Cultural Conceptualisations Relating to D<small>EATH</small> in Irish English from a Diachronic Perspective

Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik

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vorgelegt von

Rebekka Wiesmeier

Prof. Dr. Hans-Georg Wolf

Alisa Egorova, M.A.

Abstract

The present thesis looks at cultural conceptualisations in relation to DEATH in Irish English from a Cultural Linguistic perspective and puts a special focus on the diachronic development of these conceptualisations. For the study, a corpus consisting of 1,400 death notices from the Dublin-based national newspaper *The Irish Times* from 14 historical periods between 1859 and 2023 was compiled, resulting in a highly specialised 70,000-word corpus. First, the manual qualitative analysis of the death notices produced evidence for eight superordinate cultural conceptualisations surrounding DEATH, namely, in the order of their frequency THE DEAD ARE TO BE REMEMBERED OR REGRETTED, DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE, DEATH IS REST, DEATH IS A JOURNEY, DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE, DEATH IS (NOT) A TABOO, DEATH IS GOD'S WILL, and DEATH IS THE END. These conceptualisations were derived from linguistic expressions in the death notices that have these conceptualisations as a cognitive basis. Second, the quantitative comparison of the individual conceptualisations detected diachronic variation, which is interconnected with historical and social developments in Ireland. The thesis, therefore, illustrates the applicability of Cultural Linguistics as an adequate method for diachronic studies interested in culturally determined developments of conceptualisations.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

CL	Cognitive Linguistics
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
CS	Cognitive Sociolinguistics
CuL	Cultural Linguistics
DN	Death notice
IE	Irish English
IRA	Irish Republican Army
L1	First language
L2	Second language
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
WE	World Englishes
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War

List of Glosses

1	1st person
DEP	dependent
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
NEG	negation particle
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRS	present
PST	past
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
VP	verbal particle

List of Tables and Figures

1   Introduction

In the traditional Irish folk song "Finnegan's Wake", performed by *The Dubliners* (The Dubliners 1966) among others, the main character Tim Finnegan drunkenly falls from a ladder at work and dies. At the ensuing wake the mourners fuelled by "pipes, tobacco and brandy punch" start a fight resulting in whisky being spilled over the body. This causes Finnegan to rise from being presumably dead with the witty comment: "Whittle your whiskey around like blazes, t'underin' Jaysus, do ye think I'm dead?" (The Dubliners 1966). Overall, the usually sad event of someone's death here is portrayed in a celebratory, entertaining, and fun way. Whether this humorous and playful aspect of traditional wakes, which was also noted by several authors (Harlow 1997: 140; Lysaght 2003: 405-406; Taylor 1989: 176-177; Witoszek & Sheeran 1998: 27) is reflected in death notices (DNs) in newspapers as well will be one of the concerns in this thesis. Since Witoszek & Sheeran (1998: 26) called these wakes preceding funerals "hallmarks of Irishness" it might be expected that they also play a role in the cultural construction of DEATH in DNs in Ireland.

Contrary to this relaxed approach to death, there is a widespread tabooing of the subject in general (Bultnick 1998: 1; Crespo-Fernández 2006: 101; Gathigia et al. 2018: 359; Sexton 1997: 335). This desire not to discuss the rather depressing topic of death openly leads to the words *death, die,* or *dead* being frequently avoided or substituted by less direct and thus less fear-inducing descriptions like *pass away* or *rest.* These euphemisms soften the confrontation with death and provide "a way to speak about the taboo" (Crespo-Fernández 2006: 102). Therefore, there will probably be a wide range of linguistic expressions in relation to DEATH and DYING, which provides an interesting subject of investigation from a cultural linguistic perspective: the linguistic means to avoid calling death by its name might offer an insight into how people think about death and conceptualise it (Bultnick 1998: 102).

Since death is a central and unavoidable part of the human experience, it is to be expected that conceptualisations of DEATH will be found in cultures all over the world. Irish English (IE) as one of the earliest varieties of English resulting from British colonialism (Peters 2017: 127) seems to be no exception to that. To investigate conceptualisations of death in IE, death notices from newspapers were chosen as a source. Firstly, they can be built into a highly specialised corpus with DEATH as the main point of interest. Secondly, they are easy to obtain for the present and past because they can be accessed in archives of Irish newspapers. Even though DNs are characterised by highly

conventionalised language, Eckkrammer & Divis-Kastberger (1996: 10) note that they might be a good text type for cultural analyses because they are produced by the speakers of a variety themselves and are not regulated by law. For this thesis, death notices have another major advantage: they have retained a similar form, function, and content over many decades, which ensures diachronic comparability.

The following thesis will shed light on the diachronic similarities and differences of conceptualisations in relation to DEATH in IE. First, a concise overview of the aims and research questions will be given, followed by a definition of the most important terms used in the work and a research overview of the subject. The second main section provides a theoretical basis for the following empirical analysis. The Cultural Linguistics (CuL) paradigm will be discussed, followed by information on Irish English, an outline of Irish history in the periods relevant for the analysis, and some interesting points on funerary traditions in Ireland. Then, the text type of DNs will be presented. The theory section ends with a summary of previous studies on conceptualisations of DEATH in other cultural and linguistic settings. Afterwards, the corpus design and the methodological approach will be introduced. The fourth section presents the results of the analysis: cultural conceptualisations surrounding DEATH in IE, such as DEATH IS REST, DEATH IS A JOURNEY or DEATH IS GOD'S WILL, are presented and compared diachronically. The thesis is concluded by a discussion of the results against findings from earlier research.

1.1 Aims and Research Questions

The main aim of this thesis is to investigate cultural conceptualisations relating to the concept of DEATH in Irish English by looking at death notices published in *The Irish Times,* a Dublin-based national newspaper in Ireland. The focus will be put on the diachronic variation of these conceptualisations by investigating DNs from a time frame between 1859, when *The Irish Times* was first published, and 2023, the year the data were collected. For this purpose, DNs are investigated that date from consecutive historical periods that are significant for Irish history and identity, such as the time of the Home Rule Movement, the road to independence from Britain, or the Troubles. These DNs will be analysed to find cultural conceptualisations of DEATH, which then are compared across the historical periods. The two main questions that are to be answered are the following:

1. Which cultural conceptualisations relating to DEATH, DYING and THE DEAD can be found in Irish English death notices in *The Irish Times*?
2. What are the differences and similarities in the conceptualisations from a diachronic perspective?

1.2   Terminological Delimitations

Some terms used in this thesis are neither universally defined nor used by all scholars in the same way, which makes it necessary to clearly define their usage in this thesis. The first term concerns the variety under consideration: ***Irish English (IE)***. This name is by no means used universally. In earlier linguistic works on IE, for example by Filppula (1999), the term Hiberno English is used. Some scholars also refer to the variety by calling it Anglo-Irish, derived from studies in Anglo-Irish literature (Kallen 1997b: vii). In most modern works on English spoken in Ireland the "neutral label" (Kallen 1997b: vii) Irish English is used, which will also be adopted in this thesis.

The second important delimitation has to be made between ***death notices (DN)*** and the related text types of obituaries and memorials. Sometimes death notice and obituary are used synonymously (Cebrat 2016: 93). Here however, "[a]n announcement or notification of a person's death, esp. as printed in a newspaper" (death notice 2023, OED) is referred to as death notice, following the definition in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED). DNs are usually written or commissioned by family members of the dead person. In contrast, obituaries here mean "an appreciation appearing in a newspaper or news broadcast, of an eminent or well-known person who has recently died" (obituary 2023, OED) and are in most cases written by journalists. Memorials here are seen as short notices in the family notices sections of newspapers that commemorate the anniversary of a death. This thesis only considers DNs but not obituaries and memorials to provide better comparability.

A third important terminological ambiguity that needs clarification is the one concerning ***cultural conceptualisations***. Here, this term will be used both as a "cover term for all culture-specific conceptual material" (Wolf et al. 2021: 2) and to replace Sharifian's (2015) problematic term of (cultural) conceptual metaphor. Cultural conceptualisation, thus, is a reference to conceptualisations that do not have uncontroversial metaphorical character (Wolf et al. 2021: 3). A more detailed discussion of the cultural linguistic terminology and reasons for refraining from using the term (cultural) conceptual metaphor will be given in the section on the cultural linguistic paradigm (2.1).

1.3   Research Overview

To give an overview of the state of research in the fields relevant to this thesis, the most important studies will be briefly summarised. More detailed outlines will be given

in the section on theoretical backgrounds. There is an abundance of studies that use DNs or obituaries from various countries as data. However, the vast majority of them do not use these announcements of death from newspapers to investigate conceptualisations of DEATH, but they are interested in structural aspects of DNs: which elements are obligatory or optional in DNs and obituaries in a specific cultural setting? For example, Al-Ali (2005), Al-Khatib & Salem (2011), and Sawalmeh (2018) analyse Jordanian DNs in terms of their structure and only marginally take euphemistic expressions for DEATH into account. The same is the case for studies on DNs in English: Cebrat (2016) and Moses & Marelli (2004) both analyse DNs from *The New York Times* and mainly look at structural and functional peculiarities of the text type; Cebrat (2016: 175-179) also includes a superficial analysis of verbs that metaphorically express the process of DYING. Moore (2002) subjects 100 obituaries from *The Economist* to discourse analysis with the focus of unveiling ideological views contained in them. While Eckkrammer & Divis-Kastberger's (1996) book aims to compare structural features of DNs cross-linguistically (English, German, French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese) and only contains a short section on verbs that replace *to die* in the notices, Piitulainen (1990) has a greater interest in paraphrases for *death* focussing on the grammatically structural properties of these substitutions in Finnish and German death announcements. Nwoye (1992) also focuses on structural features of DNs, here from Nigeria, with some metaphorical expressions of DEATH being mentioned on the side.

Two works that include a diachronic perspective on DNs, which is particularly interesting for this thesis, are Fjell (2019) and Fries (1990). Fries (1990: 57) looks at DNs from *The London Times* between 1785 and 1985 by splitting the 200 years into 25-year intervals. Like the authors in the preceding section, he focuses on the structural elements contained in the notices. Fjell, however, is more interested in attitudes towards DEATH, which makes her paper more relevant for the endeavour of this thesis. Fjell's (2019: 36) data consist of 1361 death notices from *Bergens Tidende,* a Norwegian newspaper, from the two time frames 1960-1965 and 2010-2015. She finds that there were slow changes in Norwegian people's attitudes towards death with an increasing "privatization, individualization, and intimization" with euphemisms for DEATH being more prominent in the 2010s (2019: 48).

So far, none of the studies mentioned have dealt with data from IE. Crespo-Fernández's (2006) and Gaspari's (2015) articles are to my knowledge the only scientific studies on conceptualisations of and attitudes towards DEATH in Irish English. Gaspari

(2015: 129) analyses a collection of 240,000 DNs between 2006 and 2014 from IE online sources by compiling them semi-automatedly into the so-called *RIP corpus*. Due to the massive size of the corpus, only a superficial phraseological analysis was done. Gaspari (2015: 130) found a low frequency of words such as *death, dead,* and *body*, and a high frequency of words from the domain of funerary proceedings, like *funeral* or *church*. Another finding was that the Irish DNs seem to be characterised by formulaic language as the same lexical bundles were frequently detected. Crespo-Fernández (2006) also looks at data from IE but from the early Victorian era in the middle of the 19th century. In his paper, he analyses 228 obituaries from *The Connaught Journal* (1840) and *The Cork Examiner* (1847) (2006: 108), so from a time frame that is little more than ten years before the earliest data in the current study. Crespo-Fernández (2006: 106; 113) applies Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to find metaphors and metonymies that are concerned with DEATH and finds six different conceptual mappings: DEATH IS A JOURNEY, DEATH IS A JOYFUL LIFE, DEATH IS A REST, DEATH IS A REWARD, DEATH IS THE END, and DEATH IS A LOSS. All these metaphors, according to Crespo-Fernández (2006: 125), have a consolatory and euphemistic undertone to help the people mourning a death alleviate their grief.

Just like in Crespo-Fernández's (2006) article, several other authors also apply Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) CMT for finding metaphors surrounding the concept DEATH (Bultnick 1998; Gathigia et al. 2018; Marín-Arrese 1996; Sexton 1997; Solheim 2014). Bultnick (1998: 2-3) uses various dictionaries, mainly British English ones, to find expressions for the concepts DEATH and DYING. By that, he finds 170 different expressions relating to death (1998: 4) and sorts them by source domains that correspond to the target domain DEATH (1998: 22). Bultnick (1998: 30) extracts metaphors such as DEATH AS MOVEMENT, DEATH AS SLEEP (1998: 41), DEATH AS LOSS (1998: 44), DEATH AS SURRENDER (1998: 45), or DEATH AS LIGHT GONE OUT (1998: 50, small capitals added by me) from the dictionaries but does not use any actual natural language data. Gathigia et al. (2018: 359) find four conceptual metaphors in their cross-linguistic comparison of Chinese, Farsi, Gĩkũyũ, Russian, Spanish, and Swedish by applying the CMT: DEATH IS A JOURNEY, DEATH IS THE END, DEATH IS A REST, and DEATH IS A SUMMONS (2018: 364). They describe DEATH AS A JOURNEY to be the most common metaphor in the interviews with their informants across all six languages (2018: 366) and conclude that "metaphors are so pervasive in the conceptualization of death that they play a pivotal role in people's understanding of death" (2018: 370). Another cross-cultural CMT paper on DEATH is

Marín-Arrese's (1996: 40) work that establishes parallels between English and Spanish metaphors of DEATH and claims that conceptualisations such as DEATH IS SLEEP, DEATH IS A PERSON (1996: 42), DEATH IS ETERNAL LIFE (1996: 44), and DEATH IS A JOURNEY (1996: 48) might be universal in Judeo-Christian cultures (1996: 51). A final study from CMT is Solheim's (2014: v) master thesis on differences in the source domains of DEATH metaphors in British and American English. Her data come from 600 DNs from American and British online resources (Solheim 2014: 25), which were analysed along the lines of the metaphors found by Bultnick (1998). Solheim's (2014: 58) main finding was that the three most common metaphors, namely DEATH IS MOVEMENT TO UNSPECIFIED END-POINT, FEELINGS CONCERNING THE DEAD STAND FOR DEATH, and DEATH IS A JOURNEY, are the same in both varieties.

The theoretical approach applied in this thesis, Cultural Linguistics (CuL), has a lot in common with CMT, but it could be seen as a more empirical development of it. Since it is still a rather young strand of study (Polzenhagen et al. forthcoming; Wolf & Polzenhagen forthcoming: 2), the number of studies relevant in terms of content for this thesis is limited. There is one study by Lu (2017) on conceptualisations of DEATH in Taiwanese eulogistic idioms. He analysed idioms in banners in Taiwanese Buddhist and Christian funeral halls (2017: 50) and found 59 eulogistic expressions in Buddhist and eight in Christian contexts (2017: 52). Some of the Buddhist conceptualisations included DEATH IS REBIRTH (2017: 52), DEATH/ REBIRTH IS WEST (2017: 53), and HEAVEN IS FULL OF LOTUSES (2017: 56). Christian conceptualisations were among others DEATH IS REST (2017: 57), HEAVEN IS AN ETERNAL HOME (2017: 58), and DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY (2017: 59). Lu (2017: 61) was able to show that there were overlaps in the conceptualisations pertaining to the two religious groups but that there were also examples unique to one of the communities. Two further CuL studies that only marginally deal with conceptualisations around DEATH are Fang (2019) and Latić (2021). Fang's (2019: 644) article focuses on the domains ANCESTOR WORSHIP, DEATH, and FAMILY in writings of Chinese-Australian authors and finds that ANCESTORS and FAMILY are essential concepts in this culture. Even though no direct conceptualisations of DEATH are mentioned, the importance of ANCESTORS that is shown by Fang (2019: 654) gives hints that THE DEAD are seen as still alive by Chinese-Australian authors. Latić (2021) in her CuL study on ghost brides and ghost marriages in Hong Kong also marginally addresses the topic DEATH. Since marriages between living and dead people are deemed possible (Latić 2021: 135), the conceptualisation of THE DEAD ARE STILL ALIVE seems sensible.

Only two Cultural Linguistic studies on IE itself seem to exist. The first is Peters' (2017) study on FAIRIES, BANSHEES, and THE CHURCH, which analyses several natural language corpora of IE in order to identify cultural keywords of IE and the conceptualisations surrounding them. He finds two cultural conceptualisations that belong in the domain of DEATH: THE CRY OF THE BANSHEE SIGNALS DEATH and INTERFERING WITH THE FAIRIES WILL CAUSE DEATH (Peters 2017: 138). These conceptualisations show the interconnectedness between the fairy world and death in Ireland. A second work that is interested in cultural conceptualisations in IE is by O'Dwyer (2011). He shows that the *on*-dative of disadvantage found in IE can be traced back to the early Irish belief that "physical and mental sensations, states or processes can be placed upon a person", for example by a druid or Christian saint (O'Dwyer 2011: 6-7). Originally, there was a positive and a negative connotation of the *on*-dative, but only the negative one has survived until today (O'Dwyer 2011: 9).

A final remark that should be made is that most CuL studies are conducted from a synchronic perspective. The only study that to my knowledge takes a diachronic perspective is a contribution by Wolf (2021: 41), who investigates the historical development of "conceptualizations of magical practices based on menstrual blood" across cultures. The current study hopes to add to the few diachronic studies that have been done in CuL and to deepen the insight into cultural conceptualisations in IE.

2   Theoretical Backgrounds

The following section provides the theoretical basis for the analysis. In 2.1 the Cultural Linguistic approach will be presented, putting a focus on terminological and theoretical differences between different strands of the approach. 2.2 then shows why IE is a distinct variety of English based on phonological, morpho-syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic, and cultural-conceptual aspects of the language. 2.3 first gives an overview of historical and societal developments between the Great Famine in the 1840s and 50s and today that might be relevant for the changing and constant conceptualisations of DEATH. Second, to have a broader foundation for the analysis of conceptualisations relating to DEATH, some traditional Irish forms of lament for the dead, and wake and funerary traditions are presented. This is followed by a more detailed delimitation of the text type death notice and typical features of it are presented (2.4). In 2.5, the theoretical part concludes with an overview of DEATH conceptualisations that were found by researchers in other languages and language varieties.

2.1   Cultural Linguistics and World Englishes

When looking at the interrelation between culture and language, one can hardly bypass CuL. According to Palmer (1996: 36), who first coined the theory in 1996, Cultural Linguistics is "primarily concerned not with how people talk about some objective reality but with how they talk about the world that they themselves imagine". He also introduced the idea of "imagery", a culturally constructed imagination based on a person's experience of the world (Palmer 1996: 3). Sharifian (2015: 516), as one of the key figures of CuL, extends on this notion by broadening the interest of this strand of study to the "relationship between language and *conceptualisations* that are culturally constructed". These cultural conceptualisations have replaced Palmer's imagery. The basis for CuL was also laid by Wolf and Polzenhagen, who found a systematicity in the cultural conceptualisations that languages and language varieties are based on (Wolf 2008: 364; Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009: 28). CuL thus acknowledges that "culture and language are inextricably connected" (Wolf et al. 2021: 1). By taking Kövecses' (2007: 1) definition of culture as "a set of shared understandings that characterize smaller or larger groups of people", it becomes evident that the core values of a culturally cohesive group are in line with "*the conceptual structure in the culture*" (Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009: 61). These cultural values will also be represented in the language a community speaks as the cultural conceptualisations are expressed linguistically.

CuL is based on a wide variety of theoretical and methodological origins (Sharifian 2021: 9; Wolf & Polzenhagen forthcoming: 1), such as linguistic anthropology with its sub-branches Boasian linguistics, ethnosemantics, and ethnography of speaking (Palmer 1996: 10), psychology and cognitive science (Latić et al. forthcoming: 1). It is, furthermore, closely linked with the CMT, coined by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), and with Cognitive (Socio-)Linguistics. CMT assumes that metaphors are not only a creative rhetorical device but present in language, thought, and action of everyday life. Metaphors are seen as the structuring element of a person's conceptual system because they provide a graspable explanation for abstract everyday realities (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3). Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 6) go even further by saying that conceptual metaphors severely influence human thought processes. A downside of CMT that caused CuL to deviate from the CMT methodology is the focus on bodily experiences as the basis for cognition as opposed to a cultural one (Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009: 61). Physical or bodily experience alone cannot be a sufficient explanation for a person's conceptualisation of the world, but

its interconnection with socio-cultural aspects needs to be taken into account as well (Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009: 62).

The second major basis for CuL is Cognitive Linguistics (CL), or more precisely Cognitive Sociolinguistics (CS). Dirven (2005: 17) defines CL as:

> a linguistic theory which analyzes language in its relation to other cognitive domains and faculties such as bodily and mental experiences, image-schemas, perception, attention, memory, viewing frames, categorization, abstract thought, emotion, reasoning, inferencing.

These cognitive domains also play a decisive role in the construction of meaning; in CL, it is suggested that meaning arises from "interaction between human perceptual and conceptual faculties" (Sharifian 2015: 516). An important methodological influence on CuL is added by the Sociolinguistic layer of CS, a usage-based and empirical approach to the study of language, culture, and thought (Dirven 2005: 39). CS can therefore explain cultural patterns with empirical, corpus-based methodology (Wolf 2008: 375-376) and looks at linguistic variation as an "expression of conceptual variation" (Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009: xi). CuL adopted both the empirical method and the idea that "(cultural) conceptualizations are systematic, realized in language (varieties) and other modes of expression" (Wolf & Polzenhagen forthcoming: 3) but deviated with respect to CS's focus on the meaning of variation, replacing it with a focus on conceptualisations found in language (Wolf & Polzenhagen forthcoming: 3).

The most relevant terms in CuL, according to Sharifian (2015: 515), are cultural schemas, cultural categories, and cultural-conceptual metaphors, combined under the umbrella term cultural conceptualisation. Adding the concepts of cultural scenario (Polzenhagen et al. forthcoming), cultural model (Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009: 65-72), and cultural keyword (Wierzbicka 1997; Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009: 36-38), these important analytic tools of CuL are described and discussed in the following sections, putting a focus on the issue why some scholars (Polzenhagen et al. forthcoming; Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009: 60; Wolf & Polzenhagen forthcoming: 20-22; Wolf et al. 2021: 2-3) find Sharifian's notion of cultural-conceptual metaphor inadequate in some cases.

Cultural category, according to Sharifian (2021: 11), refers to "culturally constructed conceptual categories […] that are primarily reflected in the lexicon of human languages" and can be applied to a variety of domains such as objects, relations, or events (Sharifian 2015: 519). These categories are acquired by children naturally in contact with people from their community and are thus interconnected with the culture a person grew up in (Sharifian 2015: 519). Because these cultural categories are formed in interaction

between people, they massively differ between languages and cultures (Polzenhagen et al. forthcoming).

In Sharifian's (2021: 10) words, ***cultural schemas*** "capture beliefs, norms, rules, and expectations of behavior as well as values relating to various aspects and components of experience". They are mental representations of these socio-cultural experiences with rather low complexity and offer slots for concepts connected to the schemas (Polzenhagen et al. forthcoming). Closely linked to cultural schemas is the ***cultural scenario***. As a mental representation of events, it provides culturally determined scripts for these events and prescribes a sequence of actions. A cultural scenario usually includes several schemas and is thus more complex than a schema (Polzenhagen et al. forthcoming).

Sharifian's (2021: 11) ***cultural-conceptual metaphors*** are defined as "cross-domain conceptualizations grounded in cultural traditions". These conceptual metaphors include a set of mappings between a more concrete source and a more abstract target domain, with different conceptual elements corresponding between the two domains (Kövecses 2002: 6). Linked to that are metonymies, connecting two domains within one domain matrix (Marín-Arrese 1996: 39; Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009: 58). Metaphors from a CuL and CMT point of view are not just creative and optional figures of speech but are seen as central to human thought processes and language (Sharifian 2015: 519). While CMT uses the notation form TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 15), Sharifian (2015: 523) for no apparent reason proposed the form TARGET DOMAIN AS SOURCE DOMAIN.

As mentioned in the section on terminological delimitations (1.2), Sharifian's term of the cultural-conceptual metaphor has been criticised as inaccurate by Wolf & Polzenhagen (2009: 60-61; forthcoming: 20-22). They argue that a clear distinction between source and target domain is not always possible, especially if the researcher is not a member of the cultural group they are investigating. An expression might seem to be divided into two separate domains from the etic perspective of the researcher (Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009: 60; Wolf & Polzenhagen forthcoming: 20-21), whereas the speakers of the language or variety may perceive it as "one broader domain of experience" (Polzenhagen et al. forthcoming). Sharifian (2015: 524) seems to be aware of the issue since he notes that to the speakers something he identified as a metaphor might be an intrinsic part of their "cultural belief systems" and "descriptions of reality" that do not include cross-domain mapping in their perception. In order to avoid cultural insensitivities, Wolf & Polzenhagen (2009: 60) suggest using the more neutral term

cultural conceptualisation to refer to cases that do not show a clear metaphorical mapping. Cultural conceptualisation then has both this meaning of the term in a narrow sense and the cover term that includes "all culture-specific conceptual material" (Wolf et al. 2021: 2). Wolf & Polzenhagen (forthcoming: 21-22), in contrast to Sharifian (2015: 523), use a representational convention of the form A IS B to put cultural conceptualisations into writing and suggest using FOR for clear metonymic cases. This should, however, only be done if the metonymic nature of a conceptualisation has been checked, for example, by conducting a survey with members of the speech community (Wolf & Polzenhagen forthcoming: 22). This thesis follows the terminology of Wolf & Polzenhagen (2009; forthcoming).

Another analytical term in CuL is the ***cultural model***, meaning a "dynamic […] network of conceptualisations" (Polzenhagen et al. forthcoming). The models include schemas, scenarios and cultural conceptualisations in a narrow sense and show the complexity, interrelatedness and prominence of them in the model (Wolf & Polzenhagen forthcoming: 6). In order to visualise the complex nature of cultural models, a topographical map can be created that demonstrates how the conceptualisations in the model are connected and interrelated, and which are more prominent than others. Overlaps with other cultural models are common (Wolf & Polzenhagen forthcoming: 15-16).

A final methodological tool that is applied in CuL is ***(cultural) keywords***. Wierzbicka (1997: 5) sees them as words that have culture-specific meanings that show the characteristics and beliefs of a community. To gain an insight into the culture of a speech community, looking for possible cultural keywords in their languages is a possibility (Wierzbicka 1997: 1). This procedure has been adopted by CuL for comparing language varieties by looking at keyword frequencies and for getting deeper insights into cultural peculiarities by investigating clusters and collocations surrounding the keywords (Wolf 2008: 368-370).

Another linguistic field relevant to this study is World Englishes (WE). According to Wolf & Polzenhagen (2009: 2), World Englishes usually mean "the institutionalized second-language varieties of English spoken around the world". They also note that in addition to these outer circle varieties of English, inner and expanding circle Englishes should also be counted as WE since the boundaries between the circles are not clear cut (Wolf & Polzenhagen 2009: 2). With its spread all over the world, English came in contact with various cultures and languages so that contact phenomena on all linguistic levels can

be found in varieties of WE, also on the cultural-conceptual level (Finzel & Wolf 2019: 187). This might be why Wolf (2008: 356-363) found the range of earlier approaches to WE, including descriptivist, critical and hybridisationist approaches, to be insufficient to research the cultural dimension of WE. Therefore, usage-based CS methodology was applied to the study of WE (Wolf 2008: 364). CS and CuL methodological approaches are particularly suitable for the application to WE because they make it possible to analyse "speakers' expressions of their worldviews through English" (Polzenhagen et al. forthcoming). When adopting English as a means of communication, speakers transfer their native concepts to words in English that were not associated with such a conceptualisation before (Sharifian 2015: 520). These cultural conceptualisations might be present in varieties of WE that cannot be distinguished from other varieties by means of phonological or morpho-syntactic features (Sharifian 2015: 525). A third advantage of combining WE and CuL mentioned by Polzenhagen et al. (forthcoming) is that it can be used to investigate how one single language, namely English, is used in different cultural settings.

2.2   Irish English as a Distinct Variety of English

One of the earliest instances of WE is Irish English since it is, according to Kallen (1997a: 1), "the oldest of the overseas […] Englishes". English first arrived in Ireland in 1169 with the Anglo-Norman invasion that brought Norman French and English to the island. French, however, was quickly lost and only English and Irish remained as everyday languages (Filppula 1999: 4). Kallen (1997a: 7) even claims that there had been some contact with English before the 12th century through interactions with the Roman Empire, Christian missionaries and Norse kings in Ireland. Even though the Statutes of Kilkenny (1366) tried to fortify the position of English in Ireland by separating English- and Irish-speaking communities (Filppula 1999: 4-5), the Anglo-Irish population adapted to the native culture of Ireland so that English had declined to near-extinction by the 16th century (Kallen 1997a: 10, 13).

This changed when English was reintroduced to Ireland in the early 17th century (Filppula 1999: 30). After Irish fighters had lost the Battle of Kinsale (1601) and the Flight of the Earls (1607), many English and Scottish settlers moved to Ireland (Filppula 1999: 6-7). The Ulster Plantation brought them to Northern Ireland (Kallen 1997a: 14), followed by plantations under Cromwell in the 1650s to the southern parts of Ireland, which forced servants and tenants of the English landowners to acquire some English (Filppula 1999: 7). The 18th century was characterised by widespread Irish-English bilingualism and

rapidly dropping numbers of monolingual Irish speakers (Filppula 1999: 7-8). The spread of English in Ireland gained even more momentum in the 19th century: Irish was excluded from the school system, English was used in churches and politics, even by Catholic and nationalist movements (Filppula 1999: 9; Harris 1991: 38). Odlin (1997: 33) also highlights the importance of seasonal migration for work to England or Scotland by Irish workers who brought back the English they acquired at work to their home country. The most influential event that caused the decline of Irish and the rise of English, however, was the Great Famine in the middle of the 19th century: Irish-speaking communities in the West were most severely affected by the food shortage, leading to a massive drop in the Irish population due to death and emigration (Harris 1991: 38; Kallen 1997a: 17). In the years following the famine, English completely replaced Irish as the language of everyday communication (Filppula 1999: 8; O'Dwyer 2011: 1). In the course of the mass emigration of L1 speakers of Irish and their IE, the formation of other WE was influenced, such as Newfoundland English, which stabilised in the mid-19th century with the influx of Irish immigrants to the region (Clarke 1997: 208-209). Features of IE can still be found in this variety today (Clarke 1997: 221).

Today, English is still the majority L1 in Ireland and is used in most situations. In contrast, Irish as an everyday language was pushed back to a few Gaeltacht areas on the west coast (Harris 1991: 38). Nevertheless, Irish still stands in high regard in Ireland: it is the first official and national language of the Republic of Ireland, while English is only the second official language; all government documents are therefore published in Irish and English (Fanning et al. 2023). Irish is a compulsory subject in all schools and there is a flourishing cultural scene with Irish literature and TV and radio broadcasting (Harris 1991: 38). Irish, thus, can be said to still play an important role in the construction of Irishness, but it is not used as a language of everyday conversations anymore. This place is occupied by IE. This variety of English is also diverse in itself: there is no institutionalised standard norm of IE with dictionaries or grammars (Filppula 1999: 21; van Ryckeghem 1997: 171) and there are major differences between Northern and Southern and rural and urban IE (Filppula 1999: 32).

