Crime and Corpus

Linguistic Approaches to Literature (LAL)

ISSN 1569-3112

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Volume 20

Crime and Corpus. The linguistic representation of crime in the press
by Ulrike Tabbert

Crime and Corpus

The linguistic representation of crime in the press

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John Benjamins Publishing Company
Amsterdam / Philadelphia

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

DOI 10.1075/lal.20

Cataloging-in-Publication Data available from Library of Congress:
LCCN 2014047075 (PRINT) / 2014047723 (E-BOOK)

ISBN 978 90 272 3409 4 (HB)
ISBN 978 90 272 6876 1 (E-BOOK)

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John Benjamins Publishing Co. · P.O. Box 36224 · 1020 ME Amsterdam · The Netherlands
John Benjamins North America · P.O. Box 27519 · Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 · USA

To my parents with love

'… it is important not to lose sight of the fact that there is a level at which texts organize the world we experience, and that this is demonstrable in the words and structures of the texts themselves.'

(Jeffries 2010a: 14)

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Preface

Dealing with offenders on a daily basis as it has been my job as a prosecutor (Amtsanwältin) for many years made me realise that a large percentage of them are ordinary people like you and me. At the same time, being a close follower of crime news in the media, I witnessed a gap between the offenders constructed there and those I have to deal with. My intention when writing this book was to get to the bottom of this phenomenon.

What further alerted me in this context were the expectations I witnessed lay people bring to court concerning questions of what constitutes a criminal offence and measures of penalty for the crimes tried. Whenever I had a chance to talk to the audience in a criminal trial, I noticed the obvious influence of the media on these people's knowledge about crimes and court proceedings.

I also noticed that crime reports in the media quite often reveal disturbing gaps in the journalists' knowledge about the German criminal code as well as the code of criminal procedure. The general public relies to a large extent (if not exclusively) on the media to obtain knowledge about criminal offences, offenders, criminal investigations, and court proceedings. Therefore the influence of such media reports in terms of how they present crimes, offenders, and criminal proceedings must not be underestimated.

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Acknowledgements

This book is based on research I conducted at the University of Huddersfield. I am hugely indebted to Prof. Lesley Jeffries and Prof. Dan McIntyre. Their unique help, constant encouragement, and trust are very much appreciated. I benefited from their outstanding and in-depth knowledge of Linguistics and this book would not have been possible were it not for their exceptional academic and personal support.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the editors, Dr. Sonia Zyngier and Dr. Joanna Gavins, for giving me the chance to publish my book in their series and for their most appreciated and thorough advice on earlier versions of the manuscript. They together with Kees Vaes at John Benjamins made the writing and publishing process very enjoyable for me.

Valuable comments on my research were provided by Dr. Andrea Mayr, Queen's University Belfast, Dr. Lisa Nahajec, Liverpool Hope University, and Dr. Jim O'Driscoll, University of Huddersfield, for which I am truly grateful.

I am deeply indebted to a dear friend of mine, Dr. Martin Wright, former Director of the Howard League for Penal Reform and a pioneer of and dedicated fighter for Restorative Justice in the UK and worldwide. Our constant exchange and his altruistic support were very relevant to this book.

I am also obliged to Tom Considine, senior lecturer in Criminology and social work at the University of Huddersfield, for his insight into Criminology and his comments on my work.

A most appreciated contribution to this book came from Christopher Foren, a retired Crown Prosecutor, who took me with him to court and allowed me a glimpse of the English criminal trial.

Finally, I wish to thank my parents for their love, constant support, and encouragement. I am grateful to my father, Dr. habil Eckhard Tabbert, for his superior knowledge of mathematics, mostly his insight into the statistical methods I used in this book, and to my mother, for her generous help in every respect.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Crime as a social phenomenon

Crime can be defined as an act of rule breaking. As rules are created by society, crime itself is socially constructed and much about how it is represented can be learned from reports in the press. This is because media discourse mirrors and at the same time perpetuates predominant perceptions of crime in society. The aim of this book is to examine the language newspaper articles use to represent crime and criminals. Before I introduce an outline of the book, I begin with some general remarks on crime.

Violent crime is a social drama (Cottle 2008) which reveals the offender's biography and is often based on his or her early childhood experiences (Miller 1983: 241). The details and scenarios of the most serious crimes committed by widely known offenders like Fred and Rosemary West (UK), Jürgen Bartsch (Germany) or Josef Fritzl (Austria) allow us to draw conclusions about their individual stories. Kurtz and Hunter (2004: 3) state that the biography of serial killers 'reveals an appalling history of abuse' which leads the authors to the conclusion that these perpetrators are in fact victims of their own childhood traumas. I therefore argue that it is important to see the tragedy of offenders without mitigating their danger, their guilt, or the nature of their crimes. Nevertheless, I take the argument a step further by stating that a differentiated or holistic view on offenders which includes their individual biographies also needs to take into account a sociological perspective and, in particular, the social causes that encourage people to commit crimes.

Whereas a static view of offenders as inherently criminal hinders our perception of them as humans with an individual biography, a differentiated view on offenders requires us to be able to separate the person of the offender from the crime(s). This separation is aggravated by the celebrity-like status given to offenders precisely because of the crimes they have committed (Gregoriou 2011: 4, 23; Schmid 2005: 8). They join the ranks of the famous which is made possible to a large extent through the media 'that use crime as entertainment and as a commodity to be consumed and enjoyed by the public' (Mayr 2012: 261). Such a celebrity-like status has its roots in the interest the public takes in their crimes based on

the ambiguity between 'repulsion and attraction, condemnation and admiration' (Gregoriou 2011: 4). It is only because offenders have committed crimes and have thus shown their deviance that the public is interested in them. Book titles like *Monster* (Hall 2008), describing the crimes of Austrian Josef Fritzl, or *Teufel in Menschengestalt (Devil incarnate)* (Kompisch et al. 2006) on German serial killers bear witness to this process. The constructed monstrosity of offenders in the media and their celebrity-like status is underpinned by Schmid's notion (2005) that once the public interest vanishes, monstrous offenders might collapse back into ordinary persons.

Discourse on crime and offenders in newspaper reports does not mirror reality (Greer 2003: 44) but only has ties to the actual event. This notion is key for a Critical Discourse Analysis approach which takes for granted that language does not faithfully mirror reality but 'that the world around us is refracted through the distortive lenses of discourse' (Davies 2013: 7). This view accords with a central assumption of postmodernism where 'social and cultural realities are seen as linguistic constructions' (Parton et al. 2000: 170). I will pursue this notion of linguistic construction when I come back to Critical Discourse Analysis and explain its approach and different strands in more detail in Chapter 3.

Although there is a difference between the picture constructed in the media and the actual dealing with crimes performed by authorities, the public seldom perceives this because they mainly gain their knowledge from the media. Dealing with crime as, for example, in a criminal trial is a social ritual (Cottle 2008: 110) which reflects the norms and taboos of a society. It also has a function of upholding power in society (Durkheim 1938: 67) by ensuring the public that the penal system works. Nevertheless, a criminal trial is not mirrored directly in the press but instead is constructed indirectly through the news. Fairclough (1995: 174) observes an increasing blurring of the boundaries 'between information and entertainment, fact and fiction, documentary and drama' in the media. This notion proves that crimes and offenders constructed in newspaper reports do not faithfully project reality, which leads Gregoriou (2011: 13) to the conclusion that 'the media offer a translation of reality into simplified stereotypes'.

But why is it that crime news is so popular and regarded as prime events (Greer 2003: 44)? This is mainly because, like in many fictional works, it allows glimpses into other people's private lives and serves as a 'daily moral workout' (Jewkes 2009: VIII, XVI; Katz 1987: 67). The latter means that through repeated encounters with crime news readers 'work out individual perspectives on moral questions of a quite general yet eminently personal relevance' (Katz 1987: 67; Peelo 2009: 143). The backstage character of crime is increased by its seriousness which in turn enhances the entertainment value. As a consequence, it is mainly serious crimes that are most often reported in newspaper articles as I will show in Chapter 7. In this context, Jewkes (2009: VII) talks about 'the public's obsession

with criminality, policing and forensic investigation' which is mainly about 'presence, status, dominance and daring'. But the impact of crime news sometimes goes far beyond pure entertainment. Because of the function of the criminal justice system in the uphold of power, news reports on crime in the media can occasionally also be observed to have an effect on policy-making or on the conduct of a criminal trial itself.

Crime news reinforces (often naturalised) ideologies, which provide the ground for maintaining the current criminal justice system with its retributional stance. Thus a self-perpetuating circle is created with ideologies influencing the public stance mirrored in the news which influence the authorities' decisions. This circle reinforces existing values and ideologies. On these grounds there is no need for a humanised offender with a disaggregated identity. Instead, a one-dimensional and even dehumanised picture of an offender suffices for the public's craving for more shocking and horrific crime news.

However, a humanised view on offenders must be a prerequisite for alternative responses to crime such as, for example, Restorative Justice. Although the sustainability and effectiveness of Restorative Justice and in particular victim-offender-mediation have been acknowledged (Cornwell et al. 2013; Wright 2010), the number of cases where these methods are used still remain limited. I argue that this is partly due to the fact that societal discourse on crime does not provide the ground for such a humanised and differentiated view on offenders and their biographies but instead constructs a one-dimensional, deviant outsider (Becker 1966). The problem of crime is cloaked 'in the language of responsibility, censure and blame' (Loader et al. 2011: 104).

This book holds that the notion of an evil, perpetrating monster constructed in the media as part of societal discourse on crime is based on ideologies. My awareness of the power of the media and my work in a prosecution office in Germany piqued my interest in discovering a way to expose the covert ideologies about offenders and their crimes in media reports. As the legal field is very much language-centred, I was motivated to see if predominant ideologies on crime and offenders could be identified in reports on crime and if they could be demonstrated linguistically. To this purpose, three specific issues are addressed: (a) the linguistic features used in the constructions, (b) the covert ideologies in the discourse, and (c) the similarities and differences between the German and the UK press.

The methods used for the analysis are outlined in Chapter 5. I am aware that my research questions may leave out other issues, as for example how the discourse on an offender in one particular case changes over time from the discovery of the crime to the offender's conviction or acquittal. Although this question might also yield interesting results, my interest is in more generalised assertions about the contemporary press coverage and its underlying ideologies, which are not limited to one particular case study. Also, the research presented in this book focuses

exclusively on newspaper reports on crime, which leaves aside the construction of perpetrators and their offences in fictional texts. I take an interdisciplinary view by using linguistic methods to observe objectively how crime and criminals are constructed through language of newspaper reports. This allows conclusions to be drawn about how society perceives crime and criminals which are then linked with the theoretical frameworks developed to explain the phenomenon of crime. Although the construction of crime in fictional texts might also allow for conclusions about its perception in society to a certain extent and the methods used here could be transferred to literature, one must consider the fact that fictional text worlds (Gavins 2007) might differ from actual rules and norms in society, which is not the case with the text worlds presented in newspaper reports. Having said that, I will point out ways in which the linguistic methods used in this book can be applicable to literary texts as well.

I argue that offenders are not separated from their crimes but are instead reduced to them as a result of the offenders' celebrity-like status (Gregoriou 2011; Schmid 2005). For example, no newspaper would have been interested in the life of Josef Fritzl from Austria were it not for the crimes he committed. Josef Fritzl is just one example of an initially publicly unknown person who became the focus of news reports because of his crimes. His textual construction (or that of offenders in general) is interdependent with the presentation of victims because both are placed in opposition to each other on two ends of a morality scale. The more innocent and thus 'ideal' the victim tends towards one end of the morality scale, the more 'ideal' (or extreme) becomes the offender on the other end (Christie 1986). It is a contrastive picture of black and white in terms of morality issues which might also stem from the perception of victim and offender as binary opposites (Tabbert 2013: 145).

I take the argument a step further by stating that the interest in victims of crime is based on the interest in offenders. Because of their perceived opposition, the presentation of a victim contributes to that of the respective offender which is realised through language.

1.2 Language and crime theories

Within the field of Linguistics, three main definitions have been provided for the phrase *human language*:

1. Language as a type of behaviour, held by the American philosopher Willard Van Orman Quine, who 'defines language entirely in terms of social interaction' (Chapman 2006: 8). This concept revives Bloomfield's earlier concept of language as the speech people produce (Chapman 2006: 29).

2. Language as a state of mind (Chapman 2006: 38ff) with language not being 'restricted to any practical communicative function' (Chomsky 1966: 29). According to Chomsky, language is 'an instrument of free thought and self-expression' *(idem:ibidem)*.
3. Language as communication, which can be traced back to the philosopher John Locke, who in 1690 'defined language as a means of representing ideas' (Chapman 2006: 54) with the main purpose of language being 'to communicate ideas among people' *(idem: ibidem)*.

In this book, I follow the third definition as language used in newspaper articles is meant to communicate crime to society. Formulating and expressing ideas is only possible because of the creative and arbitrary aspects of language (Atkinson et al. 1982) which are based on the notion of language as a unique type of knowledge (Chapman 2006: 39). I will return to these definitions in Chapter 3.

Having delineated the major definitions of the term *language*, we can look at its functions. In line with the third definition, Halliday (1971, 1985) distinguishes between three metafunctions: The ideational function refers to the embodiment of our experience of the external and internal world in language including logical relations (Halliday 1971: 332f). The interpersonal function relates to the speaker/writer using language as a means of partaking in a speech event and his or her adopted communication role at it *(idem: ibidem)*. Thirdly, the textual metafunction refers to the 'internal organization of the sentence' and its meaning 'in itself and in relation to the context' (Halliday 1971: 334). I will return to these metafunctions in Section 3.1.

In this book, language is seen as a means to express and communicate ideas about a particular type of behaviour. This happens in two steps: first, a certain type of behaviour is named and then it is described as deviant and thus criminal. In case of domestic violence, when, for example, a husband beats his wife, his behaviour can be labelled either as a violation of the law or as a law-conforming execution of marital rights. This depends on the pre-existing norms and values (and ultimately ideologies) predominant in a society which are expressed and communicated through language. Labelling the aforementioned domestic violence as a crime and reporting on it in the news reinforces existing values of gender equality and personal integrity and demonstrates an ideological stance towards this type of behaviour. Therefore language does not simply describe social life but 'plays a critical part in [its] constitution' (Parton et al. 2000: 13).

Besides its definition and function, language must also be seen in terms of the way it can be organised. Meaning can be generated basically through grammar (or syntax or structure including morphology) and lexis (Sinclair 2004: 164). For instance, in his analysis of William Golding's *The Inheritors*, Halliday (1971) shows how form and meaning can be linked and provides evidence for the fact

that 'all linguistic usage encodes representations of the world' (Stubbs 1996: 130). He analyses and contrasts the language Golding uses in relation to (a) a group of Neanderthal people around the character Lok and (b) a tribe of *homo sapiens* called 'the new people' or 'the inheritors' (Halliday 1971: 348). He argues that 'the predominance of intransitives' in the language related to the Neanderthal people reflects these people's limitations in terms of their actions and their world view and their consequential inablitiy to survive (Halliday 1971: 350, 351). In contrast, in those passages of the book which refer to *homo sapiens*, 'the majority of the clauses have a human subject' and the presented actions are transitive (Halliday 1971: 356). The different world views of the Neanderthal people and the *homo sapiens* are reflected in the different linguistic choices Golding made (whether consciously or unconsciously) in the respective passages. An example which illustrates Lok's limited world view is his perception of someone drawing a bow: 'a stick rose uprigth and began to grow shorter at both ends' (Halliday 1971: 350). By choosing this way of expressing Lok's observation over other possible ones, Golding conveys Lok's restricted world view and ultimately the outdated ideologies of the Neanderthal people.

Because of the notions that language is never random (Kilgarriff 2005) and that its use has an 'element of choice' (Jeffries et al. 2010: 25; Ohmann 1970a: 264), tracing ideologies related to crime in newspaper articles is made possible. This choice element follows from the notion that language provides 'finite means but infinite possibilities of expression' (Chomsky 1966: 29), which is one of the core principles in Stylistics (see Chapter 3). The possibility of expressing an idea in different ways is at the heart of my argument that the language of newspaper articles carries ideologies.

In order to understand how ideologies are evoked by a text, it is also important to consider the reader. According to schema theory, meaning is constructed through an interaction between the reader's background knowlege and the text (Semino 1997: 124f). Therefore two more issues must be taken into account: (a) the readers who construct meaning and (b) the textual features which trigger it *(idem: ibidem)*. These elements together allow meaning and thus ideologies to arise from the text.

The perspective adopted here takes into account criminological theories and, by means of linguistics, verifies which ones predominate in society. According to Loader et al. (2011: 84), Criminology is on an 'enduring mission to explain offending and discover what works to prevent or reduce it'. So far, three approaches have been developed to explain crime (Coleman et al. 2000). They are:

1. the scientific positivist approach
2. the psychological approach
3. the sociological approach.

The first one has its roots in the work of Cesare Lombroso (2006; Lombroso et al. 2004) and the idea of using medical and anthropological science (e.g. genetics or brain size/structure) to explain why people become deviant.

The second one provides insight into the psyche of criminals and explains their crimes through psychological theories (Kurtz et al. 2004). If an interdisciplinary perspective is adopted, it is possible to see where Linguistics can contribute here. For example, Timor and Weiss (2008) and Guo (2012) show how analysis of prisoners' discourse allows us to draw conclusions about their psyche. In examining police interviews with suspects of paedophilia, Benneworth (2007: 46) states 'there is a distinctive paedophile discourse of minimisation and denial' which clashes with (the) police officers' norms and values. Her research contributes to the further development of interrogation techniques with this particular group of suspects by outlining ways to overcome the suspect's denial of wrongdoing and downplay of the seriousness of the crime. Another study at the intersection of Linguistics and the psychological approach within Criminology is Fogarty et al. (2013), who use the conversation analytic concept of progressivity to extract objective criteria for existing rapport in police interviews of child victims of sexual abuse.

The third approach sees crime as a social phenomenon, the relevant theories of which will be outlined in detail in Chapter 2. In my analysis, I will show that the linguistic approach I take adds further insight to this sociological and to a certain extent also to the scientific positivist approach.

1.3 The structure of this book

This book is structured in eight chapters. Theories on crime, offenders, and victims are presented in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I discuss the concepts of Critical Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010a). I argue that Critical Stylistics is not just another approach to Critical Discourse Analysis but rather a further development of both Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Linguistics. Critical Stylistics provides a toolkit for analysis and takes an unbiased stance towards texts. This allows the researcher to detect ideologies in texts without a pre-formulated outcome in mind and thus increases the rigour and replicability of the analysis.

In Chapter 4, I explain what Corpus Linguistics is and how it can be used for Critical Stylistics analysis. In Chapter 5, I introduce the method I used and detail how the analysis was conducted by means of *WordSmith Tools* (Scott 2004). I also describe the corpora collected from German and British newspapers. Furthermore, I outline how I developed a method which can be applied equally to the English and the German newspaper corpus despite the differences between the

two languages. I explain how I combined the tools offered by Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics and indicate where I made subjective choices (for example, when choosing cut-off or limit points) which secures replicability.

In Chapters 6 and 7, I link the linguistic findings on the discourse of news reports with Criminology and demonstrate how Linguistics can contribute to the sociological and the scientific positivist approach within Criminology. Chapter 6 answers the question of how offenders and victims are constructed linguistically in the English Newspaper Corpus (ENC) and Chapter 7 presents the findings from the analysis of the German Newspaper Corpus (GNC). Additionally, in the latter I outline the differences in the construction of victims and offenders in the English and German newspaper corpus. I also present the results of the analysis of the construction of crimes in both corpora and thus answer the question of what linguistic features are used to construct crimes and what the underlying ideologies are in both the British and German press.

In the concluding Chapter 8, I summarise the answers to the questions I raised as well as the approach taken in this book. I indicate the limitations of the book and put forward an argument in favour of the need to change the discourse on offenders and crimes and its underlying ideologies.

In this book, I offer a new way of extracting keywords naming offenders and victims in newspaper articles on crime. It allows for inclusion of those offender- and victim-naming nouns which cannot be clearly identified at first sight. I hold that when Critical Stylistics follows a Corpus Linguistic method it can ensure the replicability and rigour of the analysis and allow for the covert ideologies to reveal themselves thus avoiding pre-conceived outcomes.

Following from the notion that language is a conduit for our thoughts (Ungerer et al. 2006: 118), a change of societal discourses on crime and the ideologies they are based on can only be achieved through changes in language. I put forward the argument that the ground for alternative crime responses, one of which is Restorative Justice, is not fully prepared yet. It is not only up to legislation and executive forces in society to aspire a change in crime response methods but also to the media, and ultimately to society. The research I present in this book shows the importance of language awareness and argues for an increased societal effort to understand what underpins discourse on crime.

CHAPTER 2

Crime theories and the media

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides background detail from the fields of Criminology and Media Studies. It begins with a brief introduction to Criminology and outlines theoretical frameworks developed within this subject to explain the societal phenomenon of crime. Criminological theories and societal discourse on crime, offenders, and victims are mutually dependent and are both based on ideologies, even if the first may claim not to be (Loader et al. 2011: 83ff). In order to uncover the underlying ideologies in media and societal discourse on crime, it is important to understand both theories on crime and on news production (Carrabine et al. 2009: 406ff).

In the second part of this chapter I look into why crime exerts fascination and introduce the criteria of newsworthiness that determine which news get reported and shape their presentation. These criminological and media theories provide the background for the linguistic research described in this book.

2.2 Crime theories

Crime can be defined as 'a violation of a written code or the law' (Crowther 2007: 19). Every crime is deviant social behaviour but not all deviant behaviour is crime. Deviance as the umbrella term can be defined as 'nonconformity to a given norm […] that is accepted by the majority of society' (Giddens et al. 2003: 181). Newburn (2007: 171) sees crime as an indicator of the nature of a society because of the type of behaviour a society legislates against and calls crime. In contrast to the general opinion that deviance (and hence crime) has to be prevented from occurring (Giddens et al. 2003: 180), Durkheim argued otherwise. For him, crime is an offence 'against collective feelings or sentiments' (Newburn 2007: 170) and reflects social conventions. Because these social conventions are not universal and vary between societies, he understood crime as a 'violation of a moral code', the '*conscience collective* of society' (Newburn 2007: 170). Durkheim was the first to state that crime should be considered as 'a factor in public health, an integral part

of all societies' (Durkheim 1938: 67). He pointed out the importance of deviance for society by stating that it has an adaptive function as well as a function of maintaining boundaries (Giddens et al. 2003: 186). The first refers to the 'innovative force' of deviance through the introduction of new ideas and challenges into society which are initially regarded as being deviant (Giddens et al. 2003: 186). The latter refers to the proscription of certain forms of behaviour by punishment as a collective response which creates group solidarity and reinforces legal and moral rules (Giddens et al. 2003: 186; Newburn 2007: 171). Crime can also be considered a sensor for the state of society and thus has a social function. Punishment reinforces people's sense of what law-abiding behaviour is and reassures them at the same time that the state takes measures against wrongdoing. This creates confidence in the system and is a vital component in the maintenance of power.

2.2.1 Offender theories

Offenders are not inherently different from non-offenders but it is through 'the process of defining someone as […] delinquent' (Newburn 2007: 213) that these persons become different from the law-abiding community. Offenders are those who violate the law and are labelled as criminals once the law-breaking is discovered. Within the subject of Criminology, different theories have been developed to explain why people become deviant to the extent that their behaviour is regarded as crime. These theories are important because they shed light on different ideological perspectives on offenders.

– Subcultural Theory is based on sociological research stating that persons who associate with criminals or are attached to delinquent peers 'are more likely to engage in crime themselves' because they seek to meet their peers' expectations (Braithwaite 1989: 21). For example, Cohen (1955), a member of the Chicago School of Sociology and later Criminology, found a distinctive (sub)culture among working class youth in slum areas which emerged as a response to their perceived lack of economic and social opportunity within society (Newburn 2007: 188ff).
– Control Theory is based on the notion that '[h]uman beings will seek the rewards of crime unless they are held in check, or somehow controlled' (Braithwaite 1989: 27), implying that it is in the human nature to commit crimes.
– Opportunity Theory (Natarajan 2011) sees opportunity as the fundamental feature in committing a crime. Delinquency is a result of the desire to achieve a cultural goal illegitimately because the institutionalised routes are 'blocked' whereas the illegitimate means are 'open' (Braithwaite 1989: 32). This theory considers an underprivileged and uneducated person pursuing a presumed

cultural goal of wealth. Because this person is unlikely to achieve this goal by means of a well-paid job or a considerable inheritance, he or she opts for illegitimate precedures.

The assumption taken by Opportunity Theory that criminal behaviour is inherent and that the individual only depends on an opportunity to commit a crime could be linked to the scientific positivist approach (see Chapter 1). In fact, the latter has a rather reductionist view on offenders as, based on genetics and physiological features, it explains delinquency as a personal trait. Both perspectives emphasise the distinction between the criminal and the non-criminal and view offenders as being criminally predisposed, waiting or searching for the right opportunity to commit a crime.

Closely related to Opportunity Theory is crime science, or the 'application of the methods of science to crime and disorder' (Laycock 2001: 4). This scientific approach provides 'cooling devices' (Loader et al. 2011: 83), which are supposed to 'de-dramatize crime and criminals and to prioritize the search for practical techniques that will reduce crime's impact upon everyday life' (Loader et al. 2011: 102). It is based on Rational Choice Theory (Clarke 1980) presuming that offenders make decisions weighing the costs against the benefits of a crime (Walklate 2007b: 42). Crime is viewed as a triangle which consists of a motivated offender, a suitable target, and an absence of a capable guardian [Routine Activity Theory, (Felson 1987; Walklate 2007b: 44)], which provides three options: (a) to demotivate the offender (b) to make the target less attractive and (c) to introduce a suitable guardian. For example, a supermarket can be made less attractive for potential burglars if it is brightly illuminated at night, the money has been taken out of the shop with a visible sign stating this, and a guard or any other barrier is introduced which makes it more difficult to enter the shop unnoticed. This framework plays down the social element and is less interested in why an offender is motivated to commit a crime except from the circumstances at the time of the crime. It thus focuses on crime 'management' (Walklate 2007b: 42). Crime science accords with the neo-liberal view and a rational choice offender. Chapters 6 and 7 will refer to Opportunity Theory when the underlying ideologies manifested in societal discourse are discussed.

- Learning Theory states that '[c]riminal behavior is learned according to the principles of operant conditioning' (Burgess et al. 1966: 137). In contrast to Control or Opportunity Theories, this approach denies that criminal behaviour is inherited.
- Conflict Theory is based on Marxist ideas and states that 'individuals actively choose to engage in deviant behavior in response to the inequalities of the capitalist system' (Giddens et al. 2003: 189). This framework disagrees with the

notion of innate criminal behaviour and regards the law as a tool for securing privileged positions used by the powerful (Giddens et al. 2003: 189). The law as a tool becomes increasingly more important as the gap between the ruling and the working class widens.

Another distinction is made between the already mentioned "neo-liberal Criminology of the 'self'" (a rational choice offender who could be anyone) versus "the Criminology of the 'other'" ("an image of evil that could not possibly be 'us' and that is beyond the rational") (O'Malley 2000: 28). Reiterating the understanding of crime as innate behaviour leads to social exclusion of the offender. Seeing offenders as deviant by birth provides the ground for a one-dimensional construction of offenders in newspaper reports as I will outline later in Chapters 6 and 7.

2.2.1.1 *Offenders and labelling theory*

Regardless of what leads a person to commit a crime, it is argued that behaviour is labelled as deviant pending on social response (Becker 1966). This implies that crime has to be perceived as such by society (Becker 1966: 18, 20). First introduced by Tannenbaum (1938) and later refined by Becker (1966), Labelling Theory notes that a person only needs to commit a single offence to be considered a criminal. Therefore deviance is a consequence of applying rules and sanctions to an offender instead of being a quality of the committed act itself (Becker 1966: 9). Lemert (1951) distinguishes between primary and secondary deviance. In primary deviance, a label is attached to the person following from initially engaging in a criminal act. In secondary deviance, (further) criminal behaviour results from the internalisation of being labelled. Concerning the question of who is entitled to attach the label, which is ultimately a question of power, the media play an important part because they ensure that the label sticks.

Criminal deviance is a 'master status' trait which remains with the offender throughout his or her life (Becker 1966: 33). Master and 'auxiliary' or 'subordinate' status traits, introduced by Hughes (1945), 'distinguish those who belong from those who do not' (Becker 1966: 32). These sociological terms define a person's position in society. A master status is a primary identifying characteristic, such as race or ethnicity, sex, sexual orientation, age, economic standing, religion, and education. It can be either ascribed, like being labelled a criminal, or achieved, and it dominates subordinate statuses in most or all situations. Labelling is thereby 'person- rather than offense-centered' (Braithwaite 1989: 4) in contrast to the view put forward by Foucault (1977), who suggests judging the crime instead of the criminal. Foucault's concept of power (1977), stating that power permeates different layers of society and thus derives from multiple sources, intertwines with Becker's Labelling Theory. Their link is due to their view on how social relations

are often defined in terms of power and control. Both Becker and Foucault are interested in how power is exercised, either by one group applying and maintaining the label of deviancy on another (Becker 1966) or other groups ascribing power based on knowledge (Foucault 1977).

