask domestic papers to do this in the U.S., as the distances there are much longer than in England. Nevertheless, the wider and more complex usage of *copy* in the NYT suggest a possibility that its usage did not originate from English newspapers. In general, copying material was a common practice for especially early American newspapers, as their overall style and much of their contents were copied from English newspapers (Mott 1962, 11).

While *copy* is the first type of REQUEST to appear in the sample notices, *flowers* is the most common one to occur over the period of investigation. In the NYT, *flowers* appears for the first time in 1892 and since then, every sample year has three to six occurrences for *flowers*. This is a bit earlier than in England, where *flowers* appears for the first time in the beginning of the 20th century, although Borde does not specify an exact year (2015, 127). *Flowers* also gains more popularity over time in England, as almost 50% of the death notices in 1981, 2002, and 2012 feature this request (ibid.), while in the NYT, the percentages for all death notices featuring a request with *flowers* are 25% in 1972 and only 13% in 1992 and 2002. In the NYT, the most common requests in the category of *flowers* ask the readers to not send flowers to the family of the deceased. Usually the notices include short phrases like *Please/Kindly omit flowers* but lengthier variations can be found as well. This is the same in England, where most occurrences for a request featuring *flowers* ask the readers to not send any (Borde 2015, 128).

Additionally, it is quite a common practice to combine *flowers* with *donations* within one request. In these cases in the NYT, the request is usually phrased starting with *In lieu of flowers, donations/contributions [...]* followed by the desired recipient of the donation money, although other variations appear as well. *Donations* does, of course,

appear alone as well, or within same notice as *flowers* but the two are not always directly combined. While other types REQUESTS may occur together in the notices as well (e.g. *enquiries + flowers*), *flowers* and *donations* are the only ones which occur written into the same request. Sometimes the requests for donations in the NYT are quite vague (e.g. *In lieu of flowers, donations to Catholic Charities would be appreciated*) but most of the time at least one specific organization is named as the desired recipient. Some notices even go as far as giving detailed addresses for the desired recipients of the donation money. *Donations* first appears in 1972 in the NYT, with 17% or 4 out of 24 notices featuring it. After that, its popularity has risen slightly with 25% of notices in 1992 and 29% of notices in 2002 featuring it. Borde mentions that donations appears for the first time in 1941 in England and that "its importance has increased considerably since" (2015, 128) but does not mention any exact numbers or percentages related to its frequency.

The fourth category, *enquiries*, is also a more modern category as it does not appear in the NYT samples until 1992. This is considerably later than in England, where it first appears in *The Guardian* already in 1921 (Borde 2015, 128). There are, however, some differences between newspapers in England as well, as *The Times* does not feature a death notice including *enquiries* until 1981 (ibid.). Overall, 25% of all the English sample notices include a request with *enquiries* (ibid.) which is substantially higher than the overall percentage of 2.3% in the NYT sample notices (only 5 death notices out of the total of 216). The category of *enquiries* is used to direct the readers into contacting churches and/or funeral homes for details regarding the funeral, and typically at least the name of the church or funeral home is given and possibly a phone number as well. Borde mentions that the prototypical realization of *enquiries* is usually *All enquiries to + name (and telephone number) of the undertaker*, although other variations can be found as well, especially after 2001 (2015, 128). This is again quite different from the NYT, as there seems to be two completely different phrases that are favored in the death notices: *Friends (and family) may call* + information about the church or funeral home related to the funeral or *For info* followed by the name (and possibly phone number) of the funeral home. Since there are so few occurrences for *enquiries*, there appears to be no specific patterns for the use of this element in the NYT. However, enquiries seems to be a category that is becoming more common (only one notice features it in 1992 but in 2002, the number has already risen to four) and it is likely that more detailed patterns for its usage may emerge in the future.

While requests belonging to the four other groups can be found in the NYT, any instances for *intimation*[5] or anything that could be classified as one do not appear in the death notices at all. This is an interesting difference, as Borde mentions that intimations first appear in the English death notices in 1881 and can be found until 1921 (2015, 128). In her data, the linguistic realization of *intimation* usually follows the pattern of *Friends will + please/kindly + accept this + (the only) + intimation* (ibid.). More research is needed to fully find out why intimations do not appear in The New York Times. It is possible that since they only appear towards the end of the 19th century, the custom of including them did not make its way across the Atlantic at all. One plausible explanation could also be that intimations were seen as unnecessary, as the death notice itself acts as one, and there is no need for a separate declaration within the notice. Either way, REQUESTS in general deserves more attention, as Borde's initial analysis of this element was quite brief, despite it being a new element in the template. Since some categories of REQUESTS have already emerged and disappeared over time, it is possible that new categories will emerge in the future as this element develops further.

5.13 Other information

1852	1872	1892	1912	1932	1952	1972	1992	2002
3 / 24 (13%)	–	–	–	–	–	–	2 / 24 (8.3%)	9 / 24 (38%)

Table 16 The overall frequency of the element OTHER INFORMATION in the NYT death notices per sample year

OTHER INFORMATION, as the name suggests, includes all the information that could not be categorized under any of the other elements in the template model. OTHER INFORMATION is a quite infrequent element in the NYT death notices, as it occurs in three notices in 1852, but cannot be found again until 1992, when it is featured in two notices. In 2002, including additional information related to the deceased becomes more common in the NYT death notices and the frequency of OTHER INFORMATION rises to 38%. In England, the frequency of this element varies between 3% and 15% throughout most of the period of investigation, and there is also an increase to 23% for 2001 and 2012 in Borde's data (Borde 2015, 129). While an infrequent element, Borde's analysis seems to suggest that OTHER INFORMATION is still found during all her sample years (ibid.), unlike in the NYT where there is a huge gap in the occurrence of this element after 1852.

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[5] The Oxford English Dictionary defines intimation as "[t]he action of intimating, making known, or announcing; formal notification or announcement" (OED Online (1989), s.v. "intimation," n.).

OTHER INFORMATION is quite a difficult element to categorize and analyze, as there are no pre-set rules on what can be included under this element. However, for the sake of clarity, it should be noted that what is included under this element in my analysis are occurrences of OTHER INFORMATION in informative death notices, such as the example (18) below:

(18)   BADEN – Irving. Beloved husband of Maxine; loving and dearest father of Meryl Wiesenberg and Joel; devoted father-in-law of Harvey and Gail; adoring grandpa of May and Matthew. **Our love and admiration for your courage, no more pain, rest and peace always.** Services today, 12 noon, at Temple Sholom of Floral Park.

(Thursday, May 28, 1992)

Death notices that follow some other style in their structure (i.e. condolence or farewell death notices) have not been included in the analysis of this element. This is due to the fact that most of the text in these type of notices is information that would be considered OTHER INFORMATION and they typically do not feature any other elements beside NAME:

(19)   ALLEN – Peter. Your loyalty, generosity, support, warmth, exuberance, wit and friendship have enriched our live immeasurably. And we'll always be able to share your music. We remain your band.

Mark Berger
Louis Cortelezzi
Irwin Fisch
Larry Saltzman
Jim Saporito
Michael Braun
Nikki Gregoroff
Dian Sorel
(Tuesday, June 23, 1992)

Therefore, it seems redundant to analyze these type of notices when their entire structure is based on different components than the elements of the template model, and the function of the notice is completely different from that of the informative death notice. In these cases, what would be considered OTHER INFORMATION in informative death notices is the main information in condolence or farewell notices. However, the line between informative and other types of death notices is sometimes very wavering, especially in the more recent death notice where the overall style of the notice may be a mixture of different types of death notices. Due to this, it is sometimes very difficult to categorize different elements in different notices.