The bilingual period in Ireland in the 18th and 19th centuries was decisive for the formation of the IE of today. Several scholars (Filppula 1999: 1; Harris 1991: 41; Odlin 1997: 34) attribute most of the characteristics of IE to the long-term contact of English with Irish and the resulting influence of the substratum Irish on the superstratum English (Filppula 1999: 15). This makes IE what Filppula (1999: 15) calls a "contact vernacular"

because it was created in a situation of L2 acquisition with a rapid shift from Irish to English. Other origins that have been suggested for features of IE are the retention of structures of older or dialectal forms of English that were brought to Ireland in the past (Filppula 1999: 12; 17-18), the imperfect acquisition of English due to a lack of schooling (Filppula 1999: 19) and language universals (Filppula 1999: 26).

Such features of IE from different origins have been found in all fields of linguistic study. The earliest scholars of IE, such as Joyce (1910), were mainly interested in the grammatical peculiarities of IE. Joyce, however, only gave anecdotal evidence for his findings. Filppula's (1999) book on morpho-syntactic features of IE, in contrast, analyses natural language data and finds a range of features in syntax and morphology that are unique to IE and traces many of them back to substratum influence from Irish. Phonetics and phonology might be the best-researched field of linguistics when it comes to IE, maybe because it is such a discernible feature of IE also to the public (Filppula 1999: 12); Hickey (2004), for example, gives an overview of the phonological variants of IE dialects in Northern and Southern Ireland. Milroy & Milroy's (1992) study provides an example of a sociolinguistic approach to IE because they looked at the social variables of socioeconomic class and social network density in Belfast. They found that the closer knit a network is, the more resistant it is to linguistic influences from outside and has thus a conservative effect (Milroy & Milroy 1992: 5). Amador-Moreno et al. (2015: 13) researched pragmatic markers in IE and found that some stereotypical pragmatic particles such as *sure* or *like* were indeed frequent in their data. These studies have found linguistic elements in IE that seem to be unique or at least typical for it so that it can be classified as a distinct variety of WE.

A strand of study that has only recently added to the characterisation of IE as an independent variety of English is CuL (O'Dwyer 2011; Peters 2017). From a CuL point of view, the contact between the Irish language and culture and English is most interesting because "major parts of the transitional practices and belief systems were transferred, if not directly translated, from Irish-Gaelic into Irish English" (Peters 2017: 128). It is therefore not surprising that Irish influences can be found in IE. By cultural keyword analysis, Peters (2017: 136-138) found BANSHEES and FAIRIES to be salient concepts in IE and that they entail a series of cultural conceptualisations typical for IE. In the soon-to-be published *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of World Englishes* (Bolton forthcoming), Peters (forthcoming) also contributes a chapter on cultural conceptualisations in IE. When researching the *on*-dative of disadvantage in IE, O'Dwyer

(2011: 3) found that it was transferred from Irish to English, and he claims that the selection of which features are transferred in a language contact situation is among other influences determined by the cultural conceptualisations a linguistic expression is based on. Here, the underlying conceptualisation is the belief that mental and physical states can be placed on a person (O'Dwyer 2011: 7). These two studies show that IE also has distinctive characteristics from a cultural-conceptual perspective.

2.3 Historical and Cultural Background in Ireland

To provide a theoretical basis for the diachronic analysis of death notices, periods of Irish history were used as a historical frame of reference. This is why the next section will outline fourteen historical periods from the Great Famine in the middle of the 19th century as a major turning point in Irish history up to today. This will be followed by a brief overview of Irish traditions in situations of death and dying.

2.3.1 Overview of the History of Ireland

The fourteen historical periods defined for the compilation of the corpus of DNs were mainly derived from the periodisations by Harkness (1996), Maurer (2021), O'Day (1998) and Pašeta (2003). An overview of them can be found in table 1. The following descriptions of each of the periods focus on the most important events and developments, in particular the ones that might have influenced the conceptualisation of DEATH. This is why the length of the periods varies between four and 24 years (see column 4 in table 1); they were chosen for their historical relevance and not by a criterion of a standardised number of years.

Table 1: Periods of Irish history between 1849 and 2023 as used in the corpus compilation. The authors in the fifth column refer to Harkness (1996), Maurer (2021), O'Day (1998) and Pašeta (2003).

No.	Period	Name	Years	Literature
01	1849-1866	After Famine	18	Pašeta
02	1867-1879	Rise of Home Rule	13	O'Day
03	1880-1891	1st episode of Home Rule	12	O'Day
04	1892-1904	2nd episode of Home Rule	13	O'Day
05	1905-1912	Unionism	8	O'Day, Harkness
06	1913-1918	Easter Rising, World War I	6	Harkness
07	1919-1925	Anglo-Irish and Civil War	7	Harkness
08	1926-1938	Separated Ireland	13	Harkness
09	1939-1949	World War II	11	Harkness
10	1950-1968	(Peaceful) Separated Ireland	19	Harkness, Pašeta
11	1969-1992	The Troubles	24	Harkness
12	1993-2007	Celtic Tiger	15	Pašeta
13	2008-2019	Economic Decline	12	Maurer
14	2020-2023	Covid-19 Pandemic	4	

01: After Famine (1849-1866)

The first period starts with the end of the Great Famine (1845-1848) (Somerset Fry & Somerset Fry 2005: 227) and is characterised by the traumatic experiences and the aftermath of that time. In several consecutive years the potato crop, which was often the main food source for the Irish population, failed due to a disease and caused about one million people to die of starvation and its side effects such as susceptibility to diseases and a further million people to emigrate (Pašeta 2003: 34-35). The catastrophe was even intensified by a lack of efficient government relief measures and ongoing food exports to Britain (Somerset Fry & Somerset Fry 2005: 235). Ireland had been part of Great Britain since the Act of Union in 1801 to the disadvantage of the Irish Catholic majority, who were oppressed by a British Protestant minority (Harkness 1996: 1). Therefore, many saw the fault for the disastrous effects of the Famine with the British, which caused lasting damage to the relation between the neighbouring countries.

Even though the overall living situation improved quickly after the end of the Famine (Pašeta 2003: 40), Ireland still lacked a political system that was able to tackle the challenges posed by the defunct land-tenure system (Somerset Fry & Somerset Fry 2005: 239). Thus, the Irish Tenant League was formed in 1850 in hopes of giving Irish farmers a political voice (Pašeta 2003: 41-42). A second important political movement of the time was Fenianism, a loose group of organisations that was prepared to use violent means to eliminate British rule in Ireland (Pašeta 2003: 49-50). This period was thus a mixture of processing the catastrophic events of the 1840s and a revolutionary optimism for political change.

02: Rise of Home Rule (1867-1879)

This period begins with the violent escalation of the Fenian cause with the Fenian rebellion in 1867 that marked the start of the Home Rule movement (O'Day 1998: 23) and ends with the death of Isaac Butt, a decisive figure of the Home Rule movement (O'Day 1998: 51). The goal of this movement was an independent Irish parliament in Dublin and a detachment from the British government. Even though the Fenian rising never stood a chance of success against the British forces (Maurer 2021: 233), it led to wide-spread support for their cause in the population, which can be seen in pompous funerals for the executed Fenians and their glorification as martyrs (Somerset Fry & Somerset Fry 2005: 243-244). This also gave momentum to the Home Rule movement, which had similar goals but chose peaceful political means to reach them. The land question remained unresolved after the unsuccessful Land Act by the British Prime

Minister Gladstone in 1870 (Pašeta 2003: 45-46), which also contributed to the feeling of discontent in Ireland.

03: 1ˢᵗ Episode of Home Rule (1880-1891)

In the 1880s, the Home Rule movement gained more momentum but also failed to have political success. In 1881, Gladstone passed the 2ⁿᵈ Land Act providing fairer conditions to tenants (Maurer 2021: 240). These land issues were also a major concern, so the vast majority of the Irish people were not yet interested in Home Rule and independence from Britain (O'Day 1998: 58). The Home Rule movement also suffered setbacks when the First Home Rule Bill was defeated by the House of Commons and Unionist parties held most of the political power (Pašeta 2003: 60). Still, this was the time of laying foundations for the upcoming Home Rule fight and of shifting towards political parliamentarianism (O'Day 1998: 87).

04: 2ⁿᵈ Episode of Home Rule (1892-1904)

The second surge of the Home Rule movement, again, had little success. In 1893, the 2ⁿᵈ Home Rule Bill failed (Maurer 2021: 228) due to an anti-Home Rule majority in the House of Lords (Pašeta 2003: 60). Even though there had been support for it from the Catholics, the Liberal Party and the House of Commons (O'Day 1998: 173-174), the Home Rule movement lost its influence after the failed bill: Liberals and reformist Unionists turned to other topics (O'Day 1998: 178) and even the nationalist movement did not see Home Rule as the ultimate goal anymore, which might also have been due to the many concessions Ireland profited from during the Home Rule Bill debates (O'Day 1998. 202). Simultaneously, the Gaelic League was founded in 1893 (Maurer 2021: 185), whose interest was the preservation of Irish culture and language. This marked the beginning of the so-called Gaelic revival (O'Day 1998: 152).

05: Unionism (1905-1912)

In the new century, Unionism gained power when the Liberals, after winning the general election, could have passed Home Rule (O'Day 1998: 207) but did not undertake the attempt to initiate a bill in parliament. Even though Home Rule was not achieved, the British government spent much money on Irish issues (O'Day 1998: 235), which made a reform of the Irish university system possible (Harkness 1996: 9). In 1910, the preparation of the 3ʳᵈ Home Rule Bill began and was shaped like the others (O'Day 1998: 240). The discussion about it, unlike in previous attempts, was accompanied by struggles inside and outside of parliament and even violent threats. The bill was supported by large parts of

the British and Irish public and would be passed during the upcoming war in 1914 (O'Day 1998: 262).

06: Easter Rising, World War I (1913-1918)

The 1910s were a turbulent time in Ireland. In 1914, the same year as the First World War (WWI) began, the 3rd Home Rule Bill, officially the Government of Ireland Act, was passed, but its implementation was postponed until after the war (Harkness 1996: 21; O'Day 1998: 286). 200,000 Irish people volunteered for the British army during the war (Pašeta 2003: 75) and over 60,000 of them did not return (Maurer 2021: 265). The discontent about the sustained Home Rule Bill grew and the Irish Republican Brotherhood started to plan an armed intervention profiting from the fact that the British forces were weakened because of the war.

The idea to achieve an Irish Republic by force was put into action in the Easter Rising from 25th to 30th April 1916 under the leadership of Patrick Pearse, who occupied the General Post Office in Dublin with his troops. The revolutionists proclaimed the Irish Republic, but the uprising was quickly beaten down by British forces without any difficulties because the Irish were outnumbered and underequipped (Harkness 1996: 24-26; Maurer 2021: 268). Even though the public reaction to the violent Rising was mixed at first, the opinion shifted in favour of the revolutionaries when the British performed numerous executions and imposed public penalties (Pašeta 2003: 79). This gave the victims of the Easter Rising the status of martyrs (Maurer 2021: 270). The events also gave rise to the nationalist party Sinn Féin, who fought for Home Rule and were often connected with the Rising in 1916, so that they were able to win the next elections in Southern Ireland (Maurer 2021: 271-273).

07: Anglo-Irish and Civil War (1919-1925)

The World War was hardly over, when the riots in Ireland ensued, incited by the events of the Easter Rising. In 1919, there was an outbreak of violence between British troops and Irish nationalists, which marked the beginning of the Anglo-Irish War, also called Irish War of Independence (Harkness 1996: 38). Some of the groups opposing the British started to call themselves Irish Republican Army (IRA) and planned attacks on police and assassinations of politicians, which led to guerilla warfare (Pašeta 2003: 82). Parallel to the unrest, the first Dáil Éireann, the Irish parliament, was created by elected Sinn Féin politicians with Éamon de Valera becoming the first president (Maurer 2021: 261; 273).

The Home Rule Bill, which had been suspended due to the war, was finally enacted in the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, but Ireland by then wanted more than just Home Rule (Harkness 1996: 34-35). The Act separated the island into Northern and Southern Ireland, which were both still under British rule, and thus the decision catered more to the needs of the Protestant population (Maurer 2021: 274-275). Another important political decision of the time was the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921, which ended the Anglo-Irish War and consolidated the partition of Ireland by giving the South the status of the Free Irish State, while the North remained a part of Great Britain (Pašeta 2003: 84-85). Not all political groups were, however, content with this solution: Sinn Féin and the IRA demanded an independent Irish state including the Northern counties as well and thus went to Civil War against the Free State Army (Pašeta 2003: 87). The guerilla warfare went on until in 1925 the Boundary Commission came together and decided that the border should remain as it was (Harkness 1996: 45). The partition of Ireland was official (Harkness 1996: 46).

08: Separated Ireland (1926-1938)

In these years, the situation in Ireland stabilised: the two countries co-existed peacefully, built individual infrastructure and meetings of the governments were avoided (Harkness 1996: 47). However, the discrimination of Protestants in the South and Catholics in the North posed a threat to peace. Northern Catholics, for example, were faced with discrimination in terms of employment and by gerrymandering to ensure Unionist majorities (Harkness 1996: 50). The introduction of separate Protestant and Catholic school systems extended the divide even more (Harkness 1996: 51). The economic crisis of 1929 did not help to ease the situation because unemployment and poverty increased (Maurer 2021: 283). A constitutional and economic war between Ireland and Great Britain in 1932 (Harkness 1996: 53) about the abolition of the oath of allegiance and the Irish refusal to pay land annuities (Harkness 1996: 54) worsened the economic situation because mutual import fees were imposed, posing a problem, especially, for Northern Ireland (Harkness 1996: 55).

In 1937, the Free Irish State got a new constitution that abolished the oath of allegiance, renamed the county Éire (Harkness 1996: 59-60), made Douglas Hyde the first president, and tied Ireland closer to the Catholic Church and its views on morality (Maurer 2021: 284-285). The new constitution raised a claim of the whole island but also conceded that the constitution only applied to the 26 Southern counties (Pašeta 2003: 93).

09: World War II (1939-1949)

After the IRA had been banned in 1936 (Maurer 2021: 286), they regained power in 1939 and confessed to bombings in Great Britain that were condemned by de Valera and the Irish government (Harkness 1996: 65). With the beginning of the Second World War (WWII) (1939-1945) the life realities in the two parts of Ireland diverged. While Northern Ireland joined the war as a part of Great Britain, Ireland remained neutral (Maurer 2021: 280). There was, however, a clear tendency to the Allied forces and about 50,000 Irish volunteers joined their armies (Maurer 2021: 287) and others accepted jobs in Britain that were linked to the war (Pašeta 2003: 95). Ireland suffered from unemployment, emigration, censorship and epidemics in the wartime (Harkness 1996: 74-75). While there were also shortages in Northern Ireland, the most dramatic event was the German air raid on Belfast, an important site of weapon production (Maurer 2021: 292), in 1941, which caused massive amounts of deaths and destruction (Harkness 1996: 67). Help arrived both from Dublin officials and private aid from Northern and Southern Ireland (Harkness 1996: 70). The fear of a German invasion of Britain was so great that the government offered Irish unity in return for joining the war twice, but de Valera rejected both offers (Pašeta 2003: 95). After the war, the recently renamed Republic of Ireland, recovered only slowly (Harkness 1996: 75-77), while Northern Ireland was generally better off and recorded rising living standards (Maurer 2021: 292).

10: (Peaceful) Separated Ireland (1950-1968)

In the 1950s and 60s, the living conditions in Ireland improved with the post-war consumer boom, growing industry and tourism, population growth and the introduction of mother and child welfare services (Harkness 1996: 84). These effects were dimmed in the Republic of Ireland by an economic crisis in the middle of the 1950s, which again led to mass emigration (Harkness 1996: 85). Northern Ireland, in contrast, profited from agricultural subsidies, the British Welfare State, free secondary schooling and improved housing and infrastructure even though unemployment rates were still high (Harkness 1996: 86). The overall positive development continued in the 1960s (Maurer 2021: 302): Ireland entered the European Community and introduced national television (Harkness 1996: 90). There was even some cooperation between the North and the South in terms of infrastructure, trade, or disease control (Harkness 1996: 89) and in 1965 the Premier of Northern Ireland and the Irish Taoiseach met for the first time (Maurer 2021: 293). Despite these economic and social advancements, the Catholic Church was still a very influential conservative force in Ireland (Harkness 1996: 89).

Especially in the late sixties, the violence in Ireland escalated again. The IRA had already returned in 1954 after a long period of peace (Harkness 1996: 87-88). In the course of the worldwide civil rights movement, nationalists and Catholics in Northern Ireland began to demand an end to their discrimination and organised marches and meetings. These were answered by countermarches by Protestants and Unionists. The confrontations began to be violent in 1968, when a banned nationalist march was brutally stopped by the police (Harkness 1996: 94-95) and other marches later were attacked by Unionists and Loyalists (Pašeta 2003: 111-112).

11: The Troubles (1969-1992)

The violence escalated completely in 1969 so that British troops were sent to Northern Ireland and stationed in Belfast and Derry; a decision by the British government that was condemned by the Republic and worsened the relations between the two governments (Harkness 1996: 96). In 1972, the British government went a step further and suspended the elected Belfast administration and imposed direct rule from London (Harkness 1996: 96). The violence came both from the IRA, or since 1970 rather its military splinter group the Provisional IRA (Maurer 2021: 294), and British and Unionist forces. For example, in 1972, British paratroopers shot peaceful marchers in Derry on what came to be known as Bloody Sunday (Harkness 1996: 99). At the same time, the Provisional IRA caused many (often innocent) deaths by bombings (Pašeta 2003: 115). Several ceasefires failed in the 70s and 80s, often broken by IRA bombings (Pašeta 2003: 118). Another height of IRA activities was the 1981 hunger strikes that cost the lives of ten IRA prisoners (Harkness 1996: 106). They were celebrated as martyrs and their funerals were attended by thousands (Pašeta 2003: 119). The ongoing violence over time also hardened the intergovernmental relationships, but cooperation was never given up completely (Harkness 1996: 111); the Anglo-Irish agreement in 1985 between Dublin and London even determined a permanent joint congress to improve cooperation (Pašeta 2003: 120).

Economically, Ireland was gravely affected by the global oil crisis in the late 70s and early 80s (Kitchin & Bartley 2007a: 2; Maurer 2021: 303), which caused Ireland nearly to go bankrupt and increased unemployment, poverty and emigration (Kitchin & Bartley 2007a: 3). However, during that time more modern industry, such as computer software companies came to Ireland (Maurer 2021: 303). Modernisation could also be found in society: The conservative influence of the Catholic Church declined slightly so

that in the 1980s homosexuality was decriminalised, and contraceptives became accessible to the public (Maurer 2021: 321).

12: Celtic Tiger (1993-2007)

In the 1990s, Ireland experienced an unprecedented economic upturn and was thus "no longer a poor nation on the periphery of Europe characterised by a weak economy and high emigration" (Kitchin & Bartley 2007a: 1). The so-called Celtic Tiger brought economic growth to the country as American companies invested in sites in Ireland attracted by low taxes and a highly skilled English-speaking workforce (Maurer 2021: 314-315). This led to high employment rates, increased tax income for the state (Kitchin & Bartley 2007a: 5) and an overall improvement of the living standards (Kitchin & Bartley 2007a: 14). This caused former emigrants to return to Ireland and lowered emigration numbers (Maurer 2021: 304). The newly acquired wealth was, however, distributed very unevenly across the country (Kitchin & Bartley 2007a: 19-20) and Ireland's economy was highly dependent on the international economy (Kitchin & Bartley 2007b: 305). The Celtic Tiger slowed down in the new millennium (Kitchin & Bartley 2007a: 9) and came to an end in 2008 with the beginning of the worldwide financial crisis (Maurer 2021: 310).

During the Celtic Tiger era, the peace process moved forward as well. Started in 1993 with discussions between Sinn Féin and the British government (Kitchin & Bartley 2007a: 13), it culminated in the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, which was confirmed by referenda in Northern Ireland and the Republic (Maurer 2021: 308). After several ceasefires had been broken by the IRA, it finally held after the Omagh bombings in 1998 (Pašeta 2003: 124) so that the British troops left Northern Ireland in 2007 (Maurer 2021: 310). Another development that continued from the 1980s was the "secular transformation" (Kitchin & Bartley 2007a: 14): the values of the Catholic Church were questioned when scandals of systematic child abuse became public and Church attendance rates dropped (Maurer 2021: 322-324).

13: Economic Decline (2008-2019)

The financial crisis hit Ireland strongly and the national debt had risen so high by 2010 that the country needed funding and financial aid from the EU and the IMF to avoid bankruptcy (Maurer 2021: 311). The crisis also widened the gap between the wealthier east, with Dublin as the centre, and the poorer west (Fanning et al. 2023). The peace process also continued with some success. For example, the Queen made an official visit

to Ireland in 2011 and even shook hands with a former IRA-member (Maurer 2021: 331). There were and are, however, still terror attacks and provocative Unionist marches through Catholic quarters (Maurer 2021: 331), which made so-called peace walls in Derry and Belfast necessary to separate Protestant and Catholic areas (Maurer 2021: 311). The successful Brexit referendum in 2016 was a setback for the peace process because it meant the return of a hard border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland (Maurer 2021: 312), which was in the end avoided by putting the EU internal market border between Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Maurer 2021: 335). The successful referenda for the marriage of same-sex couples in 2015 and abortion rights in 2018 against the will of both the Protestant and the Catholic Churches show that Ireland has proceeded on its way to secularisation (Maurer 2021: 311-312).

14: Covid-19 Pandemic (2020-2023)

The final period relevant for this thesis is dominated by the Covid-19 pandemic. In Ireland, it began with the first documented case in February 2020 and demanded a severe lockdown that was enforced between March and May 2020 to avoid a rise in infections with the virus (O'Leary et al. 2021: 714). This first wave of infections was followed by several others in the subsequent years (O'Leary et al. 2021: 714). Between 2020 and 2023, Ireland recorded over 1.7 million cases of Covid-19 and nearly 10,000 deaths connected with an infection (Ireland's COVID-19 Data Hub 2024). Like most countries, the pandemic and ensuing lockdowns led to the amplification of already existing problems in the healthcare system (Kennelly et al. 2020: 426). The far-reaching measures that brought public life to a virtual standstill also had severe effects on the Irish economy: unemployment skyrocketed in 2020 and overall, economic losses could hardly be compensated by government support (Kennelly et al. 2020: 427). In February 2022, all compulsory measures to contain the virus ended (Lehane 2022), which made it possible for traditional funerary proceedings to be taken up again.

2.3.2 Cultural Traditions of Lament and Funerals in Ireland

These Irish funerary traditions have always been characterised by a "*historical dialectic between the Catholic Church and popular practice*" (Taylor 1989: 175). The most famous of these popular rites are wakes. Seen as quintessentially Irish (Witoszek & Sheeran 1998: 26), the wake is a meeting of acquaintances of the deceased person who come to their house to pray, offer condolences, and share memories about them. These wakes can last for several days (Taylor 1989: 177). Up to the middle of the 20th century lamentation in the form of "caoineadh", which is "a highly articulate tradition of women's

oral poetry" (Bourke 1988: 287), was a central part of wakes. Female relatives of a deceased person or professional lamenters mourned the dead through these long poems that were interrupted by practised sobbing (Bourke 1988: 288). Such public lamentation was also an expression of honour for the dead (Lysaght 1997: 66). Due to opposition from the Church, the tradition has declined over the years (Lysaght 1997: 66-67).

Wakes, however, were and still are not predominantly sad and depressive. On the contrary, the so-called "merry wake" (Lysaght 2003: 419) was a very hospitable and social event that included food, drink, tobacco, storytelling, singing, games with often sexual undertones and mock marriages (Lysaght 2003: 403; 418-419). While the dead person was seen as the host of these gatherings (Lysaght 2003: 419), it was in reality the family's very costly task to provide food and drink for the guests (Lysaght 2003: 405). These merry wakes were common with the deaths of elderly people (Harlow 1997: 142) because it was seen as natural and positive that the older generation would make room for the younger one (Lysaght 2003: 419). Another barely devout tradition at wakes was "*practical jokes involving the animation of corpses*" (Harlow 1997: 140), a common practice in Ireland until the middle of the 20th century that can be seen as a parody of resurrection and revival of the dead (Harlow 1997: 140). These resurrections were, however, not grim or sad, but their "comic potential" contributed to the merry character of wakes (Harlow 1997: 144).

It seems unsurprising that the Catholic Church would oppose such joyful and partly obscene and macabre traditions. According to Lysaght (2003: 405), the Church had objected with only very limited consequences since the 17th century: the wakes continued well into the 20th century (417) but got a little quieter and more civilised over time (Harlow 1997: 142). The Church intended to ban wakes because from an ecclesiastical point of view, they disregarded Christian beliefs connected to death such as heaven or purgatory (Lysaght 1997: 66-67) and were thus condemned as immoral. Over time, the wakes at private houses grew rarer and instead the corpse was brought to Church on the evening before the funeral (Lysaght 2003: 417).

Death also plays a crucial role in the Catholic belief (Taylor 1989: 178), which is the dominant denomination in Ireland (Fanning et al. 2023). Even in eras when wakes were still common occurrences in Ireland, the official part of the funeral traditions was dominated by the Church: a funeral mass was held, followed by the burial in a Christian graveyard (Taylor 1989: 178). Death is omnipresent in the Church even when no death has recently occurred in a community: believers are constantly reminded of Jesus' and

their own deaths (Taylor 1989: 175), All Souls' Day is celebrated (Taylor 1989: 181-182), and many saints are glorified as martyrs who had died the "good death" (Taylor 1989: 181). This idealisation of martyrdom was also adopted by Irish nationalists for their political causes: Irish fighters who fell or were executed during the Easter Rising were celebrated as martyrs, just like the IRA hunger strikers in the 1980s. Their opulent funerals were another instance of the adoption of Church traditions for political means (Taylor 1989: 183-184).

2.4   Death Notices as a Communicative Means

As mentioned in the section on terminological delimitations (1.2), a difference between death notices and obituaries has to be made since DNs are announcements authored and paid for by family and friends of the deceased, whereas obituaries are usually written by journalists about people who have achieved some degree of fame (Cebrat 2016: 93). DNs seem to have a lot of cultural significance as they are, according to Eckkrammer & Divis-Kastberger (1996: 19), the most frequently read section in daily newspapers and, in Gaspari's (2015: 129) words, have had "long-term relevance […] to humanity". They also occur in a wide range of countries, for example in Norway (Fjell 2019), Ireland (Gaspari 2015), the USA (Hume 2000; Moore 2002; Moses & Marelli 2004), Great Britain (Al-Khatib & Salem 2011), Nigeria (Nwoye 1992), Finland and Germany (Piitulainen 1990) and Jordan (Al-Ali 2005; Sawalmeh 2018), which shows the cross-cultural relevance of DNs. Fjell (2019: 37) sees the composition of DNs as a crucial part of the rites of passage. Gaspari's (2015: 130) study of Irish English DNs has revealed that a DN on average consists of only 60 tokens, with a rather large variety in length among the individual texts. This might be the case because longer notices are more expensive to publish (Sawalmeh 2018: 84). Crespo-Fernández (2006: 104) identifies two types of DNs: informative-objective ones that present facts about the death and funeral arrangements and personal-intimate ones that reflect the writer's emotions. Al-Ali (2005: 6) in his study on Jordanian newspapers finds on the one hand normal DNs for everyday deaths and on the other hand announcements of a so-called "martyr's wedding", a death that occurred during the holy war or while protecting family. This will be relevant in the case of DNs from Ireland, where martyrdom has played an important role (see 2.3.1).

The primary communicative function of DNs is to announce the death of a person (Piitulainen 1990: 161; Hume 2000: 149), which includes giving information about the death and funeral arrangements (Sawalmeh 2018: 80). There is also a function that goes beyond the communication of mere facts: the deceased are mourned, their lives and

achievements remembered, and sympathy is offered to the family members (Cebrat 2016: 361). DNs also subtly show ideas, values, beliefs and ideologies prevalent in the respective cultures (Moore 2002: 495; Sawalmeh 2018: 91).

The elements that are obligatory or optional in DNs differ strongly between cultural and linguistic settings (see Al-Khatib & Salem 2011; Piitulainen 1990). For Irish DNs, Gaspari (2015: 130) found the following "well-codified structure": a praising characterisation of the dead person, details about their death, the mention of the family's sadness about the loss, funeral arrangements and often a quote from a religious text or a poem. Similar elements were found in US-American (Moses & Marelli 2004: 127-128) and British DNs (Eckkrammer & Divis-Kastberger 1996: 120-122). British and Irish DNs also share the overall layout of a small format in a separate column in the style of classified advertisements with the heading *deaths* (Fries 1990: 58; Eckkrammer & Divis-Kastberger 1996: 180). They are sorted alphabetically by the last name of the deceased person (Eckkrammer & Divis-Kastberger 1996: 119).

Like the very schematic and almost fixed content structure of DNs, the linguistic expressions are rather formulaic as well and are "restricted by a set of social conventions and expectations" (Al-Ali 2005: 24). Therefore, many "conventional terms and collocations" (Cebrat 2016: 363) can be found repeatedly that might even form some kind of template that can be filled by the relatives who compile the notice (Fries 1990: 60; Al-Khatib & Salem 2011: 84). Fries (1990: 59) found this conventionalisation to be the reason why the language of DNs only changes very slowly from a diachronic perspective. Compared to everyday spoken language, DNs are written in an elevated and formal style (Piitulainen 1990: 169) that contains many euphemisms to avoid mentioning death directly.

The specific conventions of style, content and functions for DNs described in this chapter show that DNs should be regarded as an independent text type (Eckkrammer & Divis-Kastberger 1996: 12) that fulfils certain communicative functions and thus constitutes a communicative event.

2.5 Conceptualisations of DEATH in Different Cultural Settings

Allan & Burridge (1991: 153) call death "a [f]ear-based [t]aboo", caused by the fear of losing loved ones and of the decay of the body, the uncertainty about what comes after life and the worry about evil spirits of the dead. In order to avoid provoking those fears in everyday conversations by mentioning death, the tabooed words *death* or *die* are

frequently replaced by euphemisms (Allan & Burridge 1991: 12). Because death is an unavoidable and thus universal human experience that might to some degree cause worry in all cultures in the world, it might be argued that euphemisms of death can be found in languages and cultures across the globe.

In Western[1] and Christian cultures, the conceptualisations of death are mostly euphemistic and rather consistent across different cultures and languages. For British and American English, Solheim (2014: 58) found the three most common conceptualisations of death to be the same: "DEATH IS MOVEMENT TO UNSPECIFIED END-POINT", "FEELINGS CONCERNING THE DEAD STAND FOR DEATH" and "DEATH IS A JOURNEY". The next most frequent conceptualisations found by Solheim (2014) only differed in their numbers and were in accordance with the findings by Bultnick (1998) for British English. He had also found the superordinate conceptualisations "DEATH AS SLEEP", "DEATH AS LOSS" (44), "DEATH AS SURRENDER" (45) and "DEATH AS LIGHT GONE OUT" (50, small caps added by me). Cebrat's (2016: 177) findings for American English also align with the earlier studies adding "DEATH AS THE END", "DEATH AS A NEW LIFE" (178) and "DEATH AS A LOST BATTLE" (178). Marín-Arrese (1996: 39) finds DEATH IS A JOURNEY to be a frequent conceptualisation both in British English and in Spanish, while her other findings also tie in with those already mentioned here. Not only does the Western cultural area provide very similar conceptualisations of death, but it is also the case for non-Western cultures that share the Christian religion. Lu (2017: 57-59) has shown that in Christian Taiwanese funeral halls the conceptualisations "DEATH IS REST" and "DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY" are prevalent, which is parallel to the conceptualisations found in American and British English. It remains to be seen if the conceptualisations of death in IE also align with the ones from other Western and Christian cultures.