Developing a 'stable pattern of deviant behavior' begins with 'the experience of being caught and publicly labeled as a deviant' (Becker 1966: 31). The underlying notion is that an offender is different from other people because he or she 'dared' to break an important social rule and is most likely to break others as well (Becker 1966: 34). This prognosis is self-fulfilling because the master status trait prevents offenders from reintegration and starts a vicious circle of re-offending and perpetuated labelling.

Three major traditions of policy advice flow from criminological theories about the reasons for offending: 'the utilitarian, the neo-classical, and the liberal-permissive' (Braithwaite 1989: 6). Labelling Theory informs the latter (Braithwaite 1989: 7):

1. The liberal-permissive tradition calls for 'tolerance and understanding'. It pleads 'to see the deviant as more sinned against than sinning' as well as committing crime as a 'part of growing up' (Braithwaite 1989: 8). At the same time it pleads for 'radical non-intervention' (*idem: ibidem)* of both the professionals as well as the community and thereby opposes the neo-classical as well as the utilitarian tradition which rely on professionals to deal with offenders.
2. The utilitarian tradition is based on the assumption that 'scientific control of crime is possible if criminal justice professionals impose the right penalties on the right people for the right crimes, or if therapeutic professionals apply appropriate rehabilitative techniques' (Braithwaite 1989: 6). This strategy aims to reduce crime through the work of professionals based on scientific knowledge which conversely means that society is discharged from any duty. We will re-encounter this notion of professionals dealing with criminals when I present the sources quoted most often in news reports on crime.
3. The neo-classical tradition is also in favour of professional dealing with offenders and thereby explicitly takes a stand against any community involvement. It states that '[c]ommunity justice is unpredictable, inconsistent, and unjust' and leads to 'excessive oppression' or 'excessive leniency by do-gooders' (Braithwaite 1989: 7).

All three traditions argue against the necessity as well as the chances of community involvement in the handling of crime. Recent Criminology has seen a tendency towards the resurrection of the very same community commitment which

aims towards a sustainable way of handling crime and a reduction in crime figures in the long run (Cornwell et al. 2013; Wright 2008b). Braithwaite (1989: 69) introduced reintegrative shaming theory based on the notion that 'repute in the eyes of close acquaintances matters more to people than the opinions or actions of criminal justice officials'. This theory emphasises the importance of shaming imposed as a sanction by the criminal justice system to reintegrate the offender into society by strengthening the moral bond between him/her and the community. Braithwaite thereby brings community involvement back into focus by taking into account the advantage of a 'freely chosen compliance' in the person of the offender versus coercion which goes along with the punitive system (Braithwaite 1989: 10). The different theories outlined above are based on and reveal different ideological viewpoints which determine our perception of offenders and some of which are to be found in societal discourse as, for example, in relevant newspaper articles.

2.2.2 Victims and victimology

To fully grasp the recent tendencies and underlying ideologies it is important to consider the victim, because 'there is no such thing as victimless crime' (Garland 2001: 181). I argue that a crime can in fact be victimless (for example, of sex where both participants are under the legal age of consent, or cultivating drugs for one's own use, or no accident when driving without insurance). However, none of these victimless crimes (Williams 2005: 35) are part of my corpora.

A comprehensive definition of victimhood can be found on the webpage of the United Nations:

> A person is a 'victim' where, as a result of acts or omissions that constitute a violation of international human rights or humanitarian law norms, that person, individually or collectively, suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or impairment of that person's fundamental legal rights. A 'victim' may also be a dependent or a member of the immediate family or household of the direct victim as well as a person who, in intervening to assist a victim or prevent the occurrence of further violations, has suffered physical, mental or economic harm.
> (United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Commission Resolution 1999/33)

This definition implies that offenders and victims are counterparts, because their interests 'are assumed to be diametrically opposed' in a 'zero sum game' (Garland 2001: 180). This notion is in accordance with the perception of victims and offenders as binary opposites introduced in Chapter 1.

Four major academic theories have been developed within victimology (a sub-section of Criminology which aims at identifying victims) explaining the

impact the crime and the criminal trial have on them as well as exploring whether there is a schema for falling victim. These theories provide the background for understanding societal and media discourses on victims:

1. Positivist Victimology [also called conservative or conventional victimology (Mawby et al. 1994: 9)] is the most influential framework and aims at '[t]he identification of factors which contribute to a non-random pattern of victimization' (Miers 1989: 3). It focuses primarily on street crime and offers an explanation for statistics but neglects other types such as corporate crime or those which occur 'behind closed doors' (Mawby et al. 1994: 9). The concept of the 'ideal victim' (Christie 1986) fits into this framework. It enumerates the characteristics of individuals 'who – when hit by crime – most readily are given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim' although these people are not 'in the greatest danger of being victimized' (Christie 1986: 18). To prevent misunderstandings, when I talk about the ideal victims of crime in the course of this book I refer to ideality not in terms of victimhood but of victimhood status. The 'ideal victim' or the 'Little Red Riding Hood fairy tale victim' (Walklate 2007a: 28) is weak, sick, old or very young, was carrying out a respectable project at the time of crime or shortly before, had no personal relationship with the offender, and cannot possibly be blamed for being attacked (Christie 1986: 19). 'Ideal victims need – and create – ideal offenders' (Christie 1986: 25) by contrasting the morally 'white victim' against the morally 'black offender' (Christie 1986: 26).
2. Radical Victimology takes the stand to include all victims and 'all aspects of victimization' which includes 'the role of the state alongside the law in producing victimization' (Walklate 2007a: 37) and is mainly focused on victims of police force, war, the correctional system, state violence, and oppression of any sort (Quinney 1972: 315). This broader view on victims goes beyond the definition provided by Positivist Criminology.
3. Critical Victimology challenges "the use of the term 'victim'" (Walklate 2007a: 50) as well as the presumption that victims can be differentiated 'from others, whether in terms of their personal or their behavioural characteristics' (Walklate 2007a: 51) and thereby questions Christie's (1986) notion. This theory engages with the idea of a 'victim as being structurally neutral' (Walklate 2007a: 52). Through policy and legislation, Critical Victimology tends to construct victims as 'consumers of the criminal justice system' (Jefferson et al. 1990: 12; Mawby et al. 1994: 20; Rock 2004), which besides victims fulfilling obligations (like giving testimony) has led to distinct 'procedural rights' for them (Hoyle et al. 2007: 474; Reeves et al. 2010), as well as a 'phenomenal rise of Victim Support' (Mawby et al. 1994: 20).

4. Feminist Victimology identifies gender as a reason for falling victim and focuses on women when socially explaining crime (Tierney 2010: 264). It emerged because it was claimed that females were made invisible by traditional Criminology (Tierney 2010: 260). When talking about the feminist approach to Criminology and in particular Victimology, it has to be mentioned that there are different perspectives gathered under this headline, for example liberal feminism, radical feminism, socialist feminism (for an in depth explanation see Walklate, 2007b: 84ff). One of the achievements of the feminist approach to victimology is that interpersonal violence, mainly in relationships and which occurs behind closed doors, has been brought into focus.

In this context the rise of cultural victimology as being 'a scattered field of loosely connected approaches' (Mythen 2007: 467) where the aspect of culture is only 'one facet of a holistic victimology' (Mythen 2007: 479) has to be mentioned. This recent tendency regards culture as being 'at the heart of the process of victimisation' (Mythen 2007: 466) where both crime and crime controlling institutions are viewed as 'cultural products – as creative constructs' (Hayward et al. 2004: 259, 2007). Work using this approach is interested in the power of the media and its creation of 'symbolic identities for sufferers of crime' (Mythen 2007: 468). Although sociologically based, this approach, resembles the notion of the linguistic construction of entities as applied by Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2007, 2010a). The latter will be detailed in Chapter 3.

A crucial aspect in this book is the distinction between 'deserving and undeserving victims' in terms of victimhood status (Stanko 2000: 153) or the 'hierarchy of victimisation' (Walklate 2007a: 28). At the bottom of this hierarchy are the homeless, the drug addict, or the street prostitute whereas at the top is, for example, the elderly female *(idem: ibidem)*. The distinction stems from the notion that the status as a victim has to be achieved through being recognised as a victim in social or policy terms *(idem: ibidem)*. This notion reiterates Christie's (1986) distinction between the ideal and the non-ideal victim. The latter are to be found at the bottom of the hierarchy pyramid and will not easily be given the status of a victim of crime. Such a classification has an impact on the construction of the respective offenders because, as Christie (1986: 25) states, the more ideal the victim, the more ideal is the offender. At the same time, this distinction leads to a mitigation of the seriousness of some crime and eventually to a graduation of the severity of the same crime depending who the victim is. Similarly, Mythen (2007: 465) notes that offenders 'are increasingly situated by and through their relationship with the victim'. This approach supports my argument that the (linguistic) construction of victims serves the (linguistic) construction of the respective offenders as I will

demonstrate in this book and also that our interest in victims is ultimately based on our interest in the offender.

A different dimension is the distinction between first and secondary victimisation (Walklate 2007a: 29). This theory is based on the question of who causes harm to the victim. According to Walklate (2007a: 73), primary victimisation refers to 'the direct impact that a crime has on the victim'. Secondary victimisation is the treatment the victim experiences by the criminal justice system which can lead to a new or additional victimisation (Newburn 2007: 359; Walklate 2007a: 74). Although this distinction is an important aspect, the United Nations' definition (see above) does not include this facet of victimisation and it is not to be found in my data.

2.3 Recent tendencies and restorative justice

The second half of last century saw a shift of focus away from the offender towards the victim, who thus became the new centre of policy concern (Walklate 2007a: 52). This has led to a 'rediscovery' (Mawby et al. 1994: 22). The victims are now perceived as 'key players' in the criminal proceedings. They report crime, provide evidence, and act as witnesses in court (Hoyle et al. 2007: 473) as opposed to their former construction merely as the 'triggerer-off' (Christie 1977: 39). Christie (1977: 40) states that the traditional criminal trial took the conflict away from the parties (offender and victim) and turned it into 'the property of lawyers'. The victim was (and still is) represented by the state whereby he or she is 'pushed completely out of the arena' (Christie 1977: 39). This reduced 'the victim to a non-entity and the offender to a thing' (Christie 1977: 41). They became degraded to role players and were easily exchangable *(idem: ibidem)*. The recent tendency to construct victims as consumers of the criminal justice system as already mentioned under the headline of Critical Victimology has to be seen also in this context of rediscovery.

The notion of crime being perceived as a conflict between offender and victim has prepared the ground for Restorative Justice as one example for alternative crime response. As an umbrella term, it emerged out of frustration with the conventional criminal justice system and covers a variety of theories and practices 'which share the aim of repairing a wide range of harm' (Hoyle et al. 2007: 482). Practitioners developed it by reviving the concept of family conferences in New Zealand (Walklate 2007a: 122). This concept has to be seen in connection with Braithwaite's (1989) theory of reintegrative shaming (see Section 2.2.1.1 above) because both stress the importance as well as the opportunities of community involvement (Wright 2008a: 266). According to Wright (2010: 18), '[r]estorative

justice sees it [crime] as a violation of people or relationships' which offers a different view on crime. Consequently, crime response involves not only offenders but also victims and the community 'in an effort to put things right, focusing on what the victim needs and the offender owes' (*idem: ibidem*).

Critical appraisal of Restorative Justice states that 'victims are used as a means to diversion and crime reduction, not as ends in themselves' and that the 'penal character' is missing by not taking 'sufficient account of the offender's culpability' (Hoyle et al. 2007: 486). Restorative Justice questions the role of the professionals and promotes civic renewal as well as community involvement. However, Restorative Justice and the ideologies it is based on represent a 'countertrend' (Hoyle et al. 2007: 487) to the traditional criminal trial and could prepare the ground for societal reintegration of offenders and sustainable crime prevention (Cornwell et al. 2013). However, its wide acceptance is still missing and a change in discourse on crime would be a necessary prerequisite for its broader acceptance in society.

2.4 Risk and fear of crime

Another aspect to be mentioned when discussing the social construction of crime, offenders, and victims is the concept of risk and fear. Risk refers to the objectifiable likelihood of falling victim to crime whereas fear denotes the personal perception of the very same likelihood. Risk is regarded as 'a particular quality of modernity itself' (Brown et al. 2000: 2) as well as 'a core characteristic' of late modern societies (O'Malley 2000: 17, 2010). Some even regard risk as 'a central organizing principle' of all modern liberal and capitalist societies (Levi et al. 2007: 692). Whereas previously modern societies were regarded as class societies, they are now viewed as risk societies (Beck 1992: 49). Whereas the former related 'to the ideal of *equality*', risk societies pursue the ideal of safety and nourish the 'utopia' that everyone should be spared from harm (Beck 1992: 49). To achieve this goal, risk has to be tamed and be brought under control (Brown et al. 2000: 2). Beck (1992: 19ff) states that risk is not evenly distributed. Instead, society is divided by the different degrees to which people are able to spare themselves from harm. The development of risk factors which set out to define what sort of people are most likely to commit violent offences is an attempt to control this risk (Levi et al. 2007: 703ff). The same can be witnessed regarding the development of risk factors of victimisation (Hoyle et al. 2007: 465). Both emanate from criminological theories about victims and offenders, as outlined above, and can be seen as a consequence of this craving for predictability. Walklate (2007a: 8) even notes a shift from 'crime prevention policy' to 'victimization prevention policy'. She further states that the actual risk of falling victim of a crime is at a 'historic low' yet the majority of the general public believe

in an increase of the national crime rate (Walklate 2007a: 12). The concomitant fear of crime marks 'a highly emotive political reference point' (Walklate 2007a: 7). Offenders, especially prisoners, are narrowly constructed as 'a social threat' through a 'discourse of fear and dangerousness' (Mason 2006: 254). The concept of risk has become 'a touchstone' (Brown 2000: 93) in relation to (dangerous) offenders. Because the media exaggerate the extent of violent crime, they concomitantly 'create conditions for the support of the penal system' (Mason 2006: 252) as a means to keep the risk of crime under control. An undefined and abstract risk of being or becoming affected by crime leads to impalpable fear which evokes a feeling of insecurity. Out of this insecurity a 'renaissance of dangerousness' and a concurrent 'invocation of predatory monsters and demons' unifies the public against a common enemy (Brown et al. 2000: 5) which eventually leads to social exclusion and a manifestation of the label 'offender'. In his comprehensive study of media representation of crime, Reiner (2007: 327) states that, because the media exaggerate the threat of crime, they 'promote policing and punishment as the antidote'. Thus, they provide indispensable means to maintain power and to support the structures of power (e.g. the police). Therefore it is of crucial importance to critically analyse news reports on crime and look behind the curtain so as to be aware of ideologies and manipulations.

2.5 The fascination of crime

The reason for people's fascination with crime can be best explained at the intersection of Linguistics, Media Studies, Criminology, and Psychology. Crime stories satisfy the voyeuristic desire of the audience (Jewkes 2004b: 23) with some offenders joining the ranks of the famous (Gregoriou 2011: 4). Most crime is committed secretively and surreptitiously because of its inherent 'backstage nature' (Surette 2009: 240). This enhances its 'entertainment value' because it allows the audience 'voyeuristic glimpses of rare and bizarre acts' *(idem: ibidem)* into other people's private lives. Crime news evokes contradictory feelings between deterrence and attraction. It highlights moral dilemmas and contains 'collective, ritual elements' which can be seen as reasons for the 'voracious public appetite for crime news' (Jewkes 2009: VII). Garland (2001: 158) states that '[w]ithout a grounded, routine, collective experience of crime, it is unlikely that crime news and drama would attract such large audiences or sell so much advertising space'. The media institutionalise the experience by surrounding us with images (Garland 2001: 158). The stories, also called 'press narratives' (Greer 2003: 59), perpetuate stereotypes while the sensationalism is enhanced concurrently. A vicious circle is established through the presentation of crime which manufactures panic which in

turn fascinates and ultimately evokes the need for greater response which has an impact on the legal system. The responses to crime decided upon and executed by authorities reassure people that the system works (Giddens et al. 2003: 186), which underpins the function of crime in society (Durkheim 1938). The 'alienating discourse' (Gregoriou 2011: 3) in media reports defines what the public know about crime and therefore forms 'much of the reality of crime and justice for much of the public' (Surette 2009: 239). Thus it not only informs the public but also shapes their knowledge and attitude (Hart 1991: 8) and, ultimately, societal discourse because 'not many people get first-hand information on crime and criminals and they therefore depend on media reports for information surrounding this issue' (Tabbert 2012: 142). As Mythen (2007: 467) states, the media 'play an increasingly central role in informing and cultivating people's everyday perceptions of crime, disorder and victimisation'. The overrepresentation of violent and sexual crimes (Mason 2006: 252; Reiner 2007: 307f; Surette 1998), which have resulted in convictions, as well as the rarity of coverage of white collar, corporate, or state crime (Jewkes 2009: XVI), underlines the notion that 'the media is not a window on the world, but a prism subtly bending and distorting our picture of reality' (Jewkes 2004b: 200). This notion shows parallels with the key assumption of Critical Discourse Analysis, briefly introduced in Section 1.1, that language does not faithfully mirror reality but refracts it through the 'distortive lenses of discourse' (Davies 2013: 7). Surette takes the argument a step further by describing the actors in the media representation of crime and states that the 'media reality of the world [...] is one of a trisected society composed of wolves, sheep, and sheepdogs. In the mass entertainment media vision of society, evil and cunning predator criminal wolves create general mayhem and prey on weak, defenseless – and often stupid – victim sheep [...], while good crime fighting hero sheepdogs [...] intervene and protect the sheep in the name of retributive justice' (Surette 2009: 258).

In order to explain the construction of crime, offenders, and victims through the media, the sociological model of symbolic interactionism can be used. This framework traces back to the work of Mead who emphasised the importance of language 'in analyzing the social world' (Giddens et al. 2003: 16). At the core of this framework is the notion of a symbol which '*stands for* something else' (Giddens et al. 2003: 17). Language is a major example of symbols with words being symbols for real life objects they stand for. Symbolic interactionism states that '[v]irtually all interactions between individuals [...] involve an exchange of symbols' (Giddens et al. 2003: 17). This framework has parallels with the model of sign and signifier in Linguistics (Saussure 1986) [a sign (e.g. a word, a sound) is used for communication consisting of a signifier (e.g. the word *cat*) which is associated with a signified (a furry feline animal)] and explains how the media are able to construct crime, offenders, and victims through triggering symbolic thoughts which are not limited to our own experience and are thus open to manipulation.

2.6 Moral panics

One example of "the media's capacity to 'socially explode risks'" (Mythen 2007: 471) and thus create moral havoc is the mods and rockers panic which arose in the UK in the 1960s. This example serves to understand the power of the media as well as the divergence between reality and the media construction of a supposed to be reality. In his seminal work, Cohen (1980: 29) provides the first scientific analysis of a moral panic. He describes the underlying events as follows:

> Easter 1964 was worse than usual. It was cold and wet, and in fact Easter Sunday was the coldest for eighty years. The shopkeepers and stall owners were irritated by the lack of business and the young people had their own boredom and irritation fanned by rumours of café owners and barmen refusing to serve some of them. A few groups started scuffling on the pavements and throwing stones at each other. The mods and rockers factions – a division initially based on clothing and lifestyles, later rigidified, but at that time not fully established – started separating out. Those on bikes and scooters roared up and down, windows were broken, some beach huts were wrecked and one boy fired a starting pistol in the air. The vast number of people crowding into the streets, the noise, everyone's general irritation and the actions of an unprepared and undermanned police force had the effect of making the two days unpleasant, oppressive and sometimes frightening.

Cohen's description of the event and its press coverage differ greatly and are a good example of the constructive power of the media. Typical for a moral panic are exaggeration and distortion of the seriousness and extent of an event, prediction that this event will surely be followed by others and that those will be worse and, finally, symbolisation. The latter means that 'cultural signifiers or symbols of the mods and rockers (their clothes, hairstyles, scooters and bikes) all become negatively portrayed, associated with delinquency and disorder, so that their very mention reinforces the tone of the story' (Newburn 2007: 96) and provokes hostility. Becker's Labelling Theory plays an important part in moral panics (Cohen 2002: 4; Taylor 2008). And the scientific approach to crime (crime science), as outlined in Section 2.2.1 above, supports the idea of separating and marginalising evil groups and thus perpetuates the folk devil. Cohen (2002: VIII ff) identifies seven 'clusters of social identity' which the objects of moral panic belong to:

1. young, working-class, violent males
2. school violence: bullying and shootouts
3. wrong drugs: used by wrong people at wrong places
4. child abuse, satanic rituals and paedophile registers
5. sex, violence and blaming the media
6. welfare cheats in relation with single mothers
7. refugees and asylum seekers

He also answers the question why some news reports successfully initiate moral panic while others do not. Cohen (2002: XI) argues that three factors are needed: a suitable enemy (from the list above), a suitable victim and a consensus that the event was not insulated or non-recurring but likely to happen again. He found that only extreme or especially dramatic cases ignite moral panics (2002: XII), that moral panics are disproportional and volatile (2002: XXVIII f) and occur from time to time (2002: 1). Cohen's work has been further developed by Hall et al. (1978, 2013), who shifted the focus towards power relations and social control, and adapted for linguistic analysis by McEnery (2006, 2009).

An important aspect in the creation of moral panic is the kind of information received in relation to the event or behaviour (Cohen 2002: 7) which plays an important role in the development of moral panic in five stages (Newburn 2007: 95):

1. something or someone is defined as a threat to values or interests
2. this threat is depicted in an easily recognizable form by the media
3. there is a rapid build-up of public concern
4. there is a response from authorities or opinion-makers
5. the panic recedes or results in social changes

Although the shortcomings of this concept have been acknowledged (Waddington 1986: 258), it can still serve the understanding of public anxieties and 'how morality, deviance and risk are perceived in late modern society' (Mayr et al. 2012: 22). Not all crime news is capable of initiating moral panic, only those crimes which fulfill the criteria listed above such as some news reports on drug use (Taylor 2008). However, bearing this concept in mind allows us to understand to what extent crime news has an impact on society. News which successfully ignite moral panic always fulfill criteria of newsworthiness (Jewkes 2011: 85–95) which will be outlined in more detail in the following section.

2.7 Criteria of newsworthiness

Criteria of newsworthiness explain why certain (crime) news gets reported in the media while others do not pass the 'threshold of importance' (Jewkes 2009: VIII). These criteria are used as "benchmarks to determine a story's 'newsworthiness'" by editors and journalists (Jewkes 2004b: 37). Jewkes *(idem: ibidem)* states that if a story does not meet at least some of these criteria, it will not be considered worth reporting. These criteria are based on news values which are 'value judgements that journalists and editors make about the *public appeal* of

a story and also whether it is in the *public interest*' to be reported which in turn are based on the 'assumptions media professionals make about their audience' (Jewkes 2004b: 37). They perform a 'gatekeeping' role by filtering what news get reported (Fowler 1991: 13). News values are not born out of a 'journalistic conspiracy'; instead they are 'more subtle' and rather due to 'commercial, legislative and technical pressures that characterize journalism' (Jewkes 2004b: 38). Jewkes *(idem: ibidem)* illustrates this by stating "[n]owhere in a newsroom will you find a list pinned to the wall reminding reporters and editors what their 'angle' on a story should be". Bell (1991) even states that news stories are changed in their structure in order to foreground and enhance those criteria which make the stories newsworthy which is demonstrated by Bednarek et al. (2012) in their analysis of media texts. In my analysis I will point out the respective criteria on occasion.

Criteria of newsworthiness were first systematically identified and categorized by Galtung and Ruge (1973) following Lippmann's (1922) loose enumeration of news value attributes. Although Galtung and Ruge's focus was not on crime news in particular, they identified eleven criteria out of which I list the following four (due to space constraints I will explain in detail only the most significant criteria at the end of this section):

- unexpectedness
- proximity (either regional or emotional)
- significant dramatic impact
- negativity of the event

Chibnall's (1977) study of news values, which was the first to develop news values for crime based on the work of Galtung and Ruge (1973), identified the following as additional criteria:

- immediacy/recency (in term of the time between the event and the report)
- dramatisation
- personalisation (eliteness of the persons involved or eliteness of the story's sources)
- simplification (reducing the story to the core elements of good and bad)
- titillation (voyeurism)
- conventionalism (hegemonic ideology)
- structured access (experts, authority)
- novelty of the story

Chibnall's work is still influential regarding news values in relation to crime reports (Jewkes 2004a: 216) although the criteria of newsworthiness have slightly changed

over the past decades. Bell (1991: 156ff) enumerates the following additional news factors:

- consonance of the story with preconceptions
- superlativeness
- relevance
- factivity

Jewkes (2009: VIII) states that while the criteria above belong unaltered to the enumeration, she lists the following additional ones which have been developed in the past decade:

- risk (and/or violence)
- sex
- spectacle and graphic imagery
- children

All criteria listed above are echoed and slightly changed in numerous studies [see for example (Bednarek 2006; Bednarek et al. 2012; Busà 2014; Cole et al. 2010; Conboy 2006; Durant et al. 2009; Fairclough 1995; Fowler 1991; Harcup 2004; Harcup et al. 2001; Mayr et al. 2012; Van Dijk 1988)]. From the lists above, Jewkes (2004a: 217ff) extracted the six most salient ones: risk, sex, proximity (in accordance with Greer, 2003: 43), violence, spectacle and graphic imagery (mainly on TV) as well as children. These criteria will be explained in the remainder of this chapter except for spectacle and graphic imagery because the inclusion of visual images is beyond the scope of this book.

Risk, which seizes on the notion of the risk society (Beck 1992), relates to the idea of offences committed by strangers, the so-called 'stranger-danger' (Stanko 2000: 152) although the majority of felonies (including murder and rape) is committed by offenders known to the victim (Jewkes 2004a: 217). This leads to the conclusion that everybody is a potential victim of crime which in turn provokes a 'fear for personal safety' (Jewkes 2004a: 217) in the public. Sex is frequently related to violence in crime reports, the two becoming 'virtually indistinguishable' (Jewkes 2004a: 218), and allows a 'highly sexualized, even pornographic representation[] of women' as victims *(idem: ibidem)*. This evokes the '(statistically false) impression that the public sphere is unsafe and the private sphere is safe' (Jewkes 2004a: 219) in contradiction to reality where the greatest threat to women is 'within women's intimate relationships' (Stanko 2000: 150); see also (Abrahams 2007; Dobash et al. 1992; Dobash et al. 1998).

Proximity can be subdivided into spatial (geographical) and cultural (relevant) nearness of an event (Jewkes 2004a: 219). Greer (2003: 43) identifies proximity as the most salient of all newsworthiness criteria, which explains why local events get

reported in the local press but seldom pass the threshold into the national or even international press.

Jewkes (2004a: 221) states that '[v]iolence fulfills the media's desire to present dramatic events in the most graphic possible fashion' being it through the text of graphic images. Violence 'constitutes a critical threshold in society' (Hall et al. 1978: 68) because it violates physical integrity. The phenomenon of the 'commodification of violence, humiliation and cruelty', even a 'lust for pain' are 'evidence for the consumer's need for privately enjoyed, carnivalesque transgression' (Jewkes 2004a: 221, 222).

Lastly, the involvement of children in crime stories makes these stories newsworthy (Jewkes 2004a: 223). Children as victims evoke even more sympathy than other victims as well as triggering the protective instinct of the audience. By contrast, children as offenders are 'viewed as symptomatic of a society that is declining even further into a moral morass' (Jewkes 2004a: 225). Summarising, the involvement of children enhances the audience's feelings into extremes.