Borde notes that in England, 25% of the occurrences of OTHER INFORMATION are used to praise the deceased, either through their work or based on their personal

qualities as a person (Borde 2015, 129). These type of occurrences seem to be the most common ones in the NYT as well, as especially in 2002 this element is used to emphasize the positive qualities of the deceased:

(20)   BACKAR – Heather Hazell. Of New York City, interior designer, on October 6, 2002 after a long and valiant struggle with cancer. **Her beauty, generosity and good humor were appreciated by clients, family, friends and those that had the good fortune to know her.** She leaves behind her adoring, heart broken husband and life partner, Andre O. Backar, a brother William Hazell of Victoria British Columbia, stepson Zachary Backar of New York City, stepdaughter, Janet Backar Papl of Aix En Provence, France, as well as two step-grandsons and two nieces. Born in Toronto Canada she lived most of her life in New York City with frequent travel all over the world. Friends may call at Frank E. Campbell, 1076 Madison Ave. at 81st St. Wednesday, October 6-9PM. Interment private. Contributions in her memory may be made to Anne Moore Breast Cancer Research Fund, 428 East 72 St. Suite 300, New York, New York 10021.

(Wednesday, October 9, 2002)

What is notable in example (20) is also the placement of the element, as it is not at the end of the notice but more towards the beginning of it, illustrating how OTHER INFORMATION can be placed anywhere in the notices. Example (20) is also an excellent demonstration of the way death notices become longer in 2002, as more and more information is added to make the notices more personal and distinctively individual. Other occurrences categorized under OTHER INFORMATION include, for example, wishing peace for the deceased (e.g. *Our love and admiration for your courage, no more pain, rest and peace always* is used in a notice from 1992) and further information related to the circumstances surrounding the death:

(21)   On the morning of the 27[t]h Nov., on board steamer Go[ld]en Gate, [n]ear Memphi[s]. Tenn, Mrs. Richardson, wife of S. S. Richardson, of Winchester, Mass., **while on her way S[o]uth for [t]he benefit o[f] her health**. Her remains were to be conveyed East for interment.

(Thursday, December 9, 1852)

In Borde's data, further information related to the circumstances of the death can be found as well. In addition, she notes the use of the abbreviation *R.I.P.* and information related to misfortunes involving the relatives of the deceased (Borde 2015, 130). However, these structures are not found in the NYT death notices. Misfortunes related to the family of the deceased are occasionally mentioned in condolence death notices (e.g. both parents of a person have died recently and this is mentioned when condoling the person in the notice), but they have not been analyzed as a part of this element as mentioned above.

6 Discussion

As could be expected, there were some similarities and some differences between the NYT death notices and English death notices both in the frequencies of the different elements as well as in their linguistic realizations. Some of the similarities were quite unsurprising (such as the element NAME being the most common element in both England and in the NYT), but especially the differences on different continents seem interesting. Some of the dissimilarities can be explained with cultural differences but other differences appear to be more arbitrary.

One of the differences that surprised me was that PLACE was not a more prominent element in the NYT. The U.S. is a huge country, so to me it would have made sense to include the place of death in the notices as well. Perhaps the assumed custom is that the deceased automatically died in New York (either city or state) if not mentioned otherwise. In general, the places of death are mentioned quite broadly (i.e. on the city and/or state level) and the English custom of referring to e.g. hospitals is not favored in the NYT, which seems to suggest that PLACE is not seen as very vital information in the NYT death notices. Another very surprising element was FUNERAL, as it is one of the key elements in the NYT almost throughout the period of investigation but does not gain popularity in England until 1961. In addition, the willingness to share explicit details about the funeral in the NYT seems surprising, as unwanted guests could also make their way to the service. However, as the NYT has traditionally been considered perhaps a more conservative and prestigious paper, its readers could expect respectable behavior the other readers as well.

REQUESTS is an especially interesting element as the occurrences of the request *copy* in the NYT seem to suggest that its usage originates in the U.S. More research is needed to fully verify this, but as Borde's data included several English newspapers and none of them featured this element until 1881, the preliminary results seem to suggest U.S. origins for this element. As mentioned in chapter 2, it was a common practice for early American newspapers to copy each other and also newspapers from England. Therefore, it does not seem farfetched to suggest that this practice could have worked both ways and English newspapers also copied material from American newspapers after they became more established. What is also interesting is the fact that requests with *intimations* cannot be found in the NYT at all. I already suggested a few explanations for this in my analysis, but these two types of requests definitely deserve more attention so that their manifestations can be analyzed in more detail on both continents. After all,

REQUESTS as an element in more common in England than e.g. RELATION which again is a huge contrast to the NYT, in which RELATION is the third most common element and REQUESTS is only a quite marginal element.

In addition, there is one other component that may be originating in the U.S. but which was not analyzed along with the other elements. This is because I was unsure how to categorize the occurrences of this component correctly. The component in question is the verb *repose*, which makes sporadic appearances in the NYT from the 1950s onwards. While not directly a VDD, its death-related meaning can easily be perceived from the context. Repose always appears in the form *reposing at* which is followed by the place where the body is currently located (usually a funeral home but it could also be the home of the deceased), which means that this component could also fall under the scope of FUNERAL. Borde does not mention the use of *repose* at all in her study, meaning that this could be an American convention and related to the wake culture in the U.S. While it is not a very frequent element, *repose* should definitely be analyzed more, as it appeared to become more common towards the 21st century. Therefore it is possible that its popularity has increased further after 2002.

One fact that should be admitted is that if someone were to replicate this study with different notices (even if they were taken from the exact same papers), it is entirely possible that they would arrive to different results than I did, as I have drawn generalizations based on quite a small amount of data. Considering that the New York Times has been published every single day since 1861 and there are dozens of death notices published within each issue, the results could be vastly different with different material. For example, military titles were only found in 1912 in my data but I fully believe this is due to the small selection of samples and not because military titles were not important enough to be mentioned in the death notices. The military has been (and still is) very important in the U.S., and therefore it seems unlikely that the military titles would only appear so scarcely. It is also possible that this type of deviations appear elsewhere in my data as well, but they were just less apparent than the military titles. However, my results can in general be treated as preliminary guidelines for further research and should not be disregarded just due the limited amount of data. After all, I tried to collect my data in a manner that it would be as diverse as possible, so the general trends within the sample years should be quite accurately presented.

Another obvious problem that came up in this study was the fact that the template model only works properly when analyzing informative death notices. Other sub-types,

e.g. condolence or farewell notices, follow completely different formulae and the elements used in the template model are often not to be found to the same extent in them. Grzegorz Cebrat overcame this problem in his doctoral thesis by using the move and step analysis directly, which means that he was not bound by the constraints of the template model and could freely observe the different move patterns in each sub-type of the death notices. Fries and Borde do not mention there being different types of death notices in their data, thus it is not possible to know if they were not found at all or if the different sub-types were just excluded from their data and/or analysis. However, I would suggest that future researchers of this topic should consult Cebrat's typology, as it turned out to be extremely helpful for my analysis. Although Cebrat's study was synchronic and focused on modern death notices, the typology can definitely be applied when analyzing historical death notices as well. Cebrat's move analysis also appears to be more detailed than the template model, i.e. when analyzing informative death notices, the total number of moves and steps in his analysis is higher than thirteen (the number of the elements in the template) and additionally, he also provides move patterns for the other sub-type death notices. Therefore future researchers should think if following Cebrat's analysis could actually be more beneficial for them, as it would allow them to conduct a more detailed and accurate analysis.