Lu (2017: 52-55) also investigated Taiwanese Buddhist conceptualisations of DEATH and finds the conceptualisations "DEATH IS REBIRTH", "DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH", "DEATH/REBIRTH IS THE WEST" and "HEAVEN IS FULL OF LOTUSES" with the connected conceptualisation "A PERSON IS A LOTUS". These are only partly shared with the Christian conceptualisations of the same region and show clear differences (Lu 2017: 61), which highlights the role that religion plays in determining the view people have on death. In Hong Kong, dead people are believed to continue their lives in death, as seen in the "GHOSTS ARE HUMANS" conceptualisation (Latić 2021: 133-134). Similarly,

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[1] Even though the term Western culture is by no means unambiguous or unproblematic, it will be used here to refer to cultures from Western Europe, North America, and Australia.

Fang (2019: 654) finds that the dead are perceived to be still alive in another world and therefore need to be respected and taken seriously. This is reflected in the conceptualisation "DREAMS ARE WARNINGS FROM ANCESTORS AND GODS AND SHOULD BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY" (Fang 2019: 653). This notion of the ongoing importance of deceased family members, which is found in Hong Kong English (Latić 2021) and Chinese-Australian English (Fang 2019), is absent or at least infrequent in Western varieties of English.

In Nigeria with a co-existence of Islam, Christianity and traditional religion, Nwoye (1992) found ideas about death that fit into these different religious models. In accordance with Christian and Muslim views, life after death is seen as joining God/ Allah, while in traditional Nigerian religions, the dead join the ancestors in the afterlife (Nwoye 1992: 23-24). Other euphemisms Nwoye (1992: 23-24) has found are related to REST, JOURNEY and LOSS. In all languages and language varieties investigated so far, some kind of euphemism for the taboo DEATH was found. It can therefore be said that there are indeed many similarities between these conceptualisations worldwide, especially if the respective cultures are influenced by the same religions. However, clear differences have been attested as well.

3 Methodology and Data

In the following two sections, first, the design and compilation of a corpus of DNs in Irish English will be described and decisions made in the process are discussed (3.1). Then, the exact methodological procedure of analysis with quantitative and qualitative components is shown (3.2).

3.1 Corpus Design and Compilation

The goal of the data compilation process was to build a diachronic corpus of Irish English that was suitable for investigating conceptualisations of DEATH. This made DNs the ideal source: they are easily and publicly available (Eckkrammer & Divis-Kastberger 1996: 10), have existed for a long time (Solheim 2014: 4), which makes diachronic analysis possible, and are "more democratic" (Cebrat 2016: 361) than, for example, heavily edited obituaries. Therefore, DNs from *The Irish Times,* a Dublin-based Irish national newspaper, were sampled. They are available in the online archives of the newspaper[2]. Other Irish newspapers such as the *Irish Examiner,* the *Limerick Post* and

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[2] *The Irish Times* archive can be accessed under https://www.irishtimes.com/premium/loginpage and after subscribing, the website offers scans of all editions of the newspaper.

the *Cork Independent* were checked and no significant difference in the design and content of the DNs was found on first inspection. Thus, *The Irish Times* was chosen as the single data source. There, DNs are published in a separate section headed with *DEATHS*. An extract from the DN section in 1918 can be seen in figure 1. Next to the DNs, there are often *In memoriam* notices, remembering anniversaries of death, and *Acknowledgements,* in which close relatives of the deceased express their gratitude for
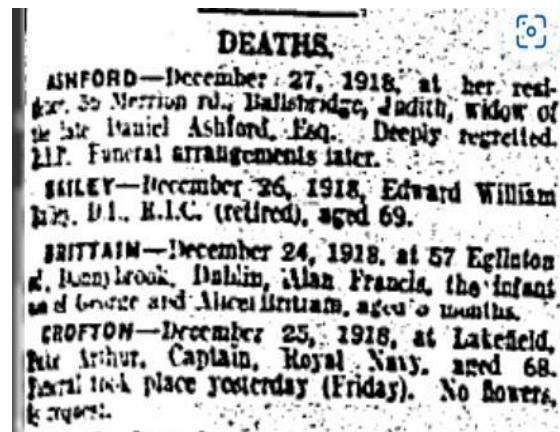
Figure 1: Extract from the death notice section in The Irish Times *on 28th December 1918.*

condolences or flowers. Both cases were not included in the analysis because they are structured differently and focus less on the death that has occurred and more on the characteristics of the deceased person. Longer obituaries that are published in other sections of the newspaper were excluded. The only instances of DNs that were not used are the ones that were written exclusively in Irish because the thesis is interested in conceptualisations of DEATH in IE. English DNs that had an Irish component were included and the Irish parts were translated so that the examples in the qualitative analysis include Irish phrases. They are usually aphorisms that reoccurred in several notices. During WWI, *Rolls of Honour* were published and were included here as they are essentially DNs for soldiers who died in service. There were a few instances when there was more than one DN for a single person: both were included because they used different formulations.

To provide a diachronic perspective on the conceptualisations of DEATH in IE, the end of the Great Famine in 1850 was chosen as a starting point. With the emigration and death of many native Irish speakers during the Famine, the importance of English rose significantly during that time. Additionally, the Famine is generally seen as a turning point in Irish history. Its end also roughly coincides with the first ever published edition of *The Irish Times* in 1859. The period between that year and today was divided into sections that match historical developments in Ireland, as outlined in 2.3.1. Thereby, the conceptualisations of DEATH found in each period can be related to important cultural, social and political developments of the time. This is also why the over 150 years were not divided into equally long periods, as was done by Fries (1990: 57), for example, with periods of 25 years each.

For each period, 100 DNs were extracted from the newspaper: 50 from the middle and another 50 from the end of the period. For example, for period 6 between 1913 and 1918 the end year was 1918 and the middle year was 1915 because the middle of the time frame fell into this year. The only exception to this procedure was the first period where the middle year would have been 1857, but as *The Irish Times* was first published on 19th March 1859, this year was selected as a substitute for the actual middle year. In order to randomise the selection of the DNs within the chosen years, days of each year were determined randomly[3] and the DNs of the newspapers from these days were typed into individual text files until the goal of 50 DNs per year was reached. If the randomly selected day was one without a published newspaper, which was often the case for Sundays, or it was for some reason not available in the online archive, the randomiser was run again until it produced a day with a newspaper. The same was done if the quality of the scanned newspaper page was insufficient to be readable. For the first years, the DNs had to be typed manually because due to bad scan quality and a hard-to-read font, they were unreadable for text recognition software. From 1938 onwards it was possible to use a text recognition tool[4] and the results only had to be formatted manually and checked for transcription errors. Both the number of DNs per day and the number of words per DN increased over time, which can be seen in table 2. Thus, the number of days that DNs were extracted from varies between four and 19 (column 5). The average number of words per DN also varies greatly with 122.16 words in the final period as the high and 24.88 words per DN in the first one as a low (column 7). The trend of increasingly long DNs over time can also be observed in the years in between.

The overall size of the corpus of 1,400 DNs amounts to 69,169 words. This is a comparatively small corpus, which according to Polzenhagen (2022) is not necessarily a disadvantage for CuL analysis. He argues that manual close inspection is necessary to gain a deep insight into the conceptualisations contained in a corpus, which is not possible in an overly large corpus with a reasonable amount of work and time. Corpus searches for keywords or concepts alone are not sufficient to bring up all relevant instances (Polzenhagen 2022: 45). Thus, Polzenhagen (2022: 57) argues for "small-scale specific-purpose corpora" that are thematically fitted to the respective research, have fewer irrelevant tokens, and are therefore small enough for manual inspection. The death notice

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[3] The randomisation process was carried out with this free random day generator for each selected year individually: https://www.gigacalculator.com/randomizers/random-date-generator.php.
[4] The text recognition tool used here is freely available online under https://www.imagetotext.info/.

corpus compiled here fits into this category of corpora and is therefore adequate for investigating cultural conceptualisations surrounding DEATH.

Table 2: Overview of the corpus design with each period consisting of two years and 100 DNs per period. Column 5 denotes the number of daily newspapers necessary to reach 100 DNs. Column 6 shows the absolute number of words contained in one period and column 7 the average of words per DN, rounded to two decimals.

Period	Year 1	Year 2	No. DN	No. Days	Words	Average/DN
01	1859	1866	100	19	2,488	24.88
02	1873	1879	100	12	3,101	31.01
03	1885	1891	100	11	3,034	30.34
04	1898	1904	100	9	3,070	30.7
05	1908	1912	100	8	2,945	29.45
06	1915	1918	100	7	3,169	31.69
07	1922	1925	100	8	2,990	29.9
08	1932	1938	100	10	3,222	32.22
09	1944	1949	100	10	3,460	34.6
10	1959	1968	100	8	4,479	44.79
11	1980	1992	100	8	6,398	63.98
12	2000	2007	100	4	8,193	81.93
13	2013	2019	100	5	10,404	104.04
14	2021	2023	100	10	12,216	122.16
Σ			1,400	129	69,169	49.41

In addition to the text documents containing one DN each, in a separate section, the corpus contains screenshots of the original DNs in the newspaper. The text files were named using the following schema: number of period_year.month.day_number. The first DN in figure 1 above would thus be referenced in the text, like in example (1). The screenshots are named using a similar system: number of period_year.month.day[5].

(1)   ASHFORD – December 27, 1918, at her resi-
        dence, 30 Marrion rd., Ballstridge, Judith, widow of
        the late Daniel Ashford, Esq. Deeply regretted.
        R.I.P. Funeral arrangements later.   [06_1918.12.28_01]

A further decision that had to be made during the corpus compilation was whether and to what extent to anonymise the corpus, which is a well-known and much-discussed topic in linguistics (Rock 2001). It was decided to refrain from replacing personal information for the following reasons. The first is that the data compiled in the corpus is already publicly available online and was published by the family members of the deceased people with the intention of being seen by a huge number of people, both in the print and (for the later years) the online version of the newspaper. By not anonymising the data, the personal information of the people mentioned in the DNs will not be made available to anyone who could not have accessed it before. James Fidelholtz (in personal

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[5] Sources for the DNs can be found below the bibliographical references. In the text the reference is made on the basis of the abbreviations used for the individual DNs in the corpus.

communication with Rock 2001: 18) also suggests that anonymising "published materials" is not necessary. Secondly, just replacing the names of people would not be enough to guarantee that they cannot be recognised (Rock 2001: 9), which means that in the DNs all names of people, places like towns, graveyards and churches, people's titles and dates of death and funeral proceedings would have to be replaced. This would have made the DNs unreadable as they would contain more codes than actual text. Thirdly, anonymisation would have required manual replacement of every proper name in the corpus, which goes beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, it was decided not to anonymise the data, also based on the works of Cebrat (2016), Eckkrammer & Divis-Kastberger (1996), Fjell (2019), Fries (1990) and Solheim (2014), who used DNs or obituaries as data source and did not anonymise them.

3.2   Methodological Approach to Analysis

Methodologically, this thesis follows the approaches of Cultural Linguistics and Cognitive Sociolinguistics (see 2.1), and a mixed methods approach is applied. The cultural conceptualisations are determined mainly by qualitative analysis, while the diachronic perspective is provided by quantitative comparison. To this end, first, a diachronic corpus of DNs in IE was compiled (see 3.1). This corpus was then analysed manually by close reading to find expressions relating to DEATH because, as Polzenhagen (2022: 45) notes, finding all linguistic expressions connected to a concept is only possible by manual inspection of the data. Through this procedure, eight superordinate conceptualisations surrounding DEATH and several sub-conceptualisations were found. Some keyword searches using the corpus analysis software *AntConc* were also conducted for expected key terms such as *die, death* and *dead.* These were, however, used sparingly because detecting previously unknown conceptualisations proved to be difficult with keyword searches. The results of such frequency counts can indeed reveal something about cultural peculiarities, especially if compared to a reference corpus (Archer 2016: 2; Leech & Fallon 1992: 33), but they also always need additional interpretation and checking (Kirk 2016: 34; Polzenhagen 2022: 45-46). This is why the more labour-intensive but also more precise method of manual filtering of the corpus was applied.

In order to systematically analyse and find concepts, schemas, scenarios and cultural conceptualisations in a narrow sense all linguistic expressions referring to DEATH were collected in an *Excel* spreadsheet and preliminary underlying conceptualisations and sub-conceptualisations were attributed to them and adapted during the process of analysis. This table was then also used to compare cultural conceptualisations diachronically to

find out whether conceptualisations were predominant in a period and how that can be related to the events and sentiments of that time[6].

Several challenges had to be overcome in the process. As already mentioned, gaining insights into the cultural conceptualisations of DEATH by keyword searches was nearly impossible because searches for, for example, *death* or *die* produced barely any results and the most interesting linguistic expressions that refer to DEATH could not be found in this way. Due to the small number of results for searching for *death* etc., it was not promising either to investigate collocations with these words more closely. A second challenge was how to deal with linguistic expressions that related to more than one possible conceptualisation, as illustrated in example (2). It implies both the conceptualisation DEATH IS SLEEP and the idea that DEATH IS GOD'S WILL. Here, as Lu (2017: 59) also suggests, both conceptualisations underlying the expression were included in the analysis.

(2)   "He giveth His beloved sleep."   [08_1938.12.09_06]

A third problem was the handling of words that etymologically have an underlying conceptualisation, which might, however, not be transparent to speakers of contemporary English in all cases. For example, the word *relict*, meaning the "widow of a man" (relict 2023, OED), originated in classical Latin *relinquere* and its participle form *relictum*, which translates to "that which is left". This would fall under the DEATH IS A JOURNEY conceptualisation. In accordance with Bultnick's (1998: 26-27) solution, these instances will also be counted as linguistic evidence for conceptualisations because even if the etymology is not transparent to all speakers, it will be relevant to some who know Latin or French and therefore associate *relict* with movement away from another person.

A final challenge to overcome was that despite the number of DNs being set to 100, the word counts for the various periods differed significantly (see table 2). This is why for the diachronic comparison the number of conceptualisations had to be normalised (Wolf & Polzenhagen forthcoming: 10). Due to the relatively small size of the corpus, the number of conceptualisations per 1,000 words was chosen as a normalised value.

4   Cultural Conceptualisations of DEATH in Irish English

It has been argued that some euphemistic cultural conceptualisations of DEATH can be found in cultures worldwide (2.5) as a "means of making death sound just a little less

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[6] The complete tables that were used for the diachronic comparisons of the conceptualisations and for compiling the figures can be found in the Appendix.

deathly" (Gross 1985: 205). This claim has, however, not been tested so far for Irish English. In the following analysis, it will be investigated which cultural conceptualisations relating to DEATH, DYING and THE DEAD can be found in IE death notices in *The Irish Times*. A focus is on the diachronic differences and similarities among the conceptualisations. First, eight cultural conceptualisations of DEATH are derived from the data qualitatively and their diachronic distribution is analysed quantitatively (4.1-4.8). In 4.9 the results will be put into the wider perspective of DEATH as a cultural model and a concluding diachronic comparison of all conceptualisations found is drawn.

4.1   DEATH IS A JOURNEY

The DEATH IS A JOURNEY conceptualisation was found in 238 examples in 27 different linguistic expressions, which makes this conceptualisation highly relevant in DNs in Irish English.

4.1.1   Elements of JOURNEYS in DEATH

Evidenced in this first conceptualisation of DEATH, speakers seem to see some parallels between DEATH and a JOURNEY, or in a more general sense, movement from one place to another. One of these elements that is transferred from the JOURNEYING schema to DEATH is that the dead person is seen as a traveller. The concept of TRAVELLERS is therefore paralleled with the one of THE DEAD. This becomes evident in examples (3) and (4). In (3) a sailor as a prototypical traveller is mentioned, whereas in (4) less typical voyagers, namely children, are conceptualised as TRAVELLERS. In (4), a second parallel is also shown: the children move towards a specific destination, just like a traveller would, namely God (*Me*), which also implies HEAVEN. This notion is also supported by example (5), where the destination of the dead person is seen as a typical destination of travelling, namely *Home*.

(3)	"Home Is The Sailor"	[14_2021.05.04_03]
(4)	"Suffer the little children to come unto Me."	[07_1922.06.15_01]
(5)	passed to his eternal Home.	[08_1932.02.16_20]

Another similarity that speakers seem to see between DEATH and a JOURNEY is represented in the conceptualisation DYING IS LEAVING, as seen in (6). This can be interpreted in two ways: first, the perspective of the dead person can be taken, who leaves one place and makes their way to another one. From this point of view, DYING IS THE ONSET OF THE JOURNEY. Second, the perspective of surviving relatives can be looked at. In (6), two sons are being left behind after the death of a parent, just like they would have

been left behind if the parent had not died but gone on a journey. The act of leaving is also highlighted in (7). In the DN, *adieu* is the final word of the text. It can therefore be seen as a goodbye to the dead person; they are bidding farewell as one would do when setting off on a journey.

(6)   He leaves behind two sons.   [07_1925.05.08_12]

(7)   Adieu.   [03_1891.02.10_02]

An interesting aspect of Irish funeral traditions is the wake. Not only was it held for people who had died, but a so-called "American Wake" was also carried out when someone emigrated to America (Taylor 1989: 183). The journey to another continent was equated with DEATH since in the times of mass emigration during the Famine, a person who went to America was to the people who remained in Ireland as good as dead; they would never see each other again in both cases. This underlines how intertwined the JOURNEY schema and DEATH are in Ireland.

A range of 27 different linguistic expressions is used overall in the DNs to denote the DEATH IS A JOURNEY conceptualisation. Their total numbers in the corpus and their frequencies per 1,000 words can be seen in table 3. Additionally, the historical period with the highest frequency of the respective expression and the frequency of this expression per 1,000 words in this period are listed and will be discussed in more detail in 4.1.3.

Table 3: Frequency of linguistic expressions for DEATH IS A JOURNEY with at least three occurrences in the corpus, column four shows the periods with the highest frequency and column five the frequency per 1,000 words in this period; values rounded to two decimals.

Expression	Total	No./ 1,000	Frequ. Period	No./ 1,000 (Frequ. Per.)
remain	91	1.32	10	5.58
decease	57	0.82	14	3.03
relict	35	0.51	2	2.90
pass away	8	0.13	14	0.41
leave	5	0.07	7	1.00
pass	4	0.06	10	0.45
come	4	0.06	5	0.34
abide	4	0.06	8	0.31
absent	3	0.04	4	0.33
relic	3	0.04	1	0.80
depart	3	0.04	1	0.40
others	20	0.29	2	0.64

The most frequent linguistic expression for DEATH IS A JOURNEY with 1.32 appearances in 1,000 words is the nominalised form of the verb *remain*, like in example (8). According to the OED, one of the seven meanings of the noun in the plural is "[a] part or the parts of a person's body after death; a corpse" (remain 2023, OED). Another meaning, however, is "[t]hat which remains or is left of a thing or things after other parts

have been removed" (remain 2023, OED). Therefore, the connotation of the body as something that has been left behind when death occurred is evident. The body remains, while some other part of the person has left and gone on a journey to another place. In the corpus, *remain* is exclusively found in the construction of *his/her remains*.

(8)   His remains will be removed from his late residence. [01_1866.10.13_10]

The second most frequent expression contains a form of *decease.* Here, the conceptual relation between MOVEMENT and DEATH is based on the etymological background of the word. The OED gives the meaning "depart from life" for *decease*, using again a movement verb for the definition (decease 2023, OED). The meaning of departure, however, only becomes clear by looking at the etymology of *decease.* It originates from the Latin verb *decedere,* meaning "depart, go away" (decease 2023, OED) and thus implies movement to another place when death occurs. It is mostly found in the form *pre-deceased by*, like in (9). Interestingly, in DNs, expressions for DYING are not only found in relation to the person the DN was written for but also in relation to relatives who died before that person. Examples like (9) can therefore be understood in a way that a person who died before another person has embarked on a journey already, and the recent dead will follow them. In some cases, *deceased* was also found to describe the dead person themselves, like in (10).

(9)   Predeceased by his dearly loved wife   [14_2023.03.30_06]
(10)   In accordance with the previously expressed wishes of the deceased the funeral has already taken place.   [12_2007.01.20_39]

Two variants of an expression that focus on the people who are left behind after a person has died, just like people are left behind when someone goes on a journey, are *relict* (11) and *relic* (12). *Relict* is with 0.51 occurrences per 1,000 words a lot more frequent than *relic* with 0.043 examples in 1,000 words and only three occurrences in the entire corpus. Here again, etymology reveals the connection to journeying. The OED defines *relict* as "[t]he widow of a man" with the Latin origin *relinquere* and its participle *relictum* "that which is left" (relict 2023, OED). Accordingly, in the corpus, it was only used for women whose husbands had died before them. The same applied for *relic*, which mainly denotes the remains of a saint but in Scottish English was also used for a widow in the past, which might have happened by confusing it with the very similar *relict* (relic 2023, OED).

(11)   relict of the late William Henry Elliott   [03_1891.02.10_03]

(12)   relic of the late William Thomas Briscoe   [01_1866.07.18_01]

Several motion verbs are used to speak about DEATH. They are all less frequent than *decease* and they occur between eight and three times in the corpus. *Pass away* (13) and *pass* (14) both focus on the motion itself. *Pass away* emphasises the movement away from something and thus the beginning of a journey, while *pass* often is connected to giving the destination and end of the journey; in (14), this destination is HEAVEN (for further discussion see 4.5.1). Another verb is *come*, like in the bible verse *suffer the little children to come unto Me* already shown in example (4). In this verse, found in DNs for children, the movement is again clearly directed towards the destination of heaven and God. In *depart* (15) and *leave* (16), the focus lies on the beginning of the journey when a person sets off and people stay behind. In (15), departing is seen as going away from life with the hope of gaining immortality so that the act of leaving is not necessarily negative. In (16), the focus is even more on the people who are left behind by the dead person: being remembered by the living is seen as the continuation of life. Closely linked to the notion of leaving someone behind when dying is the expression *absent from the body*, like in (17). This expression was found three times in the corpus and shows that the body is perceived to have been left behind, while another part has begun a journey. This idea is very close to the one underlying the term *remains*.

(13)   Passed away peacefully at home.   [14_2023.03.30_07]

(14)   passed to his eternal Home.   [08_1932.02.16_20]

(15)   she departed this life in the hope of glorious immortality

                                                                [01_1866.10.13_06]

(16)   "To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die"   [13_2013.02.21_09]

(17)   "Absent from the body, present with the Lord."   [02_1879.03.04_03]

A final linguistic expression that evokes the conceptualisation DEATH IS A JOURNEY is *abide with me* found four times in the entire corpus. As an antiquated phrase for *stay with me*, it is a request for someone not to leave. Asking someone to stay only makes sense when one expects them to leave and thus *abide* as a near opposite of *leave* also makes one think about the JOURNEY schema. DEATH seems to evoke the expectation of someone leaving; so, asking them to stay seems sensible.

Another schema that is connected to DEATH IS A JOURNEY and especially DEATH IS MOVEMENT is the UP-DOWN schema or "verticality schema" (Marín-Arrese 1996: 49) that includes the two metaphors LIFE IS UP and DEATH IS DOWN. This is also connected to the conceptualisation DOWN IS NEGATIVE (Bultnick 1998: 86). This association of DOWN with

death was barely found in the corpus. Example (18) somewhat reflects it because *fall* is a verb of downward movement that refers to DYING. The sense of dying here, however, only becomes clear when *fall* is collocated with *asleep. Fall* in the sense of dying in war was not found in the corpus even though the *Rolls of honour* for soldiers were included. A counterexample of DEATH IS DOWN can be seen in (19) where DEATH is connotated with UPWARD MOVEMENT expressed in *rise*. This is in line with the Christian belief in resurrection and rising to heaven, which is conceptualised as being located above (see 4.5.1). Example (20) also supports the concept of DEATH IS UPWARD MOVEMENT since flying is a mode of motion to be found high up.

(18)	He fell asleep in Jesus.	[02_1873.07.21_02]
(19)	May Gerry Rest in Peace and rise in glory.	[14_2021.06.24_07]
(20)	"May he fly with the best of angels today".	[12_2007.11.13_02]

4.1.2 The FUNERAL Scenario

The cultural conceptualisations DEATH IS A JOURNEY and DEATH IS MOVEMENT are also reflected in funerary proceedings. According to the definition of cultural scenarios by Polzenhagen et al. (forthcoming), funeral traditions can be described as a scenario. In the FUNERAL scenario in Ireland, several movements of the body can be recorded. This is also reflected in the DNs because information on funeral arrangements is a crucial part of the notices. For example, (21) shows that the JOURNEY schema is an important element in the FUNERAL scenario. Funeral here means a funeral procession that moves the body from the dead person's house or a hospital to a church or a cemetery. This is also reflected in (22). The FUNERAL scenario in Ireland therefore includes movement of the body in the physical world. Sometimes, the body even goes on an actual journey that exceeds the short distance between the place of death and the burial location. For example, the funeral may include a boat and train journey if, like in (23), the death has taken place abroad and the body had to be transported back to Ireland. Movement after death is also reflected in frequent verbs connected to the FUNERAL scenario: *remove* (and the derived noun *removal), leave* and *arrive* all include motion.

(21)	Funeral will leave for Mount Jerome at 10 o'clock on Thursday morning.	
		[03_1891.02.10_04]
(22)	Removal from her home arriving at the Holy Cross Church	
		[12_2007.01.20_12]
(23)	Funeral to St. Mary's Cathedral to-morrow (Friday), [illegible] arrival of Rosslare boat train at Limerick	[08_1932.12.01_05]

This actual final journey of the corpse of a person in the real world also supports the notion that dying is connected to a change of location so that the FUNERAL scenario should be seen as evidence for the DEATH IS A JOURNEY conceptualisation. DEATH is conceptualised as a movement both in the physical world and the spiritual realm. In human cognition, both kinds of movement in connection with death might evoke the JOURNEY conceptualisation. Because the change of place during a funeral is actual movement and not conceptual motion, linguistic examples connected to the underlying FUNERAL scenario are excluded from the further quantitative diachronic comparison.

4.1.3 Diachronic Perspective

Linguistic examples that reflect the FUNERAL scenario have been found in all periods. The information on funeral arrangements has become more and more elaborate over time. While in the 19th century, the funeral arrangements in the DNs usually were limited to the start point, the time of the funeral and its destination (24), in the 21st century (25), the section on funeral arrangements can span over several lines and include information on the route of the funeral, who is expected to attend, time of the burial, requests concerning donations and condolences, and due to restrictions on gatherings due to the Covid-19 pandemic even links for live streaming a funeral mass were added because not all could participate in funerals in person. The movement component is still present in (25).

(24)   Funeral will leave above address on to-morrow (Friday) morning at 10.30 for Glasnevin Cemetery.   [03_1891.05.28_05]

(25)   The funeral cortege will leave Breda's residence this Wednesday (14th July) at 10.30am for a private family Requiem Mass in St. Mary's Church, Athlunkard Street at 11.00am followed by burial in Castlemungret Cemetery. Family flowers only please donations if desired to the Alzheimer Society of Ireland. Breda's Requiem Mass will be livestreamed on https://youtu.be/214q902G_Ho In the interests of public health, attendance at the Requiem Mass will be restricted to accord with government guidelines and in line with social distancing protocols. Mass Cards and messages of sympathy can be sent to Thompson's, Thomas Street, Limerick.   [14_2021.07.14_02]

As a general remark on the diachronic distribution of the DEATH IS A JOURNEY conceptualisation, it can be said that some linguistic expression with this underlying conceptualisation was found in every historical period. Figure 2 shows that DEATH IS A

JOURNEY was especially frequent in the first two periods (1849-1866 and 1867-1878) and during and after WWII (periods 9 and 10). This could be connected to the high emigration numbers during these times. Periods 1 and 2 directly follow the Great Famine with thousands of emigrants from Ireland. As explained above (4.1.1), a person who emigrated was as present to the people who stayed in Ireland as if they had died. This might explain why the connection between a JOURNEY and DYING was particularly strong during that time. This notion is supported by the high frequency of *relict* in these periods because it emphasises the perspective of the people left behind. To them, emigration and death of a person meant nearly the same. Similarly, the economic crises during WWII (period 9) and the 1950s (period 10) also produced mass-emigration from Ireland (Harkness 1996: 74-75; 85). Even though postal or telephone communication with emigrated family members and friends became more and more possible during that time, the increase in emigration might have reawakened the idea of DEATH IS A JOURNEY.
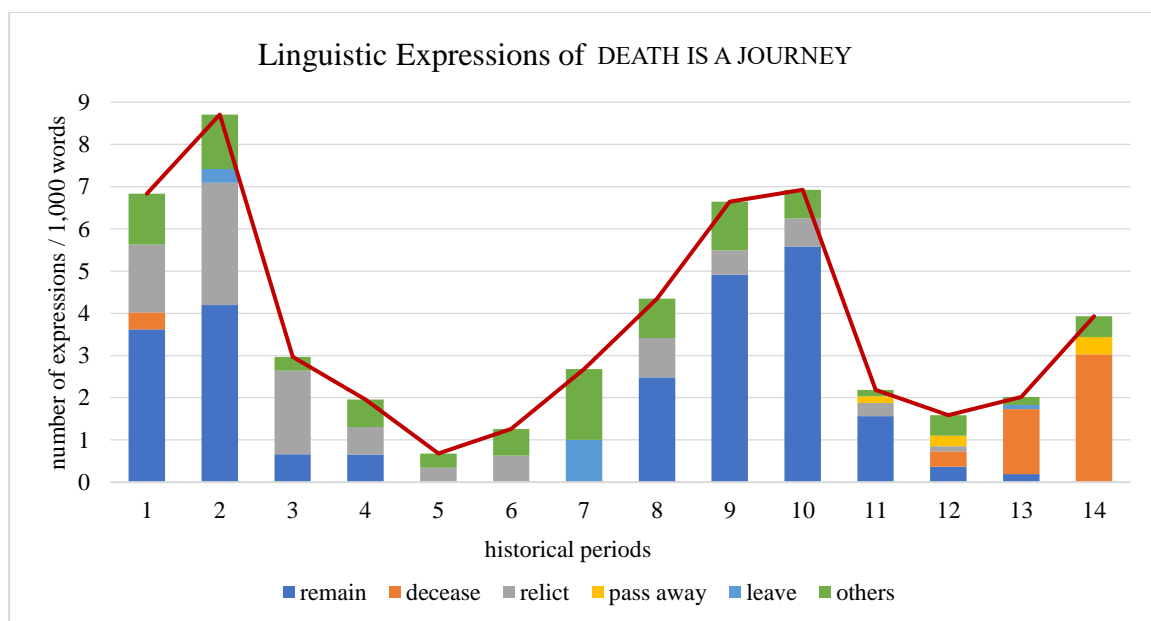
Figure 2: Number of linguistic expressions for the DEATH IS A JOURNEY conceptualisation per 1,000 words in Irish historical periods for the five most frequent expressions. The red line shows the development of the overall number of expressions of the conceptualisation over time.