Bednarek and Caple (2012) identified some linguistic devices used to adapt news stories according to the criteria of newsworthiness [although their criteria differ from Jewkes' (2004a: 217ff)]. In their most recent article they take the argument a step further by stating that news values are 'mediated through discourse' or 'discursively constructed' (Bednarek et al. 2014: 137, 139) meaning that news stories are adapted according to these criteria and thus the underlying event is 'constructed as newsworthy' (Bednarek et al. 2014: 150) which manifests these criteria. Out of the long list of devices Bednarek et al. (2012) collected I will only present three and illustrate each by drawing on an example from my data. These linguistic devices will be linked to the criteria of newsworthiness and I will show how they are applied to foreground aspects of the story:

- The use of evaluative language means to include 'linguistic expressions that realize opinion' (Bednarek et al. 2012: 46), e.g. "Evil Ali Majlat, 35" (*The Sun*, 03.04.2009). In this example, the dangerousness of the offender is foregrounded (although not linguistically since it does not deviate from standard language) which highlights the criterion of risk, namely stranger-danger, because he can attack anybody.
- Intensification and quantification refers to linguistic devices which 'intensify number or amount' (Bednarek et al. 2012: 47), e.g. "more than 17,000 indecent images of children" (*The Independent*, 17.04.2009; *The Guardian*, 18.04.2009). Here the emphasis is on the large number of pictures and thus highlights the criteria of sex and children.
- Comparison means that a story is compared to other, often similar events (Bednarek et al. 2012: 47), e.g. "Rape accused aged EIGHT becomes youngest person ever quizzed by police for the crime" (*Daily Mail*, 11.03.2009). This

sentence highlights again the newsworthiness criteria by reference to the crime and the age of the offender and emphasises the distinctiveness of this case in terms of the offender's age.

I conclude from these examples that linguistic devices can manipulate a story according to the criteria of newsworthiness and thus foreground those aspects which evoke fascination. This ultimately leads to a construction of offenders and victims which mirrors and perpetuates societal discourse on crime and ultimately triggers and reinforces existing ideologies. The list of devices collected by Bednarek and Caple (2012) is more accurately described as a collection of categories. They mix different linguistic features as long as these features achieve the same effect of foregrounding particular newsworthiness criteria in a text. In their most recent article, they argue that an analysis of news values like eliteness, proximity, negativity 'should belong to the standard procedure of critical linguistic analyses of the news' (Bednarek et al. 2014: 150) stating that the news values themselves already provide a systematic scheme for analysis. Bednarek and Caple's scheme provides a system which is organised by content or topic whereas the toolkit offered by Critical Stylistics (as outlined in Chapter 3) provides a more linguistically systematic approach to the analysis of features in the texts and leads to similar conclusions as I will demonstrate later.

Finally, I want to mention the notion of a hierarchy of crime news introduced by Surette (1998). At the lowest level are crime stories which serve as space fillers; on a secondary level are those which are potentially important; '[p]rimary crime news stories' (Surette 1998: 62) are given prominent space on front pages and, at the top, are 'super-primary crime stories' which 'receive an enormous amount of organizational resources and develop along many dimensions' *(idem: ibidem)*. The reason for this gradation can be seen in the assessment of the news value of each story by media professionals in accordance with the criteria of newsworthiness outlined above.

In summary, the theories and their underlying ideologies outlined in this chapter help to explain the linguistic findings which will be outlined in Chapters 6 and 7 and will place them into a broader context taking into account not just linguistic theories but also sociological issues which comprise Criminology as well as Media Studies.

CHAPTER 3

Critical language studies and Critical Stylistics

3.1 Concepts and definitions

This chapter turns to Linguistics and in the first part introduces and defines the key terms *text, ideology, discourse,* and *power.* This is followed by a brief description of Critical Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, Critical Stylistics, and their respective relationships. In this book I hold that offenders, victims, and crimes are constructed through language in newspaper articles on crime. These texts do not provide a copy of reality but create a social reality of their own. Fowler (1981: 25) notes that 'because language is a systematic code and not just a random list of labels, it facilitates the storage and the transmission of concepts'. This statement leads inevitably to the concept of language constructing social realities (Fairclough 1995; Scott et al. 2006: 161) by not merely reflecting reality but by constructing or reproducing our notion of it and thus ideologies (Ehrlich 2001: 36; Stubbs 1996: 61). This is closely related to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which states that we 'dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages' (Whorf 1956: 213). Although this hypothesis is contested among linguists, many accept that language has an effect on 'our categorisation of the world' (Jeffries 2006: 200). In line with this view, we might say that the construction of crimes, victims, and offenders in newspaper articles influences our worldview and thus our concept of crime and deviance. This perspective links with Halliday's three metafunctions of language as outlined in Chapter 1, specifically on the ideational and textual functions.

3.1.1 Text

In this and the following sections, I define some key terms and show how I use them in the context of this book. I will start with the term *text* here and will deal with *ideology*, *discourse,* and *power* in the following sections.

A basic definition is provided by Cook (1989: 14), who sees *texts* as '[s]tretches of language treated only formally'. He thereby refers to 'formal features' like 'the black marks which form writing on the page' or 'the speech sounds picked up by our ears' (*idem: ibidem*). His definition comprises written and spoken language but excludes context. Taking a broader view, Fairclough (2005: 916) states that *text*

refers to 'written texts, spoken interaction, the multimedia texts of television and the Internet'. He sees *texts* as 'linguistic/semiotic elements of social events' and emphasises that they should be 'analytically isolable' (*idem:ibidem*). In contrast to Cook (1989), Fairclough (2005) includes context in his definition, thus providing the grounds to link the term to *discourse* as we will see later. In addition, Stubbs (1996: 4) stresses the fact that *texts* should occur naturally and in collecting these instances of language use the researcher is assigned to only an observational or passive role. In opposition, Chomsky (1965: 3) used invented examples to make his point and was not interested in instances of real language use for which he was extensively criticised. The length of *texts* is unimportant as sometimes a single word, as for example *STOP* on a traffic sign, can also be subsumed under the term *text*.

Texts are isolable, naturally occurring, and either written or spoken language, comprising also multimedia texts of television or the internet, which are part of social events. Therefore, the newspaper articles collected for this book are considered *texts* because they are examples of real life language use. Each article can be regarded as part of a social process, which connects the definition of *text* to the definition of *discourse* (see Section 3.1.3 below).

From their largest to their smallest units, *texts* and thus newspaper articles on crime (the terms are used interchangeably in this book) consist of sentences, clauses, phrases, words, and finally morphemes, the 'smallest unit of meaning' in language (Jeffries 2006: 5, 71; Spitzmüller et al. 2011: 24). Meaning is projected through (a) textual features (semantics, pragmatics and grammatical structure) and (b) the reader who brings his or her world knowledge to the *text* (Semino 1997: 124f).

For example, vocabulary becomes loaded with meaning depending on the context in which we repeatedly encounter it (Hoey 2005). Hoey argues that every time we encounter a word, 'we build up a record of its collocations' (2007: 8) which either reinforces or slightly shifts the priming (2005: 9) and thus the meaning of the word. Although lexical priming is 'unique to the individual' (Hoey 2005: 184), the repeated encounter of words in the same context, as for example in news reports on crime, reinforces lexical priming and contributes to the meaning. Therefore, because *texts* project meaning, they also evoke ideologies.

3.1.2 Ideology

Language is 'the primary instrument through which ideology is transmitted, enacted and reproduced' (Teo 2000: 11). *Ideology* is defined in a relativist sense as a collectively shared, 'coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or values' (Wodak et al. 2009: 8). It can be regarded as a 'mental framework' (Hall 1996: 26) which is 'communicated, reproduced, constructed and negotiated using language'

(Jeffries 2010a: 5). A critical perspective sees *ideologies* as 'significations/constructions of reality […] which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices' (Fairclough 1992a: 87). This understanding is based on Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony and sees *ideology* as 'meaning in the service of power' (Fairclough 1995: 14; Thompson 1984). This leads to the notion that 'language is not neutral, but a highly constructive mediator' (Fowler 1991: 1) and therefore not a single text is free from *ideology* (Julian 2011: 767; Simpson 1993: 7). However, *ideology* cannot be 'read off' a text (Fairclough 1992a: 89). Much on the contrary, it is part of the text and, as Jeffries and Walker (2012: 214) state, 'is frequently identifiable through textual analysis'. Therefore, we need to bear in mind that the newspaper articles under scrutiny are carriers of *ideologies* about offenders, victims, and crimes and the path towards detecting those *ideologies* starts on the textual level. Based on the criminological theories outlined in Chapter 2, I intend to uncover the underlying *ideologies* on crime in the texts studied by means of a linguistic approach. The knowledge of criminological theories facilitates the explanation of the ideological concepts to be found in the texts because the former are based on ideological perspectives on crime as well.

3.1.3 Discourse

The term *discourse* can be defined in different ways (Weiss et al. 2003: 13). Cook (1989: 156) regards it as 'stretches of language perceived to be meaningful, unified, and purposive'. By this definition, a sentence would constitute *discourse* but that does not fully encapsulate the meaning used within Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Stylistics which I will explain shortly. In cultural or literary studies, the term is defined as 'the kind of language used in relation to a particular topic or in a particular setting' (Jeffries 2010a: 7). The notion of *discourse* in the Foucauldian sense refers to knowledge and exchange in reference to a topic, e.g. Feminist *discourse*. *Discourse* can also be defined as the (scientific) knowledge about a particular topic, e.g. the *discourse* on HIV. In Linguistics, two main approaches to a definition have been developed. The structuralist definition based on Chomsky's notion of language being a mental phenomenon regards *discourse* as a particular unit of language above the sentence or above the clause (Schiffrin 1994: 20ff) whereas Halliday's functional approach based on the notion of language being primarily a societal phenomenon defines *discourse* as a particular focus on language use (Blommaert 2005: 2ff; Schiffrin 1994: 20f). Fairclough (1992a: 4) refers to *discourse* as a three-dimensional concept consisting of 'a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice'. Fairclough's definition allows me to adopt both the formalist and the functionalist definitions, because he gives credit to the structural as well as to the social aspects of language use which are not mutually exclusive. The functional aspect of *discourse* also incorporates the

notion of it being a dynamic phenomenon, in line with the prevalent view within the social sciences.

Whereas the term *text* applies to words and sentences and their meaning, the term *discourse* refers to the broader view and focuses on language regardless of the boundaries of sentences (Carter et al. 2008: 141). *Discourse* is both socially constitutive and conditioned (Fairclough et al. 1997: 258) and thus not simply a carrier of ideologies but a social action or social practice in its own right (Fairclough et al. 1997: 258; KhosraviNik 2009: 478). When referring to *discourse,* Van Dijk (2003: 92) employs the metaphor of an iceberg. He states that 'only the most relevant information is actually expressed as meaning' whereas the majority of information is hidden. In order to see how offenders, victims, and crime are constructed in newspaper articles it is necessary to dive into the water and study the entire iceberg so as to reveal the ideologies in the constructed *discourse* on deviance.

I now proceed by setting the terms *language, text, ideology,* and *discourse* in relation to each other and show how they interact in this book. Although there is a broad overlap between the terms *language* and *discourse*, the distinction between the two is that *language* 'refers to the more abstract set of patterns and rules' whereas *discourse* 'works above the level of grammar and semantics to capture what happens when these language forms are played out in different social, political and cultural arenas' (Simpson et al. 2010: 5). Another distinction has to be made between the terms *language*, *discourse,* and *ideology* with *discourse* being the carrier of *ideologies* and the latter being triggered at the level of *language* or the textual level. This distinction is seen in the former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair's assertion that 'ideas need labels if they are to become popular and widely understood' [quoted in (Fairclough 2000: 4)]. Conversely, this might lead to the conclusion that *discourse* constricts our worldview (see Section 3.1) and thus can be regarded as an obstacle as well as a conduit for our thoughts. Fairclough (2001a) sees a dialectic relationship between *discourse* and *ideologies*, because *discourse* does 'not just reflect or represent social entities and relations' but also constructs or constitutes them (1992a: 3). Thus, *discourse* can be considered as constitutive for the 'reproduction of social inequalities and dominant ideologies' (Jeffries 2010a: 7). I want to highlight this notion of *discourse* constituting entities and relations because through this process the *ideologies* I am interested in are transmitted.

3.1.4 Power

In line with the perspective taken in this book, *power* is also a discursive phenomenon (Althusser 1971). Simpson et al. (2010: 2) state that it 'comes from the privileged access to social resources such as education, knowledge and wealth 'which

eventually enables dominant groups to exert 'domination, coercion and control of subordinate groups'. The ideologies of these dominant groups are reproduced in the media and their continued reassertion eventually leads to their naturalisation (Fairclough 1992a: 87). Naturalised ideologies are perceived as common sense among the members of the same community (Fairclough 1995; Fowler 1991) with an "inverse relationship between the extent to which an ideology is naturalized in a particular community or society, and the extent to which it is consciously 'used' by a text producer" (Jeffries 2010a: 9). Because naturalised ideologies are understood on an unconscious level, people might not be consciously aware of them. This means that naturalised discourse on deviance has already shaped our conception of and our attitudes towards offenders, victims, and crimes. The perpetuation of this naturalised discourse is what enables us, on the one hand, to understand newspaper articles on crime without the need for much explanation. On the other hand, it takes a lot of effort to change this discourse and its underlying ideologies. Establishing naturalised ideologies in hegemonic discourse is an important means for manipulation used by the powerful (Fairclough 1992a: 87, 2001b). In reference to exercising *power* either through coercion or consent, Fairclough (2001b: 28) states that '[i]deology is the key mechanism of rule by consent'. Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony sees *power* not realised through coercion but routine which is enabled through establishing a common sense based on naturalised ideologies. Mayr et al. (2012: 10) note that 'consent is achieved largely through the institutions of civil society, one of which is the media'. This notion regards the media as an institution and thus combines discoursal with institutional *power*. If we recall Durkheim's (1938) argument that crime is of essential use for every society because it ensures people's trust in the system, we understand the crucial importance of establishing naturalised ideologies in relation to crime and deviance on the one hand and detecting them in the media on the other.

Further remarks from Fairclough (1992c: 6) turn the focus to manipulation. What makes it dangerous is 'the exercise of a form of *illegitimate* influence by means of discourse' which is the abuse of power and ultimately domination (Van Dijk 2006: 360). Van Dijk (2006: 361) states that 'the boundary between (illegitimate) manipulation and (legitimate) persuasion is fuzzy, and context dependent'. Manipulation exercised through 'symbolic elites in politics, the media, education, scholarship, the bureaucracy, as well as in business enterprises' touches 'upon the very social, legal and philosophical foundations of a just or democratic society' (Van Dijk 2006: 363f). Besides manipulation, *power* permeates different layers of society (see Chapter 2). Therefore, when studying articles in the media, the primary sources that provide information must be identified. This is because these 'primary news sources' (Jewkes 2009: XVII) become primary definers (Hall et al. 1978: 58; Newburn 2007: 99) of discourse on crime and deviance,

exercise *power,* and contribute to the shape and uphold of naturalised discourse on this topic.

After these more general considerations and the outlining of the key-terms *text, ideology, discourse,* and *power,* I introduce the linguistic frameworks and methods aimed at detecting these underlying and often naturalised ideologies in discourse and I briefly outline their historical development.

3.2 Critical language studies

Within Linguistics, or the scientific study of human language, critical language studies as an 'orientation towards language' instead of 'a branch of language study' has been established aiming at disclosing 'how language conventions and language practices are invested with power relations and ideological processes which people are often unaware of' (Fairclough 1992c: 7). I use the term 'critical language studies' as an umbrella term and in its broadest meaning. The roots of this critical approach to language studies go back to Russian Formalism at the time of the Russian Revolution (Van Dijk 1988: 18) and its key scholars Jakobson, Sklovsky, and Eixenbaum among others. In parallel, after the death of de Saussure, his book *Cours de Linguistique Générale* (*Course in General Linguistics*) (1986) was published in 1916, and laid the foundation for a systematic approach to language. Later on, advances in social science and especially philosophy have been influential for the further development of critical language studies (Chilton 2011: 771). The adjective 'critical', according to Mazid (2007: 352), links with the Frankfurt school of philosophy and "means both 'self-reflexive' and 'socio-historically situated'".

Foucault (1972, 1977) contributed significantly to the development of discourse analysis as a method (Fairclough 1992a: 37). As mentioned above, the term *discourse* in the Foucauldian sense has a slightly different meaning compared to the way I use it in this book. I regard discourse in accordance with the structuralist and functionalist approaches as referring to meaning above the level of the sentence and to 'language in use' (Brown et al. 1983). But because of the influence of Foucault on critical language studies I mention his key notions here. Foucault argues that '[t]he character of power in modern societies is tied to problems of managing populations' (Fairclough 1992a: 50). He explains that power is exercised 'in the process of gathering knowledge' and that 'language becomes the primary instrument through which ideology is transmitted, enacted and reproduced' (Teo 2000: 11). Foucault contributed to the philosophical basis for Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis and his arguments are relevant to my analysis because they hold that power can be traced on the micro-level, that is, the textual level.

3.2.1 Critical linguistics

In the 1970s, a group of linguists at the University of East Anglia decided to study language by combining linguistic text analysis with social theory so as to see how language functioned in political and ideological processes. They also drew on Halliday's functionalist approach (see Section 3.1.3). In their seminal book *Language and Control* (1979a), Fowler, Kress, and Hodge coined the term 'Critical Linguistics', later defined as 'an enquiry into the relations between signs, meanings and the social and historical conditions which govern the semiotic structure of discourse, using a particular kind of linguistic analysis' (Fowler 1991: 5). Fowler (1991: 89) also offered a list of analytical tools which are 'quite often involved in the construction of representations, in signifying beliefs and values when writers are reporting or commenting on the world'. This list comprises 'transitivity, syntactic transformations, in particular the agentless passive, lexical structure, modality and speech acts' (Jeffries 2007: 12). Fowler himself admits that he does not claim this list to be complete (Fowler 1991: 89) but it is to be seen as an important step towards the development of an 'agreed set of analytical tools' (Jeffries 2007: 12) for critical language studies. In opposition, van Leeuwen is skeptical of the development of such an agreed set of analytical tools. He states that 'many relevant instances of agency might be overlooked' once the analysis 'ties itself in too closely to specific linguistic operations or categories' (Van Leeuwen 1996: 33). His critique points to the fact that the tools of Critical Linguistics (as well as critical language studies in general) stem from Linguistics and there has not been developed a general theory of language within critical language studies so far (Jeffries 2007: 13). Nevertheless, the advantages of a set of analytical tools are obvious. It makes every analysis rigorous and replicable. Another point of critique is the list of linguistic tools itself in connection with Halliday's metafunctions of language (see Sections 1.2 and 3.1) which Critical Linguistics sees itself to be based on. Fowler introduces modality and speech acts as interpersonal elements (Fowler 1991: 66ff; Jeffries 2010a: 13) which leads to the suggestion that the other tools in the list are to be seen as ideational aspects of language, although Fowler does not say so explicitly (Jeffries 2010a: 13). This notion is reiterated by Fairclough, who appraises Critical Linguistics' view of a text as 'simultaneously representing the world (ideational function) and enacting social relations and identities (interpersonal function)' (Fairclough 1995: 25). In contrast, Jeffries sees 'all of the tools of analysis […] as primarily ideational in conception, even those which, like modality, are seen in Halliday's approaches as being interpersonal' (2010a: 13). She concludes that Fowler's list of tools lacks comprehensiveness in terms of covering the range of linguistic features (*idem: ibidem*). Thus Jeffries takes the matter further and develops the framework of Critical Stylistics as we will see later on.

Despite the serious critique, Critical Linguistics 'goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of *how* and *why* particular discourses are produced' (Teo 2000: 11) and offers a framework for analysis of what is in texts and what is absent from texts by highlighting 'the potential ideological significance of opting for agentless passive constructions' and thus excluding constructions where the agent is present (Fairclough 1992b: 212). It thereby acknowledges that 'there are always different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random, accidental alternatives' (Fowler 1991: 4) and thus reiterates the notion that texts always contain ideology. Fowler's use of the method of Critical Linguistics to analyse media discourse (1991: 5) is an example of its valuable contribution to detect hidden ideologies in texts.

3.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis and its major approaches

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has its roots in Critical Linguistics (Teo 2000: 11) as well as in classical Rhetoric, Textlinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics, and Pragmatics (Weiss et al. 2003: 11). Wodak and Meyer even note that the terms Critical Linguistics and CDA are 'used interchangably' (2009: 1) which must be contested because CDA is rather to be considered as a socio-political movement. Jeffries (2007: 195) states that

> CDA began as a left-wing reaction to the hands-off objectivity of early linguistics, when there was clearly so much wrong with the world that was based in texts, and so much information about manipulation and political dishonesty that could be revealed by a few judicious uses of some fairly accessible tools of analysis.

Its emergence can be dated back to the late 60's and early 70's (Van Dijk 1988: 17); hence it developed in parallel with Critical Linguistics. Van Dijk (2011: 621) notes that 'CDA itself is *not* a method of research, but a social movement of socio-politically committed discourse analysts using many different methods of analysis'. Consequently, "there is no single 'tradition' of CDA, and certainly no agreed set of analytical tools that 'should' be used in this practice" (Jeffries 2007: 12; Weiss et al. 2003: 6, 12). Although Weiss and Wodak (2003: 6) praise this missing analytical toolkit as giving CDA its own 'dynamics', this is exactly the point why I decided against using one of the approaches to CDA (see below) for my analysis. An example of a Critical Discourse Analysis is Ehrlich's (1999; Ehrlich et al. 1996) study of negotiating meaning in a tribunal at a US university where a male student was accused of raping two female students. Ehrlich (1999: 245) states that 'the events begin to get constructed as the result of choices the women made' but fails to outline how exactly she reached this conclusion and if this conclusion is only valid for the examples she gave from the tribunal transcript or representative of the whole data. Teo analysed the Australian newspaper coverage of crimes committed by the 5T, 'a gang of young Vietnamese drug-dealers' (2000: 10). He focused

on transitivity, thematic and lexical cohesive patterns (2000: 39) and quotations (2000: 40). His method shows a subjective choice of analytical tools which always bears the danger of proving desired results instead of gaining objective ones. When conducting a linguistic text analysis it is important to observe the scientific principles of rigorousness, replicability, and objectivity. This ensures that the researcher does not manipulate the analysis according to the desired results but guarantees the falsifiability of the analysis. Although I am aware of the fact that subjectivity cannot be fully excluded in CDA, it is even more necessary to openly state what subjective choices were made as Jeffries and Walker (2012) have demonstrated.

Although CDA lacks a systematic linguistic toolkit, CDA researchers prefer certain systems which 'almost always include nominalisation, transitivity, modality' (Jeffries 2007: 12) and also 'the creation of semantic presupposition' (Jeffries 2007: 11). It can easily be seen that CDA seizes the analytical tools provided by Critical Linguistics (without providing its own comprehensive list of analytical tools either) and shares the same focus on 'relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality' (Fowler et al. 1979b: 185ff; Van Dijk 1993: 249). CDA is 'socially and politically committed' (KhosraviNik 2009: 478) and thus 'addresses broader social issues' by drawing on 'social and philosophical theor[ies]' (Mayr 2008: 9). This proves that CDA is not neutral in its political agenda because of its socio-political commitment (Van Dijk 2011: 621). A core concern of CDA is to explain 'how discourse (re)produces and maintains […] relations of dominance and inequality' (Mayr 2008: 8) grounded in the belief that 'language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it' (Weiss et al. 2003: 14). Wodak (2001: 3) lists three concepts indispensable in all CDA: power, history, and ideology. Further, the agreement between CDA practitioners that 'the complex interrelations between discourse and society cannot be analysed adequately unless linguistic and sociological approaches are combined' (Weiss et al. 2003: 7) is echoed. This is because CDA sees language as a social practice, 'both reflecting and producing ideologies in society' (Baker et al. 2008: 280; Wodak 2012: 216f). In summary, CDA has been defined as 'a tool for deconstructing the ideologies of the mass media and other elite groups and for identifying and defining social, economic, and historical power relations between dominant and subordinate groups' (Henry et al. 2002: 72). But it has to be noticed that the lack of a clear method and the view of some practioners that CDA is a social movement (Van Dijk 2011: 621) more than anything, suggests that it cannot be seen as a tool.

In my view, the underlying question of every Critical Discourse Analysis should be to understand how the text reflects the representation of the world which is ideological. The answer to this question provides the yardstick for the existing frameworks for CDA and each of them has to be tested against it in order to decide which method to use.

3.2.2.1 *The Marxist approach*

In the following sections I will outline some selected approaches to CDA, namely the four most influential ones and additionally those which informed my own research. I will start with Norman Fairclough and his 'Marxist perspective' (Mayr 2008: 9). I will then proceed with van Dijk's socio-cognitive, Wodak's discourse-historical and van Leeuwen's socio-semantic approach, followed by a few minor contributions to CDA which cannot be regarded to be entirely new approaches but emphasise particular elements when doing CDA. This overview sets out to introduce the already existing frameworks in order to clarify why they are unsuitable to answer my research questions and to prepare the ground for the introduction of Critical Stylistics, the framework I use for my analysis.

Following from his three-part definition of discourse as 'a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice', Fairclough (1992a: 4) developed a three-dimensional approach to analyse instances of discourse where the text dimension is tied to language analysis of texts, the discursive practice dimension is concerned with 'the processes of text production and interpretation' (*idem: ibidem*), and, finally, the social practice dimension relates to 'the institutional and organizational circumstances of the discursive event and how that shapes the nature of the discursive practice' (*idem: ibidem*). He thereby stresses the importance of intertextuality or context by stating that texts are influenced by other texts (1992a: 102). This notion traces back to Bakhtin, who points out that texts are shaped by responding to earlier texts and anticipating future texts (Fairclough 1992a: 101).

Fairclough wishes to combine linguistic-oriented discourse analysis with relevant social and political thoughts (1992a: 62) and distinguishes three dimensions or stages of CDA which are description, interpretation, and explanation (2001b: 21f). His approach relates to Marxism because he is interested in how power is exercised in modern, neo-capitalist societies (2001b: 2), how domination and inequality 'are produced and reproduced in discourse' (Mayr 2008: 9), how societies uphold their social structures and relations over time (Fairclough 1992a) and the relation between cultural and social change on the one hand and discursive change on the other (Fairclough 1992a: 10).

Fairclough, however, has been criticized for lack of rigour and replicability, as Widdowson (1995b, 1996), among others, has pointed out in detail (see Section 3.2.4 below).

3.2.2.2 *The socio-cognitive approach*

This approach, which is concerned with 'the relationship between social systems and social cognition' (Mayr 2008: 9), was developed by Teun A. van Dijk, who identified social cognition as bridging the gap between the micro level (where

communication takes place) and the macro level (where the power is to be found) (Van Dijk 2010: 354). He holds that social cognition is 'the system of mental structures and operations that are acquired, used or changed in social contexts by social actors and shared by the members of social groups, organizations and cultures' (Van Dijk 2003: 89). Further, he declares his approach to be 'essentially interdisciplinary, combining linguistic, discourse analytical, psychological, and sociological analysis of news discourse and news processes' (Van Dijk 1988: 15). His main interest lies in the analysis of media texts and he suggests a three-part analysis of those texts comprising 'the description of argumentative structures; the explication of presupposed (tacit) assumptions, norms and values; and an analysis of style and rhetorical features' [(Van Dijk 1988) quoted in (Izadi et al. 2007: 141)]. He thereby alters Fairclough's stages of CDA (description, interpretation, explanation) by putting more emphasis on the rhetorical features as well as norms and values. Although he uses many different aspects of language methods taken from text and conversation analysis like metaphors, topoi (from rhetorics), intonation and coherence, he, too, chooses his analytical tools subjectively depending on what he wishes to prove without providing a systematic tool-kit which would make his analysis replicable and more objective [see, for example, his analysis of extracts from a speech by former Prime Minister Tony Blair (Van Dijk 2006)]. In this article, van Dijk quotes two short extracts from Blair's speech and argues that its rhetorical strategy is, for example, to ideologically polarise. However, van Dijk (2006: 378) fails to show how this is achieved on the textual level. As an example, he could have discussed that a constructed opposition between the verbs *to stand down/to turn back* and *to hold firm* in the phrase 'to stand British troops down now and turn back, or to hold firm to the course that we have set' (Van Dijk 2006: 377) is achieved by means of a coordinate conjunction (*or*). Also, the verbs in the first clause are negatively associated in a military context (*British troops*) with defeat or even cowardness whereas the verb *to hold firm* in the second clause is positively associated with determination or even bravery. The latter is underlined by the subordinate clause *that we have set* using the inclusive pronoun *we* and present perfect verb tense emphasising the result and entails that a decision has already been made which underpins the assertion that retreat is not an option; in fact, no alternatives to an invasion are worth considering. Such a short analysis of textual features would have given weight to van Dijk's claim of polarisation in Blair's speech and made his analysis rigourous.

What is worth mentioning here, because it explains how exclusion works in texts, is van Dijk's ideological square with the dichotomy of 'Us (good, innocent)' and 'Them (evil, guilty)' (Van Dijk 2006: 370). This model links to the Criminology of the 'other' (O'Malley 2000: 28) (see Chapter 2), namely an evil offender who could not be us. It serves to explain how good/bad things are de/emphasised to

create the oppositional picture of Us/Them (Mazid 2007: 353). Van Dijk's ideological square can furthermore be linked to Christie's (1986) notion of ideal victims (=Us) creating ideal offenders (=Them) on both ends of a morality scale (see Chapter 2). We will return to this in the result chapters.