In conclusion, although this has been a rather small pilot study, it is the first diachronic study conducted on death notices in American newspapers. I was able to answer both of my research question, as I was able to observe and document the development of the structural elements in the death notices in The New York Times newspaper between 1852 and 2002 and compare them to Borde's findings. When compared to the development of death notices in English newspapers, some similarities and some differences in the development were found. In addition, my initial hypothesis that the template model can be applied to American death notices without much problems turned out to be correct as well. There were some problems (for example the aforementioned death notices that were not informative but belonged to some other sub-type) but in general the template worked well when analyzing notices the template was mostly created for, and the study was a success.

7 Conclusion

This thesis set out to examine death notices as a text type and how the structural elements of this particular text type have developed in The New York Times newspaper between 1852 and 2002. The first aim of this study was to see how the structural elements have developed diachronically, as this kind of development has not been observed in American newspapers before. The data used in this study consist of a micro corpus of the NYT death notices that was collected in mostly 20-year intervals. In total, there were nine sample years and 216 sample death notices altogether.

The research was conducted by using a template model created especially for categorizing and analyzing different linguistic elements in death notices. The template model was originally created for English newspapers by Udo Fries in 1990 and it was developed further by Sarah Borde in 2015. The extended model created by Borde was used in this study. The second and third aims of this study were to see if the template model could be applied to American newspapers without much trouble, and if the developments of the structural elements in American death notices follow same patterns of development as the structural elements in English death notices.

The analysis revealed that some of the structural elements have developed in a similar way in the NYT as in English newspapers but other elements have developed in partially or completely different ways. However, the template could in general be applied well to the NYT death notices and all the elements identified in the template model could be found in the NYT as well. The only element whose development was identical on both continents was NAME, which can be considered the only truly obligatory element of any death notice. In general, the development of the different elements has not been stagnant in the NYT, as there were considerable changes in the frequencies and linguistic realizations of the elements over the 150-year period of investigation.

This study was limited to the text type of death notices and other death-related text types, such as obituaries, were excluded from this study. Therefore, possible future topics for research could include comparative studies between death notices and obituaries to further establish the difference between these text types. In addition, further research could and should be conducted by compiling a more thorough corpus from The New York Times archives and/or a corpus that includes newspapers from other parts of the United States as well. A more comprehensive study including material from other parts of the U.S. should be conducted to fully observe the development of death notices in the United States.

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APPENDIX 1: LIST OF THE NEW YORK TIME DEATH NOTICES USED IN THIS THESIS

1. January 12, 1852: Elizabeth R. Skaats
2. January 24, 1852: William Clark, Jr.
3. February 2, 1852: Ann
4. February 13, 1852: Samuel Syms
5. March 9, 1852: Mary M. Many
6. March 29, 1852: Theo[d]ore Suth[a]rd
7. April 9, 1852: Ida Judith Kip
8. April 26, 1852: John Young
9. May 1, 1852: Mary Jane
10. May 13, 1852: Samuel McAlister
11. June 4, 1852: Susan Ann Morgan
12. June 18, 1852: Charlie Sherman
13. July 12, 1852: Lucy Hebard
14. July 30, 1852: Francis Eugene
15. August 3, 1852: Sarah
16. August 18, 1852: John Le Maire
17. September 6, 1852: Sarah
18. September 24, 1852: Augustus Warden
19. October 9, 1852: Mary Blauvelt
20. October 20, 1852: Geo. Stoutenbergh
21. November 2, 1852: Elizabeth W.
22. November 19, 1852: Charles
23. December 9, 1852: Mrs. Richardson
24. December 29, 1852: Richard Doty

25. January 5, 1872: BROWNELL – Ida V.
26. January 23, 1872: ADAMS – Cromwel Adams
27. February 14, 1872: BRUEN – Ann
28. February 29, 1872: BOGGS – John D. Boggs
29. March 7, 1872: BALDWIN – Nettie J. Baldwin
30. March 24, 1872: BARLOW – George Barlow
31. April 2, 1872: COOK – Elizabeth Cook
32. April 17, 1872: ANTHONY – William R. Anthony
33. May 10, 1872: CONWAY – Maggie L. Conway
34. May 26, 1872: ANTHONY – Jacob Anthony
35. June 3, 1872: DRUMGOLD – Maria
36. June 18, 1872: BARBER – Aaron Ogden Barber
37. July 12, 1872: BARTLEMAN – Eleanor B.
38. July 28, 1872: BOGART – infant son [unnamed]
39. August 8, 1872: BABB – Anna Earle
40. August 20, 1872: BAIRD – Thomas W.
41. September 1, 1872: VAN VORST – Katie
42. September 21, 1872: ARNOLD – Frances
43. October 4, 1872: GREGORY – Mary Halliday
44. October 16, 1872: BOYD – Alexander M. Boyd

45. November 6, 1872: ARMSTRONG – Joanna Armstrong
46. November 22, 1872: CHATILLON – John Chatillon
47. December 4, 1872: ABBERLEY – Leonora Bell
48. December 31, 1872: CAMPBELL – Frederick A. Campbell

49. January 3, 1892: AGATE-PURDY – Ann Maria Agate
50. January 19, 1892: ACKERMAN – John Edward, Jr.
51. February 1, 1892: ALLEN – Julia R. Allen
52. February 26, 1892: BERLINER – Rudolph
53. March 5, 1892: CONNING – Mary A. Conning
54. March 20, 1892: FIELD – Richard R. Field
55. April 4, 1892: CHAUNCEY – Mary [R]enshaw
56. April 22, 1892: BENTON – Wm. H. Benton
57. May 10, 1892: BYNNER – Jane Bynner
58. May 20, 1892: BECHTEL – Edward U. Bechtel
59. June 7, 1892: COWPERTHWAIT – P[h]ebe A.
60. June 29, 1892: CATHCART – George R. Cathcart
61. July 11, 1892: BEDELL – Mary A.
62. July 23, 1892: EICKELBERG – Ernest Charles
63. August 2, 1892: COLEMAN – Catharine A.
64. August 17, 1892: QUIMBY – William David Quimby
65. September 6, 1892: BARTOW – Maria E.
66. September 25, 1892: GUIDET – Charles Guidet
67. October 9, 1892: DAVIS – Mary Robbins
68. October 18, 1892: FERGUSON – Albert
69. November 8, 1892: DE RHAM – Anna Taylor de Rham
70. November 24, 1892: DUNHAM – Edward Dunham
71. December 12, 1892: FERRIS – Charlotte E.
72. December 28, 1892: BLAUVELT – Isaac N. Blauvelt