Figure 2 also shows the distribution of the five most frequent linguistic expressions across the historical periods. As mentioned above, *relict* as a term for a widow was frequently used in Irish DNs until the 1960s but then quickly fell out of use, maybe because describing women mainly as someone left behind by their deceased husbands no longer fitted in with the increasingly emancipated age. Its most prominent period with 2.90 examples per 1,000 words was between 1867 and 1879 (see table 3). Similarly, *relic* was only found in the first two periods. *Remain* and its nominalisation *remains* had its height between 1950 and 1968 with 5.58 expressions in 1,000 words but have hardly been

in use since the beginning of the Celtic Tiger in 1993. This decline co-occurred with the rise of *decease* and *pass away*, which had hardly been present before. Both of these highly euphemistic expressions peaked in the period between 2020 and 2023. A possible explanation for this development is that even mentioning corpses became too macabre for a DN, so *remains* was not used anymore. The parallel rise of the euphemistic *decease* and *pass away* points to a greater avoidance of the subject of DEATH in modern times.

4.2   DEATH IS REST

The second major cultural conceptualisation found in the corpus of IE DNs is DEATH IS REST and its sub-ordinate and connected conceptualisations DEATH IS SLEEP, DEATH IS SILENCE and DEATH IS THE NIGHT. DEATH IS REST was detected in all fourteen periods of Irish history relevant to this thesis and 682 expressions with this underlying conceptualisation were found overall.

The most frequent linguistic expression for REST is *RIP* and its diverse variations with an overall frequency of 6.46 appearances per 1,000 words in the corpus. *Rest in peace* implies taking a rest or break and is through this highly conventionalised phrase closely tied to DEATH. Due to its commonly known abbreviated forms *RIP* and *R.I.P.*, it is particularly suitable for DNs, where conciseness and brevity are crucial because fees are calculated per line. Another reason for its popularity in DNs is that *RIP* is rather neutral. It can be interpreted in the Christian belief system as heaven being the place of rest but can also be understood without any religious connotation. The inclusion of *peace* in this phrase emphasises the relaxing character of the rest and gives it a positive connotation (see 4.5 for further details on DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE).

The frequencies of the individual variations can be found in table 4, which also shows the diachronic distribution of the *RIP*-variants (discussed in 4.2.3). *R.I.P.* is the most used phrase with 3.63 appearances per 1,000 words. The variation without full stops is used a lot less, with only 0.12 examples. The unabbreviated Latin version *requiescat in pace* shows the same frequency. The two long English versions, namely *rest in peace* and *may he/she rest in peace* had frequencies of 1.32 and 1.29 hits per 1,000 words.

Table 4: Distribution of variants of the linguistic expression RIP *across time. The numbers refer to the number of examples found in 1,000 words in the corpus, rounded to two decimals.*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Σ
R.I.P.	0.80	4.52	4.61	5.86	7.81	5.68	6.69	4.35	7.51	6.70	5.94	3.17	0.48	0.25	3.63
rest in peace	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.81	3.54	2.60	1.39	1.32
may x rest in peace	0.80	0.97	0	0	0	0.32	0.67	0	0	0	0.94	1.47	2.60	2.95	1.29
requiescat in pace	0	0.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.29	0.45	0.16	0	0.10	0.16	0.12
RIP	0.80	0.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.58	0.45	0	0	0.10	0	0.12
Σ	2.41	6.13	4.61	5.86	7.81	6	7.36	4.35	8.38	7.59	9.85	8.18	5.86	4.75	6.46

This last option with the optative meaning of wishing rest for a deceased person exists in several variants. Example (26) shows the most basic version of it, which also makes up the majority of these wishes. Versions like (27) and (28) include the idea that not the body rests in DEATH but the soul (see 4.4) The Latin version *requiescat in pace* also implies the author's wish for the dead to be at rest because the verb *requiescat* is a subjunctive form with an optative function.

(26)　　May she rest in peace.　　　　　　　　　　　[11_1992.10.03_03]

(27)　　May her gentle soul rest in peace　　　　　　[12_2007.01.20_04]

(28)　　"May his sweet soul rest in peace"　　　　　　[13_2013.10.23_01]

REST, however, is not only conceptualised in *rest in peace* but also in other expressions including the word *rest.* For example, *at rest* is a phrase that was found eight times in the corpus, usually at the end of the DN, to show that the dead person is perceived not to be in a state of unrest but of tranquillity. This might provide consolation to surviving family members because the dead person is doing well wherever they may be. This notion is also transported by (29), where people who were exhausted and *weary* from life can find rest in death. The idea of DEATH IS REST is also reflected in the FUNERAL scenario during which people are *laid to rest* (30). Here, the rest is facilitated by the undertakers who lay the body down during a burial. The dead person, therefore, only has a passive role here and other people are responsible for their opportunity to rest. The rest in (30) can be seen as twofold: the body is laid down in the real world and in addition, by putting the body to rest, the soul can also be tranquil, so that actual and conceptual rest are combined here.

(29)　　"There the weary are at rest."　　　　　　　[04_1898.12.23_07]

(30)　　To be laid to rest in Dungannon Cemetery.　　[04_1904.07.18_03]

Another linguistic expression for REST linked to the FUNERAL scenario is *repose.* It is semantically close to the verb *rest* but in Irish DNs *reposing* describes the part of the

FUNERAL scenario when a corpse is laid out in their home, a funeral home, or a church to be mourned and said goodbye to by extended family and friends. The expression is almost always found in the form *reposing,* like in example (31). One of the few instances of *repose* that deviate from this scheme is (32). In both cases, the ideas of the body physically resting on a bed or a stretcher and the soul being at rest in DEATH are intertwined.

(31)   Reposing today (Thursday) afternoon at the family home

[13_2013.02.21_07]

(32)   Paul will repose in Massey Bros. Funeral home   [14_2023.06.21_01]

As already addressed in example (30), the transitive verb *lay*, just like its intransitive counterpart *lie*, is connected to REST. They both describe a horizontal position of the body, which is typical for living people who are resting or sleeping. This is one of the parallels between a living person at rest and a corpse, they are usually lying down. In (33), the horizontal position indicated by *lying* is combined with the idea of rest conveyed in *repose*.

(33)   Lying in repose at her daughter Mary's residence   [12_2000.02.19_07]

Example (34) evokes the DEATH IS REST conceptualisation by opposing the situation before death with the one after. LIFE in this bible verse is conceptualised as a FIGHT, which ties in with the conceptualisation of life as laborious (Lu 2017: 58). DEATH is thus seen as a rest from the strenuous life that has challenged a deceased person, for example with a *fight*. The addition of the adjective *good* emphasises that the struggles of life are – from a Christian point of view – for the good and that the relaxation in DEATH might even be seen as a reward for this fight (see 4.5.2).

(34)   "He hath fought the good fight."   [06_1915.09.10_16]

The requiem mass is another component of the Irish FUNERAL scenario. According to the OED, it means a "mass said or sung for the repose of the soul of a dead person" and comes from the classical Latin word *requies* meaning "rest from labour or exertion" (requiem 2023, OED). It is especially common in the Roman Catholic Church (requiem 2023, OED), the predominant denomination in Ireland, which explains its prevalence in the IE DNs as a common part of the information on funeral arrangements. It occurred 110 times in the entire corpus, which is a frequency of 1.59 instances per 1,000 words. One example of a typical occurrence of *requiem mass* is shown in (35).

(35)   Requiem Mass this (Monday) morning at 11.00 o'clock in Church of Our
        Lady of Consolation   [14_2023.05.15_04]

In accordance with Wolf & Polzenhagen's (forthcoming: 22) terminology, the conceptualisation DEATH IS REST might cautiously be formulated as the metonymic relation DEATH FOR REST because one aspect of DEATH, namely the motionlessness and horizontal position of a corpse, is used to conceptualise the entire concept DEATH. Thus, the aspect of DEATH that is similar to REST is used in a metonymic relation to refer to DEATH in its entirety. Such a claim of metonymy should, however, not be made from a researcher's etic perspective but would need proof from, for example, ethnographic interviews that confirm the emic perception of the relation between REST and DEATH as a metonymy.

4.2.1 DEATH IS SLEEP

A conceptualisation that is very closely linked to DEATH IS REST is its sub-conceptualisation DEATH IS SLEEP. With sleep being a specific kind of rest, the most effective one, the DEATH IS SLEEP conceptualisation further supports DEATH IS REST. Example (36) shows the expression that is most common in connection with SLEEP and shows that the SLEEP conceptualisation is linked to the one of DOWNWARD MOVEMENT as *fall asleep* is a very frequent collocation. In (37), SLEEP, and thus DEATH, is seen as given by God, denoted by the capitalised *He* and *His* (see 4.7). God also plays a role in (38), where, under the address term *Father*, he is seen as a guardian of the dead who watches over their sleep. This also evokes the image of parents watching their child's sleep. This connection to God as a gentle parent guarding the sleep of the dead takes away the threat of death to some degree because death is given by a good God. Generally, religious images prevail in expressions containing *sleep* or *asleep* because they were connected to Jesus or God in twelve of the 13 examples. The only non-religious mention of *sleep* in the corpus is example (39), where DEATH is seen as the resting SLEEP of a warrior, which ties in with the conceptualisation of DEATH IS REST AFTER A FIGHT above.

(36) He fell asleep in Jesus.   [02_1873.07.21_02]

(37) "He giveth His beloved sleep."   [04_1904.05.07_07]

(38) "Father, in Thy gracious keeping, Leave we now our loved one sleeping."

[07_1925.03.21_17]

(39) Ah how peaceful, pale, and mild, In his warrior bed 'tis sleeping.

[07_1925.07.31_02]

The conceptualisation DEATH IS SLEEP is based on several parallels between DEATH and SLEEP in the physical world. These are also reflected in the DNs. Firstly, both dead and sleeping people lie still (40); the motionlessness of a dead person might even be

mistaken for sleep. Secondly, in death and sleep, people cannot fight gravity and are therefore lying down, as illustrated in examples (30) and (33). Thirdly, dead and sleeping people tend to be silent – unless they are snoring or speaking in their sleep – which links the conceptualisations DEATH IS SLEEP and DEATH IS SILENCE. Examples (41) and (42) show this silent quality of death. *Passed quietly* in (41) is thus linked to falling asleep, a collocation found twice in the corpus.

(40) Thou has stilled   [07_1925.07.31_02]

(41) Passed quietly away in Dorset   [12_2000.02.19_28]

(42) And silently steal away.   [06_1915.03.15_09]

A further point that SLEEP and DEATH have in common in several religious belief systems, such as Christianity (Crespo-Fernández 2006: 104) or Islam (Al-Ali 2005: 22), is that DEATH is not seen as eternal. Just like waking after a night's sleep, the dead can awake from their sleep due to the belief in resurrection. In the Irish English DN corpus this is reflected in examples such as (43) and (44). In both sentences, waking from the dead is closely tied to religious beliefs. In (43), through the resurrection, the dead person becomes an image of God. The reawakening is also seen as highly desirable in (44), being described as *blessed*. This idea that people awake after dying connects DEATH IS SLEEP to the conceptualisation of DEATH IS TEMPORARY.

(43) "I shall be satisfied when I awake with Thy likeness." [07_1922.05.11_03]

(44) Whose waking is supremely blessed.   [07_1925.03.21_18]

A final instance of the DEATH IS SLEEP conceptualisation is found in (45) with a good night wish. This phrase is usually used when wishing a good night to another (living) person before going to sleep. By adding it to the end of a DN, the wish is addressed to the deceased person. Instead of saying a forever farewell to them, they are merely wished a good night with an expected reunion after waking up.

(45) Good night.   [07_1925.08.12_01]

4.2.2 Related Conceptualisation: DEATH IS THE NIGHT

Since the night is the usual time when people sleep, the conceptualisation DEATH IS THE NIGHT is not far from DEATH IS SLEEP, which can already be seen in example (45) above. Overall, 15 examples of DEATH IS THE NIGHT were found. Six of them were the bible aphorism in (46). Here, the two conceptualisations LIFE IS THE DAY and DEATH IS THE NIGHT are intertwined. The life, here the day, given by God has come to an end with DEATH, which then consequently needs to be viewed as the night: night follows day and

death follows life. This DEATH is characterised by darkness and shadow, just like the night (47), which shows the impact that the darkness of death has even on the living (*us and ours*) and that it throws a shadow on people's lives. The darkness DEATH is associated with might also be reflected in (48). As established above, *resting* stands for DEATH and therefore, the place where the dead are is *where no shadows fall*. This can, on the one hand, be attributed to the darkness prevailing in this place so that shadows are not possible due to the all-encompassing darkness. On the other hand, the resting place of the dead might be seen as extremely bright, an image of paradise, so that all shadows are banished. Another example that shows that DEATH IS THE NIGHT is not necessarily negative is (49). Even though the night is dark and potentially threatening, the addition of music turns it into a convivial and joyful evening and thus gives DEATH these qualities as well.

(46)	"The day Thou gavest, Lord, is ended."	[10_1959.02.12_01]
(47)	Death shadowing us and ours;	[08_1932.12.01_07]
(48)	"Resting where no shadows fall."	[11_1992.10.03_10]
(49)	And the night shall be filled with music	[06_1915.03.15_09]

Just like the night, DEATH can end, also reflected in DEATH IS TEMPORARY above. When DYING is the end of a day (46), resurrection is conceptualised as the beginning of a new one. The beginning of the new day then evicts the darkness of the night, which is reflected in (50) and (51). If DEATH IS THE NIGHT applies and the night can end, then DEATH is not the eternal state after life as well, which offers consolation because it questions the finality of death.

| (50) | "Until the day break and the shadows flee away." | [08_1932.02.16_08] |
| (51) | "Even the darkest night gives way to dawn" | [14_2023.03.30_12] |

4.2.3 Diachronic Perspective

DEATH IS REST has been a part of the IE cultural model of DEATH since the 19th century. Illustrated in figure 3, the number of linguistic expressions with this underlying conceptualisation does not drop below two per 1,000 words in the entire time frame between 1849 and 2023. The highest frequency is found in period eleven between 1969 and 1992, the Troubles, with 14.07 hits in 1,000 words. During the guerilla war times of the Troubles, life in Ireland, especially in Northern Ireland and the border regions, was characterised by violence and unrest. This might be why the people wished for their deceased friends and family to be at rest and in peace after their deaths. This would also

explain the smaller peak of the conceptualisation between 1919 and 1925, another time of unrest in Ireland with the Anglo-Irish and the Civil War taking place.

The most common linguistic expression for the DEATH IS REST conceptualisation is *RIP* and its variants. Its frequencies range between 2.41 in the first to 9.85 instances per 1,000 words in the eleventh period. The reason for this might be that *RIP* is a highly conventionalised expression that is popular for printing in classified-like DNs, which need to be concise and short because every line costs extra. Table 4 above shows the distribution of the variations of *RIP* over time. *R.I.P.* was the most prominent variant for a long time until between 1993 and 2007, the period of economic growth during the Celtic Tiger, *may he/she rest in peace* overtook it. In the 21st century, *R.I.P.* is only used sparsely in IE DNs. The same applies to the other abbreviation *RIP,* which was only notably frequent in the first two periods and after that only occasionally in use. The long version of it, *rest in peace*, first occurred in the eleventh period, between 1969 and 1992 and had its peak during the Celtic Tiger. The Latin *requiescat in pace* had low frequencies overall but was able to gain some popularity after WWII. Thus, a general shift from the short *RIP* and *R.I.P.* to the unabbreviated versions can be recorded. The shift is especially evident in periods 11 and 12 when Ireland's economic situation started to improve, and the people grew wealthier. They could then afford longer DNs for their dead relatives and were no longer dependent on the short versions.
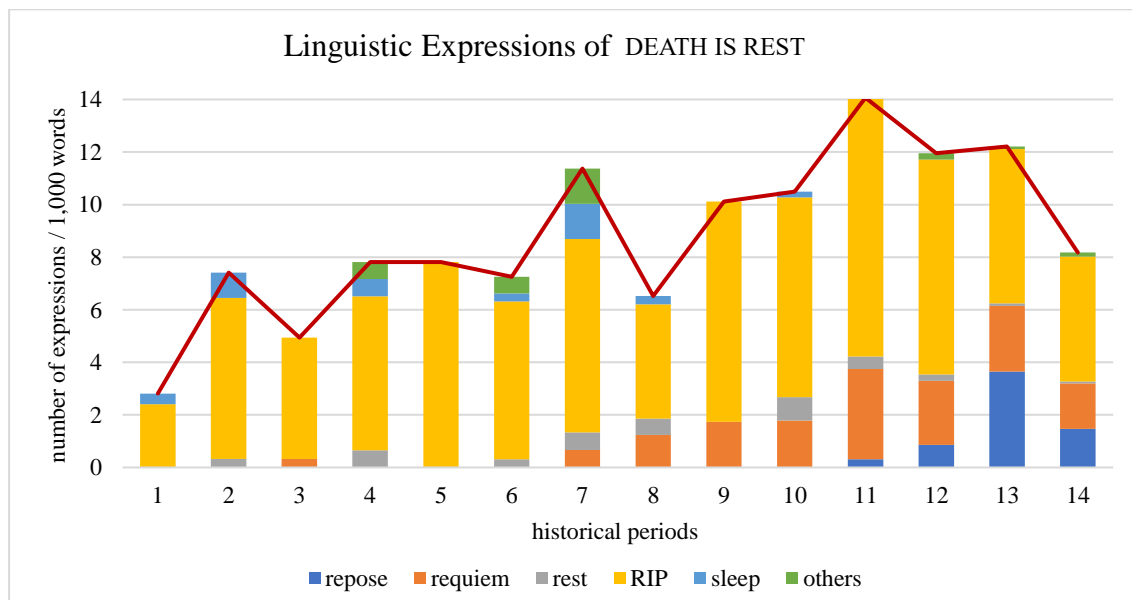
Figure 3: Number of linguistic expressions for the DEATH IS REST conceptualisation per 1,000 words in Irish historical periods for the five most frequent expressions. The red line shows the development of the overall number of expressions of the conceptualisation over time.

Rest as a linguistic representation of DEATH IS REST shows consistent but rather low frequencies with under one appearance in 1,000 words. It was, however, already in

use in the 19th century and can still be found in DNs today, which might be because it is a term without clear religious affiliation but is not opposed to Christian beliefs of DEATH either and can therefore be used by people independent of their faith.

Both *requiem (mass)* and *reposing* seem to be modern expressions to be found in Irish DNs. *Requiem* had one instance in period three and was found consistently after the end of WWI. The formulation *reposing at* was first found in the period between 1969 and 1992. The distribution in these cases can probably not be traced back to conceptual changes but to the fact that the section on funeral arrangements in DNs has gotten more extensive over time so that more details, for example, about the reposing or a Requiem Mass were included. The cultural conceptualisation DEATH IS SLEEP has lost prominence over time. While it had its highest frequency between 1867 and 1879 with 0.97 examples in 1,000 words, it has hardly been in use in DNs from WWII onwards. It has vanished completely from DNs by the 1970s. This might be the case because the linguistic expressions for DEATH IS SLEEP were nearly all deeply religious, as shown above. Because the sense of belonging to the Catholic Church in Ireland has decreased, it only seems logical that religious conceptualisations would also become less prominent; they were replaced by less religiously connotated conceptualisations.
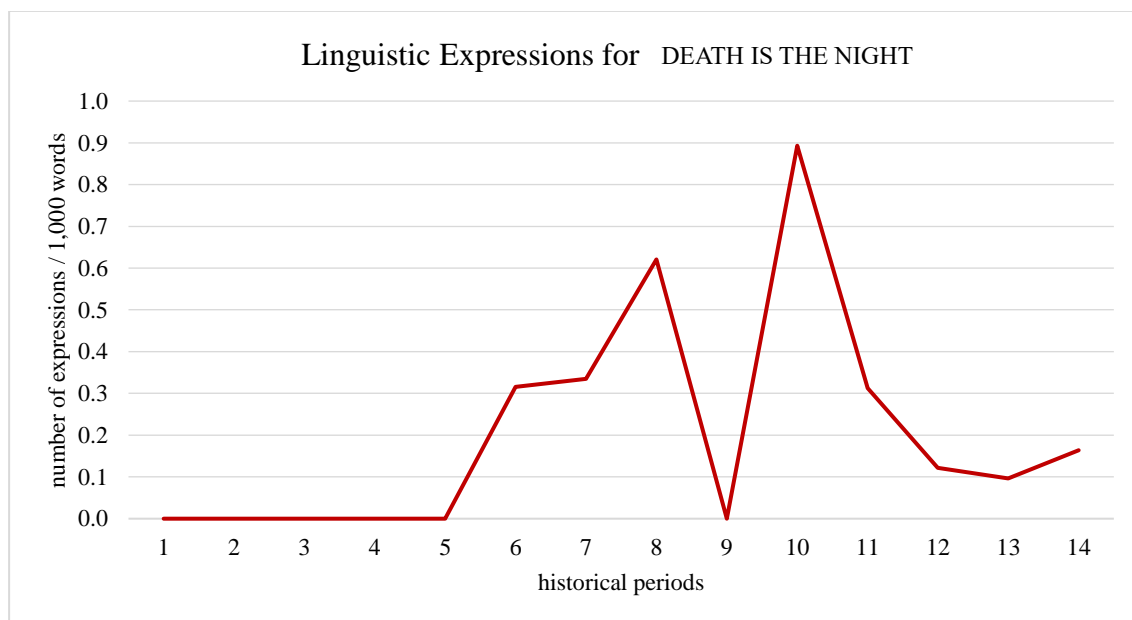
Figure 4: Number of linguistic expressions for the DEATH IS THE NIGHT conceptualisation per 1,000 words in Irish historical periods for all expressions of the conceptualisation.

Interestingly, the conceptualisation DEATH IS THE NIGHT, which is thematically close to DEATH IS SLEEP, did not occur at all until 1913 and reached its peak in the period between 1950 and 1968 (see figure 4). Six of the 15 expressions have a religious component as well, some of them also found in later periods so that here the decline of

religion-based linguistic expressions cannot be confirmed. It might, however, be that due to the rather low number of linguistic expressions for DEATH IS THE NIGHT in the corpus, the diachronic distribution might not reflect the actual prominence of the cultural conceptualisation in the cognition of the speakers.

4.3 THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED OR REMEMBERED

In the third cultural conceptualisation around DEATH the perspective shifts from the focus on the deceased person to the perspective of the people left behind and their feelings and attitudes towards DEATH and THE DEAD. These feelings are mainly characterised by regret for the dead, which results in the conceptualisation THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED. 19 different linguistic expressions constituting this conceptualisation have been found in the DN corpus overall. Table 5 shows these different expressions. They all express the negative and positive feelings that surviving dependents have towards their deceased relatives and death in general. By focussing on the survivors' perspectives, their emotions are validated and even printed in a newspaper, which might offer consolation to them and others who read the DN.

Table 5: Distribution of the different linguistic expressions for the THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED/ REMEMBERED *conceptualisation; in total numbers and number of expressions per 1,000 words, rounded to two decimals. The left side shows expressions with five or more occurrences, the right side the ones with fewer than five occurrences.*

Expression	No.	No./ 1,000	Expression	No.	No./ 1,000
regret	346	5.00	memory	3	0.04
miss	205	2.96	appreciate	2	0.03
sad	174	2.52	difficult	2	0.03
sorrow	72	1.04	lament	2	0.03
remember	28	0.40	admire	1	0.01
mourn	25	0.36	care	1	0.01
grief	20	0.29	celebrate	1	0.01
heart	5	0.07	deplore	1	0.01
			fond	1	0.01
			sore	1	0.01
			weep	1	0.01
			Σ	891	12.88

In total, there were 891 expressions relating to the conceptualisation THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED OR REMEMBERED in the corpus, which are 12.88 occurrences in 1,000 words. Many of the examples, like (52), (53) and (54), follow the same structure of adverb + past participle + *by*-agent with further optional elements. This is an indication of how highly conventionalised these expressions in DNs are.

As mentioned above, the linguistic expressions in this category can voice a negative or more positive feeling of regret and memory of the dead. A good example of

this is the word *regret* itself. In example (52), *regret* stands with the intensifying adverb *deeply* and is accompanied by the person who regrets, namely a *sorrowing wife.* These two collocations associate *regret* with sadness and negative feelings towards DEATH. In (53), this feeling shifts a little towards positivity because the adverb *deservedly* is added, which attributes favourable character traits to the deceased person because they are said to be deserving of regret. This puts the positive memory of the deceased in the foreground, even before the grief over their death. With 5.0 examples per 1,000 words, *regret* is the most frequent expression for the conceptualisation THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED. The most common appearance is the very short *deeply regretted* without any additions.

(52)   deeply regretted by his sorrowing wife.   [03_1885.06.09_04]

(53)   Deeply and deservedly regretted by her sorrowing husband and children

[06_1915.03.15_06]

Several other expressions are more clearly negatively connotated. For example, *miss* with a frequency of 2.96 hits in 1,000 words is in almost all examples coined by the deep sadness of losing someone. Like in example (54), this is reinforced by the very frequent collocation with *sadly.* All 174 instances of *sadly* are in connection with *missed*. In (55), the negativity of regret is weakened again by using *missed* not in connection with *sadly* but with *deeply* and especially by placing it next to *remembered*, a more neutral form of thinking of a dead person.

(54)   will be sadly missed by all who knew him.   [12_2000.02.19_01]

(55)   Tom will forever be remembered and deeply missed by his beloved wife

[14_2021.05.04_09]

The three verbs *sorrow, mourn* and *grieve* all show a negative and hurtful kind of sadness when thinking about a dead person. *Sorrow* as the most frequent one of them with 1.04 appearances in 1,000 words is mostly used in its present participle form to modify the nouns describing family members left behind, which is illustrated in (56). In (57), *sorrow* appears as a noun to express sadness about the passing of a family member. In both cases, there is a clear negative connotation. *Mourn*, which is often collocated with *deeply* and *sorrowing*, for example in (58), shows this same sadness and regret for the dead. By *mourning* this sadness might even be expressed out loud so that it was found necessary in (59) to bid mourners not to mourn at the funeral. This instance of *mourn* can be seen as a remnant of the keening or "caoineadh" tradition of the past (see 2.3.2). *Grieve,* often found in the adjective-noun combination *inexpressible grief*, like in (60), is associated with negative feelings as well.

(56) Deeply and deservedly regretted by her sorrowing husband and children.

[06_1915.03.15_06]

(57) to the irrepressible sorrow of her parents, brothers, and sisters.

[04_1898.02.26_08]

(58) deeply mourned by his sorrowing children. [03_1891.05.18_08]

(59) No flowers or mourning, by request. [08_1938.12.09_01]

(60) to the inexpressible grief of his sorrowing wife, children, and friends

[05_1912.07.08_11]

Less frequent linguistic expressions of the underlying THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED are *difficult time, lament, deplore, sorely* and *weep*. The expression *difficult time* in (61) can refer to the hard times the family of the deceased is personally going through, which again shows the negative impact that the death of a family member has on the survivors. It can, however, also mean the generally challenging times of the Covid-19 pandemic, during which this DN was published. *Deplore* in (62) again evidences the negative emotions that are the result of DEATH.

(61) We thank you for your co-operation and understanding at this difficult time. [14_2021.05.04_03]

(62) leaving a young family to deplore her premature demise

[02_1879.03.04_08]

An ambivalent word in terms of positive and negative associations is *heart.* In (63) and three other similar instances in the corpus, *heartbroken* describes the state people left behind by a loved one are in, and it conveys a clear feeling of deep sadness. The *heart* in (64), however, is the place where the deceased are fondly remembered, which causes less a sense of regret than the conceptualisation THE DEAD ARE TO BE REMEMBERED with a more neutral connotation.

(63) She will be so sadly missed by her heartbroken partner Ann

[14_2023.03.30_10]

(64) "Gone from our home, not from our hearts" [13_2019.04.10_13]

Another clearly positive expression that stems from THE DEAD ARE TO BE REMEMBERED is *remember* itself. It is often collocated with forms of *love* or *fond*, which highlights the positive memory that is connected to the deceased person, like in (65). Some expressions that are also based on this positive conceptualisation of remembering the dead are *memory, appreciate, admire, care, celebrate* and *fond*. *Appreciated* in (66)

illustrates the gratefulness of the survivors for the character traits of the dead person. Similarly, in (67) the focus is put on the positive aspects of a dead person's life; instead of being regretted, they are *celebrated*. These expressions are therefore not based on THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED but on THE DEAD ARE TO BE REMEMBERED (POSITIVELY). It has to be said, however, that the majority of the expressions shows negative or only neutral feelings and DNs with a clear positive remembrance of the dead are sparse.

(65)   She will be remembered with love by all her family and friends.

[13_2013.10.23_23]

(66)   Greatly appreciated for all his love and fun over the years.

[13_2013.10.23_21]

(67)   Remembered and celebrated by her extended family [14_2021.06.24_09]

A conceptualisation that is connected to THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED is DEATH IS LOSS found by other researchers in their data (Crespo-Fernández 2006: 113; Bultnick 1998: 44). This idea of a deceased person as a valuable possession that has been lost through death has not been found in the DNs from Ireland. Words like *lose* or *lost* did not appear directly. DEATH IS LOSS is, however, implied: if the dead are regretted and missed by the living, there must have been some sort of loss.

4.3.1   REGRET Schema

Several concepts are important in the REGRET schema: it has slots for the person who is regretted, the person who regrets, and in what way and intensity the progress of regretting takes place. The slot for the regretted person is often not filled because it is implied by the genre of the DN that the person whose name is in the first line of the DN will be the one who is regretted by their relatives, like in (68). Sometimes, like in example (69), it is made explicit who the person is that is missed and regretted. This slot is usually filled by the subject position in a passive clause, which puts the regretted person in the focus of the clause but not into the active function of the agent.

(68)   Very deeply regretted.   [10_1959.12.14_02]

(69)   Gerard will be greatly missed by his loving and heartbroken family

[14_2021.06.24_13]

The people who are doing the active part of regretting are typically found in the *by*-agent of passive clauses. This slot can be filled by the family as a whole (69) or by individual family members, like in (56) and (63), but it can also be left unoccupied like in the short version *deeply regretted*. The quality of regret is specified by adverbs that

usually stand before the verb in the past participle, like *greatly* in (69). Other adverbs commonly found in this slot are *deeply, fondly, sadly*, or *lovingly.*

4.3.2 Diachronic Perspective

The presence of DNs alone shows that the dead have been remembered in all periods in Ireland since 1859. This is also supported by the fact that linguistic expressions with the underlying conceptualisations THE DEAD ARE TO BE REMEMBERED and THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED were found throughout the entire corpus. The distribution of these expressions over time and the development of their overall popularity are shown in figure 5. The total number of expressions with the underlying conceptualisation THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED steeply rose during and after WWII. This trend was accompanied by a diversification of the expressions found in the corpus. In the periods between 1849 and 1925, similar distributions can be found: *regret, sorrow, grief* and *mourn* are prevalent, interspersed with single instances of *lament, deplore* and *weep*. They have in common that they transport an entirely sad feeling in connection to death.
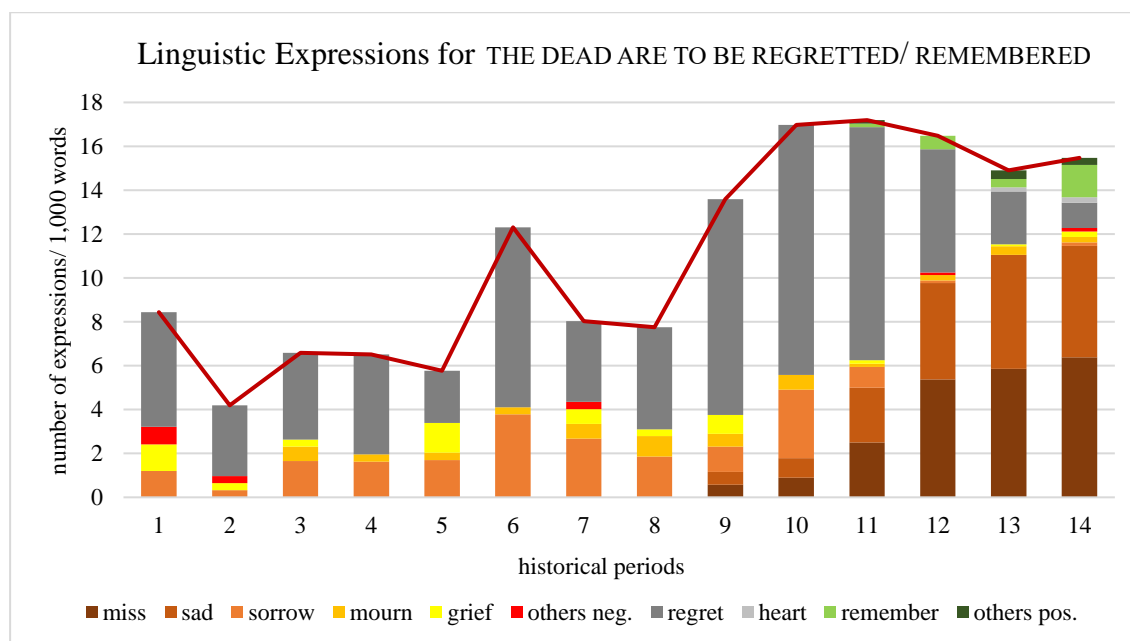
Figure 5: Number of linguistic expressions for the conceptualisations THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED *and* THE DEAD ARE TO BE REMEMBERED *per 1,000 words in Irish historical periods for the eight most frequent expressions. The red line shows the development of the overall number of expressions of the conceptualisations. Red and yellow hues indicate* REGRET *and green ones* REMEMBRANCE, *grey colours show expressions in between.*

This did not change in the time of growing popularity of this conceptualisation during the following periods nine and ten (1939-1968). The increase can mainly be attributed to the massive rise in the number of DNs that contained *regretted*. During this time, the new expression *sadly missed* appeared and was used increasingly often during the following decades.