Further, van Dijk specifies "how exactly the 'news values' that have been identified as shaping news coverage influence the way particular reports are produced" as well as how journalists transform texts they receive from news sources into a form 'in which news reports are memorized' and what long-term effects these news reports 'have on perception, cognition and action' (Fairclough 1995: 30). This notion is seized by Bednarek and Caple (2012), who state that news stories are adapted to the criteria of newsworthiness using linguistic devices which foreground these aspects of the story.

Although Fairclough's and van Dijk's approaches are both regarded to be text-centered and linguistic (Jensen 2012: 31), the former identifies the shortcomings of the latter's approach as being a lack of attention to the interpersonal function of language as well as a lack of intertextual analysis of texts, and, finally, 'a one-sided emphasis to news-making practices as stable structures which contribute to the reproduction of relations of domination and racist ideologies' (Fairclough 1995: 30).

3.2.2.3 *The discourse-historical approach*

The third approach to be mentioned here is Ruth Wodak and the Vienna School's discourse-historical approach directed at 'tracing the historical (intertextual) history of phrases and arguments' (Mayr 2008: 9). The main focus is on 'integrating all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the different layers of a text' (Mayr 2008: 9). Wodak describes her method as being 'three-dimensional', which she explains as requiring the following steps: (1) identifying 'the specific *contents* or *topics* of a specific discourse'; (2) investigating discursive strategies; and (3) examining the linguistic means and their linguistic realisations (Reisigl et al. 2009: 93). Her stages of conducting CDA can be regarded as an amalgam of Fairclough's and van Dijk's lists by employing Fairclough's linguistic analysis of texts and van Dijk's emphasis on rhetorical strategies. The method outlined by Wodak herself underlines the fact that the discourse-historic approach is not an entirely new approach to CDA but rather a different perspective on discourse with a particular emphasis on its historical context. This perspective is understandable because of Wodak's focus on discourse and discourse development after the time of the Third Reich, which needs to be understood and analysed in its historical context [see, for example, (Cillia et al. 2007; Wodak 2007)]. For my own analysis, a particular focus on the historical context of the newspaper articles under scrutiny is not necessary as they are contemporary.

Wodak argues that the major strengths of her approach are its interdisciplinary orientation and the historical analysis she offers (Reisigl et al. 2009: 119f). In my opinion, these issues have already been largely covered by Fairclough, who explicitly addresses the importance of integrating intertextuality (1992a: 84, 101ff) into any Critical Discourse Analysis and thus the consideration of the (historical) context of the text under scrutiny, as well as by van Dijk, whose work is on the forefront of interdisciplinary (Van Dijk 2003: 85ff, 2009: 62ff). After all, Wodak's approach is, as the other two mentioned before, more concerned with the socio-political context of the texts they analyse than with a linguistic analysis on the textual level which, in my opinion, should be equally important.

Another German-speaking Critical Discourse Analyst is Siegfried Jäger at the Duisburger Institut für Sprach- und Sozialforschung (Duisburg Institute for Language and Social Research) (DISS). Jäger regards discourse as a "flow of 'knowledge'- and/or the whole of stored societal knowledge – throughout all time" (Jäger 2001: 35). His work focuses on racist, anti-Semitic and nationalist parts of discourse which he aims to identify and thus raise awareness of (Jäger 2004: 236ff). Jäger's perspective on discourse must be seen in context with Germany's history (Jäger 2004: 329ff). Still, he fails to offer a replicable method which would allow other researchers to attempt to falsify his work.

3.2.2.4 *The socio-semantic approach*

The fourth major approach is Theo van Leeuwen's socio-semantic approach which is based on the notion 'that discourses are recontextualizations of social practices' (Van Leeuwen 2009: 148). He states that instead of linguistic operations or categories one should start from socio-semantic categories for discourse analysis and link these with their linguistic realisation (Van Leeuwen 1996: 32f). He offers an inventory of the ways we can classify 'social actors' and the ideological effects these may have but Van Leeuwen's primary focus is on social actions performed by language. KhosraviNik (2009: 483) argues that van Leeuwen's approach is incorporated within Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach because of the social aspects these two perspectives on CDA share whereas I argue that van Leeuwen's categories of social actors go beyond Wodak's approach because they provide a scheme and therefore allow for a more systematic approach. Additionally, one might argue that social aspects have already been stressed by Fairclough and van Dijk because discourse is anchored in society and thus societal and ultimately social aspects have to be taken into account. However, the advantage of van Leeuwen's approach is to attempt a classification by providing categories but his lack of a structrured list of linguistic devices for each category does not allow replicability and falsifiability. Additionally, restricting my analysis to that of social actors will hinder a comprehensive picture of how discourse on crime, offenders, and victims is constructed.

In summary, the four approaches to CDA mentioned above stress the importance of linguistic analysis at the textual level. Nevertheless, instead of being systematic and replicable, they often cherry-pick analytical tools which prove pre-formulated asumptions about the text. This is one key argument why I chose Critical Stylistics as the method for my analysis. It provides a systematic set of analytical tools that allow an exploration into the ideologies in the texts without predetermining the result. In addition, it is replicable and falsifiable, as I will outline below. But before doing so, I will introduce some research using Critical Discourse Analysis with distinctive perspectives on CDA and how they have influenced this book.

3.2.3 The cultural, the multimodal, and the cognitive approach to CDA

In this section, work using CDA will be mentioned briefly. This overview introduces some examples of the breadth of work that has been done within the social movement of CDA and shows that CDA has dealt with many different aspects of language and life. Because my work follows in the critical tradition of CDA, which is 'inherently deductive' (Jeffries et al. 2012: 209), but uses the systematic method provided by Critical Stylistics, I also want to show how these examples have informed my analysis.

Because I examine two newspaper corpora which consist of German and English newspaper articles on crime, I automatically deal with the question of culture and what influence this can have on my analysis. Although Germany and the UK are both part of the European Union and are often referred to as Western societies, the differences come to light not only regarding topics like the stance towards the European Union or the Euro currency, but also with an eye to the legal system and, of course, the language. Shi-xu (2005) states 'that individual languages constrain different worldviews and therefore represent the world slightly differently'. Although he deals with extremely different languages (English and Chinese), he has a point when holding that different languages have an impact on the respective representation of the world (see Section 3.1 and Sapir-Whorf hypothesis). Shi-xu (2005: 48) observes a hegemony of Western (Anglo-American) academic work in CDA and states that '[i]t is now a standard expectation that Western, but not non-Western, intellectual traditions are referenced'. He further comments that the data for 'mainstream discourse studies [...] come from Western European and American societies' (2005: 48f). Other research has also stressed the aspect of culture to be included in CDA. For example, Zhang et al. (2011: 95) illuminate the meaning of 'critical' in Western and Chinese tradition and the problems which might occur when CDA crosses 'cultural, social and political boundaries'. Fairclough (2003: 18) had already incorporated the concept of culture into his approach to CDA and

argued that 'cultures exist as languages'. I hold that culture and ideologies are mirrored in texts and that differences in the language, for example the different use of determiners in English and German, might be indicative of cultural issues. The following example from the German newspaper corpus collected for this book illustrates this point:

> Example 3.1:
> *Die Polizei nimmt das Inzest-Monster fest – Josef Fritzl gesteht.*
> (Police arrest the incest-monster – Josef Fritzl confesses.)
> (*Bild,* 20.03.2009)

The use of the definite determiner *das* ("the", neuter gender) in the first clause disposes the offender Josef Fritzl of any gender and reduces him to an object, a *monster*. Because this distinction between female, male, and neuter gender is not made in English, it might be an indicator of a difference between both cultures and have an impact on the construction of offenders in the German press.

Also in this slot of cultural issues fits the notion of 'nationalism and the hegemony of homogeneity' which is at the core of Bishop and Jaworski's (2003: 243) analysis of the British press coverage of the football game between Germany and England during the European Football Championship in 2000. They employ the ideological square introduced by van Dijk (see Section 3.2.2.2) to explain the construction of 'nation as a homogeneous collective' and the dichotomy of 'Us' versus 'Them' (Bishop et al. 2003: 243). De Cillia et al. (1999: 149) examine 'discursive construction of national identities' and show that the discourse-historical approach to CDA (see Section 3.2.2.3) also includes cultural issues. The focus on the intercultural aspect of discourse is an issue for this book because of the comparison between the construction of offenders, victims, and crime in the German and UK press.

From the beginning, I decided to ignore any visual images in my data since these are difficult to analyse using the tools of Corpus Linguistics (see Chapter 4). I am aware that the analysis of visual images accompanying a text reveals additional insight into the construction of news. However, this multimodal approach is not suitable for the computer-assisted language analysis, although Smith and McEnery (1998) have demonstrated a way of constructing a multimedia corpus which is still in the early stages. The advantages of a multimodal approach have been illustrated by Kress and van Leeuwen (Kress et al. 1996, 2001), Machin and Mayr (Machin 2007; Machin et al. 2012) and Bednarek and Caple (2012, 2014). Abousnnouga and Machin (2008: 115ff, 2013) also employ a multimodal approach to CDA when looking at war monuments in Britain in order to understand 'visual signs through association' (2008: 123). Tabbert (2010: 225) in her review states '[t]he authors bridge these monuments, and their glorification of the brutal and squalid practice

of war, with the current hegemonic discourse of war'. Although it is beyond the scope of my analysis to include visual images, I acknowledge that these examples have made an important contribution to the analysis of visual images in the media.

The integration of the insights of Evolutionary Psychology and Cognitive Linguistics into CDA has been proposed by Hart (2011a, 2011b, 2013), who echoes Chilton's (2005) and Wodak's (2006) argument. His approach is different from van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA (see Section 3.2.2.2), because Cognitive Linguistics is engaged with the question of how readers process and understand texts whereas the socio-cognitive approach to CDA emphasises the social aspect of cognition. Although I acknowledge that I am a reader of the newspaper texts and use conceptual metaphor theory from Cognitive Linguistics in my analysis, my focus is less on how readers of newspaper articles on crime process and understand the texts, but on the construction of offenders, victims, and crimes within the text and how this mirrors the worldview on this issue by conveying ideologies.

3.2.4 Critical views on CDA

CDA has been criticised by Widdowson (1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1998) for its lack of methodological rigour and openness and theoretical eclecticism (Jeffries 2000: 3). In particular, he argues that, in CDA, pragmatics is reduced to semantics (Blommaert 2005: 32). With his background in Stylistics, Widdowson holds that there cannot be neutrality in language study (1996: 69). To prove his point, he analysed a text from a pregnancy booklet after which he concluded that both he and Fairclough arrived at the same text 'with different motives, assumptions, beliefs, values and so read our different discourses into it' (1996: 68). Stylistics, in contrast, offers a systematic model of (mainly literary) text analysis as will be outlined in the following section. Jeffries (2007: 195) states that the sociological direction CDA took towards 'a more socially engaged linguistic practice' led to a neglect of debate about 'the details of analytical techniques'. This argument is at the core of Widdowson's critique, too. And indeed, 'there is still not even a provisionally agreed set of tools or procedures for practising CDA' (Jeffries 2007: 196) which aids and abets a biased approach to texts with a predetermined result in mind. This point of critique is echoed by Schegloff (1999a, 1999b), who 'accuses CDA of being partial or biased' (Jeffries 2000: 6). Blommaert (2001: 15) notes that '[p]ower relations are often predefined and then confirmed by features of discourse' which leads to proof of pre-defined assumptions on power abuse and eventually to biased research. This might also be seen in context with the choice of data analysed by CDA researchers. Stubbs (1997: 102) argues 'that CDA's methods of data collection and text analysis are inexplicit, that the data are often restricted to text fragments, and that it is conceptually circular, in so far as its own interpretations of texts are

as historically bound as anyone else's, and that it is a disguised form of political correctness'. This argument is seized by Chilton, who points out the lack of 'contestable values' (2011: 769) in CDA and argues for considering 'moral philosophy and discourse ethics' (2011: 775). He states 'that if CDA is going global […], then CDA cannot escape the making explicit and the justifying of the moral ground on which its critical stance rests' (2011: 779). In this context, Zhang et al. (2011: 104) argue for a more critical self-awareness of CDA by stating 'that criticism of the self is the complementary counterpart of the ability to criticize others'. This has to be seen in context with CDA's pride of its critical stance which sometimes proves to be lacking when it comes to self-criticism.

Blommaert states that in addition to 'the linguistic bias in CDA' (2005: 34), it is also 'its closure to particular kinds of societies' (2005: 35) as well as 'to a particular time frame' (2005: 37) which causes problems for CDA. His critique can be better understood against his background in African studies and sociolinguistics (Spitzmüller et al. 2011: 110) and brings the concept of culture back into focus as outlined above. Billig calls for 'continual intellectual revolution' (2000: 292) and warns of 'the risk of institutionalized orthodoxy' he witnesses developing in CDA.

Baker et al. (2008: 283) reiterate Stubb's (1997) point that CDA only analyses 'a small number of texts, or short texts and text fragments' and that a 'small-scale analysis may not be able to identify which linguistic patterns are cumulatively frequent (and therefore likely to represent powerful discourses)'.

In summary, the lack of an agreed set of analytical tools bears the danger of a biased approach to texts with a prefabricated result in mind picking those bits of the text or the analytical tools which prove the assumption. Therefore it is essential to all Critical Discourse Analysis to disclose the underlying principles it is based on (Fischer-Starke 2009: 494) and the subjective choices made in order to be transparent and thus reduce the researcher's bias as far as possible, although I am aware of the fact that subjectivity cannot fully be excluded. The second point of critique is CDA's limitation to 'small-scale analysis' (Baker et al. 2008: 283) because CDA conducts a qualitative analysis of texts which is time-consuming in particular with large data analysis done manually. The first point of critique is met by Critical Stylistics providing a comprehensive set of tools and the second point by combining CDA with computational methods of language analysis as we will see shortly.

3.3 Critical Stylistics

Among others, Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010a) builds on Widdowson's critique of CDA (see Section 3.2.4). It provides the set of analytical tools needed for the analysis in this book. The term 'Critical Stylistics' was developed by Jeffries (2007)

when she set out to explore the hegemonic discourses on the female body in society and the influence of feminist ideologies. In reference to the three stages of CDA as described by Fairclough (description, interpretation, and explanation) (2001b: 21f), Jeffries (2010a: 11) holds that the main focus of many CDA scholars is on the third one, that is, 'how texts fit into the socio-political landscape in which they are produced or read'. Chilton (2011: 770) goes even further by remarking 'that there are distinguished CDA scholars who simply think that Linguistics is not relevant to CDA at all'. Jeffries, however, is interested in the first two stages and takes a strongly language-oriented stance based on the conviction 'that language has some typical form-function relations' (2010a: 37). Her starting point is the list of analytical tools provided by Critical Linguistics (see Section 3.2.1). She states that Simpson's (1993) models of modality, transitivity, and pragmatic analysis offer a more satisfying methodology when aiming at detecting ideological structures in text analysis (Jeffries 2010a: 14). In her words, Critical Stylistics 'tries to assemble the main general functions that a text has in representing reality'. This statement is based on the fact that texts organise our world-view, which can then be traced in the words and structure of the text (Jeffries 2010a: 14).

As Critical Stylistics incorporates some of the tools of Stylistics, I would like to introduce the latter briefly. As a sub-discipline of Linguistics, it aims at the systematic analysis of language and style taking into consideration different factors such as authorship, genre, and social and historical context (Jeffries et al. 2010: 1). Stylistics focuses predominantly on the analysis of literary and, to an increasing extent, non-literary texts based on models and analytical techniques derived from Linguistics (Jeffries et al. 2010: 1). One of the main concepts in Stylistics is foregrounding and some of the methods to analyse it come from pragmatics, 'the study of all those aspects of meaning not captured in a semantic theory' (Levinson 1983: 12) with a particular emphasis on context and implicit meaning. Recent developments in Stylistics have focused on cognitive aspects of text comprehension (Stockwell et al. 2014).

It is still the case that most work in CDA and Stylistics is qualitative although recently quantitative methods have become more influential (Baker et al. 2005; Walker 2010). This follows in the tradition of linguists like Ohmann (1970a, 1970b, 1981), who theorised already before the advent of corpus approaches that a complete picture of a particular style could only be gained through the analysis of large quantities of data. In contrast to CDA, Stylistics offers a set of tools for answering questions regarding what a text means and how the text means what it means. Therefore Stylistics is a method of research and in this respect can rather be compared with Critical Linguistics than with CDA. The focus on detecting ideologies in texts, which is at the core of CDA, is only one aspect in Stylistics.

Critical Stylistics can be seen as bridging the gap between CDA and Stylistics by seizing and further developing the Critical Linguistics approach to text analysis. Jeffries regards Critical Stylistics as a 'text-based methodology for CDA' (Jeffries 2014b: 476) which distinguishes between her approach and that of van Leeuwen's social interaction perspective (see Section 3.2.2.4). In addition, Critical Stylistics goes beyond CDA. Whereas CDA has a politically motivated view of power relations and focuses on the question of who has the power to determine hegemonic discourses by having access to knowledge and the media (as a means of text production), Critical Stylistics is based on text analysis aiming at revealing power relations by working on the textual level. Although Critical Stylistics is also politically engaged (Jeffries et al. 2012), it is not linked to one particular political outlook. It is interested in revealing and uncovering underlying ideologies in texts and thus in discourse. It provides a set of analytical tools which allow the examination of ideologies within the text without the need for subjectively looking for them.

Still, Critical Stylistics is by no means comprehensive yet. For example, in its present state it does not offer docking points for multimodal analysis. However, the advantage of Critical Stylistics is its list of textual-conceptual functions which brings together well established linguistic models in a systematic way.

3.3.1 The methods of Critical Stylistics

When describing the tools for analysis, Jeffries (2007, 2010a, 2014a, 2014b, forthcoming 2015) groups them into 10 textual-conceptual categories which she considers 'part of the ideational function of language in that they create a particular view of the world (or text world)' (Jeffries 2014a: 412). Due to more recent editing of these categories, I follow her more recent book (Jeffries 2010a) with reference to the respective chapters there:

Table 3.1 The tools of Critical Stylistics and their textual-conceptual categories, adapted from Jeffries (2010a)

Conceptual category/ Textual function	**Analytical tools/Formal realisation**
Naming and Describing (Chapter 2)	The choice of a noun to indicate a referent; nominalisation; the construction of noun phrases with modifiers (in pre- and post-positions) to further determine the nature of the referent
Representing Actions/ Events/States (Chapter 3)	The choice of a verb, transitivity (Simpson 1993)
Equating and Contrasting (Chapter 4)	Antonymy, equivalence (parallel structure) and opposition (Jeffries 2010b)

(*Continued*)

Table 3.1 The tools of Critical Stylistics and their textual-conceptual categories, adapted from Jeffries (2010a) (Continued)

Conceptual category/ Textual function	**Analytical tools/Formal realisation**
Exemplifying and Enumerating (Chapter 5)	Three-part lists ['implies completeness, without being comprehensive' (Jeffries 2010a: 73)] and four-part lists to indicate hyponymous and meronymous sense relation, apposition
Prioritising (Chapter 6)	Relates to sentence structure: three ways in which the English language may prioritise elements of its structure: exploiting the information structure (clefting), the transformational possibilities (active/passive voice) or the subordination possibilities
Implying and Assuming (Chapter 7)	Relates to Pragmatics: existential and logical presupposition, implicature according to the co-operative model of interaction by Grice (maxims of quality, quantity, relation, manner) (Grice 1975, 1978; Thomas 1995: 56ff)
Negating (Chapter 8)	The creation of unrealised worlds (Nahajec 2009)
Hypothesising (Chapter 9)	Modality (Simpson 1993)
Presenting other's speech and thoughts (Chapter 10)	Speech and thought presentation (Semino et al. 2004; Short 1996)
Representing time, space, and society (Chapter 11)	Deixis, Text World Theory (Werth 1999), Possible Worlds Theory (Ryan 1991), choice of verb tense, metaphor (Lakoff et al. 2003)

In the following sub-sections I explain some of the tools offered by Critical Stylistics in greater detail, namely those which will be referred to frequently when presenting the results in Chapters 6 and 7. I follow the conceptual categories and illustrate each analytical tool by drawing on examples from my English Newspaper Corpus. These tools apply both to non-fictional and can to literary texts.

3.3.1.1 *Naming and describing*

This conceptual category (Jeffries 2010a: 17ff) deals with the construction of noun phrases which consist of a head noun, sometimes accompanied by pre- and/or postmodifiers, which construct a referent. An example will illustrate this:

> Example 3.2:
> <u>The two accused brothers, who cannot be named for legal reasons,</u> each face the same four charges.
> (*Yorkshire Post,* 15.04.2009)

The underlined section is a noun phrase with the head noun *brothers*. This head noun names two offenders by referring to their family relation. The choice of nouns naming the offenders already contributes to their construction as

offenders (Erwin-Tripp 1969; Leech 1999; Richardson 2007: 49). Clark (1992) examined naming choices for women who fell victim to sexual violence. She identified naming patterns for victims and offenders in *The Sun* which 'clearly reflect[] a patriarchal viewpoint because women are categorized in terms of possible sexual encounters with men, rather than as autonomous individuals' (1992: 223). In relation to offenders, she notes (1992: 210) that two naming choices for an attacker exist in *The Sun*, either sub-human (e.g. fiend, beast) or human in terms of social normality (e.g. name, occupation). Clark's research underpins the importance of naming choices in the construction of victims and offenders.

The head noun in Example 3.2 is pre-modified by three different types of modifiers, namely a definite determiner ('the'), a cardinal number ('two') (which can also be referred to as a descriptive adjective) and a descriptive adjective ('accused').

A head noun can be post-modified by either a prepositional phrase or a subordinate clause. In this example, the head noun 'brothers' is postmodified by a subordinate clause which further characterises the referent, in this case by constructing the offenders as under-age by referring to legal rules regarding juvenile offenders.

The use of pre- and postmodifiers in this extended noun phrase functioning as the subject in this sentence illustrates Jeffries' point that "noun phrases […] are able to 'package up' ideas or information" (2010a: 19). By cramming a lot of different information into a noun phrase, these noun phrases present their propositional content as an existential presupposition. It is unlikely that the reader questions the information and rather takes them for granted which opens the gate for manipulation. Barnett (2006), for example, analysed American press reports on women who killed their children. Although she approached the data with a journalist's perspective, she identified the use of adjectives in noun phrases naming the offending mother (as, for example, insane or abusive) as one of the linguistic features contributing to the way these women were constructed.

Another point to be made regarding this conceptual category is nominalisation which turns a process into a state or an entity by a morphological process (Jeffries 2010a: 25). The effect is to 'package up' ideological content 'in the head noun itself' (*idem: ibidem*). From a journalist's perspective, nominalisation 'allows the writer to manage and control the information flow in a sentence' (Busà 2014: 97) and can often be found in headlines as a form of 'synthetic language' which prefers content words over function words (Busà 2014: 81). The following example of a headline illustrates this:

Example 3.3:
Police wait to question boys about horror attack
(*Yorkshire Post,* 08.04.2009)

The word 'attack' is an example of nominalisation which turns the process of committing a crime (the verb 'to attack') into a nominal (the noun 'attack') which leaves any questions about the process outside, including those of who attacked whom. In this case, the head noun 'attack' is premodified by another noun 'horror' which assesses the crime and enhances the deviance.

3.3.1.2 *Representing actions/events/states – Transitivity analysis and verb voice*

For clarification concerning this conceptual category (Jeffries 2010a: 37ff), there are two concepts of transitivity. The first concept stems from traditional grammar stating that verbs are either transitive (or ditransitive) or intransitive which is the distinction between verbs that require an object (or two) and those that do not (Greenbaum et al. 2009: 15ff). I referred to this concept earlier in regard to Halliday's analysis of Golding's *The Inheritors* in Section 1.2. His second concept of transitivity (Halliday 1985) which was further developed by Simpson (1993) is less based on structure but more on how to group verbs (or processes) into categories. When I mention transitivity in this book, I refer to this second concept.

Simpson (1993: 88ff) groups processes into different categories 'according to whether they represent actions, speech, states of mind or simply states of being'. An example of Material Action Intention can be found in the following sentence beside other transitivity choices:

> Example 3.4:
> A man strangled his wife to death after she called out the name of another man while they were having sexual intercourse, a court heard.
> (*Daily Telegraph,* 18.02.2009)

In this sentence, the first clause ('A man strangled his wife to death') is an example of Material Action Intention with 'A man' being the actor, 'strangled to death' the process and 'his wife' the goal (Simpson 1993: 89). Re-arranging this clause into a passive form (see Example 3.6) would not change the components of actor, process, and goal. The second clause ('she called out the name of another man') is an example of a verbalisation process, a process of saying (Simpson 1993: 90). Here, 'she' is the sayer, 'called out' the process, and 'the name of another man' the verbiage. An example of a mental process, in this case of perception, is the last clause ('a court heard') with 'a court' being the senser and 'heard' the process (Simpson 1993: 91). An example of a relational process is the following sentence:

> Example 3.5:
> Taxi rapist John Worboys may be free in just eight years
> (*Daily Mirror,* 22.04.2009)

This sentence contains a Relational Process Circumstantial with 'Taxi rapist John Worboys' as the carrier and 'may be free in just eight year' as the attribute (Simpson 1993: 92ff).

Besides processes, verb voice is equally relevant. Jeffries groups voice into the category of Prioritising (see Table 3.1 above) and only briefly talks about it in the category of Representing Actions/Events/States. In the context of this book, voice belongs to this latter category because I see it in connection with the representation of actions, as Example 3.4 shows in connection with the following Example 3.6. In the first clause in Example 3.4, the verb voice is active, which foregrounds the offender because he is mentioned first. In case of re-arranging this clause into a passive form it would read:

Example 3.6:
A woman was strangled to death by her husband.

Besides adapting the nominal referents ('wife' to 'woman' and 'man' to 'husband') in order to keep the relation between victim and offender, the transformation to passive verb voice leads to a foregrounding of the victim who remains the goal of the Material Action Intention. The omission of the actor further enhances the foregrounding of the goal and leads to the construction of 'non-agency' (Ehrlich 2001: 36ff) as, for example, in cases of sexual offence. In her book, Ehrlich (2001) demonstrates how the combination of transitivity choices and verb voice obscures or even eliminates agency. An effect of omitting the actor is depersonalisation and obfuscation of responsibility (Busà 2014: 108). Although Henley et al. (1995) do not refer explicitly to transitivity but instead to verb topic, their position supports my argument for a connection between verb voice and transitivity choice. For instance, they state 'that verb voice does influence perceptions of violence and its effects' (1995: 65), in particular because passive voice 'is used to hide agency' (1995: 69).

3.3.1.3 *Equating and contrasting*

This section deals with the construction of relationships between entities and in particular oppositional meaning as a means of contrast. Opposition can, for example, be triggered by antonymous sense relation, syntactic trigger (Jeffries 2010b) and also negation. Although negation can trigger oppositional meaning, opposition and negation are not the same as opposition frames experience in binary terms whereas negation raises unrealised possibilities. More specifically, opposition puts two events, states or existences into contrast to each other whereas negation opposes non-events against events, non-states against states or non existence against existence and thereby constructs 'unrealized worlds' (Nahajec 2009: 109). The following sentence provides an example of opposition:

Example 3.7:
One boy's family is grieving the loss of his life, and today the defendant, himself a boy, will start spending his life in prison.
(*Daily Telegraph*, 21.02.2009)

This sentence opposes the victim and his family with the offender by means of parallelism [for information about parallelism as a means of foregrounding see (Short 2009: 466)]. Although victim and offender are both named as 'boys', the victim is constructed as being missed and mourned for by his family whereas the offender, who is still alive, faces a life in solitude.

Through the construction of an oppositional relationship between two things, their complementary can be presumed (Jeffries 2010b: 14). Opposition is at the core of constructing victims and offenders following from Christie's (1986) notion that ideal victims need and create ideal offenders (see Section 2.2.2). Both are constructed at opposite ends of a morality scale with the morally black offender and the morally white victim. This opposition between victims and offenders also links with van Dijk's 'structural opposition' or his concept of the 'ideological square' (Van Dijk 2006: 370), see Section 3.2.2.2.

3.3.1.4 *Implying and assuming*

This category relates to pragmatics and deals with existential and logical presupposition as well as implicature. Whereas the general characteristic of presuppositions is that they 'are preserved in negative sentences or statements' (Levinson 1983: 177), this is not the case with implicatures.

An existential presupposition implies the existence of an entity. For example, in Example 3.2 the existence of 'brothers' and 'charges' is presupposed by the use of the definite determiner 'the'. Jeffries (2010a: 95) states that 'existential presuppositions may be powerful […] but they may also be innocent in ideological terms'.