73. January 5, 1912: DEEVES – Minnie Quin Deeves
74. January 22, 1912: BAUER – John Granger (Daddy) Bauer
75. February 3, 1912: ALLAIRE – Emma M.
76. February 15, 1912: BELDEN – Charles Denison Belden
77. March 8, 1912: ANDREI – Henriette de [B]ermingham
78. March 27, 1912: CROPSEY – William J. Cropsey
79. April 2, 1912: BARNES – Elizabeth Denny
80. April 18, 1912: ALLEN – Augustus H. Allen
81. May 7, 1912: BROOKS – Deborah Brooks
82. May 29, 1912: ADEE – Philip Henry Adee
83. June 1, 1912: BEERS – Bertha Purdy Beers
84. June 20, 1912: BRAUNSDORF – Henry R.
85. July 4, 1912: BAILEY – Jennie H. Winchester
86. July 19, 1912: CHILDE – J. E. Childe
87. August 9, 1912: ADAMS – Jeane Johnston Reid
88. August 28, 1912: BRADLEY – Henry J. Bradley
89. September 12, 1912: ANDERSON – Jane Anderson
90. September 30, 1912: COHN – Manheim Cohn

91. October 11, 1912: ABBOTT – Grace Van Dusen
92. October 25, 1912: AMBERG – Henry H. Amberg
93. November 6, 1912: BARNUM – Tillie
94. November 24, 1912: BROWN – Joel Woolsey Brown
95. December 14, 1912: BARNES – Florence A.
96. December 31, 1912: BURFORD – Thomas S. Burford

97. January 1, 1932: AHERN – Josephine C. (nee Scott)
98. January 12, 1932: ALLEN – Martin Smith Allen
99. February 7, 1932: APPLEBY – Elizabeth Ann
100. February 29, 1932: BENNET – Wilton R.
101. March 4, 1932: BANKS – Ella W.
102. March 17, 1932: BAHR – Henry
103. April 2, 1932: ANDREWS – Virginia Clayton Andrews
104. April 23, 1932: DALY – Daniel
105. May 6, 1932: ADLER – Mildred B.
106. May 25, 1932: ALLES-NICHOLAS – Naftel
107. June 3, 1932: BEMISH – Agnes Collender
108. June 19, 1932: BARKELEW – Edwin A. Stevens Barkelew
109. July 5, 1932: ALLEN – Anna
110. July 27, 1932: ABRAMS – Elias
111. August 11, 1932: ABOLIN – Eleanor
112. August 30, 1932: CONNERS – Joseph G.
113. September 15, 1932: BLOOM – Sarah
114. September 28, 1932: ABRAMOVITZ – Nathan
115. October 8, 1932: AHRENHOLZ – Marie Ahrenholz (nee Nunenkamp)
116. October 18, 1932: BARTO – Everett Abbott Barto
117. November 9, 1932: BENNETT – Catherine Elizabeth
118. November 21, 1932: BEYER – Albert J. Beyer
119. December 16, 1932: ALEON – Salita
120. December 22, 1932: ADLER – Philip

121. January 9, 1952: ANDREWS – May F.
122. January 21, 1952: AUDERBACH – Sam (Samuel)
123. February 5, 1952: ANNIS – Esther
124. February 22, 1952: BERLIN – Jacob
125. March 10, 1952: BALLARD – Emma Ballin
126. March 29, 1952: BARNETT - Russell
127. April 1, 1952: AMERICAN – Sarah (Sad[i]e)
128. April 18, 1952: BAROUCH – Nissim
129. May 2, 1952: BATCHELLER – Elizabeth Clemson
130. May 25, 1952: APLINGTON – Horace T. Aplington
131. June 7, 1952: ALTSCHUL – Camilla
132. June 23, 1952: ABRAHAMS – George Z.
133. July 11, 1952: BASSINE – Kate
134. July 20, 1952: BEATTIE – Clifford Scott
135. August 6, 1952: BADGLEY – Mrs. Frank (Martha M.)
136. August 28, 1952: BACH – Frederick

137. September 3, 1952: ABBATE – Vincenzina
138. September 16, 1952: ATTIAS – Saul
139. October 4, 1952: ARON – Fannie
140. October 17, 1952: ASCHE – Sidney L.
141. November 12, 1952: BERNFELD – Rose
142. November 27, 1952: ARNOLD – William Campbell
143. December 8, 1952: BURKE – Claire Taylor
144. December 20, 1952: BIRENBACH – Charles

145. January 12, 1972: AARONSON – Beatrice
146. January 31, 1972: BOATE – John G. H.
147. February 8, 1972: ALEXANDER – Edith R. S.
148. February 22, 1972: ANDERSON – Victor (Mr. Marina)
149. March 5, 1972: BINN – Elizabeth
150. March 30, 1972: ADAMS – Howard
151. April 3, 1972: ARONSON – Dee (Myrt[l]e)
152. April 27, 1972: BAKER – Charles Albert
153. May 1, 1972: ALDRICH – Harriet
154. May 18, 1972: ALUFF – Samuel
155. June 2, 1972: ADDICKS – Dorothy G.
156. June 29, 1972: BARROWS – Herbert L.
157. July 10, 1972: BLECHER – Pauline
158. July 19, 1972: ALTCHEK – Morris
159. August 9, 1972: BENNETT – Juliet H.
160. August 25, 1972: AHLGREN – Carl G.
161. September 11, 1972: BRIGHT – Margaret D.
162. September 23, 1972: ADAMS – Orson, Jr.
163. October 4, 1972: ALBERT – Yelta
164. October 26, 1972: BADER – Sidney
165. November 7, 1972: BLOOM – Edith Estelle (nee Katzen)
166. November 24, 1972: ADLER – Lawrence
167. December 6, 1972: BERFUS – Ruth
168. December 28, 1972: AFFLECK – James Gelston, Jr.

169. January 3, 1992: BARRY – Elizabeth M.
170. January 20, 1992: BOURNE – James G.
171. February 11, 1992: ANDORS – Phyllis
172. February 29, 1992: ALBIN – Harry
173. March 1, 1992: BERMAN – Lubka Smrikarov
174. March 17, 1992: BURTON – Harold B.
175. April 9, 1992: ANTOLINI – Marie-Louise
176. April 25, 1992: DONNELLEY – Gaylord
177. May 7, 1992: BLAKE – Mary
178. May 28, 1992: BADEN – Irving
179. June 8, 1992: BIRNS – Renee
180. June 23, 1992: ALLEN – Peter
181. July 2, 1992: ABDUSHELI – Irene (nee Princess Sidamon-Eristoff)
182. July 16, 1992: APREA – Robert

183. August 5, 1992: ASTOR – Pearl
184. August 20, 1992: BATTS – James A., Jr.
185. September 10, 1992: COLE – Ruth, Schrenzel
186. September 21, 1992: ALPERT – Nathan
187. October 6, 1992: ALLEN – Gertrude Loeb
188. October 24, 1992: BUHLER – Nelson
189. November 4, 1992: ABRAMS – Martha
190. November 19, 1992: BERNSTEIN – Victor H.
191. December 12, 1992: CREASY – Edith Margaret (nee Shore)
192. December 31, 1992: ALBERT – Stephen