From 1969 onwards (period 11), the linguistic expressions diversified further. *Sadly missed* was used more and more frequently, while *regretted* lost importance in DNs. *Mourn* and *grief* as expressions of REGRET were still found, while *sorrow* vanished almost completely. Several new expressions also emerged, namely, the ones that have a more positive or neutral way of conceptualising thinking of THE DEAD. For example, *remember* was first found in period 11 and has become more frequent until 2023. Other expressions that first appeared during this time are *memory, appreciate, celebrate, care* and *admire* with reference to the dead. It can thus be said that there is some change in the attitudes of the survivors towards thinking of their deceased relatives. In more recent times, a more positive, joyful remembrance has been added to the purely mournful commemoration of the dead of the past.

A second change is the shift of focus away from the deceased person to the individual mourners. While in the past, the most common expression of remembrance was *deeply regretted*, today it is *sadly missed*. *Regret* emphasises the results of death for the dead person and that the survivors pity their demise. *Miss*, however, puts the focus on the person who has lost someone and their sad feeling concerning the dead person. This might be an indication of the increasing individualisation of society that also becomes apparent in the way people cope with death. The change might, however, be due to a shift in trends in DNs from *deeply regretted* to *sadly missed*, which was caused by changes in conventionalisations in DNs and not by changes in attitudes towards death.

4.4 DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE

As already noted in the conceptualisation DEATH IS TEMPORARY and that one can awake from it (4.2.1), DEATH is not seen as everlasting, but it is assumed that there is something that follows it: LIFE AFTER DEATH. This concept will be investigated further in this section, also considering connected conceptualisations such as AFTERLIFE IS ETERNAL, THE DEAD ARE SOULS, THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN and DEATH IS A REUNION WITH LOVED ONES. A first indication of the cultural conceptualisation DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE can be found in example (70). Here, the verb *died* is replaced by *entered into life.* The focus is thus not put on death, the end of life, but on the beginning of the next life that starts with DYING. This expression is obviously also highly euphemistic because the topic of death is avoided altogether and even replaced by the more positively connoted topic of LIFE.

(70)   Sarah Dori, beloved wife of the late Rev. R. W. Wyndham Guinness, M.A., entered into life.   [07_1922.05.11_07]

This life after death differs significantly from the life before death in one point: while the mortal life on earth has a definite endpoint, AFTERLIFE IS ETERNAL. The hope of an immortal life after death is already present during the lifetime, as seen in (71). This, like many other aspects of DEATH conceptualisations, alleviated the fear of death for the dying and provides consolation for the survivors as their deceased relative is assumed to live on in the afterlife. The idea of eternal life after death is also visible in the frequent religious saying *forever with the Lord*, like in (72), which was found eleven times in the corpus. *Forever*, just like *eternal* in (73), indicates that, unlike the time on earth, the stay in the afterlife is not limited to a certain time frame.

(71)   she departed this life in the hope of glorious immortality

[01_1866.10.13_06]

(72)   "For ever with the Lord."   [04_1898.02.26_16]

(73)   passed to his eternal Home.   [08_1932.02.16_20]

4.4.1 THE DEAD ARE SOULS

Another clear difference between life before and after death is that life on earth includes body and soul. Life after death, however, is where the souls of the dead reside. According to Bultnick (1998: 55), body and soul are separated upon death and only the soul goes on to the afterlife. In the DN corpus, 40 examples were found overall that indicated that after death, people are seen as their souls, resulting in the conceptualisation THE DEAD ARE SOULS. Sometimes, like in (74), the *soul* is mentioned directly. Here, the soul stands for the entire deceased person since it is the only part of them seen as relevant in life after death. Thus, the metonymic relation SOULS FOR THE DEAD could be postulated but would have to be confirmed from an emic perspective. The assumption of a metonymy arises because (74) is constructed parallelly to *rest in peace*, which is understood to refer to the entire dead person, body and soul. In (74), the soul is explicitly singled out to be the entity at rest; it seems, however, unlikely that the body is wished to be at unrest, which conceptualises the soul as standing for the entire dead person. *Anam* 'soul' in the Irish example (75) also directly refers to the soul going on to live with God (Irish *Dia*, in the genitive singular form *Dé*). There is also an optative contained in the subjunctive verbal particle *go* that shows that the people left behind wish for the dead person's soul to be with God. A final example that highlights the separation of the body and the soul is (76). While a person is seen as not connected to the body anymore, they are *present with the Lord* so there must be a part of a person that is distinct from the body after death: the soul.

(74)   "Gentle soul rest in peace"   [13_2019.04.10_13]

(75) Irish [11_1980.09.11_08]

Ar	dheis	Dé	go	raibh	a	anam	uasal
At	right	God.GEN.SG	VP.PRS.SBJV	be.PST.DEP	POSS	soul	decent

'At the right of God may his decent soul be.'[7]

(76) "Absent from the body present with the Lord". [12_2000.02.19_29]

The souls do not automatically go to heaven or God (see 4.4.2), but there is a need to pray for this outcome. Therefore, THE SOULS NEED TO BE PRAYED FOR is another religious conceptualisation that becomes clear in (77) and (78). The highly frequent phrase in (77) shows that God himself is the one who can guarantee a person or at least their soul a place in heaven. Example (78) attributes the responsibility of praying for the soul of a deceased person to a saint, which shows that the speakers see the salvation of the soul as extremely important. The time reference in (77) is interesting as well: *may* has an optative or a future reference, both indicating that the action of having mercy has not taken place at the moment of compiling the DN. The death, however, must already have occurred since only then a DN is written. This puts the dead person in an interesting in-between state between the moment of DYING and entering heaven.

(77) May the Lord have mercy on his soul. [01_1866.05.14_06]

(78) Our Lady of Lourdes, pray for her. [07_1922.03.29_08]

4.4.2 THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN

In the Christian faith, heaven is the epitome of life after death and the goal of a Christian life is to achieve eternal life. It is therefore no surprise that HEAVEN as a concept comes up frequently in Irish English DNs. It is, for example, conceptualised as a variety of places, as a home and as a place high up. The most common way of conceptualising HEAVEN is, however, the place where the souls of the dead meet God, making up 82.3 % of all expressions in the corpus relating to HEAVEN. Biblical sayings are very common here, like in examples (72) and (76) above and (79) and (80) below. They all have in common that the dead person is in the company of God or one of his other forms, like Jesus or Christ. (79) and (80) additionally convey the idea that being with God is inherently positive, be it *better* than life on earth or *safe* (see 4.5).

(79) "With Christ, which is far better." [08_1938.07.11_07]

(80) "Safe in the Arms of Jesus." [10_1968.06.04_13]

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[7] The glossing of Irish examples follows the conventions of the Leipzig Glossing Rules for morpheme-by-morpheme glosses (Leipzig Glossing Rules 2015). The used glosses can be found in the Abbreviation section at the beginning of the thesis. For the translation and glossing, the *Collins Easy Learning Irish Dictionary* (Beattie 2016) was used.

There are also Irish aphorisms containing similar ideas as their English counterparts. (81), being very close to example (75) above, highlights the closeness that the *anam dílis*, the 'loyal soul' of the dead supposedly has with God, by being at his right. In (82), *líonta Dé*, 'God's webs', are named as the place where the afterlife takes place and reunion with loved ones (*sinn* 'we') is possible (see 4.4.3). From these linguistic expressions, the underlying conceptualisation THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE CLOSE TO GOD can be assumed.

(81) Irish   [13_2013.02.21_13]
Ar   dheis   Dé   go   raibh   a   anam dílis.
at   right   God.GEN.SG   VP.PRS.SBJV be.PST.DEP   POSS soul loyal
'On the right of God may his loyal soul be.'

(82) Irish   [13_2019.04.10_09]
I   líonta Dé   go   gcastar   sinn.
in   web.PL God.GEN.SG   VP.PRS.SBJV meet.PST.DEP   1PL
'In God's webs we may meet.'

As seen in the examples above, GOD is referred to by a variety of names from different languages, which is summarised in table 6. The most frequent name for GOD is the Irish genitive of *Dia*: *Dé.* It might therefore be that deeply religious conceptualisations, like the one that is currently discussed, are connected to the Irish language and thus also to Irishness. This makes sense, especially, from a historical perspective because the fight for Irish independence from Britain has always been associated with Roman Catholicism, which still is the dominant religion in Ireland (Fanning et al. 2023). Further frequent names for God with the connotation of being the place where the afterlife takes place were *Jesus, Lord, Christ, He* and *God.* References to GOD in other languages were used as well: the French farewell *adieu* literally means 'to God', the Hindi *om sai ram* can be translated as 'greet God' and *Thiarna* is another Irish word for 'God'. In some cases, life after death was also associated with other heavenly creatures apart from God, namely *angels* (83) whom the dead person is conceptualised to be with. The connection between the afterlife and God had a positive or at least neutral connotation in all the examples.

Expression	Absolute	in %
Dé	26	27.96 %
Jesus	25	26.88 %
Lord	17	18.28 %
Christ	11	11.83 %
He	3	3.23 %
God	3	3.23 %
Me	2	2.15 %
Father	2	2.15 %
Thiarna	1	1.08 %
Saviour	1	1.08 %
Om sai ram	1	1.08 %
Adieu	1	1.08 %
Σ	93	

Table 6: Expressions for GOD in absolute numbers and in percentages of all mentions of GOD, rounded to two decimals.

(83) "May he fly with the best of angels today".   [12_2007.11.13_02]

A second common way of conceptualising HEAVEN in IE is by associating it with specific places, usually located on earth, for example, a *kingdom*, the *ocean*, or simply *there* as a deictic expression of place. This was the case for 5.3 % of all expressions relating to HEAVEN. In (84), the *kingdom* is even combined with the term *Heaven*. This gives HEAVEN a glorious and noble quality, contributing to the highly positive idea people in Ireland seem to have of HEAVEN. *Ocean* only occurs once in the corpus (85) and from this example, it seems to be conceptualised as the place life comes from and where people return to after they die.

(84) "Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."   [07_1925.05.08_01]

(85) Return in peace to the Ocean my love   [13_2019.06.12_02]

Another place that is frequently associated with life after death is the conceptual HOME, as evidenced in (86) and (87). 4.4 % of all references to HEAVEN aligned with this conceptualisation of HEAVEN IS A HOME. In both (86) and (87), this home is inseparably connected to being with God (*Saviour, Lord*), at whose home the afterlife is to take place. A further 4.4 % tie in with the UP-DOWN-schema (see 4.1.1) and its conceptualisations LIFE IS UP and DEATH IS DOWN. The place where the afterlife is set is, in line with this, conceptualised as being somewhere above. For example, (83) implies in *fly with the angels* that the souls of the dead go upwards and the Latin phrase in (88) implies that they move up towards the stars. This place above is also seen as being far away from earthly life, as evidenced in (89).

(86) "When all is o'er, then call me Home, Saviour, home to Thee."

[10_1959.12.14_17]

(87) "Absent from the body and at home with the Lord." [04_1898.07.16_02]

(88) "Ad astra."   [06_1918.10.23_10]

(89) with loved ones far away.   [07_1922.03.29_04]

The term *heaven* itself is only found twice in the entire corpus, in (84) and in (90), in which the dead are conceptualised to be waiting for others to join them in heaven. Overall, HEAVEN is conceptualised as a place where the souls of the dead go after death. It is mostly seen as somewhere close to God but is additionally conceptualised as a home or a place up high. All these different ideas about HEAVEN have in common that they are strongly connected to the DEATH IS A JOURNEY conceptualisation because reaching HEAVEN requires some form of travelling or a journey.

(90) "In heavenly love abiding"   [11_1992.01.27_07]

Interestingly, HELL as the counterpart to HEAVEN is completely absent from the corpus. The option that the souls of the dead might not go to God in heaven but to

purgatory or hell is never mentioned in the DNs. This highlights the comforting function of these DNs: they use highly euphemistic language to provide consolation for the survivors. These religious conceptualisations therefore give speakers the possibility to understand aspects of human life and death more thoroughly (Sharifian 2021: 20).

4.4.3 DEATH IS A REUNION WITH LOVED ONES

If the souls of the dead have an eternal existence in heaven, it only makes sense that in line with previously established conceptualisations, the souls of predeceased loved ones and recently died people will reunite in heaven. In sum, nine examples in the corpus refer to the conceptualisation of DEATH IS A REUNION WITH LOVED ONES. In (91), the person the DN was written about was predeceased by their wife and they reunite after a time of separation. Therefore, the people left behind are encouraged by the hope of meeting recently deceased friends and family when they die themselves and join them in the afterlife, which is expressed in (82), (92) and (93). This idea again provides consolation through the hope that the separation from loved ones through death is not forever.

(91)	Reunited with loving wife Sheelagh.	[14_2021.05.04_01]
(92)	Until we meet again before His throne	[07_1925.08.12_01]
(93)	We'll meet up yonder face to face.	[09_1949.04.28_12]

4.4.4 Diachronic Perspective

The conceptualisations surrounding the concept of AFTERLIFE are all deeply religious, which might influence the results. The diachronic prominence of the sub-conceptualisations is given in figure 6. It shows that THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN is the most common conceptualisation in all 14 periods except for the first one when it did not appear at all.
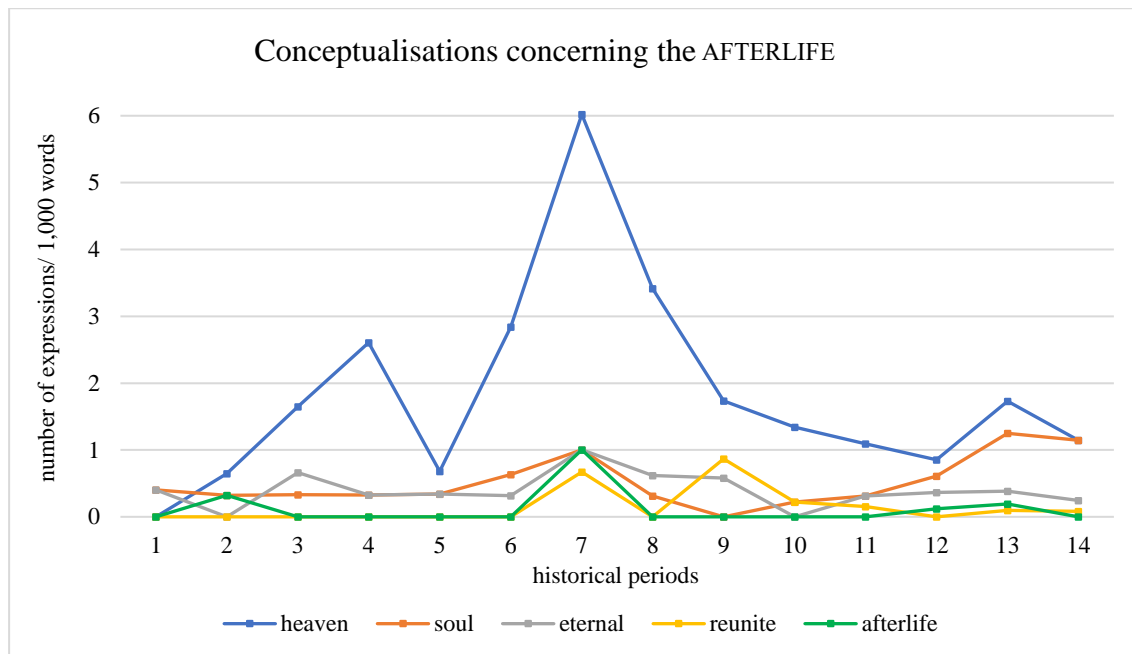
Figure 6: Number of linguistic expressions per 1,000 words for the underlying conceptualisations having to do with the AFTERLIFE: THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN **HEAVEN**, THE DEAD ARE **SOULS**, *AFTERLIFE IS* **ETERNAL**, *DEATH IS A* **REUNION** *WITH LOVED ONES and DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF* **AFTERLIFE** *in general.*

The conceptualisations surrounding afterlife in general, and THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN in particular, are especially frequent during the Anglo-Irish and the Civil War between 1919 and 1925 (period 7). All five conceptualisations were found in that period, which is the case for hardly any other time frame. A reason for this might be that the conceptualisations of AFTERLIFE are influenced by the Christian religion. Both the Civil War and the Anglo-Irish War were partially also inter-confessional confrontations between Catholics and Protestants because Catholicism is and was widely associated with the struggle against British rule and for Irish independence. Authors of the DNs might therefore have found it especially important to stress their and the deceased's affiliation with God, no matter if it was the Catholic or the Protestant side. Another reason why the conceptualisations of AFTERLIFE and HEAVEN could have been prominent during this time is on the one hand, the wish for the positive atmosphere and peace that is attributed to life in heaven and on the other hand, the hope of reunion with loved ones. This is also reflected by the individual curve for the DEATH IS A REUNION WITH LOVED ONES (in yellow in figure 6): the number of linguistic expressions based on this conceptualisation is rather low overall but peaks during the Anglo-Irish and Civil War (period 7) and the 2nd World War (period 9). These were times when there was a very real threat of losing a relative unexpectedly so the promise of being reunited with them in the afterlife might have been especially consoling.
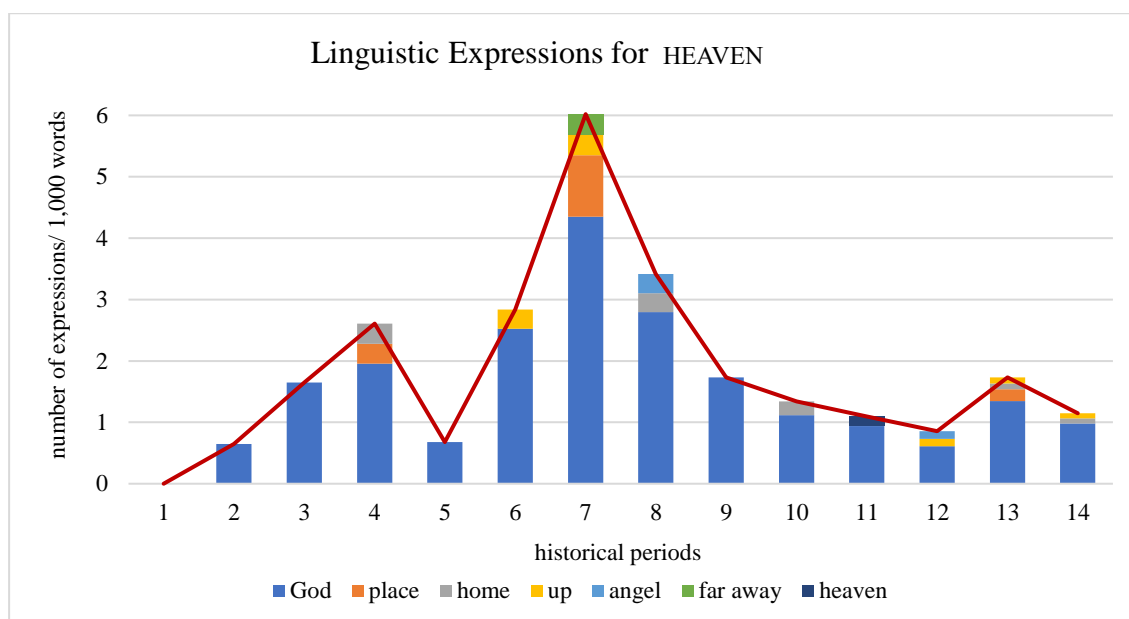
Figure 7: Number of linguistic expressions for the conceptualisation THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN *per 1,000 words in Irish historical periods for the seven most frequent expressions. The red line shows the development of the overall number of expressions of the conceptualisation.*

When having a closer look at THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN as the most prominent AFTERLIFE conceptualisation, it becomes clear that *God* is the most frequent expression throughout (figure 7). This highlights that HEAVEN is a religious concept through and through since it is inseparably connected to God. Just like for the conceptualisations concerned with the AFTERLIFE overall, the HEAVEN conceptualisation is also most frequent in period 7, probably for the same reasons as given above. Not only is this the strongest period but also the most diverse one in terms of the different types of linguistic expressions used to refer to HEAVEN: four of the seven expressions are present.

4.5   DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE

Some of the conceptualisations found so far already highlight that DEATH in DNs is presented as very positive, specifically DEATH IS REST or THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN. This notion is also supported by several linguistic examples that have the underlying, admittedly rather general, cultural conceptualisation DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE. Example (94) implies happy and positive feelings when someone is with God and similarly, (95) sees meeting God (*He)* as something that makes a person *glad*. As established above, HEAVEN is tightly linked to GOD so that DEATH should be assumed to be linked to the positive feelings transported in (94) and (95).

(94)   "Merry in Jesus."   [03_1891.02.10_01]

(95)   And He has made me glad.   [08_1932.10.08_07]

These examples highlight a generally positive stance towards DEATH. More specific positive conceptualisations of DEATH are found in 4.5.1 and 4.5.2 with DEATH IS PEACE and DEATH IS SALVATION FROM PAIN ON EARTH.

4.5.1   DEATH IS PEACE

By far the most common sub-conceptualisation of DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE is DEATH IS PEACE. It makes up 697 of the 740 examples found in the corpus, which amounts to 94.5 % of all examples for the superordinate conceptualisation. The most important reason for this dominance is that DEATH IS PEACE is one of the underlying conceptualisations for *rest in peace* and its variants *RIP, requiescat in pace, may he/she rest in peace* and others. These expressions show the wish of the survivors for their deceased relations to have peace and quiet in their afterlife. This idea of a peaceful existence after death is also reflected in (96), where it is even reinforced by the adjective *perfect*. The phrase *peace, perfect peace* was found 25 times in the corpus, which shows that it is a rather conventionalised expression in DNs. This conventionalisation again highlights how salient the idea of DEATH IS PEACE is in IE DNs. Example (97) also conceptualises life after death as peaceful: the deceased person waits in this state of peace for the still living to arrive in the afterlife. This part of the DEATH IS PEACE conceptualisation ties in with DEATH IS REST, since REST is also a quiet and usually peaceful concept (see 4.2), and with THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN because the heaven itself was seen as an inherently good place (see 4.4.2).

(96)   "Peace, perfect peace."   [04_1904.09.06_05]

(97)   In perfect peace she awaits us all   [10_1959.12.14_01]

While the expressions containing the word *peace* so far referred to a peaceful state once death has already occurred, (98) and (99) mean the moment of DYING as peaceful. In example (98), the death of a person – here referred to as *end* (see 4.6) – is equated with *peace*. On the one hand, this might be consolatory to relatives of the dead person because their last moments were not characterised by pain but by peace. On the other hand, the conceptualisation also mitigates the fear of death for the living as death is not violent or painful but full of peace. (99) is an extended version of giving the circumstances of the death at the beginning of a DN, usually right after the name of the dead person and the date of the death. Just like (98) it shows the peaceful nature of DYING, which is a consolation for the living.

(98)   Her end was peace.   [01_1866.10.13_01]

(99)   (peacefully in his 91st year)   [11_1992.10.03_06]

In general, *peacefully* is the most common adverb that is given in brackets or separated by commas at the beginning of a DN to describe under what circumstances a death has occurred. A typical example of how these adverbs are embedded in the DNs is given in (100). *Peacefully* occurs in such a position 220 times in the corpus, thus supporting the conceptualisation DEATH IS PEACE because the authors of the DN want to highlight the peaceful nature of death. The other three adverbs that appeared in this position were *suddenly* with 81 hits, *unexpectedly* with seven hits and *tragically* with only three hits. Both *tragically* and *unexpectedly* have a clear negative connotation. The fact that they occur in very low numbers in the DN corpus again emphasises that in DNs death is seen rather positively. *Suddenly* can be interpreted in both positive and negative senses. Like *unexpectedly*, it denotes that the death came as a surprise and shock to the relations and thus has a negative meaning. It can, however, also be seen positively: when someone dies suddenly, there is no long period of suffering and pain preceding the death. In (101), *sudden* is even combined with *peaceful*, which shows that *suddenly* must not necessarily mean that the death occurred under tragic circumstances.

(100)   HEARN (Mona) (Rathgar)- January 19, 2007 in her 79th year (peacefully) in the care of the doctors and nurses at St. Vincent's Private Hospital;

[12_2007.01.20_19]

(101)   It is with deep sadness that we announce the sudden and peaceful death of Gerry   [14_2021.06.24_07]

A possible conceptualisation with only a few linguistic examples in the corpus that is closely connected to DEATH IS PEACE is DEATH MEANS SAFETY. Here, the connection is made to the PEACE in life after death, not when dying. *Safe in the arms of Jesus*, like in (102), is with 18 instances the main linguistic expression with the underlying conceptualisation of DEATH MEANS SAFETY. It ties in with the idea that after death the souls of the dead meet God in heaven (see 4.4). In (102), Jesus is seen as providing this safety and security by embracing the dead. This very illustrative description, again, gives consolation both for the dying and the survivors because they know that a safe life awaits the dead in heaven.

(102)   "Safe in the arms of Jesus."   [06_1915.09.10_07]

4.5.2   DEATH IS SALVATION FROM PAIN ON EARTH

Another conceptualisation that falls under the heading of DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE is the conceptualisation DEATH IS SALVATION FROM PAIN ON EARTH. Example (103) shows that death is conceptualised as being a relief from the pains people suffer in life on earth. The *anguish sore*, which was present in life, no longer bothers the deceased. The conceptualisation that DEATH IS IMPROVEMENT is also supported by the ten instances similar to the expression in (104). It explicitly calls the life after death – the life *with Christ – far better* than the life on earth. This might also include the pains from (103) that are eradicated in the afterlife. However, not only pains and negative aspects of life are conceptualised to end with death, in the Christian faith, bad deeds a person has committed in life are redeemed upon death, which is shown in (105) and in one of God's names, the *Redeemer* (106). Thus, God not only saves the dying people from pain on earth, but they are also redeemed, which refers to "deliver[ing] (a person, a soul, etc.) from sin or damnation" (redeem 2023, OED), which contributes to the SALVATION aspect of death.

(103)   And no sigh of anguish sore Heaves that little bosom more.

[07_1925.07.31_02]

(104)   "With Christ, which is far better."   [06_1915.03.15_04]

(105)   "Redeemed."   [07_1925.07.31_06]

This salvation is seen as something to expect with joy so that the sub-conceptualisation of DEATH IS SOMETHING TO LOOK FORWARD TO arises. This *joyful expectation* of death and what might come afterwards is directly mentioned in (106) and closely linked to religious beliefs in God. By mentioning that a person was happily waiting for death to arrive, the frightening aspect of death that it may come unexpectedly and unwantedly at any moment is softened. The same effect is achieved in (107) because *at last* has the connotation that something, here death, has arrived after waiting for it for a long time. The word *longing* in (108) also supports the idea that death and heaven are desired. It is, however, slightly unclear here, whether the *longing for homeland fading* refers to the diminishing yearning for the world as the actual *homeland* or to heaven as a conceptual HOME. The *vision more radiant* could also denote HEAVEN, which supports the notion that the dying person looks forward to entering heaven.

(106)   He died in joyful expectation through faith in his Redeemer.

[01_1866.07.18_02]

(107)   "At Peace At Last"   [13_2019.06.12_17]

(108)   "My longing for homeland is fading, a vision more radiant I see"

[13_2019.06.12_14]

A final aspect that contributes to the underlying conceptualisation of DEATH IS SALVATION FROM PAIN ON EARTH is the frequent mention of illnesses that have led up to death because it shows that death is a relief of these health issues and thus the painless life after death is seen as an improvement. Especially, in the 19th and early 20th century, it was common to mention highly specific causes of death, such as *congestion of the lungs* [01_1859.08.03_07], *paralysis of the brain* [01_1859.11.23_01], or *chronic bronchitis* [02_1879.03.04_04.]. This might have the effect that death is ultimately not seen as that bad in comparison to the suffering caused by the illnesses. This effect is even enforced when the illness is described as *long* or *tedious* like in (109) and (110). The aspect that these illnesses had to be endured by the deceased person is also shown by the addition *borne with Christian patience/ fortitude* because it has the connotation of just serving time until death finally arrives. Thus, the conceptualisation that DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE is also supported by the mentioning of illnesses leading up to death.

(109)   after a long illness, borne with Christian patience   [01_1866.02.17_03]

(110)   after a tedious illness, which he bore with Christian fortitude

[01_1866.02.26_02]

4.5.3   Diachronic Perspective

Diachronically, it becomes even more apparent that DEATH IS PEACE is the most common sub-conceptualisation of DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE in all periods between 1849 and 2023, as illustrated in figure 8. Overall, this positive connotation of death has increased over time, which can be attributed mostly to the rise in the association of death with the concept of PEACE. Especially in the period between 1993 and 2007, the conceptualisation was highly frequent with over 14 linguistic examples per 1,000 words.

Figure 8: Number of linguistic expressions for the conceptualisation DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE per 1,000 words in Irish historical periods for the five most frequent sub-conceptualisations. The red line shows the development of the overall number of expressions of the conceptualisations.

The development of DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE runs somewhat counter to the one of DEATH IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE (see 4.4.4). Even though both have a positive stance towards death, the former increased massively over time, while the latter declined. This might be because the conceptualisation of DEATH IS PEACE is not necessarily tied to the religious belief in HEAVEN or GOD so that it could have replaced the other positive but more Christian conceptualisations that became outdated due to many Irish people turning their backs on the Church since the middle of the 20th century and especially in the 1990s with scandals of child abuse becoming public (Kitchin & Bartley 2007a: 14).