A logical presupposition can only be inferred through deduction. Levinson's (1983: 181ff) list of presupposition triggers contains the following:

> Example 3.8:
> "Furthermore, the defendant has disturbingly expressed a view that he has nothing to lose by further exploiting young girls in this way because his fate is sealed."
> (*Independent, 17.04.2009*)

In this sentence, the iterative adverbs 'furthermore' and 'further' each trigger logical presuppositions, the first indicating that this sentence contains another argument adding to the one(s) made before and the latter indicating that the defendant had exploited young girls before.

This sentence also provides an example of a conversational implicature. Implicatures 'are recognizable as cases where the text flouts or violates the Gricean maxims' (Jeffries 2010a: 99) and derive from utterances which are sentences (or phrases or clauses) and their context (see Section 3.1.3). Grice (1975, 1978) introduced the notion that for efficient language use people follow four co-operative

principles: the maxim of quality, quantity, relation, and manner. These principles demand to make your contribution truthful (quality), informative (quantity), relevant (relation), and specific (manner) (1975: 47). In Example 3.8, the implicature is that if the offender was free from the risk of being prosecuted (which is impossible) he may not commit further crimes. Since he is not free from that risk, the defendant will keep on exploiting young girls, thus imposing a threat which has to be stopped. This conversational implicature is generated via a flout of the maxim of quantity in the original speech of the defendant bearing in mind that in this example we have two levels of implicature: the writer's/speaker's level which is dependent on the reported offender's verbiage. This implicature vanishes when the sentence is negated which reads:

> Example 3.9:
> "Furthermore, the defendant has (disturbingly) expressed a view that he has something to lose [when] further exploiting young girls in this way (because his fate is not sealed)."

As can be observed from this negated sentence, the implicature (that he will keep on exploiting young girls and therefore imposes a threat) is gone.

Another type of implicature is conventional implicature (Grice 1975, 1978). These can be 'intuitively grasped' (Grice 1975: 50) and 'are *not* derived from superordinate pragmatic principles like the maxims, but are simply attached by convention to particular lexical items or expressions' (Levinson 1983: 127). A conventional implicature can be compared to a pragmatic presupposition which is not encoded in the semantics of a word but in the conventions of its use, for example the conventions of using the word 'darling' (Simpson 1993: 127ff). I want to acknowledge that there is a difference between the two, namely that a pragmatic presupposition in Simpson's understanding (1993: 157) is a broader concept and covers both, the concept of pragmatic presupposition as introduced by Levinson (1983) as well as the concept of conventional implicature as introduced by Grice (1978). Jeffries (2010b: 3) uses the terms interchangeably, which will be followed in this book for reasons of practicability. The use of implicatures and presuppositions has a potential "for impacting on the reader/hearer because [of] the relatively 'hidden' nature of these types of meaning" (Jeffries 2010a: 102).

3.3.1.5 *Hypothesising – Modality*

Modality is triggered through different features in the texts (modal auxiliaries, lexical verbs, modal adverbs or adjectives, conditional structures etc.) (Jeffries 2010a: 118). As advanced by Simpson (1993: 46ff), modality explains the expressed certainty or uncertainty in relation to propositions. He draws a distinction between the epistemic, the deontic, and the boulomaic modalities which refer to confidence,

obligation, and desirability, respectively. Here is an example of epistemic modality from the data in my corpus:

> Example 3.10:
> But son Damien, 30, said: "He could have been killed or blinded."
> (*The Sun,* 20.02.2009)

In this sentence, the use of the modal auxiliary 'could' indicates doubt about the possibility of having been killed or blinded. Modality refers to 'hypothetical worlds' which has an impact on the ideology transported in the text. A lack of modality can construct crimes and perpetration as given facts which can lead to a pre-conviction of offenders.

3.3.1.6 *Presenting other's speech, thoughts, and writing*

Journalists are supposed to attribute information they present to its source (Busà 2014: 42). Opinion can be conveyed through the way that they present other people's utterances. Leech and Short (1981) introduced a systematic model of speech and thought presentation which was later updated (Semino et al. 2004; Short 2007, 2012). Presenting other people's verbiage is 'a very manipulative way of implanting other people's views in the reader' (Tabbert 2012: 141). This is particularly the case with quoting authorities which assigns the verbiage a high rate of presumed truthfulness and importance (Busà 2014: 120). Also, it opens the gate for manipulation because the less faithful the quotation is compared to the original utterance, the bigger the potential for 'slanting or misrepresentation' (Jeffries 2010a: 133). Leech and Short's model distinguishes between Direct Speech (DS), Indirect Speech (IS), Free Indirect Speech (FIS), Narrator's report of Speech Act (NRSA) and Narrator's presentation of Voice (NV) in descending order of faithfulness. The following sentence and its modifications illustrate this:

> Example 3.11:
> She said: "Lorna was a student here for five years and two months."
> (*The Guardian, 02.04.2009*)

This example presents the verbiage of an assistant head teacher in reference to a deceased teenager in Direct Speech. To demonstrate the potential of less faithful presentations of the verbiage, I will transform Example 3.11 into the different categories of speech presentation:

> Example 3.12, Indirect Speech:
> She said that Laura had been a student there for five years and two months.

> Example 3.13, Free Indirect Speech:
> Laura had been a student there for five years and two months.

Example 3.14, Narrator's report of Speech Act:
She confirmed that Laura was a student there.

Example 3.15, Narrator's presentation of Voice:
She talked about Laura.

These examples illustrate the potential for manipulation in presenting other people's verbiage. Not only the locution but also the illocutionary force of the verbiage gets lost the less faithful the speech presentation is [see (Thomas 1995: 49ff) for a definition of locution, illocution, and perlocution]. Quoting other people's utterances with a supposedly high rate of faithfulness allows the writer to hide behind other people's utterances or allows him or her to enhance the accuracy of reporting, instead of presenting them as his or her own. Also, these quotes can be taken out of context and thus manipulate the reader in the desired way. On the other hand, sources can be purposely left vague if the information presented has not been varified (Busà 2014: 44). Because it takes some effort for the reader to get hold of the original utterance and not many are willing to make these efforts, the presentation of other people's utterances has a great potential for manipulation.

With this overview of the linguistic tools offered by Critical Stylistics, I conclude this section on Critical Stylistics. Although Critical Stylistics provides a means to minimise the researcher's bias by furnishing a comprehensive list of tools the analyst can deploy, the limitations of time and resources to conduct a qualitative analysis of texts remain and can only be countered by employing computational methods of language analysis as I will show in the following chapter.

In summary, this chapter has defined the basic terms *language, text, ideology, discourse,* and *power* and explained their relation to each other. The frameworks of Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, their developments and weaknesses have been outlined as well as the qualitative methods of Critical Stylistics, which I pursue in this book. I argued that Critical Stylistics is not only a new approach to CDA but a further development of it. I outlined the tools offered by Critical Stylistics and illustrated those which I repeatedly encountered in my data. This chapter provides the theoretical ground for conducting the analysis and outlines the arguments for my decision to employ the method of Critical Stylistics.

CHAPTER 4

Corpus Linguistics

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the computational analysis of texts and provides the reason why I chose to combine Critical Stylistics, as introduced in Chapter 3, with Corpus Linguistics. I will differentiate Corpus Linguistics as a method from it being recognised as a subdiscipline of Linguistics. Also, I will outline the different types of corpus analysis (corpus-assisted, corpus-based, and corpus-driven analysis) and position the approach I will be pursuing in this book [see (Viana et al. 2011)]. After that, I will proceed with introducing the notion of reference corpora and their compilation principles. This will be followed by explaining those analytical tools provided by the software package *WordSmith Tools* (Scott 2004), each illustrated by drawing on examples. Finally, I will give a brief summary of the challenges and dangers when working with Corpus Linguistic methods.

4.2 Different approaches to Corpus Linguistics

Corpus Linguistics can be defined as "the study of language based on examples of 'real life' language use" (McEnery et al. 1996: 1) which employs computational methods of analysis and large quantities of data. Corpus Linguistics (CL) takes a statistical approach to texts by using frequency information about the occurrence of words or word phrases in texts and combines these statistical methods with functional interpretations (Biber et al. 1998; McEnery et al. 2006). But CL is not purely about frequencies, it can also serve to identify patterns such as n-grams [uninterrupted strings of n words (Fischer-Starke 2009: 508)]. The aim of a corpus analysis is to uncover linguistic patterns that show how language is used and, depending on the research question, to make assertions about language use in relation to discourse. Corpus Linguistics is based on statistical methods as well as on linguistic theories and, as with Linguistics generally, on methodological principles of rigour, transparency, and replicability (Fischer-Starke 2009: 494). I wish to point out the difference between these methodological issues, which are a set of

principles followed within a discipline, and the methods themselves, which determine the practical conduct of an analysis.

There are three approaches to Corpus Linguistics: corpus-assisted, corpus-driven, and corpus-based, which are not entirely discrete. Thus, a study may employ more than one approach, for example a corpus-based and a corpus-driven [see (Stubbs 2005) as an example].

In general, corpus-assisted approaches use large reference corpora to make objective assertions about the general use of particular words or linguistic structures. Therefore, it may complement the analysis conducted by using other methods. For example, in Stylistics sometimes large reference corpora are used 'to validate (or invalidate) the stylistician's intuition about the stylistic effects of particular linguistic structures' (McIntyre 2013), see also (O'Halloran 2007; Short 2009). An illustration of this approach is Jeffries and McIntyre's analyse of Roger McGough's poem *Vinegar* (1979) where the authors examined the collocates of the word 'priest' in the British National Corpus (BNC) and found that the contextual meaning of this word brings to mind sexual frustration, thus offering objective evidence for a particular interpretation of the poem (Jeffries et al. 2010: 184f).

Besides assisting the analyst, e.g. in validating his or her hypothesis about stylistic effects, two main traditions within Corpus Linguistics have evolved which regard Corpus Linguistics either to be a method or a theory and thus a sub-discipline of Linguistics. The latter 'corpus-as-theory' (Hardie et al. 2010: 386) or corpus-driven approach belongs to the neo-Firthian tradition as it has its roots in the work of John Rupert Firth and emerged at the University of Birmingham. The key figure of this tradition is John Sinclair (1991, 1997, 2003, 2004); other known scholars such as Carter (2007), Hoey (2005, 2007), Louw (1993), Teubert (2005), and Tognini-Bonelli (2001) work within this strand. These studies are grounded in the belief that language investigation must emerge from the study of corpus data (Hardie et al. 2010: 386) with the plain text as starting point using key word in context (KWIC) concordance lines (Anthony 2013: 142). Thus, the term 'corpus-driven' (Tognini-Bonelli 2001) implies a 'bottom-up' approach with no preconceived premise (as examples, see the publications from the COBUILD project at the University of Birmingham).

The 'corpus-as-method' approach (Hardie et al. 2010: 386) initially emerged at University College London and spread to Lancaster University as well as the Universities of Oslo and Bergen. Scholars working within this tradition include Biber (2009; Biber et al. 1998), Leech (2011), McEnery (2009; McEnery et al. 2006), Quirk (1960; Quirk et al. 1985), Rissanen (2012), Hoffmann (2005), and Svartvik (1996). The main distinctive feature of this corpus-based approach in

comparison to the corpus-driven is the conviction that the reasearcher is unable to 'completely remove all pre-existing ideas about language before observing corpora' (Anthony 2013: 142). Consequently, corpus-based linguists approach the corpus 'with moderate corpus-external premises, with the aim of testing and improving such theories' (Gries 2010: 328) and apply CL-techniques 'in different fields of language study, and within different theoretical frameworks' (Hardie et al. 2010: 386). Corpora designed within this tradition include the FLOB corpus (see Section 4.4 below), the London-Lund corpus and the British National Corpus (BNC).

Despite the differences between the corpus-based and corpus-driven approach they both share the same underlying characteristics as summarised by Biber et al. (1998: 4f) in that the analysis is empirical, based on corpora, and computer software is used to make 'qualitative, functional interpretations of quantitative patterns'. Therefore the distinctions between both have been bridged on many occasions. For example, Louw's (1993) concept of semantic prosody, which is based on Sinclair's (1991: 170) notion of collocation, has been adopted by Baker (2006; Baker et al. 2005) who transferred this concept of collocation to CDA and the analysis of discourse on refugees and asylum seekers (Hardie et al. 2010: 389). Hardie and McEnery state that 'there is substantial overlap, not only of practice, but also increasingly of conceptual apparatus, between the two traditions' (Hardie et al. 2010: 389) and even go as far as to argue that the distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches is only an artificial one (Hardie et al. 2010: 390). However, based on the design of my analysis and if pushed to classify it in relation to both approaches, it is to be regarded as corpus-based.

4.3 Different types of corpora

A corpus can be defined as 'a large, systematic collection of texts stored on computer' (Biber et al. 2002: 3). Those texts contain natural language (Biber et al. 1998: 12) instead of invented examples of language use (Chomsky 1965: 3). The difference between a corpus and text archives or databases is that the latter are 'a text repository, often huge and opportunistically collected, and normally not structured' (Kennedy 1998: 4) whereas a corpus is 'a systematic, planned and structured compilation of text' *(idem: ibidem)*. For instance, it is true, as Mautner (2005: 821) argues, that the web is a 'vast storehouse of textual data' in flux for corpus building. However, it is not a corpus in itself because it lacks principled collection methods. Biber (1993; Biber et al. 1998) has worked

extensively on sampling principles for corpus building, which are important to consider when one wants to achieve representativeness of a corpus in terms of general language use [see arguments in (Viana et al. 2011)]. According to Biber (1993: 243), representativeness concerning general language use depends on the extent to which it is selected from the range of text types as well as the range of linguistic distribution in the target population. Those corpora provide useful insight when the focus is on detecting patterns concerning grammatical issues, the use of particular words, or on using it as a reference corpus, as we will see later. In addition, the size of the corpus is crucial for those kinds of analysis. If, for example, the analyst wishes to make assertions about the use of a particular word and its use in context, the corpus should represent a big enough sample of texts to cover as many instances of that particular word as possible (Biber et al. 1998: 30). The less frequent the search term, the larger the corpus should be. Corpora which are built according to those sampling principles are useful for a top-down approach to analysis because they are representative of general language use.

Apart from those representative corpora in terms of general language use, corpora can also be compiled for the purpose of answering particular questions about language or to study specific aspects of language (Baker 2006: 26; Jeffries et al. 2012). Those corpora are specialised corpora (Kennedy 1998: 20) where the focus of analysis is, for example, on the construction of refugees and asylum seekers (Baker et al. 2005) or Islam (Baker 2010; Baker et al. 2013; Gabrielatos et al. 2012) in newspaper articles. They are designed differently with the focus being less on their representativeness concerning general language use than on what they are determined to represent (Biber et al. 1998: 246). This bottom-up approach does not require very large corpora compiled according to Biber's sampling principles for general language use, but rather a sample of texts which is suitable to answer the research question. The reason for this is that a large and generally representative corpus cannot be used to answer questions about specific issues like the construction of refugees and asylum seekers in newspaper articles as the instances of language use on this topic might be diluted in a general corpus. Additionally, the larger corpora are rather constrained historically. However, to answer a particular research question it is sometimes important that a corpus covers a particular time period [as in (Jeffries et al. 2012)]. Therefore I argue that representativeness is a core issue both for corpora designed to answer questions about general language use as well as for specialised corpora. Representativeness in corpus design depends on the chosen top-down or bottom-up approach and thus on the research question(s) which determine the sampling principles for the corpus the analyst wishes to use or build. In this respect, the size of specialised corpora is of subordinate importance and again depends on the research

question(s). If, for example, the analyst wishes to analyse discourse on refugees and asylum seekers in newspapers from a particular time period, the corpus size is automatically limited by the number of texts published within this time period. For building specialised corpora 'the quality or content of the data takes equal or more precedence over issues of quantity' (Baker 2006: 29). In this book, two specialised corpora representative of discourse of newspaper articles on crime, offenders, and victims from the German and UK press were collected for the purpose of analysis.[1]

4.4 Reference corpora

A corpus which is not under scrutiny in a particular analysis but is used as representative of a particular language variety is a reference corpus (Baker 2006: 30). Reference corpora are used for inter-textual analysis in which the analysis of a target text is supplemented by 'comparing the target text against a reference corpus' (McIntyre 2013) in contrast to an intra-textual analysis where the focus is entirely on the target corpus without the employment of a reference corpus (Adolphs 2006).

A number of large general-purpose corpora (Kennedy 1998: 19f) have been compiled and can be used as reference corpora (as well as being the target for analysis themselves) and are available from the Oxford Text Archive in the United Kingdom and from the Institut für Deutsche Sprache (IDS) in Mannheim/Germany (Institute for German Language), for example. An overview of the diversity of available corpora can be gained from Svartvik (1996) or for German corpora from Lemnitzer and Zinsmeister (2010). One of those corpora is the Freiburg-Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen (FLOB) Corpus of British English which consists of written British English (texts from newspapers, books, and periodicals) used in 1991. The FLOB corpus contains approximately one million words and was built to very specific requirements in terms of balance. It was compiled on the basis of its predecessor, the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen (LOB) corpus of written British English in the 1960's, itself built to mirror the Brown Corpus of written American English from the same time period [see (Baker 2009; Kennedy 1998: 27ff)]. All three corpora

1. For reasons of completeness, another type of corpus is a diachronic corpus 'which has been built in order to be representative of a language or language variety over a particular period of time, making it possible for researchers to track linguistic changes within it' (Baker 2006: 29; Kennedy 1998: 22), see also (Partington 2010). Examples for this type of analysis are (Gabrielatos et al. 2012; Leech 2011; Millar 2009; Mulderrig 2011, 2012).

share the same sampling principles; for a detailed outline see Francis & Kucera (1979). These sampling methods were endorsed by Biber (1993: 243f) for being systematic and provided the starting point for his work on corpus compilation.

A reference corpus is usually selected for analysis precisely because of its general representativeness (Baker 2006: 30), although its choice can also be guided by different considerations. Culpeper (2002, 2009), for example, investigated keyness in the different character-talks of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. He focused on the six major characters in the play and compared the talk of each character in turn against a reference corpus which contains the speeches of the remaining five characters. The reference corpora he used are therefore not large (the language variety it represents is limited to the language of the respectively remaining five characters' speeches in the tragedy) but the language in the reference corpora as well as in the target corpora stem from the same time period. Walker (2010) used a similar approach in his analysis of Julian Barnes' novel *Talking It Over* and compared the words of one of the three main narrators against a reference corpus which consists of the words of the remaining eight narrators. Walker (2010: 369f) points out that this method produces small data sources for analysis and small frequency numbers which can be problematic for statistical significance tests (e.g. log-likelihood ratio, chi-square) as I will detail in the Chapter 5. According to Culpeper (2009), when choosing a reference corpus three aspects matter: size, content, and date. Culpeper (2009), Walker (2010), and also McIntyre (2010) each chose a reference corpus which was closely related to their target corpora in terms of content and date and thus follow Scott and Tribble (2006: 58) who state that the reference corpus "should be an appropriate sample of the language which the text we are studying (the 'node-text') is written in". Culpeper (2009: 35) notes 'that the choice of the reference corpus will affect whether you acquire keyword results that are all relevant to the particular aspect of the text(s) you are researching'. He states that he found a different set of keywords through his analysis in comparison to Scott and Tribble (2006: 59ff), who compared the same play against a reference corpus containing all of Shakespeare's plays. Fischer-Starke (2009) argues along the same line. She analysed keyness in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* and compared the novel against two different reference corpora, namely (a) Austen's five remaining novels and (b) '30 novels by various authors, published between 1740 and 1859' (2009: 496f). Fischer-Starke states that 'the compilation of the reference corpora used in a keyword analysis influences its results' (2009: 499) and argues that the choice of a reference corpus 'should be determined both by its size and content' (2009: 500). She also takes date into account by choosing a reference corpus dating from the same time period. Thereby she challenges earlier assertions about the size and the content of a reference corpus. Referring to size, Xiao and

McEnery (2005: 69f), who compared the keywords obtained by using the British National Corpus and the FLOB-corpus as reference corpora, conclude that 'the size of the reference corpus is not very important in making a keyword list'. Concerning content, Scott and Tribble (2006: 64) state in the conclusion of their above mentioned analysis of *Romeo and Juliet* 'that while the choice of reference corpus is important, above a certain size, the procedure throws up a robust core of KWs [keywords] whichever the reference corpus used'. In their underlying analysis, Scott and Tribble compared the keywords gained through using all of Shakespeare's plays as a reference corpus with the keywords gained by Culpeper (2002) in his earlier publication on the analysis of the play using the speech of the five respectively remaining characters as reference corpora.

These arguments raise questions about the size, the content, and the date of a reference corpus. Scott (2009: 91) tested keyness (a pattern of frequency of words, the term will be introduced in Section 4.5.4 in detail) by choosing a seemingly unsuitable reference corpus and states 'that keywords identified even by an obviously absurd RC [reference corpus] can be plausible indicators of aboutness'. His analysis not only questions size and content of a reference corpus but also date, namely whether texts from a different time period than the target corpus can provide an acceptable reference corpus (2009: 81). According to Scott (2009, 2006: 64), size, content, and date of a reference corpus have undoubtedly an impact on keywords but there is no evidence that seemingly unsuitable reference corpora provide a keyword list which is useless or absurd. He states that 'using an inappropriate RC [reference corpus] may generate a lot of unwanted keywords' (2009: 87) but the keywords in general can still be useful. He further states that 'there is no clear and obvious threshold below which poor keyword results can be expected' (2009: 86). What we can conclude from Scott's work is that a corpus which matches the target corpus in terms of content and date and is not too small to carry out statistical significance tests (e.g. log-likelihood ratio or chi-square) is desirable although not necessary for analysing keyness. The analysis of keyness provides robust results independent of the reference corpus chosen.

4.5 The software package *WordSmith Tools*

So far, different software packages have been developed to analyse the data [*WordSmith Tools* (Scott 2004), *WMatrix* (Rayson 2008), and *AntConc* (Anthony 2012), for example]. In this book, *WordSmith Tools* is used because it is capable of handling both the German and the English newspaper corpora and offers a broad

toolkit. Its usefulness was illustrated by Jaworska et al. (2012), who analysed the representation of feminism in the British and German press. Another example is the work of Johnson et al. (2003a; 2003b) in their analyses of political correctness in the German and British press.

In this section, I will give an overview of the toolkit provided by *WordSmith Tools* (see also Scott's website: ⟨http://lexically.net/wordsmith/index.html⟩). Once the target corpus has been compiled, it can be uploaded into *WordSmith* after it has been converted into the required format (.txt-file) using notepad.[2] Once the uploading has been carried out, *WordSmith* automatically provides basic statistical information about the corpus (e.g. the number of sentences, paragraphs, one/two/three etc. letter words) and calculates a type/token ratio (TTR) which is 'the number of types [the number of original words] divided by the number of tokens [the total number of words] expressed as a percentage' (Baker 2006: 52). TTR indicates the variety of words used in a corpus (e.g. if the same words are repeated often) and thus allows conclusions about the diversity of its language. This statistical information can be used to provide evidence for foregrounding theory in Corpus Stylistics. For example, Stubbs (2005: 15) in his analysis of the opening sequences of different novels refers to lexical density which he defines as a 'relative proportion of lexical to grammatical words' (1996: 71). *WordSmith* calculates a standardised TTR based on splitting the corpus into concurrent parts of 2,000 words each, calculating the TTR of each of those parts, and finally calculating the average TTR. The thus gained TTR allows for a better comparison between different corpora (Baker 2006: 52).

4.5.1 Wordlist/frequency list

A wordlist or frequency list catalogues the words in the corpus according to their frequency, starting with the most frequent [usually grammatical words (Baker 2006: 51ff)]. This tool also shows the frequency figure as well as the percentage of a word in the corpus and can be sorted either according to frequency or alphabetically. The different uses for a wordlist have been listed by Scott on his website.[3] Wordlists can be seen as a starting point for analysis (Sinclair 1991: 30; Stubbs 2005: 11) and the preference for some words over others can to a certain extent

2. A way to include meta data about the corpus, for example distinguishing headlines, publication dates, and authors, is offered by adding mark ups using Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML) (Baker 2006: 39; Kennedy 1998: 82ff). Although SGML has been largely superseded by XML nowadays, it is still being used.

3. ⟨http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version6/HTML/?wordlist_overview.htm⟩

reveal ideology. Baker (2006: 48) illustrates this point with the example of naming a male baby either as a 'baby boy' or as a 'fetus', the latter being a medical term whereas the first constructs helplessness.[4]

The value of frequency information has particular relevance for Critical Stylistics, where it can be used to validate assertions about foregrounding in language. For example, Jeffries and Walker (2012) used frequency information about the word 'spin' in a corpus representative of the Blair years and compared this with a corpus representative of the Major years and thus proved an increase in the use of this word.

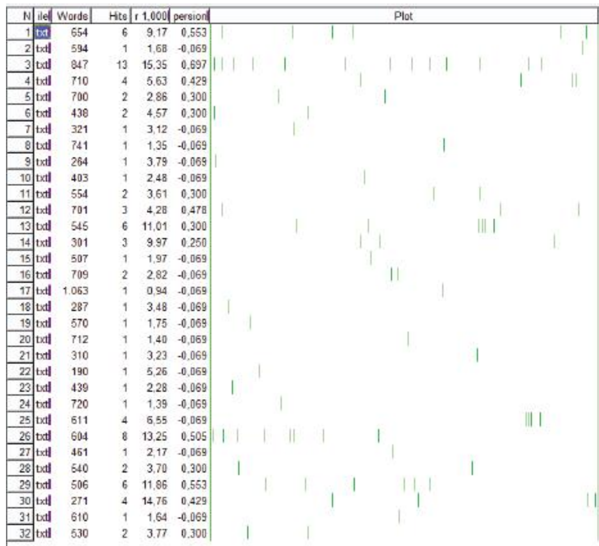
In their article on refugees and asylum seekers, Baker and McEnery (2005: 201) use frequency results to point out that the words 'refugee' and 'refugees' have a significantly higher proportion in the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) Corpus than in the newspaper corpus, whereas the proportion of the words 'asylum seeker' and 'asylum seekers' is roughly the same in both corpora. They conclude that the UNHCR website is mainly focused on refugees and that in the UNHCR corpus 'refugee(s)' and 'asylum seeker(s)' 'share a common ground' (Baker et al. 2005: 201). They show that refugees in the newspaper corpus are 'constructed as tragic victims, an out-of-control mass, pests or potential invaders. Metaphors of water or packages serve to dehumanise refugees further' (2005: 221). The authors provide evidence for a racist discourse on refugees and asylum seekers which are constructed to present a 'threat to the status quo and national identity' (2005: 222). Their work (Baker 2006; Baker et al. 2008; Gabrielatos et al. 2008) illustrates the fruitful contribution of Corpus Linguistics to CDA which we will come back to later on in Chapter 5.

4.5.2 Dispersion plots

The analysis of dispersion or distribution of words in a corpus by using the dispersion plot tool allows conclusions about whether a particular word or keyword accumulates only in one part of the corpus or whether it is evenly dispersed over the corpus. This is especially relevant if the corpus under scrutiny consists of different texts (and thus of different files) where a word might be significant only for one text but not for the entire corpus (Baker 2006: 59ff; Scott et al. 2006: 45ff). The dispersion plot tool can also be used to determine which keywords may be

4. For more details about the use of a wordlist see ⟨http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version6/HTML/?wordlist_overview.htm⟩, on Scott's WordSmith website.

useful to look at qualitatively. An example of the dispersion of the noun *boy* in the English Newspaper Corpus is shown in Figure 4.1:



N	ile	Words	Hits	r 1,000	persion	Plot
1	txt	654	6	9,17	0,553	
2	txt	594	1	1,68	-0,069	
3	txt	847	13	15,35	0,697	
4	txt	710	4	5,63	0,429	
5	txt	700	2	2,86	0,300	
6	txt	438	2	4,57	0,300	
7	txt	321	1	3,12	-0,069	
8	txt	741	1	1,35	-0,069	
9	txt	264	1	3,79	-0,069	
10	txt	403	1	2,48	-0,069	
11	txt	554	2	3,61	0,300	
12	txt	701	3	4,28	0,478	
13	txt	545	6	11,01	0,300	
14	txt	301	3	9,97	0,250	
15	txt	507	1	1,97	-0,069	
16	txt	709	2	2,82	-0,069	
17	txt	1,063	1	0,94	-0,069	
18	txt	287	1	3,48	-0,069	
19	txt	570	1	1,75	-0,069	
20	txt	712	1	1,40	-0,069	
21	txt	310	1	3,23	-0,069	
22	txt	190	1	5,26	-0,069	
23	txt	439	1	2,28	-0,069	
24	txt	720	1	1,39	-0,069	
25	txt	611	4	6,55	-0,069	
26	txt	604	8	13,25	0,505	
27	txt	461	1	2,17	-0,069	
28	txt	540	2	3,70	0,300	
29	txt	506	6	11,86	0,553	
30	txt	271	4	14,76	0,429	
31	txt	610	1	1,64	-0,069	
32	txt	530	2	3,77	0,300	

Figure 4.1 Dispersion plot of the noun *boy* in the ENC

In Figure 4.1, we can see that the noun 'boy' occurs in 32.txt-files (one.txt-file contains one newspaper article) and where exactly it can be located (e.g. in the beginning, the middle, or the end) in each newspaper text.