193. January 2, 2002: ABOODI – Esther
194. January 27, 2002: ALLGIER – Robert
195. February 8, 2002: BERNSTEIN – Stella
196. February 21, 2002: ANDERSON – David E.
197. March 4, 2002: BALDASSARE – Henrietta (nee Aster)
198. March 28, 2002: ABRAHAM – Jacob W.
199. April 6, 2002: BANKS – Edythe
200. April 22, 2002: CAMPO – J. William ("Bill")
201. May 7, 2002: BENAMY – Roslyn (nee Heldecorn)
202. May 24, 2002: BARTSCH – Thomas W., Sr.
203. June 1, 2002: COOPER – Bertha
204. June 20, 2002: BROOK – David
205. July 3, 2002: DEGENER – Camilla Solm
206. July 30, 2002: BERDY – Irving
207. August 5, 2002: BLASKEWICZ – Gloria
208. August 29, 2002: ABRAHAM – Alexander "Sandy"
209. September 10, 2002: BANDELL – Eva
210. September 25, 2002: ABBOTT – William R.
211. October 9, 2002: BACKAR – Heather Hazell
212. October 23, 2002: ANDER – Max (Mike)
213. November 11, 2002: ACKOFF - Cele (Relman)
214. November 26, 2002: CAMPBELL – David A.
215. December 15, 2002: ABRAHAM – Lynne D.
216. December 31, 2002: ALLEN – John Davison

APPENDIX 2: FINNISH SUMMARY / SUOMENKIELINEN LYHENNELMÄ

Tämä tutkielma käsittelee amerikkalaisessa The New York Times -sanomalehdessä julkaistuja kuolinilmoituksia ja niiden tyypillisiä piirteitä. Kuolinilmoitus-nimeä käytetään lyhyistä sanomalehti-ilmoituksista, joissa kerrotaan henkilön kuolemasta ja jotka ovat tyypillisesti yksityishenkilöiden jättämiä. Kuolinilmoituksia ei kuitenkaan tule sekoittaa muistokirjoituksiin, jotka ovat pidempiä, sisältävät elämäkerrallisia elementtejä ja ovat yleensä sanomalehden toimittajien kirjoittamia. Tutkielman tarkoituksena on tarkastella, miten kuolinilmoitusten erilaiset rakenteelliset elementit ovat kehittyneet The New York Timesissa vuosien saatossa, sekä verrata tätä kehitystä englantilaisten sanomalehtien kuolinilmoitusten kehitykseen. Analyysin pohjana käytän erityisesti kuolinilmoitusten analysoimiseen tarkoitettua mallia, jonka on alun perin kehittänyt Udo Fries vuonna 1990 ja jota Sarah Borde on laajentanut vuonna 2015. Koska Borden versio mallista on uudempi ja laajempi, päätin käyttää ainoastaan sitä analyysissäni. Tämä tutkimus on alustava tapaustutkimus, jossa keskitytään vain yhteen sanomalehteen ja sen kuolinilmoitusten kehitykseen.

Ensimmäinen sanomalehti julkaistiin Yhdysvalloissa jo vuonna 1690, mutta varsinainen sanomalehtikustannustoiminta alkoi vasta 1700-luvun alussa. Amerikkalaisten sanomalehtien päätarkoitus oli alun perin välittää uutisia ulkomailta, mutta vähitellen ne alkoivat julkaista uutisia myös kotimaan asioista. Amerikkalaiset sanomalehdet saivat toimia melko vapaasti 1700-luvulla, ja sanomalehtitoiminta levisikin nopeasti pitkin Yhdysvaltoja. 1830-luvulla Yhdysvaltojen sanomalehtikenttää uudisti niin kutsuttu *penny press* -ilmiö, jonka ideana oli tehdä nopeasti rahaa valmistamalla pienehköjä ja huonompilaatuisia sanomalehtiä, joita voitiin myydä yhdellä pennillä eli huomattavasti normaalia sanomalehteä halvemmalla. Myös The New York Times aloitti aikanaan penny press -sanomalehtenä, mutta lehti kykeni vuosien kuluessa uudistamaan itseään ja siitä kehittyikin myöhemmin kansainvälisesti arvostettu sanomalehti. Sanomalehdet onnistuivat pitämään pintansa Amerikassa myös radion ja television aikakausina 1900-luvun alkupuoliskolla, mutta painettujen lehtien suosio alkoi laskea rajusti 2000-luvun alussa internetin yleistyttyä yksityistalouksissa. Lehtikustantamot ovat paikoitellen onnistuneet korjaamaan tilannetta siirtämällä uutistoimintaansa internettiin, mutta 2010-luvun tilanne ei näytä hyvältä perinteisille sanomalehdille, sillä sosiaalisen median ja sen kautta jaettujen uutisten suosio on kasvanut huomattavasti, ohittaen painetut sanomalehdet uutisten lähteenä Amerikassa.

Tutkielman aineisto on kerätty amerikkalaisesta The New York Times -sanomalehdestä vuosien 1852 ja 2002 väliseltä ajalta. Aikaväliltä valittiin yhdeksän esimerkkivuotta (1852, 1872, 1892, 1912, 1932, 1952, 1972, 1992 ja 2002), joista jokaiselta kerättiin 24 esimerkkikuolinilmoitusta, eli yhteensä aineisto käsittää 216 esimerkkikuolinilmoitusta. Jokaisen esimerkkivuoden esimerkkikuolinilmoituksista 12 on miesvainajien kuolinilmoituksia ja 12 naisvainajien, jotta pystyisin analyysissä huomioimaan myös mahdolliset sukupuolierot ilmoitusten kielenkäytössä. Analyysi pohjautuu malliin, joka on tarkoitettu erityisesti kuolinilmoitusten analysoimiseen. Udo Fries kehitti mallin englantilaisen *The Times* -sanomalehden pohjalta vuonna 1990 ja Sarah Borde laajensi sitä vuonna 2015 analysoimalla useampaa englantilaista sanomalehteä. Friesin versio mallista sisälsi yhdeksän keskeisintä kuolinilmoitusten elementtiä: PÄIVÄYS, KUOLINPAIKKA, IKÄ, OLOSUHTEET, NIMI, SUKULAISUUS, SYNTYPERÄ, AMMATTI ja MUUT TIEDOT. Borde lisäsi malliin vielä neljä uutta elementtiä: KUOLEMAA ILMENTÄVÄ VERBI, SURU, HAUTAJAISET ja PYYNNÖT. Koska Borden versio mallista on uudempi ja laajempi, päätin käyttää ainoastaan sitä analyysissäni. Tämän tutkielman keskeinen tavoite on tarkastella, miten nämä eri elementit ovat kehittyneet The New York Times -sanomalehdessä 150 vuoden aikana. Analyysissäni tarkastelen, kuinka yleisiä elementit ovat eri esimerkkivuosina sekä millaisia rakenteita niiden ilmaisussa on käytetty. Näitä tuloksia verrataan Borden tuloksiin, jotta nähdään ovatko The New York Timesin kuolinilmoitukset kehittyneet samalla tavalla kuin englantilaisten sanomalehtien kuolinilmoitukset. Samalla koko tutkielma tarkastelee, kuinka hyvin englantilaisten sanomalehtien pohjalta muodostettua mallia voi soveltaa amerikkalaisen sanomalehden analysoimiseen.