Interestingly, the number of examples of DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE fell to 11.1 examples per 1,000 words with the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 even though it had been consistently frequent since 1969. In the view of the tragic and unexpected deaths that were often not peaceful, it might have appeared inappropriate or even cynical to use the adverb *peacefully* in every other DN. Another striking feature is the diachronic distribution of DEATH IS IMPROVEMENT. It was mainly found in the periods between the two World Wars (periods 6, 7 and 8), which was a time of unrest in Ireland: the Easter Rising, WWI, the Anglo-Irish and Civil War, accompanied by the general poverty in Ireland that was even worsened by the economic crisis in 1929 (Maurer 2021: 283). These troubling times might have increased the wish for an improved life in death so that the conceptualisation DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE was prominent during that time.

4.6   DEATH IS THE END

The conceptualisation DEATH IS THE END might at first glance seem obvious as *death* is among other things defined as "the end of life" (death 2023, OED). However, linguistic expressions with this underlying conceptualisation only appeared 19 times in the entire corpus, which is rather infrequent, so the significance of this part of the analysis might be lower and the results less generally valid. The conceptualisation implied by the OED definition above is also reflected in the Irish English DNs. In (111), for example, the *day* is described to have *ended*. As established in 4.2.2, the day stands for life; the end of the day is used synonymously with the end of life. The expression in (111) was found 6 times overall. In (112), the end of life is conceptualised as the last letter of the Greek alphabet, *omega.* The example refers to the alphabet as the span of life, going from *alpha*, the beginning of life, to *omega*, the end of life. Example (113) only implicitly contains the idea of the END. *Severed*, as another word for *cut*, describes the separation from life, being cut off from life, which can be equated with the end of life. In accordance with the conceptualisation DEATH IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE, this state of being separate from life only lasts until the arrival of God, which marks the beginning of the afterlife. The conceptualisation of DEATH IS THE END OF LIFE also ties in with the conceptualisation of LIFE IS A JOURNEY, found by Huang (2021: 213) for British English. Death is seen as the destination and end point of the JOURNEY of life.

(111)   "The day Thou gavest, Lord, is ended."   [10_1959.02.12_01]

(112)   "Alpha Omega".   [12_2007.01.20_07]

(113)   "Severed only till He come."   [07_1922.05.11_09]

DEATH IS THE END is closely connected to DEATH IS PEACE, which becomes apparent in (114) – a linguistic expression of both conceptualisations found three times in the corpus. DEATH here is directly called *end* and the neutral-to-negative connotation of *end* is alleviated by adding the very positively connotated *peace*. The idea of DEATH IS IMPROVEMENT is also connected to DEATH IS THE END, as evidenced in (115) and (116). Death here is seen as the end of the labours and pains of life. In (115), death is the termination of the labour-intensive tasks that life brings with it so the conceptualisations LIFE IS LABOUR and DEATH IS THE END OF LABOUR could be assumed, but this needs more evidence. The end of the fight in (116) becomes clear through the use of the present perfect *hath fought*, which indicates that something has been terminated but is still relevant for the present. Thus, death is seen as the end of a fight. As already mentioned in

the previous chapter, example (117) with the word *last* also refers to the end of something and has the connotation that this end has been awaited for a long time.

(114)	His end was perfect peace.	[02_1879.02.05_10]
(115)	"Now the labourer's task is o'er."	[07_1922.03.29_07]
(116)	"He hath fought the good fight."	[06_1915.09.10_16]
(117)	"At Peace At Last"	[13_2019.06.12_17]

A further aspect of DEATH IS THE END in the corpus is that death due to its finality causes a fundamental change. This is reflected in the Irish saying in (118) that was found only once in the corpus as a final sentence of an English DN. Its meaning is that someone will never be present again – due to the vagueness of the possessive *a* in terms of person, it is not clear who will be absent. The negator *ní* mainly contributes to the idea of finality. This also indicates the end of something; it is not specified here that it is about the end of life, but the context of the DN suggests that.

(118) Irish   [13_2013.02.21_10]

Ní	bheidh	a	leitheid	ann	arís
NEG	be.FUT	POSS	such	there	again

'Such as me/us will never be there again.'

The conceptualisation of DEATH IS THE END stands in contrast to the Christian beliefs surrounding death. If everything ends with death, this denies the belief in life after death, resurrection and meeting God in heaven. As was shown in example (113), DEATH IS THE END does not mean the end of all things but only of life on earth. Therefore, the conceptualisation DEATH IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE is to some degree compatible with DEATH IS THE END because death might well be the ending of one life, but it can be the beginning of another one at the same time. This also contributes to the conceptualisation of DEATH IS THE END not necessarily being perceived negatively.

The informative value of the diachronic analysis is somewhat limited because of the small number of linguistic expressions in the corpus for the conceptualisation DEATH IS THE END. Nevertheless, figure 9 gives some indications of the development of this conceptualisation since 1849. In the first two periods between 1849 and 1879, the only mentions of the conceptualisation were found in the form of example (114) with the noun *end* directly contained in it. In the decades since 1950 *end* is still the most prominent linguistic manifestation of the conceptualisation but as a verb in examples like (111), usually in the form *ended*.

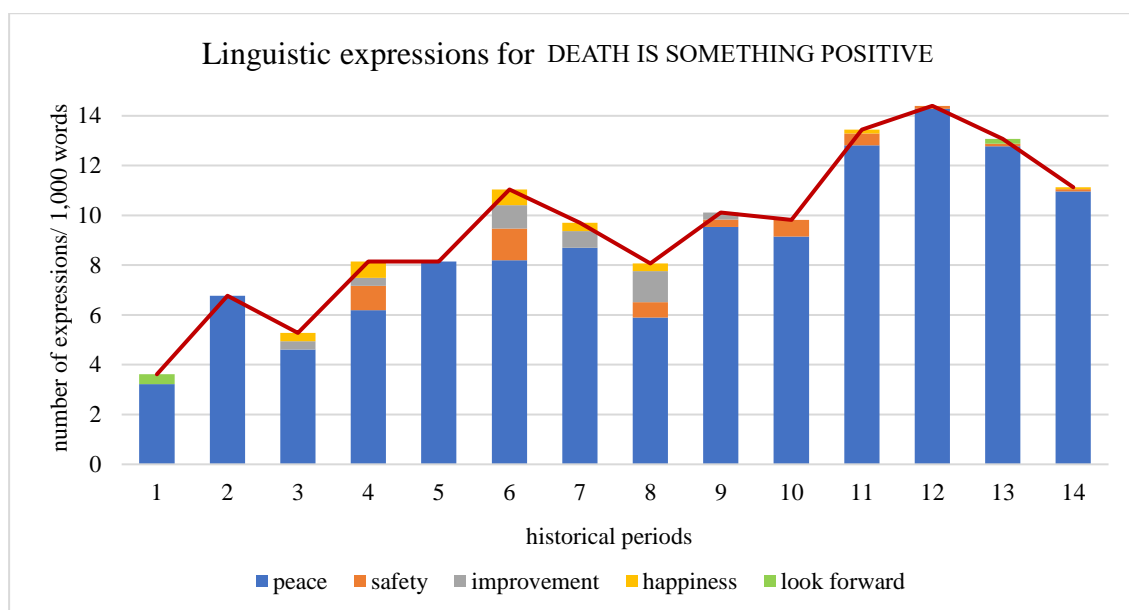*Figure 9: Number of linguistic expressions for the conceptualisation* DEATH IS THE END *per 1,000 words in Irish historical periods for all appearing expressions. The red line shows the development of the overall number of expressions for the conceptualisation.*

Other trends can hardly be recognised; expressions for DEATH IS THE END were found in the beginning, the middle and the end of the investigated period so that the conceptualisation has neither appeared newly during this time frame nor has it disappeared or lost significant importance. The linguistic expressions with only one or two appearances are also spread without a discernible pattern across the decades. One thing can, however, be said in general: DEATH IS THE END has never reached the popularity of the previously discussed conceptualisations, maybe because it lacks the euphemistic undertone of many of the other conceptualisations and is opposed to the Christian belief in life after death.

4.7 DEATH IS GOD'S WILL

Similar to the conceptualisation in the previous chapter, the conceptualisation of DEATH IS GOD'S WILL only has 20 examples supporting it in the corpus. So, again, the significance is more limited. The first major implication of this conceptualisation is that God can decide about life and death at will. This is reflected in example (119), which occurred seven times in the corpus. Here, the concept becomes clear that God's, here reflected in *Thy*, will is fulfilled. The use of the subjunctive *be* in (119) also highlights that the realisation of God's will is something that should happen and is perceived as right. This is also supported by example (120) because God alone is conceptualised as knowing the reason for death and thus also the justification for it. This is why the end of life, if commanded by God, is not seen as inherently negative: if it is the good God's will, it cannot be too bad.

(119) "Thy will be done." [09_1944.03.22_07]

(120) will God unroll the canvas and reveal the reason why

[13_2013.10.23_18]

In accordance with death being God's will, life and death are also conceptualised to be God's to give and take. In (121), *gave* and *hath taken* refers to life, which is seen as a gift by God that can also be taken away by him at his liking. In example (122), it is death – referred to as *sleep* (see 4.2.1) – that is given by God. In the first example, life is given and when it is taken away, it results in death. The absence of life thus implies death. Contrarily, in (122), death is not seen as the absence of life but as a gift actively given by God. This also correlates with positive and negative stances towards death, once seen as a robbery of life, once as a gift. This is especially interesting because both examples come from the same historical period so that a diachronic development cannot be made responsible for the diverging conceptualisations. Both have in common that God is the one to decide about giving or taking life.

(121) The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken. [04_1898.07.09_08]

(122) "He giveth His beloved sleep." [04_1904.05.07_07]

A more voluntary touch is given to death by the conceptualisation DEATH IS A SUMMONS BY GOD, found in examples (123), (124) and (125). In this SUMMONS schema, God – called *Jesus* and *Saviour* – occupies the slot of the one who summons. The space for the person who is being summoned is filled by the dying person, here in the form of *little ones, little child* and *me*. The action of summoning is in all three examples found in the verb *call*. In these examples, God is still seen as the initiator of death, but death is not deemed unavoidable like in the examples above. Instead, it seems more like a suggestion by God that the dying can follow.

(123) "Jesus, who calleth little ones to Thee, to Thee I come."

[05_1908.01.25_02]

(124) "Jesus called a little child unto Him." [07_1925.07.31_04]

(125) "When all is o'er, then call me Home, Saviour, home to Thee."

[10_1959.12.14_17]

In the corpus, a reason is even suggested as to why God holds this power over life and death and can decide about it at will. Example (126) reflects the belief that Jesus has overcome death by being resurrected. Through this defeat of death, God is seen to have *conquered* it so that he has gained the power to rule over death.

(126)   Jesus has conquered death And all his powers.   [08_1932.12.01_07]

4.7.1   THERE IS A GOOD TIME FOR DEATH

Not only is God seen as the decision maker in relation to who dies but also in relation to the time of death. The *will* in (119) thus not only includes that a person should die but when they will die as well. Since God is conceptualised as good in the Christian faith, death must also be good or at least at a good time as it was decided by a good God. This idea becomes especially clear in the conceptualisation DEATH IS A SUMMONS where words like *call* are used. They do not seem as obligatory but more like a suggestion to die: God proposes a time of death he deems adequate, which thus must be a good point in time.

The conceptualisation of THERE IS A GOOD TIME FOR DEATH is also supported by the conceptualisation that DEATH CAN ARRIVE TOO EARLY, which is evidenced in (127). *Premature death*, as an expression found twice in the corpus, describes that a death has occurred too early from the perspective of the survivors and that thus the time of death was bad. If a death can occur *prematurely*, there must also be an option for it to be at the right time. This good time of death could then be seen as the time given by God because he is conceptualised as the one who has the power over life and death. A premature death is therefore a death that has occurred before the point in time chosen by God for a person.

(127)   His premature death will be long and [illegible] by a sorrowing wife and
family.   [01_1866.02.26_05]

4.7.2   Diachronic Perspective

Just like in 4.6, the diachronic analysis is based on only 20 instances of the cultural conceptualisation and thus does provide less significant results. The diachronic distribution of DEATH IS GOD'S WILL is marked by a division into a period before and one after 1969, as visualised in figure 10. Up to the end of period ten (1950-1968), DEATH IS GOD'S WILL was consistently present with frequencies ranging between 0.32 and 0.98 linguistic expressions per 1,000 words. *Premature* stands alone in the first two periods and does not occur afterwards. The other linguistic expressions are spread out across the periods without any discernible pattern.
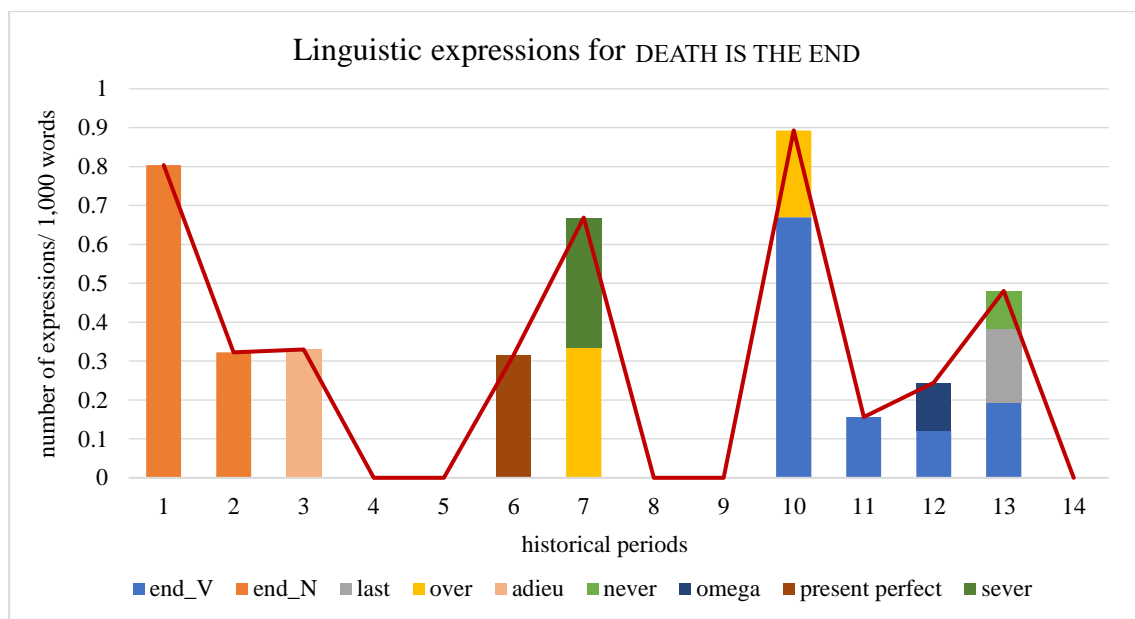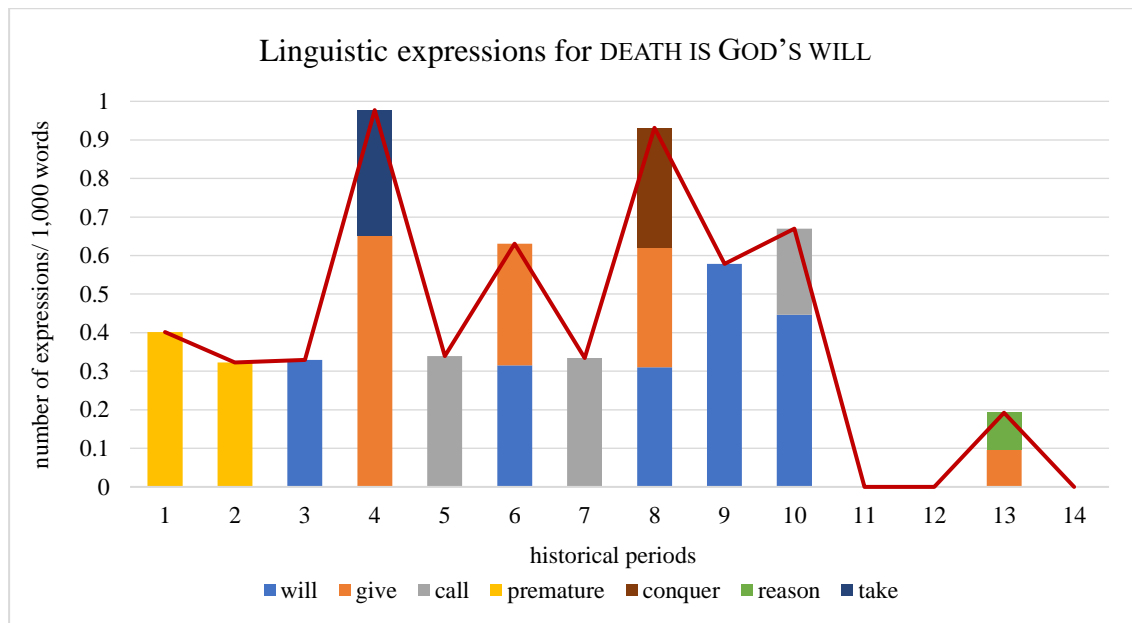
Figure 10: Number of linguistic expressions for the conceptualisation DEATH IS GOD'S WILL per 1,000 words in Irish historical periods for all appearing expressions. The red line shows the development of the overall number of expressions for the conceptualisation.

The notable break then happens in period eleven, beginning in 1969. The DEATH IS GOD'S WILL conceptualisation becomes absent almost completely, the only occurrences being in period 13 with only 0.19 examples per 1,000 words. The reason for this sharp drop in the use of the cultural conceptualisation could lie in its deep religiousness because it is only relevant to people who believe in God. While in the 1950s and 1960s (period 10) the Catholic Church and the beliefs attached to it were still highly influential in Ireland (Harkness 1996: 89), its importance for faith and moral issues declined from the 1970s onwards (Maurer 2021: 320). The decline in faithfulness to the Catholic Church might have had an even bigger effect on DEATH IS GOD'S WILL than on other conceptualisations based on the Christian faith. The assumption that death and when it occurs is determined by God is more extreme than, for example, assuming that after death the soul might go to God in heaven. Unlike other Christian conceptualisations like THE DEAD ARE SOULS or THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN, DEATH IS GOD'S WILL in addition, directly contradicts scientific knowledge about death. The causes of death can very much be explained by science and medicine so that God as a substitute explanation is not seen as necessary. This is different for what happens after death, which has not yet been explained by science. In combination with the lower numbers of believers in general, this might have caused the cultural conceptualisation DEATH IS GOD'S WILL to have ceased to exist in the present.

4.8   **DEATH IS (NOT) A TABOO**

A final potential cultural conceptualisation that will be investigated further is DEATH IS A TABOO. A massive use of euphemistic expressions, which are "characterized by avoidance language and evasive expression" (Allan & Burridge 1991: 3), was found in the cultural conceptualisations described so far. The use of these replacements aims to avoid mentioning death itself and thus not to be confronted with one's fear of death. Additionally, there are only a few direct references to DEATH in the corpus: 35 literal expressions were found in the 1,400 DNs. This suggests that there is some hesitation among speakers of IE to directly refer to DEATH, which makes it a likely candidate for being a cultural taboo.

A further indicator is that in many DNs, a text type that inherently is concerned with death, there is a focus on the life of the deceased person instead of on their death. Overall, 34 linguistic examples were found that indicate this emphasis on life. For example, (128) and (129) highlight the happy and fulfilled life span of the deceased person; the authors of these DNs preferred to look at the positive aspects of the lives and not at death and the following mourning by relatives and friends. This also ties in with the trend found in the DNs since 1993 to opt for a celebration of the life of the dead person, which replaces or complements the classical funeral proceedings. Announcements of such life celebrations were found four times in the corpus, all dating from 1993 or later. A final example that indicates the focus on life is the use of the Greek pendant to *cheers,* displayed in (131). Its literal translation 'good health' seems improper for a DN at first since the dead most certainly do not enjoy good health anymore. As a figurative meaning, however, it makes a lot of sense as a consoling expression. *Yasou* is not a farewell but an exclamation usually found at celebrations. By toasting the dead, she is still seen as present, or good times of drinking together are commemorated. Thus, the positive memories of the dead person's life are rather kept than overshadowed by focussing on mourning their death.

(128)   Cyril enjoyed his long life   [14_2021.05.04_08]

(129)   A long life lived to the full   [14_2021.06.24_12]

(130)   Brian's life will also be celebrated in Ireland in August.

[14_2023.06.24_12]

(131)   Yasou, Laura!...   [14_2021.06.24_09]

Another interesting aspect in this regard is the use of the word *survive*. In 18 examples in the corpus, like in (132), the form *surviving* is used to refer to the person

whom the DN is written about, thus a person who has recently died. In (132), the mentioned daughter who the DN is written for was the *last surviving daughter* of the family but has died as well. It can therefore also be seen as a euphemism because the focus lies on the fact that the person has lived longer than others and not on the point that they have eventually died as well. A second use of *survive* denotes the relatives of the dead person who are still alive. In (133), the focus is put on the surviving wife and not the dead husband. This construction also avoids using *died*, like in the phrase *died before his wife*, which is equal in factual meaning. So, *die* is not just replaced by any euphemism but by its opposite *survive*.

(132) last surviving daughter of the late John Baker   [02_1879.02.05_01]

(133) Simon is survived by his wife Maria   [14_2023.06.05_07]

4.8.1 Direct References to DEATH

There are, however, also direct references to DEATH in the DN corpus, which stand in contrast to the cultural conceptualisation DEATH IS A TABOO. 35 of such direct expressions were found. 14 of them contained a form of *die,* seven the word *death* and two used the adjective *dead* (see table 7). Both (134) and (135) include a direct reference to DEATH. The threat of directly mentioning death is, however, mitigated by adding *peacefully* in (134) and *peaceful* in (135). This can be contrasted with example (136), where the violent death is not euphemised whatsoever. Here, *dead* is used without any attenuation so that this example opposes the cultural conceptualisation of DEATH IS A TABOO.

(134) Michael died peacefully in the loving company of his son Sean-Michael

[14_2021.08.30_01]

(135) It is with deep sadness that we announce the sudden and peaceful death of

Gerry   [14_2021.06.24_07]

(136) (she was shot dead near Ballinure)   [07_1922.05.11_13]

Table 7: Actual number of words directly referring to DEATH, split into instances that refer to the actual death of a person and instances that are part of a quote or an aphorism about death.

	die	kill	death	dead	Σ
actual death	13	12	2	1	28
quote	1	0	5	1	7
Σ	14	12	7	2	35

A distinction has to be made between direct expressions for DEATH that refer to a death that has occurred and those that are contained in quotes from the Bible or aphorisms, which is shown in table 7. Quotes might be seen as less direct and thus less threatening

than the word *death* or *die* referring to an actual death because they contain words of wisdom rather than the uncomfortable fact of a person's death. Most instances of *die* referred to real deaths, while *death* mostly occurred in aphorisms and Bible quotes; example (135) above was one of the two exceptions. *Kill* was only found in direct connection with a violent death in the real world. Another occurrence of the word *death* was the heading of every column in the DN section in *The Irish Times*: *DEATHS* in capital letters, which was found throughout all periods. This might also contribute to the low number of direct references in the DNs themselves. Due to their placement in a newspaper section headed by *DEATHS*, it is already clear to the reader what the DN will be about so that explicitly mentioning that a person has died might be seen as unnecessary.

In addition to direct references to DEATH and DYING, the causes of the death of a person are also frequently made explicit. This is consistently the case for the rolls of honour, which make up the twelve examples of *kill*. Like in example (137), *killed* is usually combined with *in action* if the person died in combat. Causes of death, such as illnesses, were also provided for people who did not die in war. This also questions the conceptualisation DEATH IS A TABOO because mentioning direct causes of death does not make it less scary. In contrast, it also makes death more tangible because a reason is given, and it is shown that death did not come out of nowhere. This might reduce the fear of death as it explains some aspects of it. Sometimes, highly specific causes of death are given, like in (138), while in other cases, for example in (139), only a very general reason for the death is mentioned.

(137)	Killed in action at the Dardanelles.	[06_1915.06.30_12]
(138)	of broncho-pneumonia following influenza	[04_1898.03.12_05]
(139)	after a few days' illness	[05_1912.10.15_05]

To answer the question of whether DEATH IS A TABOO is a valid cultural conceptualisation in IE, it can be said that both the massive use of euphemistic cultural conceptualisations (see 4.1-4.7) and the small number of direct references to death confirm the existence of this conceptualisation. Its validity is, however, contested by the frequent mentions of direct causes of death and the 35 examples of *die, death, dead* and *kill* in the corpus.

4.8.2 Diachronic Perspective

To be able to assess the diachronic development of the DEATH IS A TABOO cultural conceptualisation, the distribution of literal expressions for DEATH is examined in figure

11. The most prominent peak in terms of the numbers of linguistic expressions that directly refer to DEATH is found during the sixth period between 1913 and 1918 with 4.42 appearances per 1,000 words. This can mainly be attributed to the rolls of honour for soldiers in the First World War, in which *kill* is very frequent. During and following the war, direct mentions of DEATH were at their highest, also in normal DNs. The reason for this might be that DEATH became less tabooed during that time because it was such a frequent occurrence that avoiding the subject altogether was not possible anymore. In addition, people might have become desensitised to the subject of DEATH due to its omnipresence. This effect might also have spread out over the following two periods up to 1938 and have caused the numbers of direct references to be still rather high. Interestingly, during WWII, no DNs specifically for soldiers were published because Ireland was neutral in the war, but many Irish still joined the Allied forces (Maurer 2021: 280; 287). In the period of WWII, no direct references to DEATH were found.
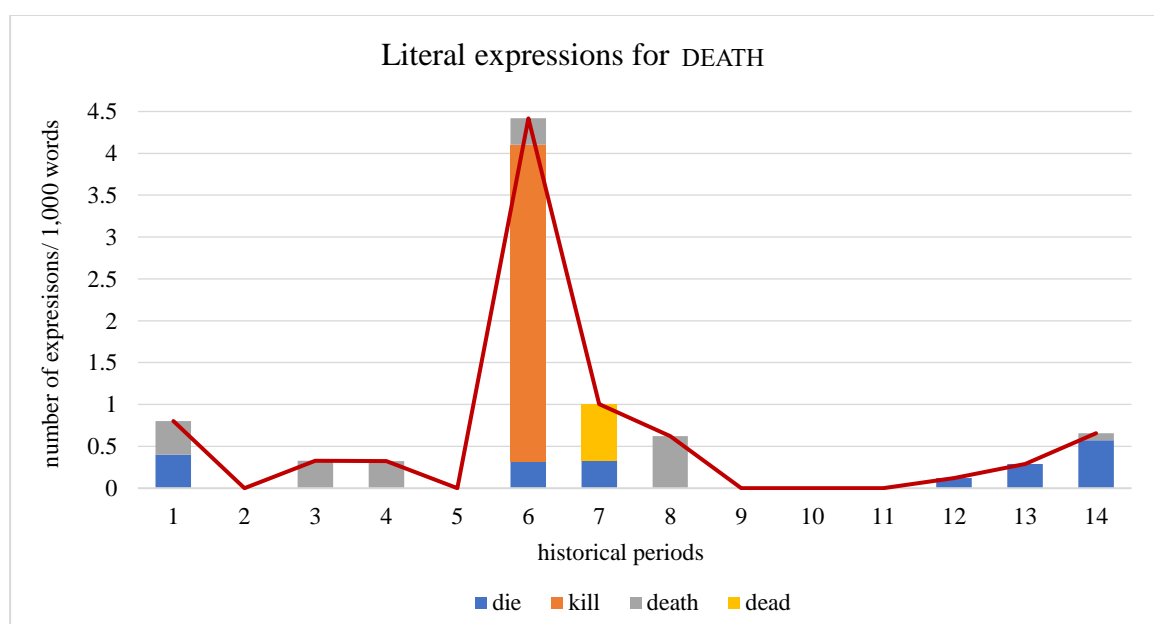
Figure 11: Number of examples that directly refer to DEATH per 1,000 words in Irish historical periods. The red line shows the development of the overall number of literal examples of DEATH.

Die as the most frequent direct reference is spread rather evenly but has a slight focus in the more modern periods since 1993, when it was restarted to be used after a period of not mentioning DEATH directly at all from WWII onwards (periods 9-11). It reached a new high in the period between 2020 and 2023 (period 14). To what extent the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic and the connected increased confrontation with death led to an increase in using the direct verb *die*, would need to be explored in more detail. In summary, it can be said that DEATH IS A TABOO has been existent throughout as can be seen by the overall very low numbers of literal expressions for DEATH. Only WWI with the many instances of *kill* in reference to soldiers could be seen as an exception.

The developments found for literal references to DEATH that are visualised in figure 11 are reflected in the diachronic development of the number of DNs that explicitly give the cause of death. This is shown in figure 12. The higher the percentage of DNs that contain a cause of death, the less widespread the cultural conceptualisation DEATH IS A TABOO seems to be. The period of WWI (period 6) has, with 31 %, the highest percentage of DNs in which a cause of death is given. This is not surprising and fits so well with the results from figure 11 because *killed* was counted both as a literal expression (figure 11) and as a cause of death (figure 12).
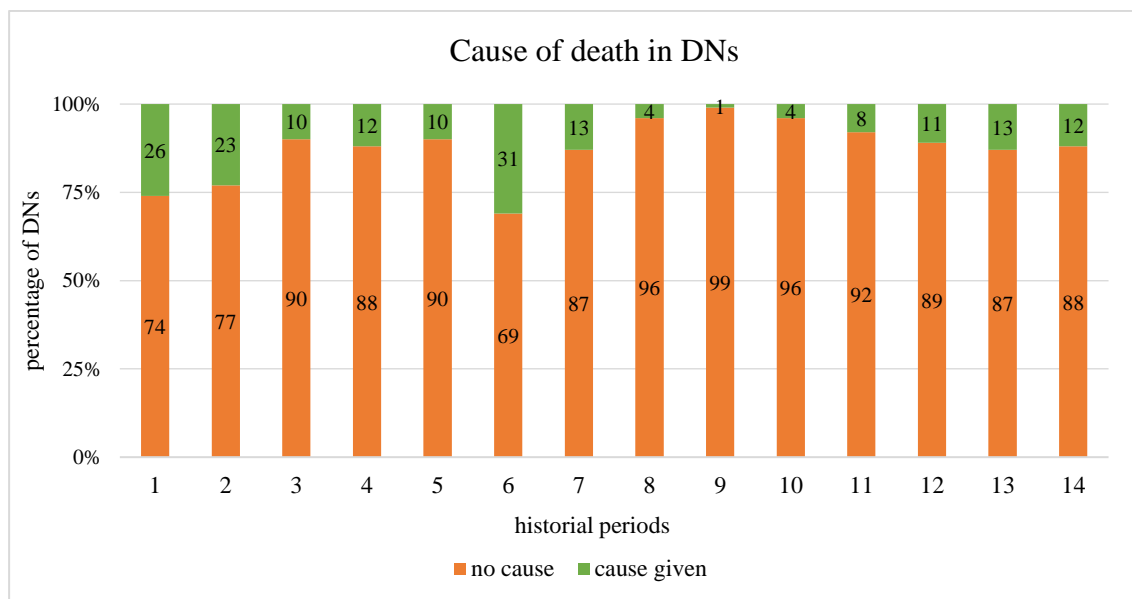
Figure 12: Relation between DNs that give a cause of death and DNs that do not do so; in percent of the amount of DNs in every period.