The reason for taking word distribution into account is because sometimes frequency information is not sufficient (Stubbs 2005: 12). In addition, it can help to reveal the structure of the text. In his analysis of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, Stubbs (2005: 12) found that the words 'heart', 'dark', and 'darkness' could be found throughout the book, but were more frequent at the end and contributed to the mood created in the end of the novel. Stubbs thereby shows that this tool can be used to determine whether or not a keyword is worth focusing on because it is dispersed over the entire corpus or whether it is only significant for a particular part.

Culpeper also employs dispersion plots in his analysis of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (2009: 40f) where he focuses on the keywords in the lovers' speeches and, for example, finds that 'love', one of the keywords in Romeo's speech, appears mostly in two scenes whereas Juliet's keywords are evenly dispersed. Unfortunately, he only uses this as additional information and does not take the issue any further. However, we can distinguish between the immediate statistical result

provided by this tool and the indirect use to which it can be put by the analyst, as demonstrated in Stubbs' analysis. I will return to this topic in Section 4.5.4.

4.5.3 Concordances, collocates, colligates, connotations, and semantic prosody

A different way of examining the context of words is provided by a concordance list tool which is 'a collection of the occurrences of a word-form, each in its own textual environment' (Sinclair 1991: 32) and is also referred to as key word in context (KWIC) (*idem: ibidem*). Concordance lines can be gained for every word in the corpus listed either in the frequency list or in the keyword list and provide the starting point for the subsequent qualitative analysis as already mentioned. They allow assertions about collocates of the target node (Baker 2006: 95ff). The concept of collocation is based on Firth's (1957: 11) famous assertion: 'You shall know a word by the company it keeps' and was further developed by Sinclair (1998) as a model of an extended lexical unit in which word forms co-occur in repeated patterns. This is based on the notion that 'the choice of one word conditions the choice of the next' (Sinclair 2004: 19). Concordance lines also reveal colligates of the target word which is the typical grammatical patterning of words or the 'co-occurrence of grammatical choices' (Sinclair 2004: 32).

According to Scott, collocates 'are the words which occur in the neighbourhood of your search word'.[5] They are indicative of semantic preference which is 'the relation, not between individual words, but between a lemma or word-form and a set of semantically related words' (Stubbs 2001: 65) and semantic prosody (or discourse prosody) of the target word which is a 'consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates' (Louw 1993: 157).

Collocation also operates in other languages (Sinclair (2004: 19). This has been demonstrated by Kenny (2000), who explores the usefulness of collocates in German-English translation. Stubbs (2005: 14) points out that 'collocations create connotations' which are the ideas, emotions, or qualities a particular word is intuitively associated with. The notion of connotation is not far from that of semantic prosody, as discussed above. An example of how semantic prosody can be proved through corpus analysis: Louw found that the verb 'bent on' in one sentence in David Lodge's novel *Small World* creates irony because a concordance analysis of occurrences of this verb in a reference corpus reveals that 'the pursuits that people are bent on are almost always negative or unpleasant in some way' (Louw

5. ⟨http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version5/HTML/index.html?collocation_basics.htm⟩

1993: 164f), which contrasts with how Lodge uses the verb in this particular sentence, thus creating irony. I acknowledge Hunston's (2007) criticism of Louw's concept of semantic prosody, that a word's aura of meaning is not restricted to positive or negative attitudinal meaning but comprises more and different facets of the meaning of a word as has been shown. In Cotterill's (2001, 2003) analysis of collocation in English texts, namely the transcript of the O.J. Simpson trial in the US, she compares the discourse of the prosecution with that of the defence and shows how both 'construct a framework into which the witnesses and physical evidence [are] placed as the trial progresses' (2001: 294). She links the concept of collocation with that of semantic prosody by stating that the prosecuting and defending lawyers in their opening statements "map out the 'semantic environment' – to use Sinclair's (1991) term – of the crime, the victim and the alleged criminal" *(idem:ibidem)*. I will therefore use the term in this book not just limited to positive or negative meaning.

Most corpus linguistic studies start from a keyword list in combination with concordances of those keywords [see (Sinclair 1997, 2003)]. A concordance list provides the starting point for a qualitative analysis and illustrates best how quantitative and qualitative analysis interlock and how a computationally gained list can be used to extract patterns of language.

When analysing the concordance lines for the words 'refugee(s)', Baker et al. (2005: 203) found a salient combination of the target words with pre-modifying quantifications, which suggests an underlying concern about the growing numbers of refugees. Another pattern the authors identified by analysing the verb forms in those concordance lines is 'a range of evaluative responses' which construct this group of people as collectively suffering (Baker et al. 2005: 204). The authors used the British National Corpus (BNC) to find collocates for the identified verb phrases in a generally representative corpus and thus argued that refugees are constructed "as a 'natural disaster' like a flood" (Baker et al. 2005: 204). The rigorousness of this qualitative analysis using concordance lines, however, would have profited from mentioning the exact numbers or percentages of how often these pre-modifiers or verb phrases are used and if the identified patterns are statistically significant or occur only occasionally.

Collocation of key lemmas is also used by Rasinger (2010) in his analysis of the construction of migrants in newspaper reports in connection with an increase in crime figures. He found strong collocations between 'migrant/immigrant' and 'influx' and thus supports Baker and McEnery's (2005) findings on water-based metaphors in the construction of refugees, which he also identifies in his analysis on migrants (Rasinger 2010: 1025f). He states that the lemma 'influx' 'is characterized by a strongly negative semantic prosody' (2010: 1026) which he verifies through a corpus-assisted approach, namely by analysing the collocations of

'influx' in the newspaper section of the BNC. Rasinger thus demonstrates a combination of a corpus-based and a corpus-assisted approach and he gives exact figures on how often he found the significant collocates.

Building on earlier work (Suhr et al. 2003), Johnson and Suhr compiled a corpus of articles from the German conservative newspaper *Die Welt* and found that supporters of 'political correctness' (PC) were 'constructed as an outgroup which insists on subjecting the rest of the population to an ongoing process of moral blackmail *via a vis* the recent German past' (2003b: 64). Regarding their method, the authors extracted those sentences which contained PC-related terms and analysed collocations of these terms although they did not give the exact wordspan they were looking at or any statistical figures which objectively proved their results. Still, their work is worth mentioning here because it demonstrates that *WordSmith* can be used to analyse a language other than English.

In relation to crime, O'Keeffe and Breen (2007) used *WordSmith Tools* to analyse the press coverage on child abuse in the Irish press. They identified lexical markers of stance or stance adverbials and analysed the collocates of these words. Thus, they were able to prove attitudinal stance in the analysed articles and a difference between the construction of these crimes committed in an institution, namely the Irish Christian Brothers, compared to family homes.

4.5.4 Keywords

WordSmith also offers a keyword list tool which provides a comparison between the wordlists of two corpora (i.e. the target corpus and the reference corpus) and catalogues the words which 'occur statistically more often in wordlist A when compared with wordlist B and vice versa' (Baker 2006: 125). Negative keywords appear less often in the target corpus than in the reference corpus and can also be used to make assertions about the text (Evison 2010: 128). Keyness according to Culpeper (2009: 34) 'is a matter of being statistically unusual relative to some norm'. Baker (2006: 125) notes that a keyword list 'gives a measure of *saliency*, whereas a simple word list only provides *frequency*'. He warns that 'a keyword analysis will focus only on lexical differences, not lexical similarities' and advises caution 'when generalizing beyond the lexical level' (Baker 2004: 349) because of the danger of overemphasising differences. Baker (2011: 66) coined the term 'lockword', which he defines as a word 'which may change in its meaning or context of usage when we compare a set of diachronic corpora together, yet appears to be relatively static in terms of frequency'. Following from this definition, lockwords are only important in diachronic studies. Some words will be key simply because they do not occur at all in the reference corpus (e.g. proper nouns). Some will indicate style and others aboutness, that is the content of a corpus (Scott

2002: 44). This means that the most frequent content words indicate the predominant topic(s) in the corpus.

A problem with keyword lists has been pointed out by Baker (2004), who states that if a corpus consists of different files, a keyword might not be key in the majority of those files. This problem links with the aforementioned dispersion plot. Baker (2004: 351) suggests this issue can be countered by ascertaining 'how many files they [keywords] occur in and to present or take into account this information in addition to the frequency count'. This adds additional objectivity to the analysis. I will return to this topic in Chapter 5.

Taking into account the different sizes of the corpora to be compared, *WordSmith* uses statistical methods (either chi-square or the log-likelihood ratio test) to determine keyness. These tests calculate the 'unusualness of keyword[s]' and allow assertions about strength of significance (Culpeper 2009: 36). Therefore *WordSmith* assigns a *p*-value between 0 and 1 to each word indicating 'the amount of confidence that we have that a word is key due to chance alone' (Baker 2006: 125). In statistical hypothesis testing, the *p*-value is the probability of obtaining a test statistic result that is at least as extreme as the one that was actually observed, assuming that the null hypothesis is true (Bickel et al. 2007: 221; Fahrmeir et al. 2007: 420; Rüger 2002: 35). The lower the *p*-value, the higher the probability that the word is key. These statistical significance tests require a certain size of data as Walker (2010: 369) points out (for further details, see Chapter 5).

Good insight into how a keyword analysis can be carried out has been provided by Baker (2010). In his analysis of the construction of Islam in the British press, he compares the keyword list from his broadsheet corpus with the one from a tabloid corpus and finds strong connections between Islam and terrorism in both corpora.

Other studies using keywords are Fischer-Starke's (2009, 2010) analyses of Jane Austen's novel *Pride and Prejudice.* Using *WordSmith*, she focuses on collocations and colligations of the novel's keywords by examining their concordance lines. She finds patterns with 'mental concepts and emotions, expressions of uncertainty' and communication as well as 'negatively connotated words and their colligation with grammatical negations' (2009: 517). This enables her to explain 'the novel's functional view of daughters' who 'create social networks by marriage' (2009: 518). The concepts she identifies are based on intuitively chosen semantic fields (2009: 496) from which she picks one (family relationships) for her analysis without explaining the reasons for this choice. This highlights the importance of transparency as one of the methodological principles on which Corpus Linguistics, and in this case Corpus Stylistics, are based. In the course of an analysis subjective choices are sometimes inevitable but the analyst has to be explicit about them.

Differing from Fischer-Starke's arbitrary categories, Culpeper (2009: 39) groups keywords into categories he determines in accordance with Halliday's

metafunctions of language (ideational, textual, and interpersonal keywords). This systematic approach to grouping keywords is clearly an advantage. He then continues to analyse semantic categories (or fields) automatically through the software package *WMatrix* (Rayson 2008). The categories developed for *WMatrix*, e.g. food, clothes and personal belongings, living creatures generally, indicate that there are different ways of grouping keywords and the analyst has to be explicit about the reasons for a particular choice.

Walker (2010) uses a similar method in his analysis of Julian Barnes' novel *Talking It Over* and demonstrates a systematic and objective approach to semantic categories by using *WMatrix* (Rayson 2008). Although he encounters problems with the not sufficiently detailed categories provided by UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS) and argues for the need of their expansion (2010: 386), he shows that there is a way of objectively obtaining semantic categories. In another study, following Culpeper (2009), Mahlberg and McIntyre (2011: 233) combine a keyword analysis with an analysis of key semantic domains in their analysis of Ian Fleming's novel *Casino Royale.* Whereas a keyword analysis focuses on a smaller amount of words and is thus more detailed, the analysis of key semantic domains deals with 'a greater number of words that may not even show in a keyword analysis' and thus allows an analysis 'on a less detailed level' (Mahlberg et al. 2011: 223). However, because *WMatrix* is only able to analyse English language data, it is unsuitable for a comparative analysis of English and German texts.

4.6 Advantages and dangers of Corpus Linguistics

From this brief overview, it becomes obvious that any computational method can only provide the starting point for an obligatory subsequent qualitative analysis of the findings. Although Corpus Linguistics allows an objective approach, quantitative analysis using the tools provided by Critical Discourse Analysis, Stylistics, Critical Stylistics, or other frameworks is unable to fully eliminate the researcher's bias. Secondly, the outcome still largely depends on the researcher's abilities in detecting the patterns which provide the answers to the initial research questions. As Baker (2006: 25) states, the researcher should be aware of the fact that dealing with corpora implies working with decontextualized data and thus suggests that the researcher should be familiar with the corpus. Buchanan points out the advantage of combining 'the depth of qualitative research with the breadth of quantitative research' (1992: 118) but warns that 'quantitative methods constantly threaten to overwhelm the use of qualitative data' (1992: 133). Seizing this reservation, McIntyre and Walker (2010: 522) state that '[q]uantitative analysis guides qualitative analysis, which might guide further quantitative analysis' and show

how to combine both on a balanced level. It is an illusion that the analyst only has to press a few buttons and the computer spits out a ready-made result. This is why researchers using Corpus Linguistic tools need to be transparent about their methods (Jeffries 2000) and should be aware of the still existing danger of interpreting the data with a pre-conceived outcome in mind (Baker 2006: 10ff). As much as Corpus Linguistics can contribute to the reduction of bias to a certain extent (Mautner 2009: 123), the demand that every analysis should be rigorous, replicable, and retrievable remains an issue. One should be constantly aware of the limitations and weaknesses of any method. Although the advantages of Corpus Linguistics are manifold, Maxwell (2010) adds an additional point for consideration by stating that no corpus is big enough to cover every instance of language use. His argument, however, overlooks the fact that building a fully comprehensive corpus is only illusory and that such a corpus would not be needed anyway. As McEnery and Wilson (1996: 77ff) as well as Biber (1993) state, a corpus should be representative and compiled according to systematic sampling methods.

In summary, this chapter has introduced Corpus Linguistics, defined its key terms, and outlined the advantages it brings to Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Stylistics. Corpus-based approaches help to detect the statistically significant parts of the data and allow focus on the qualitative part of the analysis. In the following chapter the methods used in this book are detailed.

CHAPTER 5

Conducting the analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the methods used to find out how victims, offenders, and crimes are constructed linguistically in newspaper articles on crime in the British and German press. At the heart of this chapter is the method of extracting keywords in a specialised corpus without the keyword list tool provided by *WordSmith Tools* (Scott 2004). The case is made for an increased objectivity in research by combining Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics. This combination postpones the unavoidable subjective interpretation of the findings until a very late stage in the analysis. Here I will briefly outline the challenges I met when manually analysing two different languages with the same analytical tools and when and how log-likelihood ratio test made a fruitful contribution to determine statistical significance.

5.2 Combining Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics

As seen in Chapter 4, Corpus Linguistics uses frequency information about the occurrence of words or word phrases in texts and combines these statistical methods with functional interpretations (Biber et al. 1998) whereas CDA interprets language in terms of its use in the creation and reproduction of ideologies (Wodak et al. 2009). Therefore, by using the objective approach of Corpus Linguistics, it is possible to limit the subsequent Critical Discourse Analysis to the statistically most significant parts of the data and thus reduce the researcher's bias in deciding what to focus on, thereby reducing the subjectivity that CDA is often accused of [see (Widdowson 1995a), among others].

Many are the examples of combining Corpus Linguistics with CDA (see Chapter 3) or Stylistics (see Chapter 4) but, to my knowledge, so far only Jeffries et al. (2012) and Coffey (2013) have done so with Critical Stylistics. Because Critical Stylistics provides a widespread and systematic list of analytical tools and thus a method to explain and further analyse the data obtained through Corpus Linguistics, I see it as a way to reduce the sometimes unavoidable bias. This explains

why this combination is the most suitable method to my purposes. It allows the researcher to limit the manual analysis of the data to a significant and thus representative sample of the corpus and to gain an objective picture of how offenders, victims, and crimes are linguistically constructed. Here I avoid imposing criminological frameworks on the texts under scrutiny but look instead for linguistic features which prove them. Interpreting the findings based on theories developed by Criminology is postponed to a very late stage of the analysis.

5.3 **Data collection**

For the analysis in this book, two specialised corpora representative of discourse on crime were compiled. They are here called the English Newspaper Corpus (or ENC) and the German Newspaper Corpus (or GNC). The newspaper articles they contain were collected over a period of three months (from February to April 2009). The articles were extracted from daily national newspapers including broadsheets, tabloids, and, to a small extent, regional newspapers. This allowed a broad variety of crime reports and avoided limiting the findings to one particular newspaper or style of writing. The articles were obtained from online websites of the chosen newspapers thus using the web as a text archive.

5.3.1 Newspapers

The following newspapers were chosen for the compilation of the ENC: *Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, The Sun* as tabloids, *The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, The Independent, The Times* as broadsheet newspapers and the *Yorkshire Post* as a regional newspaper from West Yorkshire. Thus this sample covers an almost equal share of broadsheets and tabloids. It contains one regional paper from the town of Huddersfield and it also covers a wide range of political views with *The Times* being representative of a right wing political perspective and *The Guardian* known for its left wing stance (Bell 1991: 109; Johnson et al. 2003a: 31).

The newspapers included in the GNC are the following: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ), *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *die tageszeitung* (TAZ), *Die Welt* as broadsheets, *BILD* as tabloid, and *Der Tagesspiegel* and the *Schweriner Volkszeitung* (SVZ) as regional newspapers from Berlin, the capital, and from Schwerin, my hometown. There is a similar distinction between left-wing and right-wing newspapers in Germany in terms of their political view compared to the British press. Eilders (2002: 29) sorts the German newspapers according to their political views from right to left wing: *Die Welt, FAZ, Süddeutsche, Frankfurter Rundschau, Tageszeitung*. The German national papers are

mainly broadsheets (Conboy 2006: 14; Van Dijk 1985: 83).[1] The following table gives an overview of the newspapers chosen for both corpora:

Table 5.1 Newspapers included in the ENC and the GNC

	Tabloids	Broadsheets	Regional newspapers
ENC	*Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, The Sun*	*The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, The Independent, The Times*	*Yorkshire Post*
GNC	*BILD*	*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), Frankfurter Rundschau, Süddeutsche Zeitung, die tageszeitung (TAZ), Die Welt*	*Der Tagesspiegel, Schweriner Volkszeitung (SVZ)*

5.3.2 Selection criteria

I selected articles that reported on crime with either the victim, or the offender, or both mentioned, including those with a yet to be identified victim and an unknown offender, e.g. the 'body part victim'-case [later discovered to be the murder of Jeffrey Howe committed by the 'Jigsaw Killer' Stephen Marshall (*The Independent*, 07.04.2009)], or with the offender being acquitted, e.g. the Sean Hodgson case (*The Times*, 18.03.2009). Articles from different stages of the criminal proceedings, namely from the investigation or the court trial stage, were included too. I limited the collection of articles in the ENC concerning crimes which occurred in the UK to those committed in England and Wales as these regions' legal system differs from those of Scotland and Northern Ireland.[2] Reports on crime which happened outside the UK were included in both corpora like the reports on the Josef Fritzl case in Austria (*The Sun*, 09.03.2009; *BILD*, 16.03.2009).

5.3.3 Constructing comparable corpora

Comparability was the overall aim of constructing the corpora although Johnson et al. (2003b: 53) hold that there is a noticable difference between the German and

1. As there is no broad variety of national daily tabloids, my choice was limited to the BILD.

2. Whereas the legal system of England and Wales is based on common law or case law, the Scottish legal system is based on both common law and civil law and the legal system of Northern Ireland is based on common law but the legal procedure differs from the system in England and Wales. In order to avoid an impact on the results concerning the construction of crimes due to those legal differences, I decided to focus on articles reporting on crime in England and Wales only.

British press landscape. This is partly due to the popularity of regional newspapers in Germany whereas in Britain people mainly read national newspapers (*idem: ibidem*). Therefore instead of building a genuinely parallel corpus, a representative sample of newspapers from the German press landscape covering a range of political views and limited to daily and mainly nationwide papers was selected rather than aiming at mirroring the ENC. I chose eight papers, mainly national ones, for each of the two corpora (see Table 5.1). Because reading regional newspapers is more popular in Germany (Johnson et al. 2003b: 53), I included two regional papers in the GNC.

The initial two corpora I compiled were unequal in size. The German corpus contained more articles and thus more tokens. To meet the criteria of comparablitily as much as possible, articles which occurred twice in the corpus or which reported on cases already covered by other articles were deleted. The aim was to keep a broad variety of different crimes in the corpus in order to secure an overall picture of how offenders, victims, and crimes were constructed linguistically. These decisions resulted in corpora of nearly equal size. The ENC consists of 143 articles (75,072 tokens) and the GNC has 146 (75,408 tokens). The articles were adjusted to the required format of the computer software (.txt-files) and the corpora were marked up for meta-data (e.g. author, date, headline). Thus the headlines were included in the statistical calculations.

5.4 Differences in the languages

Comparing corpora in different languages can be challenging. The first decision was to choose a software package that offered the same analytical categories for both languages. In his work on child language acquisition, Slobin (1997) distinguishes satellite-framed languages from verb-framed languages. This distinction refers to motion description the manner thereof being either encoded in the verb participle or in an optional separate verbal element (Slobin 1997: 16f). He states that English and German belong to the group of satellite-framed languages and that both languages in general are closely related (Slobin 1994: 19), which is supported by Kortmann (2005: 161). This can be observed when comparing the grammar of both languages and their historical development (Biber et al. 2002; Greenbaum et al. 2009; Helbig et al. 2001; Kortmann 2005: 156ff). Kortmann (2005: 161) notes that both languages have 'quite a number of structural features [...] in common' and they 'share a number of morphological and syntactic properties'. But the differences are not to be neglected as they will have an impact on the results of this analysis. Therefore I want to outline some of them to illustrate this point.

According to Bamberg (1994: 191), the German word-order is more rule-governed in a formal linguistic way. And he states that 'German has an extensive gender, case, and number system marked in complex noun phrase morphology as well as in the article and adjectival inflections preceding the noun' (*idem: ibidem*). Although the passive is less often used in German than in English, it is formed like the English passive (*idem: ibidem*). The following sentence illustrates this point:

Example 5.1:
Der Teller wurde zum Tisch getragen.
(The plate was carried to the table.)

In addition, another difference can be noted in Slobin's (1994: 44) statement that the use of relative clauses in English and German is comparable in frequency but German does not have a verb form like present continuous and anchors narrative mainly in the present tense (Bamberg 1994: 194). The simple past is being replaced bit by bit by the present perfect (Bamberg 1994: 192) and therefore simple present and present perfect are the most frequently used verb tenses as the following example shows:

Example 5.2:
Und dann habe ich mich umgedreht.
And then <u>I have turned</u>* around (present perfect). [instead of: And then <u>I turned</u> around (simple past).]

Despite these differences, the close relation between the two languages makes it possible to use the same analytical criteria and makes the frequency results comparable with the language differences in mind. Some of these differences between the two languages can be obtained from statistical calculations *WordSmith* provides as explained in the following sub-section.

5.4.1 Type/token ratio (TTR)

The first difference between the corpora (ENC and GNC) is their number of types (7,034 types for the ENC and 10,960 for the GNC) (see Section 4.5). The TTR for the ENC was 10 and for the GNC 15. Due to the fact that the vocabulary of a language is limited, the larger the corpus, the more reduced the number of distinct words. Also, the longer the text, the more word repetitions (Stubbs 2001: 133). Therefore *WordSmith* provides a better measure of comparison between corpora than just taking the overall TTR. The significant difference between the standardised TTR of my newspaper corpora may suggest that the GNC is lexically more complex than the ENC because it contains more different words. This result is mirrored by the result of the standardised TTR of 49.25 for

the GNC and 41.76 for the ENC. Turning to the reference corpora, it becomes more obvious why the standardised TTR is of more value than the overall TTR when comparing corpora of different sizes. The reference corpus used for the ENC (FLOB, see Chapter 4) has 1,465,670 tokens whereas the German reference corpus PAROLE (for a detailed description of this corpus see Section 5.5 below) has 22,806,602 tokens and is therefore roughly 20 times larger than the English reference corpus. The standardized TTR of FLOB is 39.03 whereas that of PAROLE is 49.85. This may indicate that the lexical variety of the latter is more complex than the one in the former. As for the standardized TTR in the GNC, the lexical variety is the same as in PAROLE. This means that the same amount of different vocabulary is required to understand the German newspaper articles on crime as it is to understand 'average German' whereas the vocabulary required to understand British newspaper articles on crime seems to be less broad than 'average' British texts.

5.5 Reference corpora

To carry out the analysis, the reference corpora were used only once to determine one of the limit points for a manual extraction of keywords. The exact method will be detailed in the following sections.

The reference corpus for the GNC (PAROLE) consisting of written texts of the modern German language is subdivided into four domains: books, newspapers, periodicals, and miscellaneous. The corpus was created in 2003 by Wolfgang Teubert and contains approximately 23 million words. PAROLE is freely available for non-commercial use at the Oxford Text Archive.[3] Although Teubert warned there wereproblems with this corpus,[4] I decided to use it as the German reference corpus. German reference corpora are available at the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache* (Institute for German Language) in Mannheim, but they can only be accessed using a web-based interface and thus cannot be uploaded to *WordSmith*. Also, a pre-chosen statistical significance calculator using t-score statistics is provided there and the results cannot be compared directly with the log-likelihood ratio calculator results provided by *WordSmith*. Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) faced the same problems in their study on feminism in the British and German

3. http://ota.ahds.ac.uk/headers/2467.xml

4. In his email dated 25th March 2010, Teubert warned me not to use this corpus because 'nobody remembers what's in it'.

press. The decision to use PAROLE as a reference corpus was also made against the background that the two reference corpora (FLOB and PAROLE) both contain written language only and consist partly of newspaper articles. According to Scott (2009: 91), 'keywords identified even by an obviously absurd RC [reference corpus] can be plausible indicators of aboutness'. This allows for the conclusion that even PAROLE, which was not compiled in line with Biber's representative criteria (1993), can be a useful reference corpus.

5.6 Analysing the data

As already discussed, I opted for *WordSmith* because it can handle both languages. Following the principle of comparability, the same method was used for the analysis of German and English offenders and victims. Although this method was also followed for the German and English crime cases, a partly different path was taken for identifying those keywords as I will show when necessary.

In order to identify the linguistic patterns for offenders, victims, and crimes both in the GNC and in the ENC, I extracted the most significant words and the respective sentences as detailed below. This method enabled the construction of a unique keyword list instead of using the one provided by *WordSmith*, especially to avoid obtaining only those crime related words which were expected to be key in a specialised corpus on crime anyway. Therefore, I chose different limit points to extract those words which were key in naming offenders, victims, and crimes in the corpora.

5.6.1 Wordlist

First, I examined manually the wordlist from the ENC and extracted all nouns that could possibly refer to offenders, e.g. 'brother', 'friends'. These nouns carry ideological significance because they refer to, for example, social or family value by choosing one naming option over another. The noun 'brother', for example, belongs to the semantic field of family relation and places the thus named person into a family system which has an impact on the person's perception. I grouped all offender- and victim-naming nouns into categories as shown in Chapters 6 and 7.

I excluded all personal pronouns and possessives from the wordlist as well as all proper nouns, because these relate to structure or aboutness, while the articles in the corpus report on many different criminal cases, not just one particular offender. Proper nouns are only ideological regarding the form of addressing (Erwin-Tripp 1969; Leech 1999), for example the difference between

naming the offender as Mr Fritzl or Josef Fritzl, but not in relation to the person which is in this case the offender. And pronouns are grammatical words which carry no ideological meaning in themselves but repeat a reference and are used anaphorically.

In order to keep the analysis manageable, I set a limit at word number 901 in the wordlists (frequency of 11 total occurrences in the ENC and of 9 in the GNC) [see, for example, (Stubbs 2005: 11)]. I chose this limit subjectively as the intention was to include as many high-frequency words as possible into the analysis and at the same time focus only on those which occurred reasonably frequently. A word which occurs only 11 or 9 times in a corpus of roughly 75,000 tokens is of subordinate importance in terms of interpretative significance. It is important to point out that the choice was not made with the purpose of including particular words. The decision was taken solely on the grounds of frequency.

5.6.2 Collocation and concordances

Concordance lines show the word under examination in its context and, in this case, highlighted whether the word named an offender, a victim, or a crime. I created and manually examined the concordance lines of every word extracted as above using the function *source text* provided by *WordSmith Tools*.