Analyysin tukena käytetään lisäksi Grzegorz Cebratin vuonna 2016 laatimaa luokittelua kuolinilmoitusten eri alatyypeistä. Kuolinilmoitukset voidaan jakaa näihin eri alatyyppeihin niiden rakenteellisten sekä sisällöllisten erojen perusteella. Suurin osa kuolinilmoituksista on niin kutsuttuja *informatiivisia kuolinilmoituksia*, joiden on tarkoitus olla mahdollisimman informatiivisia. Informatiivisten kuolinilmoitusten lisäksi Cebrat määritteli kolme muuta alatyyppiä: *jäähyväiskuolinilmoitus, osanotto-kuolinilmoitus* sekä *vuosipäiväkuolinilmoitus*. Jäähyväiskuolinilmoituksia käytetään vainajan muistelemiseen, osanottokuolinilmoituksen avulla ilmoituksen jättäjä voi esittää surunvalittelunsa esimerkiksi vainajan perheelle, ja vuosipäiväkuolinilmoituksia voidaan käyttää vainajan kuolin- tai syntymäpäivän juhlistamiseen. Näistä alatyypeistä vain vuosipäiväkuolinilmoituksia ei esiintynyt tämän tutkimuksen tutkimusaineistossa.

Analyysissä kuolinilmoitusten eri osat luokiteltiin mallin mukaisesti ja jokainen elementti analysoitiin yksitellen. Tutkimusaineistosta saatuja tuloksia vertailtiin myös Borden englantilaisista sanomalehdistä saamiin tuloksiin. Mallin ensimmäinen elementti on NIMI, jota voidaan pitää kuolinilmoitusten ainoana pakollisena elementtinä. Tutkimusaineistosta löytyi vain yksi kuolinilmoitus, jossa vainajan nimeä ei mainita ollenkaan. Vainajan nimi on kuolinilmoitusten informatiivisuuden ja kommuni-katiivisuuden kannalta erittäin tärkeä elementti, sillä kuolinilmoitus ei täytä perimmäistä tarkoitustaan, jos sen lukijalle ei ole selvää, kenen kuolemasta ilmoituksessa ilmoitetaan. Nimi oli yhtä merkittävä elementti myös Englannissa, sillä Bordekin löysi analyysissään vain kaksi kuolinilmoitusta 1800-luvulta, joissa vainajaa ei ollut nimetty.

Mallin seuraava elementti on KUOLEMAA ILMAISEVA VERBI, joka on yksi Borden malliin lisäämistä elementeistä. Kuolemaa ilmaisevat verbit on yleensä jätetty pois kuolinilmoituksista, sillä kuolemaan viittaavat sanat ovat perinteisesti olleet tabuja yhteiskunnassa ja kuolinilmoitukset ovat kontekstissaan ymmärrettäviä myös ilman erillistä verbiä. Tutkimusaineiston alkupuolelta löytyi muutama kiertoilmaisuverbi kuolemiselle, mutta suurin osa esiintymistä löytyi kuitenkin vasta vuodelta 2002. Borde huomauttaakin lisänneensä elementin malliin juuri sen takia, että kuolemaa ilmaisevat verbit alkoivat yleistyä Englannissa 1960-luvulta alkaen.

Seuraava analysoitava elementti on PÄIVÄMÄÄRÄ. Ainoa sekä englantilaisissa että The New York Times -sanomalehdessä julkaistuissa kuolinilmoituksissa ilmoitettu päivämäärä on vainajan kuolinpäivä, eikä esimerkiksi syntymäpäivää ole tapana mainita. Englannissa päivämäärä oli alusta alkaen melko tärkeä elementti ja sen tärkeys on vain korostunut siirryttäessä kohti nykypäivää. The New York Timesissa päivämäärä puolestaan oli alun perin hyvinkin tärkeä elementti mutta sen merkitys väheni tasaisesti siirryttäessä kohti 2000-lukua. Kuitenkin vähintään puolet jokaisen esimerkkivuoden kuolinilmoituksista sisältävät päivämäärän. 1800-luvulla päivämäärä ilmoitettiin The New York Timesissa yleensä muodossa *on [weekday], [month] [day]*, mutta 1900-luvulla sen korvasi *on [month] [day], [year]* -rakenne, joka säilyi käytetyimpänä rakenteena tutkimusaineiston loppuun saakka.

Päivämäärän jälkeen vuorossa on KUOLINPAIKKA. Kuolinpaikka ei ole kovin keskeinen elementti The New York Timesissa, sillä sen esiintymisprosentti ei nouse minään esimerkkivuonna yli 54%. Englannissa kuolinpaikan esiintyvyys kuolin-ilmoituksissa taas vaihtelee Borden mukaan 50% ja 90% välillä, mikä tekee siitä huomattavasti suositumman elementin englantilaisissa kuolinilmoituksissa. The New

York Timesissa suosituimmaksi rakenteeksi nousee *in/at [city], [state]*, joka on yleisin rakenne kuolinpaikan ilmaisemiseen vuoden 1892 jälkeen. Näitä eri prepositioilla varustettuja mutta muuten samankaltaisia rakenteita kohdellaan tässä tutkimuksessa saman rakenteen eri variaatioina. Joskus tämän elementin analysoiminen The New York Timesissa oli kuitenkin haasteellista, sillä esimerkiksi alueiden nimiin liittyviä lyhennyksiä käytettiin joskus ristiriitaisesti. Esimerkiksi lyhenne N.Y. saattoi toisissa kuolinilmoituksissa viitata New Yorkin osavaltioon ja toisissa kuolinilmoituksissa New Yorkin kaupunkiin.

Seuraava elementti on OLOSUHTEET, jolla viitataan kuolemaa edeltäviin olosuhteisiin. Olosuhteet on The New York Timesissa melko yleinen elementti ennen vuotta 1912, jonka jälkeen se käytännössä katoaa vuoteen 2002 asti. Silloinkaan olosuhteet ei kuitenkaan nouse takaisin kovin keskeiseksi elementiksi. Borden analyysissä olosuhteiden esiintyvyys vaihtelee Englannissa 8% ja 30% välillä, mutta sielläkin on havaittavissa tämän elementin suosion selkeä nousu 2000-luvulla. Vuonna 1852 The New York Timesissa suosituin rakenne olosuhteiden kuvaamiseen on mainita suoraan kuolinsyy, joka oli usein jonkinlainen tauti. Vuodesta 1872 alkaen sanaa *suddenly* käytetään yleensä kuvaamaan kuoleman olosuhteita ja vuonna 1912 *suddenly* ja *after a [...] illness* ovat yhtä suosittuja rakenteita. *After a [...] illness* -rakenteessa käytetään yleensä temporaaliadjektiivia (esim. *short*) joka määrittää kuoleman olosuhteita tarkemmin. Englannissa *after a [...] illness* -rakenne oli suosituin 1800-luvulla, mutta *suddenly* korvasi sen 1900-luvun aikana. Molemmissa maissa *peacefully* on yleisin tälle elementille käytetty rakenne 2000-luvulla.

Olosuhteiden jälkeen mallin seuraava elementti on AMMATTI. Ammatti on hyvin marginaalinen elementti The New York Timesissa, sillä se ei esiinny ollenkaan ennen vuotta 1992. Englannissa ammatti on aluksi tärkeä elementti, mutta sen keskeisyys laskee 1800-luvun lopulla ja 1900-luvun aikana. Borden mukaan sen suosio osoittaa kuitenkin 2000-luvulla taas elpymisen merkkejä. Molemmissa maissa ammatti on useammin ilmoitettu miesvainajien kuolinilmoituksissa, vaikkakin The New York Timesissa eroavaisuudet eivät ole kovin jyrkkiä. The New York Timesissa ammatti ilmoitetaan useimmiten osanottokuolinilmoituksissa, joissa esimerkiksi yritys ilmaisee osanottonsa työntekijänsä kuoleman johdosta. Näissä ilmoituksissa ammatti on yleensä yhdistävä tekijä kuolinilmoituksen jättäjän ja vainajan välillä esimerkiksi perhesuhteiden sijaan.