Overall, more causes of death are mentioned before WWI. It is especially noticeable that with 26 % and 23 % the first two periods show high percentages of DNs mentioning causes of death. In these periods, the causes of death were often described very specifically, referring to a particular illness or an accident. In contrast, in the 21st century, the higher numbers in periods twelve, 13 and 14 are attributed to rather vague causes like a long or short illness. A further parallel with figure 11 can be seen in periods nine to eleven when barely any causes of death were mentioned. This aligns with DEATH not being said directly because both cases point towards a high importance of DEATH IS A TABOO. The rise in death causes after these periods is reflected in the rise in numbers of literal death references.

A third component that has to be taken into account is the development of the substitution of the words *death* and *die* through non-tabooed expressions like *life* or *survive*. This development can be seen in figure 13. The number of mentions of these words is an indicator of how strong DEATH IS A TABOO was during a period. *Survive* is by

far the most common linguistic expression with a connection to LIFE that actually refers to DEATH up until period eleven. Most examples were found in period nine, which ties in with the findings from figures 11 and 12, where it was shown that the numbers of direct references to DEATH and the mention of causes of death were very low. In this period of WWII, DEATH seems to be highly tabooed. Even though the war was not as devastating in Ireland as in other countries, the fear of losing loved ones who had volunteered for the army became very real. This might have caused people to prefer not to mention death at all or only in highly euphemised ways.
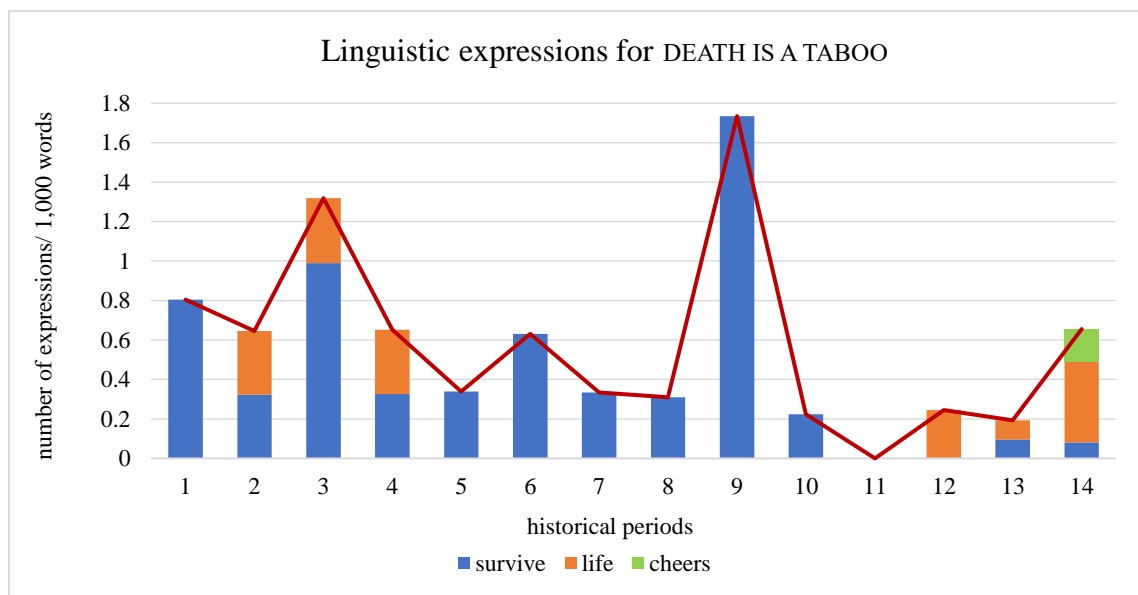
Figure 13: Number of linguistic expressions for the conceptualisation DEATH IS A TABOO per 1,000 words in Irish historical periods for all appearing expressions. The red line shows the development of the overall number of expressions for the conceptualisation.

From 1993 onwards, *life* took over as the most common expression. Five of eleven instances of *life* were found in period 14, the Covid-19 pandemic. This high amount of euphemistic *life* expressions when referring to DEATH indicates a high level of tabooing, which can be explained by the desire of people to have a more positive view of death in times of hardship. The further mentions of *life* in periods twelve and 13 point to the idea that using the past life to refer to DEATH is a rather modern phenomenon. The funeral proceeding of a celebration of life was only found from period twelve onwards.

To summarise the development of the cultural conceptualisation DEATH IS A TABOO, it can be said that its strongest times were between 1939 and 1992, when the DNs contained only few causes of death or explicit references to it, but especially in period nine there were many linguistic expressions avoiding DEATH. None were found in period 11, which also falls into this time frame. The conceptualisation was also rather strong between 1880 and 1912 (periods 3, 4 and 5) when there were only some literal expressions

and causes of death, but quite a lot of linguistic expressions with this underlying conceptualisation were found. DEATH IS A TABOO was only a minor conceptualisation in the first two and the last three periods. Its weakest period, however, was between 1913 and 1918 with very many direct references to death and its causes and only an average number of linguistic expressions in figure 13.

4.9   Summary and Comparison of Results

Eight major cultural conceptualisations in relation to DEATH have been found in the diachronic corpus of Irish English DNs. They contained several sub-ordinate conceptualisations that specified certain aspects of the superordinate ones. The eight conceptualisations and their sub-conceptualisations are given in table 8 in order of the absolute number of linguistic examples that were found for them in the corpus. This shows that THE DEAD ARE TO BE REMEMBERED OR REGRETTED was the most widely used conceptualisation, followed by DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE and DEATH IS REST. Linguistic expressions for the conceptualisations DEATH IS A JOURNEY and DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE were also found over 200 times in the corpus. DEATH IS GOD'S WILL and DEATH IS THE END occurred rather infrequently, just like the two opposing ideas of DEATH IS NOT A TABOO and DEATH IS A TABOO. Even though the number for DEATH IS NOT A TABOO given in table 8 is larger than for DEATH IS A TABOO, the latter is still the more dominant conceptualisation in Ireland because most of the other cultural conceptualisations function as euphemisms for DEATH that support the idea that death is tabooed in IE.

Table 8: Overview of all cultural conceptualisations and their sub-conceptualisations found in the corpus of Irish English DNs. The numbers denote the absolute numbers of linguistic expressions with their underlying conceptualisation in the entire corpus.

Cultural conceptualisation	Sub-conceptualisation	Σ
THE DEAD ARE TO BE REMEMBERED OR REGRETTED		891
DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE	DEATH IS PEACE	740
	DEATH IS SALVATION FROM PAIN ON EARTH	
DEATH IS REST	DEATH IS SLEEP	682
	DEATH IS SILENCE	
	DEATH IS THE NIGHT	
DEATH IS A JOURNEY		238
DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE	AFTERLIFE IS ETERNAL	202
	THE DEAD ARE SOULS	
	THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN	
	DEATH IS A REUNION WITH LOVED ONES	
DEATH IS NOT A TABOO		36
DEATH IS A TABOO		34
DEATH IS GOD'S WILL	THERE IS A GOOD TIME FOR DEATH	20
DEATH IS THE END		19

4.9.1 DEATH as a Cultural Model

The many cross-references between chapters on different cultural conceptualisations in this thesis have already made it clear that the eight conceptualisations surrounding DEATH do not stand alone but are interconnected and related. Therefore, they can be seen as part of a cultural model, as defined by Wolf & Polzenhagen (forthcoming: 6). Together with cultural concepts, cultural schemas and cultural scenarios, the DEATH conceptualisations form a network of interrelated aspects of DEATH. This is why it is valid to speak about DEATH as a cultural model.

A first example of the interrelatedness of cultural conceptualisations is the close connection between DEATH IS A JOURNEY and THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN. After dying, the dead person is conceptualised as going on a journey to heaven in the first phase of their death so that the destination slot of the JOURNEY schema is usually occupied by the concept HEAVEN in DNs for Ireland. The conceptualisation THE DEAD ARE SOULS also ties in here because only the soul, not the body of the dead person, is seen as going on a journey to the after world. Another example of the interconnectedness in the cultural model DEATH can be found in the relation between DEATH IS REST/ SLEEP and DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE. REST is generally perceived to be positive and even necessary, and it is only really resting when it takes place in peace. Thus, DEATH IS REST also interrelates with the sub-conceptualisation DEATH IS PEACE. Since the rest is conceptualised to take place in heaven, the concept of HEAVEN also becomes important here: it is seen as a peaceful place for the souls of the dead to rest. DEATH IS A TABOO should be seen as an overarching conceptualisation that unites most of the other cultural conceptualisations under its wings if they contain a connotation of death that is positive to some degree. By replacing *death/die* with these more positive expressions of the various underlying conceptualisations, they contribute to the notion that DEATH is tabooed in Irish English.

Even one single linguistic expression can fall into several conceptualisations at the same time, which highlights that the conceptualisations frequently overlap even in a single phrase. For example, *he giveth his beloved sleep* evokes both DEATH IS SLEEP and DEATH IS GOD'S WILL. The highly frequent *rest in peace* also contains two words – *rest* and *peace* – that point directly to the two conceptualisations DEATH IS REST and DEATH IS PEACE. A third instance illustrative of the overlaps between conceptualisations is the expression *entered into life,* which is based on DEATH IS A JOURNEY/ MOVEMENT and DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE.

An overlap with another potential cultural model was also found: the models of LIFE and DEATH seem to be interconnected in the idea that both LIFE and DEATH are journeys. Huang's (2021) LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptualisation is mirrored in death by DEATH IS A JOURNEY so that the journey of life is then continued by travelling on in the afterlife towards heaven. A further obvious overlap between the two cultural models is that DEATH IS THE END (OF LIFE). DYING must, therefore, be conceptualised as a transitioning phase from LIFE to DEATH so that it is part of both models.

4.9.2 Diachronic Comparison of Results

In a final analytic step, the results from above will be compared diachronically by looking at the overall number of DEATH conceptualisations as well as at the individual conceptualisations and their distributions. This is visualised in figure 14. The red line shows the development of all the conceptualisations together, which indicates an overall rise in the number of cultural conceptualisations for DEATH in DNs between 1849 and 2023. The first high was found in periods six and seven, the times of the Easter Rising, WWI and the Anglo-Irish and Civil War, in short, during highly violent periods of Irish history. Due to the omnipresence of death at that time, conceptualisations of it might have been more frequent. In most cases, DEATH was not called by its name but euphemisms with transferred meanings were used. Between the two World Wars (period 8) there was a fall in the number of conceptualisations, followed by a steep incline beginning in 1939 and the numbers have fallen only slightly since. The overall high was reached in period eleven with 49.23 DEATH conceptualisations in 1,000 words. This was the era of the Troubles, with many deaths. In addition, the already increasing length of DNs made more room for referring to death, which could also have contributed to the more extensive use of such conceptualisations instead of completely omitting any reference to DEATH.

The development of the individual conceptualisations will be compared only very briefly because they have been discussed in more detail in the preceding chapters. Three cultural conceptualisations can be identified as most frequent overall: THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED OR REMEMBERED, DEATH IS REST and DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE. The fact that the lines of DEATH IS REST and DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE run rather parallelly is based on the highly frequent *RIP* variants that have both of them as underlying conceptualisations.
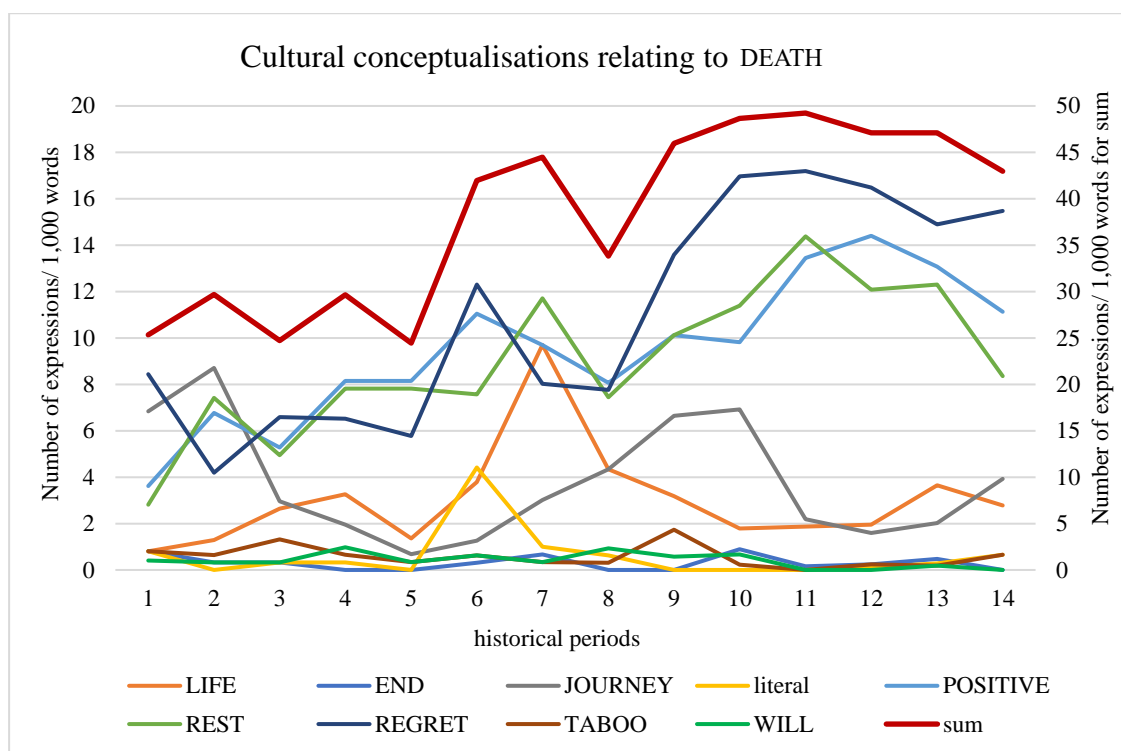
*Figure 14: Number of linguistic expressions for conceptualisations relating to DEATH per 1,000 words in Irish historical periods: DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER **LIFE**, DEATH IS THE **END**, DEATH IS A **JOURNEY**, DEATH IS NOT A TABOO **(literal)**, DEATH IS SOMETHING **POSITIVE**, DEATH IS **REST**, THE DEAD ARE TO BE **REGRETTED** OR REMEMBERED, DEATH IS A **TABOO** and DEATH IS GOD'S **WILL**. The values for these refer to the primary axis on the left. The thicker red line shows the development of all cultural conceptualisations over time and uses the secondary vertical axis on the right.*

A final aspect that should be looked at diachronically is the distribution of the languages used in the linguistic examples that are manifestations of the conceptualisations, which can be found in table 9. Since this thesis is concerned with Irish English as the object language, it is hardly surprising that English is the dominant language found in conceptualisations in all periods. Irish was first found in the DNs in period eleven, i.e. from 1969 onwards. Irish examples for conceptualisations were most frequent in period 13 with 2.5 examples per 1,000 words. When comparing this to the decline in the use of the Irish language, it seems counterintuitive that there would not have been Irish components in DNs in the 19th century, when the percentage of Irish speakers was still higher in Ireland. The use of Irish aphorisms in DNs is, however, a rather modern phenomenon. A possible explanation for the development is the growing national consciousness in Ireland. The first Irish phrases in DNs appeared during the Troubles when to many Catholic Irish a differentiation from the British was important, which might have been achieved by using the Irish language. This continued in the following periods and with the economic growth in the 1990s, Ireland's national pride grew as well. Through using Irish aphorisms in DNs, DEATH also becomes connected to the Irishness of the deceased and their families.

Table 9: Languages of the cultural conceptualisations over time. The values are the numbers of cultural conceptualisations per 1,000 words in the respective languages, rounded to one decimal.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	sum
English	25.3	29.0	23.7	29.6	24.4	41.7	44.5	33.8	45.4	47.8	48.3	46.1	44.3	41.0	40.2
Irish	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.7	2.5	1.5	0.8
Latin	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.2
others	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1

Words in languages except English and Irish occurred only irregularly in the predominantly English DNs. All the Latin instances come from *requiescat in pace* and were distributed rather evenly across the investigated time frame. It had only a slight increase in more modern times. Other languages were hardly ever found; the few examples come from Hindi, French and Greek.

5   Discussion of Results

First, the cultural conceptualisations in relation to DEATH that were found in the thesis will be compared with existing literature. As outlined in the research overview (see 1.3), there are only a few studies that look at DEATH diachronically and none that do so for Irish English. Therefore, the comparison of the results to earlier studies will have a cross-cultural component. In the end, limitations of the methodology and possible improvements for future studies will be presented.

DEATH IS A JOURNEY

In this study, DEATH IS A JOURNEY was found to be the fourth most frequent in the corpus with 238 appearances. Even though it is not the most frequent conceptualisation in the data, its relative prominence is consistent with the results of studies for other varieties of English and other languages. For example, Al-Khatib & Salem (2011: 91) found the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS A JOURNEY to be prevalent in Jordanian DNs. It was also the most frequent cultural conceptualisation for several languages in a cross-cultural comparison by Gathigia et al. (2018: 359), for Taiwanese Christian and Buddhist eulogies by Lu (2017: 61) and for both British and American English by Solheim (2014: 31-32) for the related DEATH IS MOVEMENT. Interestingly, she found *pass (away)* to be the most common linguistic expression relating to DEATH (2014: 32); this verb was rather infrequent in the IE data. The idea of DEATH IS A JOURNEY was also found by Bultnick's (1998: 34-35) research for British English. In Crespo-Fernández's (2006: 114) study of Irish Victorian obituaries, 32 % of all metaphors were of this type and thus made up the most prominent metaphorical domain.

The aspect of the FUNERAL scenario containing instances of actual movement was only noted by Bultnick (1998: 30-31) in terms of movement to the grave, which he found

in phrases such as *to be halfway to one's grave*. He also problematises that in most cases the transport to the grave should not be seen as a JOURNEY because the distance is too short (1998: 34). For some of the DNs here, it was attested that the body travelled by train or ship, which would qualify as a journey (see 4.1.2).

A final interesting deviation from previous research is the application of the UP-DOWN schema in IE DNs. Both Bultnick (1998: 38-39) for British English and Marín-Arrese (1996: 49) for Spanish and English found DEATH IS DOWN(WARD MOVEMENT) as a contrasting conceptualisation to LIFE IS UP. This was hardly the case in the present study: as evidenced in 4.1, the association of death with downward movement occurred only rarely, and even examples like *rise* were found in relation to dying. It can thus be said that DEATH IS A JOURNEY seems to be a common conceptualisation of death in many varieties, but it differs in its details.

DEATH IS REST

Another DEATH conceptualisation that was found by various scholars is DEATH IS REST (Cebrat 2016: 177; Gathigia et al. 2018: 359; Lu 2017: 57; Nwoye 1992: 23; Solheim 2014: 41). Lu (2017: 57) found a stronger presence of the conceptualisation in Christian than in Buddhist religion and Nwoye (1992: 23) saw a clear connection between this conceptualisation and a God figure, in whose presence the dead are at rest. In Irish Victorian obituaries, DEATH IS REST occupies the second most frequent spot with 13 % of all metaphors for DEATH (Crespo-Fernández 2006: 121). In this corpus, it is only the third most frequent conceptualisation between 1849 and 2023, and in the earlier periods that are closer to Crespo-Fernández's period under review, it was even less frequent (figure 3).

The sub-conceptualisation of DEATH IS SLEEP was suggested to be "one of the most general metaphors for death" by Marín-Arrese (1996: 40) and she found linguistic expressions of it both in Spanish and English. Due to its physiological similarities, several scholars (Bultnick 1998: 41-42; Gross 1985: 205; Solheim 2014: 41) have found this conceptualisation as well. Because of the resemblances, Allan & Burridge (1991: 162) also note that "sleep has often been regarded as a temporary death". This ties in with the consolatory force of this conceptualisation found in this study. If death is only temporary and awaking from it is possible, death does not mean losing a loved person forever. Such a positive association of DEATH IS SLEEP was also noted by Bultnick (1998: 87) and fits the findings of this study.

The DEATH IS THE NIGHT conceptualisation was not found in this exact same form by other scholars, but similar ideas were presented. For example, Bultnick (1998: 50-51) found DEATH AS LIGHT GONE OUT in the form of a flame or a candle being extinguished and Cebrat (2016: 179) formulated the conceptualisation DEATH AS A BLOWN CANDLE directly. The common ground between these and DEATH IS THE NIGHT is the idea that DEATH cooccurs with darkness. This is reflected in Gross' (1985: 208) finding that death is conceptualised as "nightfall, the onset of winter", which implies increasing darkness.

THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED OR REMEMBERED

No other scholars postulated the same conceptualisations as THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED or THE DEAD ARE TO BE REMEMBERED. There were, however, ideas that the feelings of the relatives towards the dead stand for their feelings towards death, which constitutes a mapping within one domain (Bultnick 1998: 49-50). Another closely linked conceptualisation is DEATH IS LOSS, found by Allan & Burridge (1991: 162), Bultnick (1998: 44) and Solheim (2014: 51), which shifts the focus from the deceased person to the survivors. This was also the case for THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED/ REMEMBERED but has an inherently negative view towards DEATH. In the DNs investigated here, not only sad feelings for the DEAD were found, but also fond and loving memories were associated.

Crespo-Fernández (2006: 117) found DEATH IS LOSS with 20 % of all conceptualisations to be the second most frequent in his Victorian Irish English data. This fits the findings in this study, where THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED/ REMEMBERED was the most frequent conceptualisation overall. In the first periods, it was not as popular since it only gained importance from WWII onwards. Even though an exact comparison of numbers between Crespo-Fernández's paper and this study is not possible, the rough frequencies seem to align.

DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE

Most of the sub-conceptualisations summarised under DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE have also been found in other studies. Similar formulations to the superordinate conceptualisation were used by Cebrat (2016: 178) with DEATH AS NEW LIFE, Solheim (2014: 45) with DEATH IS AN AFTERLIFE and Crespo-Fernández (2006: 119) with DEATH IS A JOYFUL LIFE, which was frequent and made up 19 % of all metaphors in his study. It has a clear positive connotation because the life after death is seen as joyful, which is also reflected in expressions for DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE.

The sub-conceptualisation of AFTERLIFE IS ETERNAL was also found by Lu (2017: 58) in Taiwanese eulogies and is implied in HEAVEN IS AN ETERNAL HOME; similarly, Marín-Arrese (1996: 44) uses the conceptualisation DEATH IS ETERNAL LIFE. It can thus be said that the idea that AFTERLIFE IS ETERNAL is by no means unique to IE but that it was found in different Christian cultures and in Taiwanese Buddhism. According to Bultnick (1998: 55), the soul is a "spiritual part of human beings that is said to be separated at death" and thus he also sees dead people as souls, a sub-conceptualisation found in this study as well. Other researchers have not made this conceptualisation explicit. The concept of HEAVEN seems to be widespread, so that THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN is also reflected in various conceptualisations from different cultures. For example, Al-Khatib & Salem (2011: 90) found that PARADISE was a salient concept in Muslim and Christian belief systems in Jordan and Britain and that in both cases, God is the decisive figure in determining the place of HEAVEN. This was also the case for British English (Bultnick 1998: 37) with the idea that the afterlife takes place where the dead meet religious characters. The importance of God in the conceptualisation of HEAVEN in this study was shown by the 82.3 % of all expressions for HEAVEN that referred to God. Another conceptualisation of HEAVEN is that of a HOME, which was found by Bultnick (1998: 56) and Lu (2017: 58). That HEAVEN is also conceptualised as HOME in the current corpus became clear in 4.1.1, where it was argued that HOME is seen as the destination of the JOURNEY in death, which ends in HEAVEN.

A final remark has to be made on the strong religious imprint on this conceptualisation that was found for IE. Crespo-Fernández (2016: 119-120) also saw that AFTERLIFE conceptualisations were especially frequent in DNs for religious people due to the Christian belief in HEAVEN. Similar observations were made by Gross (1985: 208), Cebrat (2016: 178) and Bultnick (1998: 36), who extended his claim to a range of religious groups apart from Christians. Allan & Burridge (1991: 163) also evidenced the above conceptualisations in non-religious individuals. This supports the claim that not only individual religiosity but especially the predominant religion in a society that an individual is part of plays a role.

DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE

Crespo-Fernández (2006: 113) found that in Victorian Ireland DEATH was mostly viewed positively. This is reflected in the idea that it is "a liberation from a miserable earthly life" (Crespo-Fernández 2006: 126), which is also mirrored in the conceptualisation DEATH IS THE SALVATION FROM PAIN ON EARTH found in this thesis

(4.5.2). This also ties in with Crespo-Fernández's (2006: 113) conceptualisation DEATH IS A REWARD, which was not found in the present study, not even in the earliest period, which starts only some years after the time frame for Crespo-Fernández's work.

The second sub-conceptualisation DEATH IS PEACE was also found by Al-Khatib & Salem (2011: 92) in Jordanian newspapers in the form of a euphemistic expression for the idealised "good death" that was indicated by the adverb *peacefully.* This expression was also much more frequent than *suddenly* (2011: 93), an observation that was also made for DNs in Irish English here. The findings in this regard are also confirmed by Gaspari's (2015: 130) broad-scale study on IE online DNs, which found the same four adverbs – *peacefully, suddenly, unexpectedly* and *tragically* – to appear in this order of frequency in IE DNs.

DEATH IS THE END

DEATH IS THE END also seems to be present in WE and other languages apart from IE. Cebrat (2016: 177) found the conceptualisation in American English DNs in expressions like *expire.* Marín-Arrese (1996: 49) attested it for English and Spanish and added the more detailed conceptualisation DEATH IS THE LAST HOUR with the implication that life is a process with a starting and an end point, which is DEATH (1996: 48). Gathigia et al. (2018: 359) found it to be the second most frequent conceptualisation of DEATH in their six investigated languages. This opposes the findings for IE, where this conceptualisation was infrequent in the DNs. Crespo-Fernández (2006: 123), however, also found that DEATH IS THE END was rather rarely used in Victorian IE making up only 8 % of all found metaphors. The linguistic expressions observed by Crespo-Fernández (2006: 123) were similar to the ones in the present corpus with, for example, *last.* Eschatological expressions referring to last things in relation to DEATH were also found by Bultnick (1998: 58) and Solheim (2014: 53) in British and American English.

A conceptualisation that Marín-Arrese (1996: 50) found in connection with DEATH IS THE END is DEATH IS THE SEVERING: in accordance with the LINK schema, a person is conceptualised to be linked to life. Death then is seen "as a form of disconnection with life" (Marín-Arrese 1996: 50). This conceptualisation could not be confirmed in IE because only one example (113) was found for it in the entire corpus, which is not enough to claim an underlying cultural conceptualisation.

DEATH IS GOD'S WILL

Even though no other authors formulated the exact conceptualisation DEATH IS GOD'S WILL, the idea that death can be sent or caused by God was found by Bultnick (1998: 52) and Solheim (2014: 48), who called it DEATH IS CAUSED BY GOD. This formulation was not adopted here because in the IE DNs often a physical and earthly cause of death is given that might be conceptualised as sent by God. DEATH IS CAUSED BY GOD would furthermore have been inaccurate for cases including the word *call* because here God is not seen as enforcing death but as suggesting it. In German and Finnish DNs, God often had an agentive function and the dying as objects did not have a direct role, which was reflected in the use of passive (Piitulainen 1990: 170). This was also found in Irish English DNs.

The just mentioned examples with *call* fall into the conceptualisation DEATH IS A SUMMONS, which was also present in the data analysed by Gathigia et al. (2018: 359) for various languages. The conceptualisation is also implied by Bultnick (1998: 54) when he describes DEATH as an invitation, but it is not spelt out directly as a conceptualisation.

DEATH IS A TABOO

A final conceptualisation that also connects all the others is DEATH IS A TABOO. Although it was never called a cultural conceptualisation in previous studies, almost all researchers who looked into conceptualisations of DEATH or DNs in general found some cases of tabooing or the resulting euphemisms. In DNs across the globe, there seems to be a tendency not to use direct references to DEATH. For example, Allan & Burridge (1991: 161) found only one DN with the word *die* in their corpus of the *Melbourne Sun*, while most DNs did not mention death at all. This is mirrored in the findings by Al-Khatib & Salem (2011: 90-92) for Jordanian Arabic and British English and by Fries (1990: 57) for a diachronic corpus of British English. For Irish English, Gaspari (2015: 130) attested a low frequency of expected words like *death*, *dead* and *body* in his online DN corpus, which is consistent with the present results. In Crespo-Fernández's (2006: 124) Victorian IE data, "silence stands out as the most effective euphemism" as well. In contrast to these findings stands Piitulainen (1990: 163), who found direct expressions for DEATH to be used rather frequently, especially in DNs written by companies but also to a lesser degree in the ones authored by families. Eckkrammer & Divis-Kastberger (1996: 119) also observed that English DNs quite frequently used the direct expressions *death* and *die* because in the short DNs, there is no space for euphemisms. In contrast, they found that 78 % of English DNs did not use a verb at all to denote DEATH (1996: 182). It can therefore

be said that most studies confirmed that direct references to DEATH tend to be avoided, which is also in accord with the low number of instances of *death, die,* or *dead* found in this corpus.

Diachronically, this thesis did not find a linear development of the degree of tabooing of DEATH, but the stronger and weaker periods of DEATH IS A TABOO came in waves grounded in historical and social developments of the time. The trend observed by Eckkrammer & Divis-Kastberger (1996: 186) that direct verbs were found more, and the taboo diminished over time cannot be confirmed for Irish English. Fjell (2019: 35-36) also found that DEATH in British English became less tabooed from the 1960s to 2010, which can be confirmed in the IE DNs because a decline in the prominence of DEATH IS A TABOO was seen from 1992 until 2023, which also includes part of Fjell's time frame.

Some cultural conceptualisations that other scholars have found were not present in the corpus of Irish English DNs. The first ones come from the domain of fighting: DEATH AS A LOST BATTLE (Cebrat 2016: 178), DEATH AS SURRENDER (Bultnick 1998: 45) and DEATH IS AN ADVERSARY (Marín-Arrese 1996: 44) all indicate that DEATH is something that can be fought and that dying then means that the battle has been lost. The only example from the IE DN corpus that might fall into this category is *he hath fought the good fight* (34), but as was explained in 4.2, the *fight* here rather refers to LIFE than to DEATH. Additionally, it does not imply that the fight has been lost. Furthermore, in this corpus, no indications were present for a personification of DEATH, which was found by Bultnick (1998: 52) and Marín-Arrese (1996: 42) in the form of the *Grim Reaper*. A final type of linguistic expressions that was completely absent from the DN corpus were playful ones, such as *kick the bucket,* found by Bultnick (1998: 60), which might be seen as disrespectful in many cases. This could be the reason why they did not appear in the DNs. It could be that DNs do not produce all cultural conceptualisations relating to DEATH in Irish English. It is, however, also possible that some of the just mentioned conceptualisations found elsewhere are absent in IE or at least so infrequent that they did not appear in the corpus.

Even though the analysis of the corpus revealed eight major conceptualisations of DEATH in IE and several more sub-conceptualisations, it was not possible to find all cultural conceptualisations in relation to DEATH that probably exist in IE, for example, the ones found by Peters (2017: 138) referring to BANSHEES and FAIRIES. This is due to the limited nature of the corpus, which is on the smaller side with only 69,169 words. Yet, the corpus is highly specialised in the domain of DEATH, so it is generally adequate for the

research goals of the thesis. Because the corpus consists of DNs only, no other conceptualisations but the ones used in DNs could be observed. This is why the humorous parts of funerals and wakes that researchers (Harlow 1997: 140; Lysaght 2003: 405-406; Taylor 1989: 176-177; Witoszek & Sheeran 1998: 27) provided evidence for were completely absent in the DNs: no witty puns or allusions to excessive wakes were found in the corpus. This can be attributed to the rather functional task of DNs to inform people about the death of another person. Further functions, such as praising the dead person or offering comfort for relatives and friends, do not require the funny aspect of funeral proceedings in Ireland to be mentioned.