I regarded only as victims those persons who were directly affected by the crime and which Walklate (2007a: 73) refers to as first or primary victimisation (see Chapter 2). Persons who were acquitted in a criminal trial could either be regarded as offenders or, following the broad definition of victims introduced by Radical Victimology (see Chapter 2), as victims of the state or the law. I grouped these persons into the category of offenders because they were accused of having committed a crime and were subsequently tried, which they shared rather with other offenders than with the majority of victims in the ENC and the GNC.

Working with concordance lines allowed me to delete all those words referring to persons other than offenders, e.g. lawyers, judges, and witnesses who were not victims. Through this procedure, I extracted the most frequent words naming offenders, victims, and crimes in both corpora (for example, 49 words naming offenders in the ENC and 35 in the GNC).

5.6.3 Constructing a specialised keyword list

In order to identify keywords in the ENC or GNC, a specialised keyword list was extracted manually through setting four more limit points. This method further reduced the number of words and kept the size of the following manual analysis manageable and focused on the statistically most significant words.

I counted the number of sentences where each of the 49 offender-referring words in the ENC occurred and set the limit at 7, which means that each of the resulting words occurred in at least 7 sentences. This limit was subjectively chosen due to scope issues and because of the corpus size. Another limit was the percentage of the occurrences of the offender-referring words in relation to their total occurrence in the ENC which I set at 15%. This means that, of all occurrences of a target word in the corpus, the word had to refer to offenders in 15% of its total occurrences. For the next limit I used the dispersion of a word in the corpus (see Section 4.5.2). I set this limit at 10 meaning that the word had to occur in at least 10 files in order to be significant and well dispersed over the corpus. The last limit was the log-likelihood ratio of each of the 49 words which I set at 30 (for an explanation of the log-likelihood ratio statistical test, see Section 5.8.1 below).This test relates the number of occurrences of the lemmas (the root form of a word – e.g. 'go' is the lemma of 'going', 'went', 'goes' etc.) of each target word (node) in my corpus with the number of occurrences in the reference corpus FLOB. This limit allowed me to establish whether the identified most frequent words in the wordlist of the ENC were used comparably often in the reference corpus as well, or whether they were overrepresented in the ENC and thereby significant.

Through setting these limits I found a new way of creating keywords. Of course it involved subjective choices but these were only frequency considerations and did not involve the content of the articles. The keywords obtained were thus based on lexical statistical significance.

5.6.4 Extracting the most significant sentences

I then left out all sentences that occurred for the second (or even third) time in the corpus and counted those sentences that combined two of the identified statistical significant words naming offenders in one noun phrase as only one sentence, e.g. 'year-old man' or 'member of the gang'. Thus, I extracted 607 sentences which I analysed manually using the tools offered by Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010a). Through defining these limit points, I reduced the 49 words naming offenders in the ENC to the following most significant 23 nouns, although 'year-old' is used as a noun as well as an adjective. The words are listed in order of frequency, the numbers in brackets indicating the number of sentences the 'offender-naming' word is used in: man (87 sentences), gang (85), year-old (46), boy (43), brother (43), killer (38), driver (36), defendant (34), father (30), member (29), mother (27), suspect (25), officer (23), attacker (22), rapist (22), husband (21), girl (19), couple (16), cab (14), offender (13), teenager (13), chef (9), student (7). Table 5.2 shows the words

and the number of sentences they occur in which I extracted for offenders and victims from the GNC and ENC. The words are sorted according to the number of sentences they occur in after eliminating all repetitions of the same sentence. The total number of sentences to be analysed manually is given at the bottom of the table:

Table 5.2 The most significant words for offenders and victims in the ENC and GNC

	ENC				GNC			
	Offenders	**NOS[5]**	**Victims**	**NOS**	**Offenders**	**NOS**	**Victims**	**NOS**
1	gang	77	victim	130	*Angeklagte/r/n* accused	218	*Frau/en/Ehefrau* woman/wife	116
2	man	73	child	113	*jährig/e/en* year-old	189	*Kind/er/es/ern* child/children	109
3	boy	43	woman	108	*Mann/es, Ehemann/Männer/n* man/husband	161	*jährige/r/n* year-old	90
4	brother	42	year-old	89	*Täter/n/in/s* offender/s	78	*Opfer/s* victim/s	70
5	defendant	31	girl	75	*Vater/s, Familienvater/s* father/family father	64	*Mädchen/s* Girl	53
6	killer	31	boy	70	*Mutter* mother	56	*Leiche* Corpse	37
7	father	30	man	66	*Frau/en/Ehefrau* woman/women/wife	55	*Schwester* Sister	36
8	driver	29	body	52	*Familie/Familien-vater* father/family father	49	*Tochter* Daughter	36
9	year-old	29	daughter	37	*Eltern* parents	44	*Familie* Family	28
10	mother	25	son	35	*Verdächtige/r/n, Tatverdächtige/n/r* suspect	36	*Mann/Ehemann* man/husband	27
11	suspect	24	wife	24	*Mörder/s* murderer	29	*Eltern* parents	21
12	rapist	22	teenager	19	*Bruder/s* brother	23	*Baby* baby	18
13	attacker	21	friend	15	*Jugendliche/n* adolescent	21	*Mutter* mother	16

(*Continued*)

5. NOS=Number of Sentences

Table 5.2 (Continued)

	ENC				GNC			
	Offenders	**NOS**[5]	**Victims**	**NOS**	**Offenders**	**NOS**	**Victims**	**NOS**
14	husband	20	Student	12	*Mandant/en* client	17	*Junge/n* boy	14
15	officer	19	couple	7	*Freund* friend	16	*Schüler/in* pupil	13
16	girl	16	dad	5	*Sohn/es* son	11	*Toten* deceased	13
17	couple	16					*Polizisten* police officer	11
18	cab	14					*Sohn* son	10
19	offender	13						
20	teenager	12						
21	chef	8						
22	student	7						
23	member	5						
	total	**607**		**857**		**1,067**		**718**

I took into account the different cases a noun can have in German and therefore included all versions of the lemma that occurred in the wordlist up to the limit point at word number 901. At this stage again we see that it is impossible to obtain exactly the same number of sentences for both corpora and again it is log-likelihood ratio calculation which allows comparing different amounts of data as we will re-encounter later on in the qualitative part of the analysis.

To extract the most significant words for crimes, which include nouns as well as verbs, I chose a slightly different procedure but the same for English and German. I extracted all those nouns and verbs from the wordlists of both corpora which refer to crime using the tools of concordance and source text. The limit point I chose was word number 500 in the wordlist. I did not set any more limit points but instead included all thus obtained crime-related words. I chose this slightly different method because crime related words in articles on crime seldom relate to other things than crime in contrast to words naming offenders or victims. Therefore it was unnecessary to further reduce them to the most significant ones because their frequency in the wordlist already indicated their significance. The words and the number of sentences they occur in and which were later analysed manually are shown in Table 5.3:

Table 5.3 The most significant words for crimes in the ENC and GNC

	ENC		GNC	
	Crime	**NOS**	**Crime**	**NOS**
1	murder	182	*Mord* murder	73
2	attack	70	*Fall* case	57
3	rape	62	*Verbrechen* felony	56
4	crime	51	*getötet* murdered	52
5	died	41	*Mordes* murder	49
6	killed	40	*Amoklauf* killing spree	28
7	assault	32	*Totschlags* manslaughter	28
8	killing	32	*töten* murder	20
9	attacked	31	*Ehrenmord* 'honour' killing	19
10	raped	30	*verletzt* injured	18
11	death	27	*Erpressung* blackmail	17
12	crimes	25	*versucht/e/er/en* attempted	16
13	offence	25	*Inzest* incest	16
14	attacks	21	*geplant* planned	15
15	stabbed	20	*Taten* offences	14
16	kill	18	*Tötung* killing	13
17	shot	17	*Unterlassen* neglect	6
18	driving	15	*Misshandlung* abuse	4
19	causing	11		

(*Continued*)

Table 5.3 (Continued)

	ENC		GNC	
	Crime	**NOS**	**Crime**	**NOS**
20	involved	9		
21	drug	6		
22	committed	3		
23	gun	3		
24	attempted	2		
total		**773**		**501**

The sentences obtained provided the starting point for the qualitative analysis, as detailed in the following section.

5.7 Critical Stylistics

Through the method outlined above I extracted 4,523 sentences for victims, offenders, and crimes from both corpora which I analysed manually. This was the first step within the qualitative part of the analysis because corpus linguistic tools could not be used beyond this point. Other than *WMatrix,* which offers a qualitative analysis of English data by grouping words into categories, *WordSmith* does not offer this tool and, as mentioned earlier, I was unable to use *WMatrix* with the GNC. Thus, these sentences provided the starting point for the analysis along the lines of Critical Stylistics.

Following Jeffries' list of analytical tools and for reasons of practicality I created four tables (and a fifth table for the analysis of crime-related sentences) in order to help analysing the sentences in a systematic way (see Table A1 in the Appendix). The order in which the tools are listed in those tables follows reasons of convenience rather than provides a systematic order following Jeffries' (2010a) textual-conceptual functions. These tables allowed me to literally 'tick off boxes' to ensure analytical rigor and to total the results in order to carry out significance tests later on. I mainly looked at the noun phrases of the identified keywords and their immediate surroundings in the respective sentences. If, for example, the node occurred in the first clause of the sentence under scrutiny, I did not analyse the second clause in detail but focused on the target word and its immediate surroundings in the first clause. I focused on counting sentences as opposed to occurrences and phrases because the figure I was interested in was the percentage which would not change when counting occurrences.

The additional table for analysing the crime-related sentences covered the following additional categories: I looked at whether the crime-related word was a noun, a nominalisation, or a verb. I counted how many target words in the sentence under scrutiny referred to crimes, offenders, or victims and analysed whether the target word occurred together with other target words for offenders, victims, or crimes and, finally, whether the target word referred to a person, a crime, or other (e.g. 'sex attack victim'). This was necessary because the crime-related words are not only nouns but also verbs and therefore I had to add additional categories (see Chapter 3).

5.8 Determining statistical significance by using log-likelihood ratio

After the manual analysis of the 4,523 sentences, the results had to be compared and the statistically significant ones had to be extracted. Therefore I used log-likelihood ratio calculation again. This time I compared, for example, the instances of descriptive adjectives premodifying a target head noun in the offender-related sentences in the ENC with the victim-related sentences in the GNC and obtained a log-likelihood ratio figure by using the formula in *EXCEL*. I compared the findings for each of the analytical categories listed in Table A1 (and the additional table for crimes) with the same category for each of the remaining group(s) of sentences (ENC-offenders, ENC-victims, GNC-offenders, GNC-victims and ENC-crimes, GNC-crimes) and thus obtained figures indicating statistical significance. At this point I want to outline the log-likelihood ratio method and what problem I encountered when using it in the analysis.

5.8.1 Log-likelihood ratio

A way of determining statistical significance and thus testing a linguistic hypothesis is provided either by a statistical test of log-likelihood ratio or chi-square (McEnery et al. 2006: 55). Using log-likelihood ratio and chi-square in Corpus Linguistics is based on the work of Dunning (1993), Oakes (1998), Kilgarriff (2001) and Rayson et al. (Rayson et al. 2004; Rayson et al. 2000). It follows from the need to compare, for example, the number of occurrences of one target word in two corpora of different sizes or in two different samples from the same corpus.

The four numbers [occurrences of target word in Corpus 1 or Sample 1 (a); occurrences of target word in Corpus 2 or Sample 2 (b); non-occurrences of target word in Corpus 1 or Sample 1 (c); and non-occurrences of target word in Corpus 2 or Sample 2 (d)] are fitted into a 4-cell table (see Table 5.5). The general probability structure of such a 4-cell table is a multinomial model. In my case of testing

homogenity it consisted of the product of two binomial distributions as depicted in the 4-cell table/contingency table (see Table 5.5). This product of two binomial distributions is defined as the likelihood function. According to McEnery et al. (2006: 55) '[t]he chi-square test compares the difference between the observed values (e.g. the actual frequencies extracted from corpora) and the expected values (e.g. the frequencies that one would expect if no factor other than chance were affecting the frequencies'). The log-likelihood ratio test compares the differences between the logarithms of maximum likelihood-functions based on expected and observed values. The greater this difference, the less likely it is due to chance (McEnery et al. 2006: 55). Both tests share the notion that the expected values are calculated in regard to a maximum plausibility of the observed values. Chi-square is based on the frequency of a target word in the sample with binomial distribution for a homogeneity test with 4-cell tables (see Table 5.5 below) (Rüger 2002: 202, 222ff). A binomial distribution is based on the notion of two conditions: either the word occurs in the sample or it does not. If the difference between the observed and the expected values is greater than the expected value or if the expected value in any section of the 4-cell table is less than 5, one should use chi-square calculation only in combination with a continuity or Yates correction (Clauβ et al. 1983: 260). Log-likelihood ratio for testing homogenity presupposes a distribution which in my case is based on the aforementioned product of two binomial distributions for the 4-cell table and is even applicable in case the observed values in the 4-cell table and the difference between them and the expected values is small (Woolf 1957: 398). McEnery et al. (2006: 56) and Walker (2010: 369) warn that because log-likelihood ratio calculation and chi-square require a large corpus, they might be unreliable with small data sets. I disagree. In relation to chi-square calculation, the problem can be overcome by the Yates-correction (Kilgarriff 2001: 100). With log-likelihood ratio test, size is not an issue (Woolf 1957: 398). Although I preferred log-likelihood ratio for my analysis, I used chi-square test due to its expected close proximity to the log-likelihood ratio results, validating the latter. The chi-square test can be considered a test of homogenity in regard to the 4-cell table. The log-likelihood quotient value and the chi-square value in my analysis were calculated according to the formula presented by Rayson et al. (2004: 3f). The formula to calculate the log-likelihood quotient follows from the formula for the log-likelihood quotient with the respective likelihood functions for binomial distribution (Dunning 1993: 64ff).

Another element which has to be considered when dealing with statistics is the probability value (or *p*-value) (McEnery et al. 2006: 55), which indicates the statistical significance of a difference. The closer the *p*-value is to 0 (zero), the higher the statistical significance and the more it contradicts homogeneity. I set a *p*-value of 0.001 for the calculation of log-likelihood ratio and chi-square in

EXCEL. This *p*-value is not part of the log-likelihood ratio or chi-square calculation formula but simply allows the researcher to interpret the results in terms of the value of statistical significance: namely with a *p*-value of 0.001 any log-likelihood ratio or chi-square figure greater than 10.83 indicates statistical significance with 99.9% confidence. When testing large sample sizes, usually small *p*-values are expected (Agresti 2002: 85). By choosing a *p*-value of 0.001 I opted for excluding small effects (or differences) in favour of large ones instead of making a more serious mistake by falsely proclaiming a non-existing effect as an effect (Stelzl 1982: 21). This illustrates existing limitations of significance testing. Large sample sizes like in my analysis assure small *p*-values which allow me to reject the hypothesis of existing homogenity between two samples or corpora but instead reveal their effects (or differences).

Using statistical calculations allowed me to compare different sizes of corpora or samples because 'these tests automatically compare frequencies proportionally' (McEnery et al. 2006: 56). At first, I used the manual online log-likelihood ratio calculator provided by Lancaster University ⟨http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html⟩. The problem here is that the formula used is incomplete for statistical testing: LL = 2*((a*log(a/e1)) + (b*log (b/e2))). This can be observed in Table 5.4 when keeping in mind the expected close proximity of log-likelihood ratio and

Table 5.4 A comparison of the different log-likelihood ratio and chi-square figures

log-likelihood calculation	ENC-ENC		
Naming	offenders-victims		
	log-likelihood	chi-quadrat	log-likelihood
pre	#ZAHL!	#DIV/0!	nein
number ordinal	1,4111346	1,3939501	-1,29
cardinal	1,4362353	1,3508909	-1,43
adjective	#ZAHL!	257,18003	nein
evaluative	1,2216022	1,2326858	1,13
descriptive	22,655326	22,144778	-17,1
determiner a	0,7535731	0,7565041	0,61
the	2,1858889	2,1897925	1,34
demonstrative proximal	0,0663826	0,0667999	0,07
distal	#ZAHL!	5,6974111	-8,57
possessive adj	28,718473	27,459644	-24,2
preposition	85,348025	79,189151	-68,8
other premodifiers	25,590344	26,007725	22,09
noun	#ZAHL!	#DIV/0!	nein
subject	122,64538	120,76627	59,64
object	79,337273	77,698128	-47,5
subject complement	10,025637	10,20399	9,26
object complement	3,7646978	3,8287837	3,72
adverbial	75,061909	65,177778	-67,8
target together with other nouns	0,2285289	0,2288847	0,17
post	#ZAHL!	1,4128267	nein
prepositional phrase	6,6269794	6,4725236	-5,86
subordinate clause	11,606234	11,468762	-8,24
target=premodifier (possessive)	1,148368	1,1314591	-1,09
possessive	11,419524	11,258276	-8,49
singular	3,4693637	3,4420625	0,83
plural	16,735356	16,452233	-12,3
extended noun phrase with targ	#ZAHL!	170,75916	nein

chi-square results because of their asymptotic features of chi-square distribution (Wilks 1962: 262, 410). Table 5.4 shows log-likelihood ratio figures calculated with the complete formula in the second column and the incomplete formula in the fourth column as well as the chi-square results in the third column.

The assertion that the log-likelihood ratio formula provided by Lancaster University is incomplete for statistical testing is based on the fact that log-likelihood ratio calculation for two binomial distributions requires 4 terms instead of 2. This is based on the following scheme in Table 5.5 (Kilgarriff 2001: 99):

Table 5.5 4-cell table or contingency table

a	b	a + b
c	d	c + d
a + c	b + d	N = a + b + c + d

This scheme shows that four terms are always needed to calculate log-likelihood ratio for two binomial distributions (the four terms are a–d from the list above). For example, if I analysed 607 sentences for offenders and found in 116 of them a descriptive adjective premodifying the target noun and I analysed 857 sentences for victims and found in only 257 sentences a descriptive adjective premodifying the target noun, the table would look as follows:

Table 5.6 4-cell table with the figures from the example

a = 116	b = 257	a + b
c = 491	d = 600	c + d
a + c = 607	b + d = 857	N = a + b + c + d

Table 5.5 and 5.6 show that the log-likelihood ratio calculator provided by Lancaster University LL = 2*((a*log(a/e1)) + (b*log (b/e2))) misses the terms for c and d and is thus incomplete.

In order to answer the question of whether a descriptive premodifier of the head noun is statistically significant in a comparison of offender-related and victim-related sentences, I used the following formula to determine log-likelihood ratio:

$$LL = 2*((a*\log(a/e1)) + (b*\log(b/e2)) + (c*\log(c/e3)) + (d*\log(d/e4))).$$

This formula follows from the one for the log-likelihood quotient with the respective likelihood functions for two binomial distributions (Dunning 1993: 64ff; Kilgarriff 2001).

A manual online calculator for log-likelihood ratio is provided at ⟨http://mmmann.de/Sprache/signifikanz-corpora.htm⟩ and the result is presented as follows:

Table 5.7 Results presented on the webpage ⟨http://mmmann.de/Sprache/signifikanz-corpora.htm⟩

Beobachtete Werte

	Corpus 1	Corpus 2	Σ
[Suchwort]	116	257	373
Nicht 'Suchwort'	491	600	1091
Σ	607	857	1464

Berechnen Zurücksetzen

Signifikanz-Werte

Signifikanz-Werte für *'Suchwort'*:		
Chi-Quadrat: χ^2 =	**22.14**	ohne Yates-Korrektur
Chi-Quadrat: χ^2 =	**21.58**	mit Yates-Korrektur
Log-Likelihood: LL =	**22.66**	

The results in Table 5.7 indicate a high statistical significance of the difference between offender- and victim-related sentences in regard to descriptive adjectives as premodifiers of the head noun as well as a close proximity of the results obtained through chi-square and log-likelihood ratio. With a *p*-value of 0.001, any result higher than 10.83 indicates statistical significance and the higher the figure the higher the statistical significance of the difference. These findings provided the basis for the interpretation of the results, as discussed in the Chapters 6 and 7.

5.8.2 Calculating a confidence interval

In this section, I want to demonstrate another tool of probability calculation which allows statistical assertions about a tendency in a universal sample not just in the sample under scrutiny. This tool provides means for calculating a confidence interval within which the unknown percentage of a universal sample lies (Clauβ et al. 1983: 161, 172–176). Wilks (1962: 282) states that this 'is an observable random interval such that the probability is' in my case 0.99 (99% certainty) which includes the percentage value of the universal set. The method might be of interest because the percentage of, for example, active voice in the analysed 773 crime-referring sentences in the ENC might vary from the figure when analysing

another sample of 773 sentences taken from newspaper articles from a different time period which is not included in the ENC. The following example demonstrates how to calculate a confidence interval:

I found active voice in 672 sentences out of the analysed 773 crime-referring sentences (=n, sample size) in the ENC with a percentage figure of 86.93% (=p). Knowing *p*, I was able to calculate $q = 100\% - 86.93\% = 13.07\%$. In a next step, I calculated *sigma* (standard error of percentage) using the formula:

$$sigma = \text{root}\ ((p*q)/n) = \text{root}\ ((86.93*13.07)/773) = 1.2$$

In order to calculate the percentage of the universal set, meaning the range of percentage of active voice in a variety of different samples of 773 sentences each with a probability value of 0.99 (99% certainty), I used the factor 2.58 (for a probability value of 0.99) and the following formula:

$$p \pm 2.58 * sigma = 86.93 \pm 2.58 * 1.2 = 86.93 - 3.10, 86.93 + 3.10 = 83.83, 90.03$$

The formula showed that in 99% of the variety of different samples of 773 sentences the percentage of active voice in a universal set will be within a span of 83.83% and 90.03%. This calculation strengthened the result of the percentage analysis, namely that, for example, active voice is prevalent in the ENC because the span of percentage in the universal set will be roughly the same. Despite this effect, I refrained from using this formula for all percentage figures bearing in mind that the percentage results already reveal insight into the construction of offenders, victims, and crimes in both corpora. I want to point out that this tool can only be used if the sample size is larger than 9/((p/100)*(q/100)), which is the case with all sample sizes in the ENC and GNC.

In summary, this chapter presented a new way of identifying keywords in a specialised corpus, namely identifying them through their lexical significance. These keywords determined which sentences from the corpus I analysed manually. In the following chapters the results obtained will be shown and the findings will be interpreted by bringing together Linguistics and Criminology.

CHAPTER 6

Linguistic construction in the British press

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the results of the analysis of the 607 offender-related and 857 victim-related sentences from the ENC corpus. The most frequent linguistic devices used to construct offenders and victims will be shown. In Section 6.3.4, I discuss the significant differences in the construction of victims and offenders in the British press based on log-likelihood ratio calculations. The analytical insight obtained from applying the tools offered by Critical Stylistics is demonstrated and each significant linguistic device is illustrated using examples from the ENC. This shows how it functions in context and contributes to the construction of victims and thus automatically of the respective offenders. It will thus become clear that seldom one device alone achieves the desired effect but that different linguistic features interlock and only their interplay constructs victims and offenders.

6.2 Offenders

Offenders are not separated from their crimes. Instead, they are reduced to their criminal role, placed outside society, and the negative associations of crime are transferred to them. Thus not only the criminal act but the entire person is constructed as being distant from society. This is based on cultural stereotypes, societal discourse (that is, dynamic, communicative interaction between speakers and hearers in society, involving generation and transfer of ideologies), and individual lexical priming. The latter indicates that vocabulary becomes loaded with meaning dependent on the context in which we repeatedly encounter it (Hoey 2005). I show how language is used to construct offenders negatively and thus perpetuates labelling. Part of my findings about the linguistic construction of offenders in the UK press has been published elsewhere (Tabbert 2012) and will be outlined in more detail in this chapter.

6.2.1 Naming and equating

The way offenders are referred to in terms of noun choices is one aspect of how they are viewed (Erwin-Tripp 1969; Gregoriou 2011; Leech 1999; Richardson 2007: 49ff). The major constructive device is the nominal reference, sometimes combined with a pre- or postmodifier.

As already mentioned in Chapter 5, the following nouns are lexically significant references to offenders in the ENC ('year-old' is used as a noun or as an adjective in the ENC and both variants are included here):

> man (87 sentences), gang (85), year-old (46), boy (43), brother (43), killer (38), driver (36), defendant (34), father (30), member (29), mother (27), suspect (25), officer (23), attacker (22), rapist (22), husband (21), girl (19), couple (16), cab (14), offender (13), teenager (13), chef (9), student (7).

The 23 nominal references listed above can be grouped as shown in Figure 6.1. The choice of categories is inductive as, for example, in Mahlberg (2007):

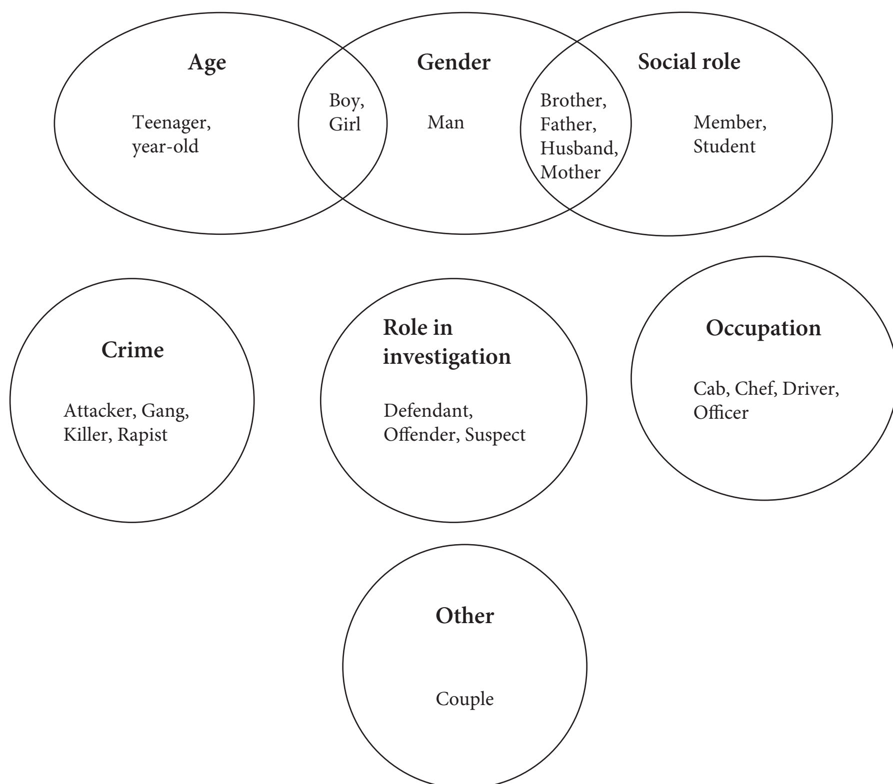


Figure 6.1 Grouping the 23 offender-referring nouns in the ENC into categories

The majority of references to offenders relate to their gender or their social role. Offenders are also named by addressing their role in the criminal proceedings as well as by equating them with their crime through defining them by what they did. Each naming noun reduces the person to one role out of many. This correlates with the fairy tale of Little Red Riding Hood which I have mentioned in connection with ideal victims (Christie 1986) in Section 2.2.2. All the information we get about the offending wolf is that he is mean, big, and black in contrast to the victim, who has got a family and visits her bedridden grandmother. In this fairy tale as well as in newspaper articles on crime, the offender is constructed one-dimensionally and reduced to his offending role [akin to what Forster (1927) terms 'flat' characters in literature]. The offender is constructed in binary opposition to the victim. The use of binary opposites in the construction of meaning and values was the focus of Derrida's (1967, 2005) concept of deconstruction. His aim was to overturn these opposites not by surpassing them but by analysing and criticising them. The linguistic analysis in this book provides a way to identify opposition in the construction of victims and offenders and allows the analyst to take a critical stance to it [see, for example, (Davies 2013; Jeffries 2010b)].

The choice of nominalising a criminal offence and thereby backgrounding the process to its product constructs the offender as the personified crime using negative associations intrinsic to the criminal offence, e.g. to rape – rapist. I will return to some of them as they occur in the examples.

In 405 sentences (out of 607 in total, or 66.72%) the node occurs in a subject position, and in 171 sentences (28.17%) in an object position. In 61 sentences (10.04%) a subject complement is used which equates the subject with its complement and thereby assigns characteristics to the subject. An example of using 'suspect' as a subject complement can be found in the following sentence:

Example 6.1:
He says he did this believing he would be a suspect because he was black.
(*The Times*, 04.04.09)

In this sentence, the four subjects 'he', which refer to the offender Rudy Guede, are in two cases followed by a subject complement ('a suspect' and 'black'), which describe and thereby construct the offender as he was assuming he was under suspicion of a criminal offence because of his black skin colour. This example demonstrates the offender's internalisation of a link between skin colour (race) and the label 'criminal'.