Ammatin jälkeen analyysivuorossa on SUKULAISUUS. Sukulaisuus on yksi keskeisimmistä The New York Timesissa esiintyvistä elementeistä, sillä sen suosio on

huomattavasti korkeampi kuin Borden analysoimissa englantilaisissa kuolinilmoituksissa. Sukulaisuus on siitä erikoinen elementti, että sen merkitys on selkeästi muuttunut vuosien saatossa sekä Englannissa että The New York Timesissa. Alun perin sukulaisuus oli kuvaileva elementti, joka mahdollisti vainajan tarkemman esittelyn hänen sukulaisuussuhteidensa kautta. Uudemmissa kuolinilmoituksissa tämä kuvailevuus on kuitenkin jäänyt taka-alalle ja sukulaisuuselementtiä käytetään enemmän surevien omaisten ja ystävien nimeämiseen. Sukulaisuuselementti esiintyy sekä Englannissa että The New York Timesissa useammin naisvainajien kuolinilmoituksissa, mutta The New York Timesissa sukupuolierot pienenevät 1900-luvun kuluessa. 1800-luvulla The New York Timesin kuolinilmoituksissa mainittu sukulainen oli yleisimmin miessukulainen (aviomies tai isä), mutta naissukulaiset alkoivat yleistyä 1900-luvun alkupuolelta alkaen. Sen lisäksi 1800-luvulla kuolinilmoituksissa mainittiin yleensä vain yksi tai kaksi sukulaista, mutta vuoden 1932 jälkeen sukulaisten määrä kuolinilmoituksissa alkaa kasvaa. Sekä Englannissa että The New York Timesissa sukulaisuuselementti ilmaistaan yleensä rakenteella, jossa on sukulaisuussuhdetta kuvaava sana sekä perheenjäsenen nimi (esim. *wife of David*). Sukulaisuuselementin yhteydessä voidaan analysoida myös vainajaan liitettyjä määritteitä, jotka usein kuvaavat kuolinilmoituksen jättäjän läheistä suhdetta vainajaan. Määritteet voivat liittyä ikään (esim. *youngest* tai *eldest*) tai niillä voidaan ilmaista kiintymystä (esim. *beloved wife/husband* tai *dearest grandmother*). Määritteet alkavat yleistyä The New York Timesissa vuodesta 1932 alkaen ja kahdesta yllä mainitusta tyypistä kiintymystä ilmaisevat määritteet ovat huomattavasti yleisempiä.

Seuraava analysoitava elementti on vainajan SYNTYPERÄ. Syntyperällä viitataan paikkaan, josta vainaja on alun perin kotoisin. Yleisesti syntyperä ei ole kovin keskeinen elementti The New York Timesissa, sillä suosituimmillaankin vain kolmasosa kuolinilmoituksista sisältää tämän elementin. Tämän elementin analysointi oli kuitenkin erittäin vaikeaa, sillä se on usein ilmaistu erittäin epätarkasti eikä kuolinilmoituksesta aina pysty päättelemään, keneen tai mihin tämä elementti viittaa. Joskus elementti voi vainajan sijaan viitata hänen sukulaisiinsa tai vaihtoehtoisesti elementistä ei pysty päättelemään viittaako se vainajan syntymäpaikkaan, hänen edelliseen asuinpaikkaansa vai hänen kuolinpaikkaansa. Borde ei juurikaan analysoinut tätä elementtiä omassa tutkimuksessaan sen monitulkintaisuuden vuoksi, vaan ehdotti, että elementin määritelmää tulisi tarkentaa, jotta sitä voisi paremmin hyödyntää kuolinilmoitusten analysoimisessa.

Syntyperän jälkeen mallissa on vuorossa IKÄ. Ikä oli alun perin kohtalaisen yleinen elementti The New York Timesissa, mutta sen merkitys on vähentynyt

huomattavasti 1800-luvun jälkeen. Esimerkkikuolinilmoitukset vuodelta 2002 kuitenkin antavat ymmärtää, että tämän elementin yleisyys saattaisi kuitenkin olla taas kasvussa The New York Timesissa. Suosituimmat rakenteet iän ilmaisemiseen The New York Timesissa ovat *in the [...] year of his/her age* ja *aged [...] years.* Rakennetta *aged [...] years* suositaan alle 50-vuotiaiden vainajien kuolinilmoituksissa, mutta sukupuoli-kohtaisia eroja rakenteiden käytössä ei ole. Vuonna 2002 ikä vaikuttaa olevan elementti, joka lisätään yleensä yli 60-vuotiaiden vainajien kuolinilmoituksiin. Englannissa tämä elementti on Borden mukaan kehittynyt melko samalla tavalla, joskin sen suosio ei ole laskenut yhtä paljon 1900-luvun aikana. Englannissa rakenne *aged [...] years* on myös suosituin läpi koko tutkimusaineiston, joskin se esiintyy usein ilman sanaa *years* rakenteen lopussa.

SURU on mallin seuraava elementti ja se on myös seuraava Borden malliin tekemistä lisäyksistä. Suru ei ole kummassakaan maassa kovin keskeinen elementti, mutta se on silti hyvä lisäys, sillä analyysi on aina tarkempaa kun kuolinilmoitusten osista mahdollisimman harva sijoitetaan muut tiedot -elementin alle. Surua ei kummassakaan maassa ilmaista kovin avoimesti, mikä on myös vaikuttanut tämän elementin esiintyvyyteen kuolinilmoituksissa. Englannissa surua ilmaistaan Borden mukaan yleensä verbien kautta, kun taas The New York Timesissa adverbiaalifraasit ovat suositumpia, vaikka verbejäkin on löydettävissä. The New York Timesissa huomioitavaa on myös se, että kaikki kuolinilmoitukset, joissa suru esiintyy, ovat joko osanotto- tai jäähyväiskuolinilmoituksia, eivätkä perinteisen mallin mukaiset informatiiviset kuolinilmoitukset sisällä tätä elementtiä ollenkaan.

Kolmanneksi viimeinen elementti on HAUTAJAISET, joka on myös kolmas Borden malliin lisäämä elementti. Hautajaiset on erittäin tärkeä elementti The New York Timesin kuolinilmoituksissa, joissa se esiintyykin huomattavasti englantilaisia kuolinilmoituksia useammin. Elementtinä hautajaiset koostuu hautajaisten järjestelyihin liittyvistä tiedoista, kuten esimerkiksi hautajaisten ajasta ja paikasta. Joskus järjestelyt ovat vielä kesken tai hautajaiset ovat yksityiset, jolloin nämä tiedot korvaavat hautajaisten yksityiskohdat. Hautajaiset on erityisen kommunikatiivinen elementti, sillä erityisesti 1800-luvun kuolinilmoitukset The New York Timesissa sisälsivät usein julkisia kutsuja hautajaisiin hautajaisten järjestelyiden yksityiskohtien lisäksi. Hautajaiset on erittäin hyvä lisäys malliin, sillä se on ainakin The New York Timesin kuolinilmoituksissa erittäin keskeinen elementti.