Another limitation of the corpus relates to its diachronic representativeness. Since DNs are a rather formulaic medium with many ready-made phrases that only need to be assembled appropriately by the authors of the DNs, changes in underlying conceptualisations might only show in DNs delayed. Therefore, DNs might portray cultural conceptualisations of DEATH that have already shifted in cognition and thus also in most other mediums of language use. To counter this effect to some degree, the DNs that were extracted from the newspaper were chosen from the middle and the end of the respective periods to allow for influences of historical events in the time frame to be incorporated into the language in the DNs. The formulaic nature of DNs also creates the issue that diachronic developments might be caused more by trends of popular phrases in the DNs than by the conceptualisations that were more or less salient in the speech community at a point in time. To avoid these problems, future studies could use a diverse corpus that not only contains DNs but also obituaries, funeral speeches, newspaper articles and other pieces of written and spoken data that are concerned with DEATH.

6 Conclusions

To conclude, the answers to the two research questions from 1.1 that have been addressed in the analysis will be briefly summarised. The first research question was: which cultural conceptualisations relating to DEATH, DYING and THE DEAD could be found in Irish English death notices? The analysis of the corpus of DNs from *The Irish Times* between 1859 and 2023 yielded eight different cultural conceptualisations overall, which – in the order of their frequency – were: THE DEAD ARE TO BE REMEMBERED OR REGRETTED, DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE, DEATH IS REST, DEATH IS A JOURNEY, DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE, DEATH IS (NOT) A TABOO, DEATH IS GOD'S WILL and DEATH IS THE END. In addition, subordinate conceptualisations that were connected to these eight conceptualisations were found in the corpus. The basis of the cultural

conceptualisations was often religious, in cases like DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE or DEATH IS GOD'S WILL, but some examples opposed Christian beliefs, which was the case for DEATH IS THE END.

The second research question was: what are the differences and similarities in the conceptualisations from a diachronic perspective? Overall, a rise in the number of cultural conceptualisations in relation to DEATH was found when normalised to the frequency per 1,000 words in the corpus. Conceptualisations such as DEATH IS REST, DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE and THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED OR REMEMBERED were generally at a high during the 1910s and 1920s with the Easter Rising, WWI, the Anglo-Irish War and the Civil War as a historical background; in short, troubled and violent times in Ireland. The confrontation with DEATH on a daily basis might have increased the desire for consolation when facing the death of a friend or family member. Thus, more cultural conceptualisations that mitigate the threat of death might have appeared in DNs during that time. In the same time frame, there was a peak of literal expressions like *death* or *die*, which points to a co-existence of the acceptance of death for what it is and the wish to make it seem less scary.

It was shown that these changes in cultural conceptualisations are interconnected with historical and social developments in Ireland. For example, the highest number of DEATH IS A JOURNEY occurred in eras of mass emigration, when an actual journey from Ireland meant never seeing the ones staying behind again. This thesis has thus given an indication that the methodology and terminology of Cultural Linguistics are appropriate tools to carry out diachronic studies on cultural phenomena from a linguistic perspective. The empirical methods of CuL enable a systematic matching of cultural conceptualisations with historical developments in the respective culture.

To expand on this thesis, a systematic comparison with other World Englishes by compiling DN corpora under the same criteria could shed more light on the similarities and differences of DEATH conceptualisations in WE. The conceptualisations found in this study could also be checked against general corpora of Irish English, such as the Ireland compartment of the International Corpus of English (ICE) to test if the same conceptualisations of DEATH can be found in other situations of language usage. Furthermore, ethnographic interviews with speakers of IE could be conducted in reference to the conceptualisations found in DNs to gain further emic insights. This would enable the researcher to determine if a cultural conceptualisation can be classified as a

cultural metaphor or metonymy from the speakers' perspective, which would provide a deeper understanding of the conceptualisations surrounding DEATH in IE.

A final suggestion of how to extend the scope of the investigation is to include other written and spoken sources that contain perceptions and ideas about DEATH to be able to prove further conceptualisations that were not contained in DNs. Comical instances like the rising of Finnegan from the dead in "Finnegan's Wake" (The Dubliners 1966) were not found in DNs with their more serious tone. An extended corpus might reveal further cultural conceptualisations that include the comic and humorous components that are often present in wakes and celebrations of life.

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List of References – Corpus of Death Notices

The death notices form The Irish Times *are referred to in the text by their file names in the corpus in the following form [period_year.month.day_number of DN] so that the first DN from the first newspaper edition listed here would be referenced by [01_1859.05.19_01].*

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DEATHS (1859). In: *The Irish Times*, 17 November 1859, 4.

DEATHS (1859). In: *The Irish Times*, 23 November 1859, 4.

DEATHS (1859). In: *The Irish Times*, 15 December 1859, 4.

DEATHS (1859). In: *The Irish Times*, 28 December 1859, 4.

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DEATHS (1873). In: *The Irish Times*, 16 April 1873, 7.

DEATHS (1873). In: *The Irish Times*, 21 April 1873, 8.

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DEATHS (1873). In: *The Irish Times*, 19 December 1873, 1.

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DEATHS (1891). In: *The Irish Times*, 08 May 1891, 1.

DEATHS (1891). In: *The Irish Times*, 28 May 1891, 1.

DEATHS (1891). In: *The Irish Times*, 25 September 1891, 1.

DEATHS (1898). In: *The Irish Times*, 26 February 1898, 1.

DEATHS (1898). In: *The Irish Times*, 12 March 1898, 1.

DEATHS (1898). In: *The Irish Times*, 09 July 1898, 1.

DEATHS (1898). In: *The Irish Times*, 16 July 1898, 1.

DEATHS (1898). In: *The Irish Times*, 23 December 1898, 1.

DEATHS (1904). In: *The Irish Times*, 07 May 1904, 1.

DEATHS (1904). In: *The Irish Times*, 18 July 1904, 1.

DEATHS (1904). In: *The Irish Times*, 06 September 1904, 1.

DEATHS (1904). In: *The Irish Times*, 26 December 1904, 1.

DEATHS (1908). In: *The Irish Times*, 25 January 1908, 1.

DEATHS (1908). In: *The Irish Times*, 30 May 1908, 1.

DEATHS (1908). In: *The Irish Times*, 20 October 1908, 1.

DEATHS (1908). In: *The Irish Times*, 14 December 1908, 1.

DEATHS (1912). In: *The Irish Times*, 08 July 1912, 1.

DEATHS (1912). In: *The Irish Times*, 12 July 1912, 1.

DEATHS (1912). In: *The Irish Times*, 24 August 1912, 1.

DEATHS (1912). In: *The Irish Times*, 15 October 1912, 1.

DEATHS (1915). In: *The Irish Times*, 15 March 1915, 1.

DEATHS (1915). In: *The Irish Times*, 24 March 1915, 1.

DEATHS (1915). In: *The Irish Times*, 30 June 1915, 1.

DEATHS (1915). In: *The Irish Times*, 10 September 1915, 1.

DEATHS (1918). In: *The Irish Times*, 19 August 1918, 1.

DEATHS (1918). In: *The Irish Times*, 23 October 1918, 1.

DEATHS (1918). In: *The Irish Times*, 28 December 1918, 1.

DEATHS (1922). In: *The Irish Times*, 29 March 1922, 1.

DEATHS (1922). In: *The Irish Times*, 11 May 1922, 1.

DEATHS (1922). In: *The Irish Times*, 31 May 1922, 1.

DEATHS (1922). In: *The Irish Times*, 16 June 1922, 1.

DEATHS (1925). In: *The Irish Times*, 21 March 1925, 1.

DEATHS (1925). In: *The Irish Times*, 08 May 1925, 1.

DEATHS (1925). In: *The Irish Times*, 31 July 1925, 1.

DEATHS (1925). In: *The Irish Times*, 12 August 1925, 1.

DEATHS (1932). In: *The Irish Times*, 16 February 1932, 3.

DEATHS (1932). In: *The Irish Times*, 30 May 1932, 1.

DEATHS (1932). In: *The Irish Times*, 05 August 1932, 1.

DEATHS (1932). In: *The Irish Times*, 08 October 1932, 1.

DEATHS (1932). In: *The Irish Times*, 01 December 1932, 1.

DEATHS (1938). In: *The Irish Times*, 20 June 1938, 1.

DEATHS (1938). In: *The Irish Times*, 11 July 1938, 1.

DEATHS (1938). In: *The Irish Times*, 15 September 1938, 1.

DEATHS (1938). In: *The Irish Times*, 29 October 1938, 1.

DEATHS (1938). In: *The Irish Times*, 09 December 1938, 1.

DEATHS (1944). In: *The Irish Times*, 05 February 1944, 6.

DEATHS (1944). In: *The Irish Times*, 22 March 1944, 4.

DEATHS (1944). In: *The Irish Times*, 12 May 1944, 4.

DEATHS (1944). In: *The Irish Times*, 19 June 1944, 4.

DEATHS (1944). In: *The Irish Times*, 27 October 1944, 4.

DEATHS (1949). In: *The Irish Times*, 18 March 1949, 8.

DEATHS (1949). In: *The Irish Times*, 21 March 1949, 8.

DEATHS (1949). In: *The Irish Times*, 28 April 1949, 8.

DEATHS (1949). In: *The Irish Times*, 21 September 1949, 9.

DEATHS (1949). In: *The Irish Times*, 09 December 1949, 8.

DEATHS (1959). In: *The Irish Times*, 12 February 1959, 10.

DEATHS (1959). In: *The Irish Times*, 03 April 1959, 12.

DEATHS (1959). In: *The Irish Times*, 21 October 1959, 4.

DEATHS (1959). In: *The Irish Times*, 14 December 1959, 12.

DEATHS (1968). In: *The Irish Times*, 15 February 1968, 20.

DEATHS (1968). In: *The Irish Times*, 08 May 1968, 22.

DEATHS (1968). In: *The Irish Times*, 15 May 1968, 19.

DEATHS (1968). In: *The Irish Times*, 04 June 1968, 18.

DEATHS (1968). In: *The Irish Times*, 03 August 1968, 22.

DEATHS (1980). In: *The Irish Times*, 07 April 1980, 21.

DEATHS (1980). In: *The Irish Times*, 11 September 1980, 22.

DEATHS (1980). In: *The Irish Times*, 29 October 1980, 20.

DEATHS (1980). In: *The Irish Times*, 28 November 1980, 28.

DEATHS (1992). In: *The Irish Times*, 27 January 1992, 24.

DEATHS (1992). In: *The Irish Times*, 01 April 1992, 32.

DEATHS (1992). In: *The Irish Times*, 18 June 1992, 20.

DEATHS (1992). In: *The Irish Times*, 03 October 1992, 26.

DEATHS (2000). In: *The Irish Times*, 05 January 2000, 27.

DEATHS (2000). In: *The Irish Times*, 19 February 2000, 29.

DEATHS (2007). In: *The Irish Times*, 20 January 2007, 27.

DEATHS (2007). In: *The Irish Times*, 13 November 2007, 31.

DEATHS (2013). In: *The Irish Times*, 21 February 2013, 25.

DEATHS (2013). In: *The Irish Times*, 23 October 2013, 21.

DEATHS (2019). In: *The Irish Times*, 10 April 2019, 25.

DEATHS (2019). In: *The Irish Times*, 12 June 2019, 23.

DEATHS (2019). In: *The Irish Times*, 27 August 2019, 29.

DEATHS (2021). In: *The Irish Times*, 04 May 2021, 29.

DEATHS (2021). In: *The Irish Times*, 18 May 2021, 29.

DEATHS (2021). In: *The Irish Times*, 24 June 2021, 25.

DEATHS (2021). In: *The Irish Times*, 14 July 2021, 27.

DEATHS (2021). In: *The Irish Times*, 30 August 2021, 15.

DEATHS (2023). In: *The Irish Times*, 30 March 2023, 29.

DEATHS (2023). In: *The Irish Times*, 15 May 2023, 15.

DEATHS (2023). In: *The Irish Times*, 05 June 2023, 15.

DEATHS (2023). In: *The Irish Times*, 21 June 2023, 25.

DEATHS (2023). In: *The Irish Times*, 24 June 2023, 21.

Appendix

Tables with Values for the Creation of Figures

Table A 1: Data for figure 2: linguistic expressions for DEATH IS A JOURNEY. Absolute number of linguistic expressions and their frequency per 1,000 words in the respective time periods 1-14; values rounded to two decimals.

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		13		14		sum	
remain	9	3.62	13	4.19	2	0.66	2	0.65	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	2.48	17	4.91	25	5.58	10	1.56	3	0.37	2	0.19	0	0	91	1.32
decease	1	0.40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.37	16	1.54	37	3.03	57	0.82
relict	4	1.61	9	2.90	6	1.98	2	0.65	1	0.34	2	0.63	0	0	3	0.93	2	0.58	3	0.67	2	0.31	1	0.12	0	0	0	0	35	0.51
pass away	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.16	2	0.24	0	0	5	0.41	8	0.12
leave	0	0	1	0.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.10	0	0	5	0.07
abide	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.29	2	0.45	1	0.16	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.06
come	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.34	0	0	1	0.33	1	0.31	1	0.29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.06
pass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.31	0	0	1	0.22	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.16	4	0.06
absent	0	0	1	0.32	0	0	1	0.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.12	0	0	0	0	3	0.04
relic	2	0.80	1	0.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.04
depart	1	0.40	0	0	0	0	1	0.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.08	3	0.04
others	0	0	2	0.64	1	0.33	0	0	0	0	2	0.63	40	1.34	1	0.31	2	0.58	0	0	0	0	3	0.37	2	0.19	3	0.25	20	0.29
sum	17	6.83	27	8.71	9	2.97	6	1.95	2	0.68	4	1.26	8	2.68	14	4.35	23	6.65	31	6.92	14	2.19	13	1.59	21	2.02	48	3.93	237	2.59

*Table A 2: Data for figure 3: linguistic expressions for **DEATH IS REST**. Absolute number of linguistic expressions and their frequency per 1,000 words in the respective time periods 1-14; values rounded to two decimals.*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	sum
awake	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.01
fight	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.01
lay	0	0	0	1 0.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.08	2 0.03
lie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.12	0	0	1 0.01
night	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.01
quiet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.12	0	1 0.08	2 0.03
repose	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 0.31	7 0.85	38 3.65	18 1.47	65 0.94
requiem	0	0	1 0.33	0	0	0	2 0.67	4 1.24	6 1.73	8 1.79	22 3.44	20 2.44	26 2.50	21 1.72	110 1.59
rest	0	1 0.32	0	2 0.65	0	1 0.32	2 0.67	2 0.62	0	4 0.89	3 0.47	2 0.24	1 0.10	1 0.08	19 0.27
RIP	6 2.41	19 6.13	14 4.61	18 5.86	23 7.81	19 6	22 7.36	14 4.35	29 8.38	34 7.59	63 9.85	67 8.18	61 5.86	58 4.75	447 6.46
silence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.10	0	0	1 0.10	0	2 0.03
sleep	1 0.40	3 0.97	0	2 0.65	0	1 0.32	4 1.34	1 0.31	0	1 0.22	0	0	0	0	13 0.19
still	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.01
wake	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.01
weary	0	0	0	1 0.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.01
sum	7 2.81	23 7.42	15 4.94	24 7.82	23 7.81	23 7.26	34 11.37	21 6.52	35 10.1	47 10.5	90 14.07	98 11.96	127 12.21	100 8.19	667 9.64

*Table A 3: Data for figure 4: linguistic expressions for **DEATH IS THE NIGHT**. Absolute number of linguistic expressions and their frequency per 1,000 words in the respective time periods 1-14; values rounded to two decimals.*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	sum
night	0	0	0	0	0	1 0.32	1 0.33	2 0.62	0	4 0.89	2 0.31	1 0.12	1 0.10	2 0.16	14 0.20

*Table A 4: Data for figure 5: linguistic expressions for **THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED OR REMEMBERED**. Absolute number of linguistic expressions and their frequency per 1,000 words in the respective time periods 1-14; values rounded to two decimals.*

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9	
regret	13	5.23	10	3.22	12	3.96	14	4.56	7	2.38	206	8.2	11	3.68	15	4.66	34	9.83
miss	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.58
sad	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.58
sorrow	3	1.21	1	0.32	5	1.65	5	1.63	5	1.7	12	3.79	8	2.68	6	1.86	4	1.16
remember	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
mourn	0	0	0	0	2	0.66	1	0.33	1	0.34	1	0.32	2	0.67	3	0.93	2	0.58
grief	3	1.21	1	0.32	1	0.33	0	0	4	1.36	0	0	2	0.67	1	0.31	3	0.87
heart	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
memory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
appreciate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
difficult	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
lament	2	0.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
admire	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
care	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
celebrate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
deplore	0	0	1	0.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
fond	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
sore	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
weep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.33	0	0	0	0
sum	21	8.44	13	4.19	20	6.59	20	6.51	17	5.77	39	12.3	24	8.03	25	7.76	47	13.58

	10		11		12		13		14		sum	
regret	51	11.39	68	10.63	46	5.62	25	2.4	14	1.15	346	5.00
miss	4	0.89	16	2.50	44	5.37	61	5.86	78	6.39	205	2.96

sad	4	0.89	16	2.50	36	4.39	54	5.19	62	5.08	174	2.52
sorrow	14	3.13	6	0.94	1	0.12	0	0	2	0.16	72	1.04
remember	0	0	1	0.16	5	0.61	4	0.38	18	1.47	28	0.41
mourn	3	0.67	1	0.16	2	0.24	4	0.38	3	0.25	25	0.36
grief	0	0	1	0.16	0	0	1	0.1	3	0.25	20	0.29
heart	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.19	3	0.25	5	0.07
memory	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1	2	0.16	3	0.04
appreciate	0	0	1	0.16	0	0	1	0.1	0	0	2	0.03
difficult	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.16	2	0.03
lament	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.03
admire	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1	0	0	1	0.01
care	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.08	1	0.01
celebrate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.08	1	0.01
deplore	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.01
fond	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1	0	0	1	0.01
sore	0	0	0	0	1	0.122	0	0	0	0	1	0.01
weep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.01
sum	76	16.97	110	17.19	135	16.48	155	14.9	189	15.47	891	12.88

*Table A 5: Data for figure 6: cultural sub-conceptualisations for the conceptualisation **DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER LIFE**, namely THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN, THE DEAD ARE SOULS, AFTERLIFE IS ETERNAL, DEATH IS A REUNION WITH LOVED ONES and general conceptualisations of an AFTERLIFE. Absolute number of linguistic expressions and their frequency per 1,000 words in the respective time periods 1-14; values rounded to two decimals.*

Values shown as *absolute count / frequency per 1,000 words*.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	sum
HEAVEN	0 / 0	2 / 0.64	5 / 1.65	8 / 2.61	2 / 0.68	9 / 2.84	18 / 6.02	11 / 3.41	6 / 1.73	6 / 1.34	7 / 1.09	7 / 0.85	18 / 1.73	14 / 1.15	113 / 1.63
SOUL	1 / 0.40	1 / 0.32	1 / 0.33	1 / 0.33	1 / 0.34	2 / 0.63	3 / 1.00	1 / 0.31	0 / 0	1 / 0.22	2 / 0.31	5 / 0.61	13 / 1.25	14 / 1.15	46 / 0.67
ETERNAL	1 / 0.40	0 / 0	2 / 0.66	1 / 0.33	1 / 0.34	1 / 0.32	3 / 1.00	2 / 0.62	2 / 0.58	0 / 0	2 / 0.31	3 / 0.37	4 / 0.38	3 / 0.25	25 / 0.36
REUNITE	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	2 / 0.67	0 / 0	3 / 0.87	1 / 0.22	1 / 0.16	0 / 0	1 / 0.10	1 / 0.08	9 / 0.13
AFTERLIFE	0 / 0	1 / 0.32	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	3 / 1.00	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.12	2 / 0.19	0 / 0	7 / 0.10
sum	2 / 0.80	4 / 1.29	8 / 2.64	10 / 3.26	4 / 1.36	12 / 3.79	29 / 9.70	14 / 4.35	11 / 3.18	8 / 1.79	12 / 1.88	16 / 1.95	38 / 3.65	34 / 2.78	202 / 2.92

*Table A 6: Data for figure 7: linguistic expressions for **THE AFTERLIFE TAKES PLACE IN HEAVEN**. Absolute number of linguistic expressions and their frequency per 1,000 words in the respective time periods 1-14; values rounded to two decimals.*

Values shown as *absolute count / frequency per 1,000 words*.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	sum
God	0 / 0	2 / 0.65	5 / 1.65	6 / 1.95	2 / 0.68	8 / 2.52	13 / 4.35	9 / 2.79	6 / 1.73	5 / 1.12	6 / 0.94	5 / 0.61	14 / 1.35	12 / 0.98	93 / 1.34
place	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.33	0 / 0	0 / 0	3 / 1	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	2 / 0.19	0 / 0	6 / 0.09
home	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.33	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.31	0 / 0	1 / 0.22	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.10	1 / 0.082	5 / 0.07
up	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.32	1 / 0.33	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.12	1 / 0.10	1 / 0.082	5 / 0.07
angel	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.31	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.12	0 / 0	0 / 0	2 / 0.03
far away	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.16	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.01
heaven	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.33	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	0 / 0	1 / 0.01
sum	0 / 0	2 / 0.65	5 / 1.65	8 / 2.61	2 / 0.68	9 / 2.84	18 / 6.02	11 / 3.41	6 / 1.73	6 / 1.34	7 / 1.09	7 / 0.85	18 / 1.73	14 / 1.146	113 / 1.63

*Table A 7: Data for figure 8: cultural sub-conceptualisations for the conceptualisation **DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE**, namely DEATH IS PEACE, DEATH MEANS SAFETY, DEATH IS IMPROVEMENT, DEATH IS SOMETHING TO LOOK FORWARD TO and in general that DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE. Absolute number of linguistic expressions and their frequency per 1,000 words in the respective time periods 1-14; values rounded to two decimals.*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	sum
PEACE	8 3.22	21 6.77	14 4.61	19 6.19	24 8.15	26 8.20	26 8.7	19 5.9	33 9.52	41 9.15	82 12.82	117 14.28	133 12.78	134 10.97	697 10.08
SAFETY	0 0	0 0	0 0	3 0.98	0 0	4 1.26	0 0	2 0.62	1 0.29	3 0.67	3 0.47	1 0.12	1 0.10	1 0.08	19 0.28
IMPROVEMENT	0 0	1 0.33	1 0.33	1 0.33	0 0	3 0.95	2 0.67	4 1.24	1 0.29	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	12 0.17
POSITIVE	0 0	0 0	1 0.33	2 0.65	0 0	2 0.63	1 0.33	1 0.31	0 0	0 0	1 0.16	0 0	0 0	1 0.08	9 0.13
LOOK FORWARD	1 0.4	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 0.19	0 0	3 0.04
sum	9 3.62	21 6.77	16 5.27	25 8.14	24 8.15	35 11.04	29 9.7	26 8.07	35 10.12	44 9.82	86 13.44	118 14.40	136 13.07	136 11.13	740 10.70

Table A 8: Data for figure 9: linguistic expressions and their frequency per 1,000 words in the respective time periods 1-14; values rounded to two decimals.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	sum
end_V	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	3 0.67	1 0.16	1 0.12	2 0.19	0 0	7 0.1
end_N	2 0.80	1 0.32	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	3 0.04
last	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 0.19	0 0	2 0.03
over	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.33	0 0	0 0	1 0.22	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 0.03
adieu	0 0	0 0	1 0.33	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.01
never	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.1	0 0	1 0.01
omega	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.12	0 0	0 0	1 0.01
pres. perf.	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.32	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.01
sever	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.33	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.01
sum	2 0.80	1 0.32	1 0.33	0 0	0 0	1 0.32	2 0.67	0 0	0 0	4 0.89	1 0.16	2 0.24	5 0.48	0 0	19 0.27

Table A 9: Data for figure 10: linguistic expressions for **DEATH IS GOD'S WILL**. Absolute number of linguistic expressions and their frequency per 1,000 words in the respective time periods 1-14; values rounded to two decimals.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	sum
will	0 0	0 0	1 0.33	0 0	0 0	1 0.32	0 0	1 0.31	2 0.58	2 0.45	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	7 0.10
give	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 0.65	0 0	1 0.32	0 0	1 0.31	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.10	0 0	5 0.07
call	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.34	0 0	1 0.33	0 0	0 0	1 0.22	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	3 0.04
premature	1 0.04	1 0.32	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 0.03
conquer	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.31	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.01
reason	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.10	0 0	1 0.01
take	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.33	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.01
sum	1 0.40	1 0.32	1 0.33	3 0.98	1 0.34	2 0.63	1 0.33	3 0.93	2 0.58	3 0.67	0 0	0 0	2 0.20	0 0	20 0.29

Table A 10: Data for figure 11: overview of **literal linguistic expressions for DEATH**. Absolute number of linguistic expressions and their frequency per 1,000 words in the respective time periods 1-14; values rounded to two decimals.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	sum
die	1 0.4	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.32	1 0.33	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.12	3 0.29	7 0.57	14 0.2
kill	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	12 3.79	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	12 0.17
death	1 0.4	0 0	1 0.33	1 0.33	0 0	1 0.32	0 0	2 0.62	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.08	7 0.1
dead	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 0.67	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	2 0.03
sum	2 0.8	0 0	1 0.33	1 0.33	0 0	14 4.42	3 1	2 0.62	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 0.12	3 0.29	8 0.65	35 0.51

Table A 11: *Data for figure 12: DNs that give the **cause** of death and DNs that do not give the cause of death in absolute numbers; rounded to two decimals.*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	sum	
no cause	74	77	90	88	90	69	87	96	99	96	92	89	87	88	1222	87.29 %
cause given	26	23	10	12	10	31	13	4	1	4	8	11	13	12	178	12.71 %
sum	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1400	

Table A 12: *Data for figure 13: linguistic expressions for **DEATH IS A TABOO**. Absolute number of linguistic expressions and their frequency per 1,000 words in the respective time periods 1-14; values rounded to two decimals.*

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		13		14		sum	
survive	2	0.8	1	0.32	3	0.99	1	0.33	2	0.34	2	0.63	1	0.33	1	0.31	6	1.73	1	0.22	0	0	0	0	1	0.10	1	0.08	21	0.3
life	0	0	1	0.32	1	0.33	1	0.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.24	1	0.10	5	0.41	11	0.16
cheers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.16	2	0.03
sum	2	0.8	2	0.64	4	1.32	2	0.65	2	0.34	2	0.63	1	0.33	1	0.31	6	1.73	1	0.22	0	0	2	0.24	2	0.20	8	0.65	34	0.49

*Table A 13: Data for figure 14: linguistic expressions for **cultural conceptualisations in relation to DEATH**, namely DYING IS THE BEGINNING OF THE AFTERLIFE, DEATH IS THE END, DEATH IS A JOURNEY, DEATH IS A TABOO (literal), DEATH IS NOT A TABOO (literal), DEATH IS SOMETHING POSITIVE, DEATH IS REST, THE DEAD ARE TO BE REGRETTED OR REMEMBERED, DEATH IS A TABOO and DEATH IS GOD'S WILL. Absolute number of linguistic expressions and their frequency per 1,000 words in the respective time periods 1-14; values rounded to two decimals.*

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12		13		14		sum	
LIFE	2	0.80	4	1.29	8	2.64	10	3.26	4	1.36	12	3.79	29	9.70	14	4.35	11	3.18	8	1.79	12	1.88	16	1.95	38	3.65	34	2.78	202	2.92
END	2	0.80	1	0.32	1	0.33	0	0	0	0	1	0.32	2	0.67	0	0	0	0	4	0.89	1	0.16	2	0.24	5	0.48	0	0	19	0.28
JOURNEY	17	6.83	27	8.71	9	2.97	6	1.95	2	0.68	4	1.26	9	3.01	14	4.35	23	6.65	31	6.92	14	2.19	13	1.59	21	2.02	48	3.93	238	3.44
literal	2	0.80	0	0	1	0.33	1	0.33	0	0	14	4.42	3	1.00	2	0.62	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.12	3	0.29	8	0.66	35	0.51
POSITIVE	9	3.62	21	6.77	16	5.27	25	8.14	24	8.15	35	11.04	29	9.70	26	8.07	35	10.12	44	9.82	86	13.44	118	14.4	136	13.07	136	11.13	740	10.7
REST	7	2.81	23	7.42	15	4.94	24	7.82	23	7.81	24	7.57	35	11.71	24	7.45	35	10.12	51	11.39	92	14.38	99	12.08	128	12.3	102	8.35	682	9.86
REGRET	21	8.44	13	4.19	20	6.59	20	6.52	17	5.77	39	12.31	24	8.03	25	7.76	47	13.58	76	16.97	110	17.19	135	16.48	155	14.9	189	15.47	891	12.88
TABOO	2	0.80	2	0.65	4	1.32	2	0.65	1	0.34	2	0.63	1	0.33	1	0.31	6	1.73	1	0.22	0	0	2	0.24	2	0.19	8	0.66	34	0.49
WILL	1	0.40	1	0.32	1	0.33	3	0.98	1	0.34	2	0.63	1	0.33	3	0.93	2	0.58	3	0.67	0	0	0	0	2	0.19	0	0	20	0.29
sum	63	25.32	92	29.67	75	24.72	91	29.64	72	24.45	133	41.97	133	44.48	109	33.83	159	45.95	218	48.67	315	49.23	386	47.11	490	47.1	525	42.98	2861	41.36

Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht kulturelle Konzeptualisierungen in Bezug auf TOD im Irischen Englisch aus der Perspektive der Cultural Linguistics. Der Fokus liegt dabei auf der diachronen Entwicklung dieser Konzeptualisierungen. Die Studie basiert auf einem Korpus von 1.400 Todesanzeigen aus der in Dublin erscheinenden überregionalen Zeitung *The Irish Times* aus 14 historischen Epochen zwischen 1859 und 2023, was zu einem hochspezialisierten Korpus von 70.000 Wörtern führt. Die qualitative manuelle Analyse der Todesanzeigen brachte acht übergeordnete kulturelle Konzeptualisierungen rund um das Thema TOD hervor, nämlich in der Reihenfolge ihrer Häufigkeit: DIE TOTEN MÜSSEN BEDAUERT ODER IN ERINNERUNG BEHALTEN WERDEN, DER TOD IST ETWAS POSITIVES, DER TOD IST RUHE, DER TOD IST EINE REISE, DER TOD IST DER ANFANG EINES ANDEREN LEBENS, DER TOD IST (KEIN) TABU, DER TOD IST DER WILLE GOTTES und DER TOD IST DAS ENDE. Sie wurden von Ausdrücken in den Todesanzeigen abgeleitet, die diese Konzeptualisierungen als kognitive Grundlagen haben. Die diachrone Variation, die durch einen quantitativen Vergleich innerhalb der einzelnen Konzeptualisierungen aufgedeckt wurde, hängt mit historischen und sozialen Entwicklungen in Irland zusammen. Die Arbeit verdeutlicht daher, dass Cultural Linguistics eine geeignete Methodik für diachrone Studien ist, die sich mit kulturell geprägten Entwicklungen von Konzeptualisierungen beschäftigen.

Plagiarism Declaration

I confirm that this assignment is my own work, is not copied from any other person's work (published or unpublished), and has not previously been submitted for assessment either at the University of Potsdam or elsewhere.

Potsdam, 19th February 2024

Place, date   Rebekka Wiesmeier