Toiseksi viimeinen analysoitava elementti oli PYYNNÖT. Pyynnöt on viimeinen niistä neljästä elementistä, jotka Borde lisäsi malliin. Pyynnöt sisältää kaikki kuolinilmoituksissa esiintyvät esiintymät, jotka puhuttelevat lukijaan suoraan ja pyytävät tätä toimimaan tietyllä tavalla. Borde jakoi pyynnöt viiteen alalajiin, joita myös minä käytin omassa analyysissäni: *kopiointi*, *kukat*, *lahjoitukset*, *tiedustelut* ja *tiedonannot*. Pyyntöjä esiintyy The New York Timesissa läpi koko tutkimusaineiston, vaikka yleisesti se ei ole kovin keskeinen elementti. Kaikki alalajit eivät myöskään esiinny tasaisesti tutkimusaineistossa, vaan eri alalajit ilmaantuvat ja poistuvat käytöstä vuosien saatossa. Englannissa pyynnöt on Borden mukaan erittäin olennainen elementti, ohittaen tärkeydessä mm. sukulaisuuden, iän ja kuolinpaikan. *Kopiointi* on ensimmäinen The New York Timesissa esiintyvä pyyntö. Kopiointi liitetään yleensä kuolinilmoituksen loppuun ja sillä pyydetään muita sanomalehtiä kopioimaan kuolinilmoituksen tiedot. Kopiointi on siitä erikoinen pyyntö, että sitä ei ole osoitettu sanomalehden tavallisille lukijoille, vaan aiottu yleisö on muiden sanomalehtien toimittajat. Tietojen kopiointi sanomalehdestä toiseen oli erittäin yleistä erityisesti 1800-luvulla, joten siksi tämänkaltaiset suorat pyynnöt eivät kuitenkaan ole kovinkaan erikoisia. Kopiointi vaikuttaa myös olevan yhdysvaltalaisista sanomalehdistä lähtöisin oleva tapa, sillä esimerkiksi The New York Timesissa se esiintyy vuosien 1852 ja 1932 välillä, mutta Englannissa Borde löysi sen esiintymiä vain vuosien 1881 ja 1921 väliltä. *Kukat* on yleisin The New York Timesissa esiintyvä pyyntö. Kukat esiintyy ensimmäisen kerran vuonna 1892 ja on ollut käytössä siitä lähtien. Englannissa tämä pyyntö esiintyy Borden mukaan ensimmäisen kerran vasta 1900-luvun alussa. Yleisin kukkiin liitetty pyyntö on, ettei kukkia lähetettäisi vainajan perheelle ollenkaan. Kukat yhdistetään usein *lahjoitusten* kanssa rakenteeseen, jossa kukkien lähettämisen sijaan pyydetään lahjoitusta jollekin taholle. Lahjoituspyynnöt esiintyvät toki myös itsenäisesti. Lahjoitukset on uudempi pyyntö, sillä se esiintyy Borden tutkimusaineistossa ensimmäisen kerran vuonna 1941 ja The New York Timesissa vasta vuonna 1972. *Tiedustelut* on myös uudempi pyyntö The New York Timesissa, jossa se esiintyy ensimmäisen kerran vasta vuonna 1992. Borden mukaan Englannissa näyttää tämän pyynnön kohdalla olevan sanomalehtikohtaisia eroja, mutta ensimmäisen kerran tiedustelut esiintyy jo vuonna 1921. Tiedustelut ohjaa lukijan ottamaan yhteyttä kuolinilmoituksessa mainittuun kirkkoon tai hautaustoimistoon saadakseen lisätietoja hautajaisista ja/tai muista vainajaan liittyvistä asioista. Viimeinen pyyntö, *tiedonannot*, ei esiinny The New York Timesissa ollenkaan. Tiedonannot-pyyntöä käytetään, kun lukijaa pyydetään hyväksymään tieto vainajan kuolemasta. On

mahdollista, että se on nähty tarpeettomana The New York Timesissa, eikä sitä siksi löydy tutkimusaineistosta. On myös mahdollista, että sen käyttö on alun perin englantilainen tapa, joka ei koskaan ehtinyt siirtyä Yhdysvaltoihin asti, sillä tiedonantoja esiintyy Bordenin tutkimusaineistossa vain vuosien 1881 ja 1921 välillä.

Mallin viimeinen elementti oli MUUT TIEDOT. Tämä elementti sisältää kaiken sen tekstin, jota ei ole voitu sijoittaa muiden elementtien alaisuuteen analyysin yhteydessä. Muut tiedot ei ole kovin yleinen elementti The New York Timesissa, vaan se esiintyy vain vuosina 1852, 1992 ja 2002. Englannissa tämä elementti esiintyy kuitenkin läpi koko Borden tutkimusaineiston, sillä sen yleisyys vaihtelee 3% ja 15% välillä ja nousee 23% asti 2000-luvulla. Muut tiedot -elementin analyysi osoittautui myös hankalaksi, sillä sitä ei ole mitenkään määritelty etukäteen. Päätin kuitenkin rajata tämän elementin ulkopuolelle esimerkiksi kuolinilmoitukset, joiden rakenne seuraa jotain muuta alatyyppiä kuin informatiivista kuolinilmoitusta. Tähän päädyin siksi, että muut alatyypit eivät useinkaan sisällä mallin mukaisia elementtejä, vaan suurin osa niiden tekstistä olisi muut tiedot -elementin alle sijoitettavaa materiaalia, eikä tämänkaltainen analyysi tuntunut mielekkäältä. Molemmissa maissa muut tiedot -elementtiä käytetään usein vainajan kehumiseen kuolinilmoituksessa. Tämän elementin avulla voidaan myös esimerkiksi toivoa rauhaa vainajalle tai kertoa kuoleman olosuhteisiin liittyviä lisätietoja. Lisäksi Borde havaitsi Englannissa lyhenteen *R.I.P.* käyttöä sekä vainajan läheisten elämäntilanteisiin liittyviä lisätietoja.

Kuten oli odotettavissa, The New York Timesin ja Borden tutkimien englantilaisten sanomalehtien kuolinilmoitusten väliltä löytyi sekä yhtäläisyyksiä että eroavaisuuksia. Molempia oli havaittavissa sekä kielellisellä tasolla että myös elementtien esiintyvyyksissä eri vuosina. Myös mallin käyttäminen analyysissä sujui keskimäärin ilman suurempia ongelmia, vaikka se olikin alun perin luotu englantilaisten sanomalehtien pohjalta. Tutkimuksessa kävi kuitenkin ilmi, että malli toimii pelkästään informatiivisten kuolinilmoitusten analyysissä, ja muiden alatyyppien analyysiä varten olisi luotava toisenlainen malli tai käytettävä jotain muuta analyysitapaa. Tutkimusaineiston määrä oli myös melko pieni, joten sen perusteella tehtyjä yleistyksiä elementeistä ja niiden esiintyvyyksistä pitäisi kohdella suuntaa antavina tuloksina eikä ehdottomina totuuksina. Tämän tutkimuksen tulokset toimivat kuitenkin alustavana pohjana tulevalle tutkimukselle aiheesta.