In 159 sentences (out of 607, or 26.19%), the node occurs together with other pre-modifying nouns.

Example 6.2:
Black cab rapist John Worboys: Profile of 'Jekyll and Hyde' character
(*The Daily Telegraph*, 13.03.09)

This headline contains two target words ('cab' and 'rapist'). The extended noun phrase 'Black cab rapist John Worboys' makes it possible to 'package up' (Jeffries 2010a: 19) the information that John Worboys is a 'rapist' as well as a 'black cab' driver, which the reader is unlikely to question and rather takes for granted. The combination of the unanchored and packaged up noun phrase containing the target words 'cab' and 'rapist' and the use of the extended noun phrase "Profile of 'Jekyll and Hyde'" inclusive of the post-modifying prepositional phrase ('Jekyll and Hyde') equates the offender to the well-known fictional and psychopathic character. This equation refers to crime as innate behaviour and to deviance by birth and constructs an offender who cannot be 'us' (Van Dijk 2006: 370).

Another example of 'packaging up' is where writers employ adjectives as premodifiers in a noun phrase. The adjective is 'the most typical vehicle for characterizing in English' (Jeffries 2007: 64) and my analysis of the 23 nodes shows that adjectives occur in 162 sentences (out of 607, or 26.68%) as part of a noun phrase. The adjective 'black' in Example 6.2 premodifies the noun 'cab' in the extended noun phrase 'Black cab rapist John Worboys' by objectively describing the colour of the cab. These kinds of adjectives are purely descriptive. In my corpus I found 116 descriptive and 52 evaluative adjectives. An evaluative adjective, which provides an opinion or a judgement, can assign negative characteristics to the offender as the following example shows:

Example 6.3:
Notorious Gooch Gang smashed as leaders jailed
(*The Times*, 07.04.09)

This subjective assessment constructs the gang as being infamous and ill-reputed and thereby arouses interest in the offenders, here seen as celebrities, people to be watched and be interested in (Gregoriou 2011).

The following example of a descriptive adjective ('alleged') premodifying the noun and node 'attackers' in the subject phrase (see underlined segment) shows another effect of premodifying:

Example 6.4:
<u>None of the alleged attackers</u> was more than 18 at the time.
(*Daily Mail,* 21.04.09; also in *The Times*, 21.04.09)

In this case, the offenders are under suspicion and only further investigation and a court trial can determine whether their guilt can be proven. The adjectival use of 'alleged' is negligible for the reader because in the subject phrase (see underlined segment) the information is hidden as a premodifier of the noun 'attackers' and hence remains unquestioned by the reader. This information is backgrounded against the foregrounded attackers' age in the subject complement phrase 'more

than 18', which takes the focus away from the fact that the offenders have not been sentenced yet and are therefore still to be regarded as innocent.

Looking at postmodifiers of the 23 nodes, the analysis shows that, in 150 sentences (out of 607, or 24.71%), a subordinate clause is used compared to the other possibility of post-modifying by a prepositional phrase, employed in 57 sentences (9.39%).

Example 6.5:
Colin Joyce, 29, the self-styled General, and Lee Amos, 32, who led the Gooch Gang that terrorised South Manchester over two decades, and nine of their henchman face long jail sentences after a five-month trial.
(*The Times,* 07.04.09)

This sentence contains an extended noun phrase which functions as the subject (see underlined segment). If we focus on the middle part from 'Lee Amos' to 'decades' we find a subordinate clause postmodifying 'Lee Amos', starting with 'who' and containing the object 'Gooch Gang' ('Gang' is the node in this sentence), which itself is postmodified by the subordinate clause 'that terrorised South Manchester over two decades'. It is this subordinate clause that I chose to demonstrate the effect of postmodifying the node. This clause describes the Gooch Gang's activities rather vaguely through the verb 'terrorised', which evokes the picture of terrorists and terrorist attacks. By giving a time frame in the temporally deictic prepositional phrase 'over two decades', the gang is constructed as persistent and comparable to terrorists, the sentencing of their leaders being a relief for the community.

As mentioned, a subject complement equates the subject to its complement and is separated from it by an intensive verb, in Example 6.1 a form of the verb 'to be', which opens the relevant descriptor for debate. Another means of equating is apposition, 'the clearest example of a frame which creates equivalence' (Jeffries 2007: 104). An apposition puts the word into the same syntactic role as the node it refers to *(idem: ibidem)* and therefore is less open to debate. An example of apposition can be found in the beginning of Example 6.5: 'Colin Joyce, 29, the self-styled General' uses 'Colin Joyce' as (part of) the subject and 'the self-styled General' as an apposition identifying the offender 'Colin Joyce'. In my corpus, an apposition occurs in 41 sentences (out of 607, or 6.75%) and is therefore less often used compared to a subject complement (61 sentences, or 10.04%). An example of an apposition is found in the following sentence:

Example 6.6:
Dougal, a qualified advanced driver, was travelling so fast he had effectively become a passenger in his own car, and had surrendered "to physics", an expert witness told the jury.
(*The Times,* 08.04.09; also in *The Independent,* 08.04.09)

PC John Dougal, a police officer who ran over and fatally injured a schoolgirl by speeding with his patrol car in pursuit of a suspect, is constructed by the employment of an apposition as 'a qualified advanced driver'. This description, even if it is objective, is likely to be unquestioned although it is opposed to the fact that he was no longer in control of his car due to the speed he drove at. This implies, via the Gricean (1975) maxim of quantity, that, because of his driving abilities, he should have been able to judge the situation correctly and thereby prevent the accident which enhances his guilt.

Another finding concerning noun phrases is nominalisation, the transformation of a process into a state. I found nominalisation in 298 sentences at least once (out of 607, or 49.09%). The effect of nominalisation is that the information is presented as a given fact or status instead of a process. This reduces the amount of information available to the reader (Henley et al. 2002) while a fact is less likely to be questioned by the reader than a process. The impact of nominalisation can be found when looking at the node 'rapist', which occurs 22 times in the corpus and is the nominalisation of the process 'to rape'. The following example illustrates the impact of nominalisation:

> Example 6.7:
> The full harrowing ordeal suffered by incest rapist Josef Fritzl's daughter was spelled out in hours of her video evidence to his trial yesterday.
> (*Yorkshire Post,* 18.03.09)

This sentence refers to the Fritzl case in Austria, where Josef Fritzl imprisoned his daughter Elisabeth Fritzl for 24 years and fathered seven children with her through repeated rape (Hall 2008). In this example, the offender is labelled as a 'rapist', equated to his crimes and thereby reduced to it. This naming option does not focus on his role in the criminal trial (e.g. 'defendant') or his gender (e.g. 'man') but instead only on the crime he committed. This negative impact gets enhanced by the premodifying noun 'incest' which makes him even more abominable. The impact of this naming choice is further enhanced by the connotations of the words 'harrowing ordeal suffered' which are each used when referring to extreme crime.

6.2.2 Contrasting

Another means of constructing offenders is through the employment of contrasts, either by creating opposition or by negation. Negation is one possibility to trigger oppositional meaning beside antonymous sense relation, syntactic trigger, etc (Jeffries 2010b). As I have stated before (see Section 3.3.1.3), although opposition and negation are closely related, they not the same. Opposition frames experience in binary terms and negation raises unrealised possibilities

by evoking the presence of an event, a state, or an existence and at the same time its absence (Nahajec 2009). Jeffries (2010b: 26f) argues that opposites are 'one of the most important of the linguistic-cognitive structures by which we characterize and organize our world, and thus also our world-view'. The analysis of the corpus shows that 93 sentences (out of 607, or 15.32%) contain opposition and 62 sentences (10.21%) negation.

> Example 6.8:
> She said: "The man who attacked me avoided paying for his crime for all these years, whilst the effect of what happened that night has stayed with me. …"
> (*Yorkshire Post,* 16.03.09)

This sentence refers to a rape which happened in 1997. Because the offender fled after his first arrest and disappeared for many years, he was only convicted in 2009. The sentence contrasts the offender's refusal to 'pay for his crime' in the past against the enduring effect of the crime for the victim. The syntactic trigger for this first oppositional meaning in the sentence is the conjunction 'whilst'. The choice of verb tense [past tense in the first clause ('avoided') and present perfect in the second ('has stayed')] underlines the oppositional meaning: the offender's one-time avoidance to pay for the crime versus the enduring effect of the crime for the victim. This sentence thereby constructs an opposition between the offender and the victim with a particular focus on the consequences of this crime. It becomes clear that paying for his crime means a court conducting a criminal trial with a guilty verdict and a sentence in the end. The lexical verb 'avoided' provides an example for another oppositional meaning in this sentence by means of negation. A picture of the offender being brought to justice is evoked and the absence thereof at the same time. This implies that the offender must take responsibility for his crime and avoiding bringing him to justice is not tolerated.

These two oppositions construct the offender as being cowardly and too weak to take responsibility for his offence, in contrast to the victim who could not avoid the crime and its consequences and is still affected by them.

Another example for opposition is the following sentence:

> Example 6.9:
> Married Peter Clayton, 56, began meeting the sixth-form girl at break times at the posh school near Ipswich, Suffolk.
> (*The Sun,* 21.03.2009)

This sentence shows an opposition between offender and victim at the intra-clause level in comparison to Example 6.8 where the opposition between victim and offender is to be found at the inter-clause level. In Example 6.9, oppositional meaning is evoked by constructing the offender through a noun phrase in a subject position and the victim through a noun phrase in an object position. The naming

choices for the offender (pre-modifying adjective 'married', his first and surname as the head noun and his age as a postmodifying adjective phrase) provide a contrast to the victim, who is named (maybe due to legal reasons) as 'girl' together with the pre-modifying adjective 'sixth-form' indicating her age. These choices construct the offender as a grown-up man in opposition to the victim who is an under-aged and innocent child.

6.2.3 Processes and states

In the majority of sentences, I found active voice verbs (444 sentences out of 607, or 73.14%), whereas in just 196 sentences passive voice is used (32.28%), which seems to be a feature of newspaper language (Busà 2014: 102). The overlap of 33 sentences is due to sentences that contain active and passive voice verbs in their different clauses. I also analysed transitivity, using the model developed by Simpson (1993) from Halliday's work (1985) and the findings complete the picture of verb choices in my corpus. In the majority of sentences, Material Action Intention (456 sentences out of 607, or 75.12%) is employed with the node as the actor in 231 sentences or the node as the goal in 229 sentences. Material Action Intention (MAI) can be defined as an animate actor actively 'doing' an action to a goal (Simpson 1993: 89). In 129 sentences (21.25%), the actor is omitted which depersonalises and sometimes even obfuscates responsibility for the action (Busà 2014: 108). In case of Example 6.3, the omitted actors are police forces and a court, which need not to be mentioned because of its obviousness and the reader with his or her background knowledge is able to deduct this.

Even though the majority of sentences contain active voice, the shares of the node being the actor or the goal are nearly equal in size. In the majority of sentences, either the offender's intentional actions, mainly the crime, or his or her behaviour in court, are described, or what happened to the offender during the investigation or the criminal trial. Henley et al. (1995: 60) found that 'news media often report violence against women [...] in passive-verb format', meaning that women are the subjects of clauses about crimes done to them and thereby the goal of the crime. This foregrounds the women and not the agents acting upon them and influences the 'perceptions of violence and its effects' as well as hiding agency (Henley et al. 1995: 65). This accords with Ehrlich's (2001) findings that offenders themselves or their representatives often obscure or eliminate agency by means of passive voice.

> Example 6.10:
> A TEENAGE girl who stabbed a woman in a jealous rage was jailed for nine years yesterday.
> (*The Sun,* 20.02.09)

This subheadline shows a combination of active and passive voice. The subject 'A TEENAGE girl' is the actor of a MAI ('stabbed') in the subordinate clause and, at the same time, the goal of the action 'was jailed' in the main clause with the actor (a judge) being omitted. The MAI of sentencing the girl is foregrounded through the main clause whereas the crime the girl committed is presented in a subordinate clause which functions as a postmodifier to the head noun 'girl'. This contrasts her being the offender and an actor intentionally committing the crime versus her being the goal by passively getting sentenced. It also shows the reason as well as the necessity of bringing the offender to justice and emphasises that justice has been done.

6.2.4 Opinions

One way to present opinions is to quote other people's utterances. There are different ways to present their verbiage according to the model introduced by Leech and Short (1981) and further developed by Semino and Short (2004) (see Section 3.3.1.6). The two most frequently used options are Direct Speech (DS), which occurs in 103 sentences (out of 607, or 16.96%), and Indirect Speech (IS), which contains the verbiage 'as a version of the supposed verbatim speech' (Jeffries 2010a: 134). The latter occurs in 108 sentences (17.79%). An example of DS can be found in the following sentence uttered by a prosecutor:

> Example 6.11:
> Ieuan Morris, prosecuting, said: "The defendant is a predatory paedophile and sexual pervert who secretly engaged in two known acts of sexual penetration with a pre-pubescent girl who was either asleep or for some reason not conscious, at night, in the isolation of his static caravan in Mid Wales. …"
> (*The Independent*, 17.04.09)

This sentence constructs the offender as being evil and taking advantage of an under-aged and unconscious girl in a remote area. He is equated to his crime by being named and labelled as a 'predatory paedophile and sexual pervert', thus ostracised from society and constructed as 'a breed apart' (Kitzinger 2009: 87), (see also Example 6.7). This judgement is given weight by being officially uttered by a prosecutor, an authoritative person who has a vested interest in creating such a construction. This is a very manipulative way of implanting other people's views upon the reader because in this context the reader assumes that the prosecutor is likely to have insight and to know all the facts, and his statement is therefore given authoritative weight. Also, the use of Direct Speech in contrast to other options (for example Indirect Speech) constructs the notion that this utterance is faithful to the original utterance which, of course, is unlikely to be checked by most readers because it would take some effort to obtain the transcript of the trial. Both

the illocutionary force behind the utterance and the locution are presented and this creates the illusion of faithfulness. Direct Speech and quoting an official person construct this utterance as a given fact rather than an opinion which can be contested.

The following example shows a combined use of DS and IS, which is even more manipulative because it blends verbatim quotations with a reworded version of the original verbiage:

> Example 6.12:
> Judge Langstaff said that Joyce possessed 'considerable personal charm', organisational ability and business skills, but also had 'murderous intent' and was a 'deeply controlling man … I accept undoubtedly you are a leader of men'.
> (*The Times,* 08.04.09, omission in the original)

In this example, DS, marked by inverted commas and embedded in the IS, both present the judge's opinion of the offender. Here again an authoritative person, a judge, is quoted, assigning the judgement a high value (Busà 2014: 120). The reader is unable to assess if this blend of the judge's words and their reformulation still contain the original illocutionary force, which is the underlying intention of the speaker. At the same time, it allows the writer to merge those parts of the locution which serve the intended construction of the offender and leave others out. The writer is thus able to hide his own opinion by purporting to quote other people. The offender Joyce is constructed as possessing certain positive character features ('considerable personal charm', 'organisational ability', 'business skills'), but these combined with his negative character features ('murderous intent' and being a 'deeply controlling man') turn him into a calculating and dangerous perpetrator able to lead a gang of criminals whom he uses for his criminal purposes. The fact that he is a negative leading figure is underpinned by the final phrase ('I accept undoubtedly you are a leader of men') which implies that a 'leader of men' with a 'murderous intent' and the need to control others cannot be positively associated.

In this context, I looked at the sources quoted in the ENC and found that the police (50 sentences out of 607, or 8.23%), the prosecutor or the prosecution office (28 sentences, 4.61%), and the judge or the court (27 sentences, 4.45%) are most frequently quoted. This supports the notion that criminal justice institutions are primary definers of deviance (Hall et al. 1978: 58; Newburn 2007: 99) as well as primary news sources (Jewkes 2009: XVII). The information given by authoritative persons or experts contributes to their supposed truthfulness beyond any doubt. In 43 sentences (7.08%) unknown sources are quoted as those who mostly spoke in court during the trial. This assigns their verbiage an official colour and a notion of truthfulness because they are under oath. An interesting aspect is that

offenders are quoted in 32 sentences (5.27%) and thus more often than prosecutors or judges, whereas victims' utterances are quoted in 17 sentences (2.80%) only (see Example 6.8). An example of a quotation from an offender is the following sentence:

> Example 6.13:
> Elisabeth's harrowing evidence of her imprisonment and rape, combined with her bravery in turning up to witness his humiliation, stripped away the arrogance and left a broken old man who finally acknowledged guilt and expressed remorse.
> (*Daily Mail,* 19.03.2009)

Again in reference to the Fritzl-case in Austria (see also Example 6.7), this sentence constructs the offender by using different linguistic devices including speech presentation. It is worth looking at the interplay of those devices as well as the dependency of the offender's construction from the construction of the victim instead of analysing speech presentation only. What catches the eye first is the employment of an oppositional structure between the victim and the offender as well as utilising a cause-impact relation. Elisabeth Fritzl, the victim, is mentioned first and is thus foregrounded. She is referred to by her first name even though she was 42-year-old when her ordeal ended and the court trial happened. This evokes a personal relationship between the reader and the victim and provides a constrast to the naming choice for the offender. Josef Fritzl is named by using the nominal reference 'man'. This not only provides a gap between the reader and the offender but also between the victim and the offender. Although victim and offender share the same family name, it is only used in reference to the offender to broaden the gap between father and daughter. This also backgrounds the fact that the offender is known to the victim as in most cases of sexual violence, which adjusts the story to stereotypes of 'stranger-danger' (Stanko 2000: 152) (see Section 2.7). The victim is constructed in one extended noun phrase with the head nouns 'evidence' and 'bravery'. While the second term is positively connoted by its literal meaning, the first one gets positive connotations by its proximity to the evaluative adjective 'harrowing'. Through the use of nominalisation, those characteristics are presented as an irrevocable fact. A possessive adjective ('her') is used to ascribe character features to the victim, thus constructing Elisabeth Fritzl as a heroine. The offences she endured are presented by nominalisations of the offensive acts ('imprisonment', 'rape', 'humiliation'), which allows the reader to perceive them as facts instead of processes because they are existentially presupposed as well as 'packaged up' in an extended noun phrase (Jeffries 2010a). A distinction is made between the offences through the employment of possessive adjectives ('<u>her</u> imprisonment and rape' versus '<u>his</u>

humiliation'), which emphasises an allocation. Although the crimes can all be allocated to Fritzl, the possessive 'her' brings the victim into focus at the receiving end of the deed. When looking at the transitivity structures in this sentence, it is salient that the victim is portrayed performing material actions intentionally ('turning up', 'left') in contrast to the verbalisation processes observed with the offender ('acknowledged', 'expressed'). His verbiage is not quoted directly or indirectly but is instead presented as Narrator's report of Speech Act, a category which is less faithful (Jeffries 2010a: 132). These verbalisations of acknowledging his guilt are also to be seen in contrast to the nominalisations of the offences he committed before ('imprisonment', 'rape', 'humiliation') as well as his negatively connoted character feature ('arrogance') and thereby a change happens to the offender which, in a broader sense, can be understood as a victory of the victim over the offender with the help of a criminal trial.

6.2.5 Summary

People get labelled as deviant mainly through their conviction but also through the way society views them. The latter largely depends on crime reports in the news because not many people get first-hand information on crime and criminals and therefore depend on media reports for information. This study names and illustrates the most significant linguistic devices used to construct offenders in my corpus. Adjectives and a combination of nouns in noun phrases 'package up' (Jeffries 2010a: 19) information about the offender and remain unquestioned. The same effect is achieved by nominalisation and apposition. Direct Speech and Indirect Speech are used to transport subjective assessments about the offender, mainly quoting authoritative persons who sometimes make those subjective assessments. The offenders are also constructed by contrasting them against the respective victim(s), which arouses a dichotomous picture of the innocent and pitiable victim versus an evil and despicable offender. The linguistic devices work together to construct an image of the offender that places him or her outside society and labels him or her (and not only the offence) as deviant. I have found that offenders are equalised with their crimes. This contributes to the current societal tendency of turning away from the notion of rehabilitating offenders, improving their self-esteem, and developing 'insight' into their behavior patterns, as opposed to imposing 'restrictions' on them (Garland 2001: 176). Being aware of how meaning is constructed textually helps us uncover these ideologies and view offenders as the human beings they still are (Tabbert 2012: 143).

After having presented the results of the analysis of the 607 offender-related sentences in the ENC, the following sections present the finding of the analysis of 857 victim-related sentences.

6.3 Victims

The following discussion shows how the construction of victims is dependent on the construction of the respective offenders according to Christie's (1986) notion that ideal victims need and create ideal offenders. I will also demonstrate how the hierarchy of victimisation (see Chapter 2) is mirrored in the articles, namely that some victims are more deserving. This means they are given the victimhood-status more easily and they are more ideal in terms of victimhood-status than others. This leads to foregrounding the most suitable facets of the case and, in particular, the personality of the victim to construct a picture of a deserving victim. Such a victim then shapes the story according to the criteria of newsworthiness.

6.3.1 Naming and equating

The nominal reference for a victim is one of the major constructive devices because it can foreground certain aspects of the victim's personality (Clark 1992: 211). The lexical choice of one word over another creates a map (Fowler 1991: 82) which attributes values (Mayr et al. 2012: 28) and thus transports ideologies. According to Fowler (1991: 80), vocabulary is a 'map of the objects, concepts, processes and relationships about which the culture needs to communicate'. I have identified the following nouns to be lexically significant in naming victims in the ENC. Here again, 'year-old' is used as a noun or as an adjective and both variants are included:

> victim (130 sentences), child (113), woman (108), year-old (89), girl (75), boy (70), man (66), body (52), daughter (37), son (35), wife (24), teenager (19), friend (15), student (12), couple (7), dad (5)

Out of these 16 nouns, the following seven have already been identified to be lexically significant for naming offenders too (see Section 6.2.1):

> boy, couple, girl, man, student, teenager, year-old

This shows that although naming choices for victims and offenders differ as expected, there is an overlap of nouns which are used to name both offenders and victims. The identified 16 lexically significant nominal references for victims can be grouped as shown in Figure 6.2 below.

When comparing Figure 6.2 with Figure 6.1, one can observe that many victim-naming nouns can be grouped into more different categories than those for the offender. This suggests that victim-referring words trigger more lexical fields at the same time than those used to name offenders. The majority of victim-referring nouns foreground the victim's age, gender, social role, or family relations. By foregrounding the victim's relations to other people as in the categories 'social role' and 'family relations', these naming choices construct the victim as being part

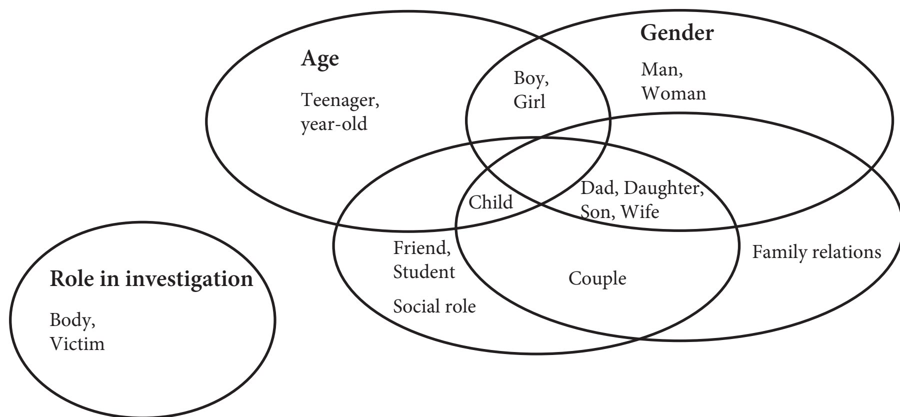


Figure 6.2 Grouping the 16 victim-referring nouns in the ENC into categories

of a social system (e.g. a family or couple, the latter referring to relationships here whereas mainly to two of the same kind in Section 6.2.1). This is in line with the broader definition of victimhood provided by the United Nations (see Section 2.2.2) and includes those people who are indirectly affected by what happened to the victim because of their closeness to him or her. The effect is that the impact of the crime gets enhanced by more people being affected by it. On the other hand, a victim who is constructed as being loved and cared for by others evokes empathy and concern because he or she must be a 'good person'.

The victim-related nouns mainly construct the victim as being either female or neutral in terms of gender (681 sentences out of 857, or 79.46%). Only 'boy', 'man', 'son', and 'dad' refer directly to a male victim (176 sentences out of 857, 20.54%). Taking into account that 'boy' constructs an immature victim, I conclude that the majority of names for victims contribute to the construction of a physically weak and vulnerable person in accordance with the characteristics of an ideal victim (Christie 1986). Also, victims are often defined by their connection to another person rather than by reference to their own character. Bearing in mind that the naming choice emphasises only one aspect of the many facets of the personality of the victim, I agree with Gregoriou (2011: 34), who states that those facets are deliberately foregrounded in order to evoke empathy.

In 439 sentences (out of 857, or 51.23%), the node word occurs in an object position, whereas in 322 sentences (37.57%) the victim-referring noun is the subject. This is in line with the results of transitivity analysis showing that the victim is the goal in 370 sentences (43.17%) and the actor in only 97 sentences (11.32%). In 337 (39.32%) sentences I found an actor other than the target. This constructs the victim as being acted upon, as the passive recipient, as can be seen in the following example:

Example 6.14:
The diary also shows how evil Fritzl taunted his cellar children with photographs he took of their siblings in the garden or at a swimming pool.
(*The Sun,* 09.03.2009)

Example 6.14 refers again to the Fritzl case in Austria (see also Examples 6.7 and 6.13). In this sentence, the victims ('children') get tortured twice, first by being imprisoned in a cellar and second by being shown pictures of their siblings enjoying their life in freedom, something they were deprived of. The grammatical number of victims in this sentence is plural ('children'). Victim-naming nouns are in 267 sentences (31.16%) in plural number and in 635 sentences (74.10%) in the singular. The victims in this sentence are presented as objects in a subordinate clause which constructs them as being the passive recipients of Fritzl's cruelty. In this example, we have two premodifiers: 'his' (possessive) and 'cellar' (target together with another noun). The use of premodifiers is found frequently in the construction of victims in the ENC. I found the determiner 'the' in 316 sentences (out of 857 sentences, or 36.87%), descriptive adjectives in 257 sentences (29.99%), the node occurring together with other nouns in 215 sentences (25.09%), and possessives in 179 sentences (20.89%). Especially the use of possessives is of importance because it constructs a relationship between the victim and the offender, even if merely because of the crime. In Example 6.14, the possessive 'his' emphasises the fact that Fritzl is not only the kidnapper of the children but also their biological father. The following example illustrates the use of premodifiers:

Example 6.15:
He stalked a small, physically vulnerable boy and engaged his victim in a complete charade, calculated and designed to engineer circumstances whereby he could attack his prey when alone and away from other people.
(*Daily Mail,* 25.03.2009)

In Example 6.15, presenting the verbiage of a prosecutor, the victim is mentioned three times, through the nouns 'boy', 'victim', and 'prey', all in an object position. A shift in the construction of the victim in the course of this sentence can be observed from a vulnerable immature victim towards a predator's prey. This is achieved through the use of different linguistic devices. In the beginning of the sentence, the choice of an indefinite article ('a') and of descriptive ('small') and evaluative ('physically vulnerable') adjectives constructs a weak and innocent victim which evokes a caring attitude. The noun 'victim' combined with the possessive 'his' later on shows a development in the relationship between offender and victim by allocating the latter to the former and thus signalling possession. This intermediate stage in the construction of the victim provides the ground for further change

in the construction of the victim and is still part of the main clause. The third time the victim is mentioned, the possessive 'his' is repeated and the conceptual metaphor VIOLENT CRIME IS HUNTING is used [see (Lakoff et al. 2003) for an overview of cognitive metaphor theory and Example 6.23 below]. Change also occurs through the choice of the nominal reference 'prey' and of the verb 'attack', as well as the prepositional phrase 'when alone and away from other people' functioning as an adverbial. The source domain, a hunting scene, is used to conceptualise the target domain, violent crime, by relating these two. Violent crime is explained and understood 'in terms of another' (Lakoff et al. 2003: 5), namely a hunt. This time the victim is part of a subordinate clause, which contributes to the construction of a pitiable victim and evokes sympathy.

Taking into account Christie's (1986) notion of an interdependency of the construction of victim and offender, the victim is only one side of the coin. In this example, the shift outlined above effects the construction of the offender as a powerful, predatory animal chasing an innocent child who is alone and at his mercy. Also, the hunting metaphor correlates with Opportunity Theory (see Section 2.2.1) and a rational choice offender because the offender created a convenient opportunity for his attack and weighed the costs against the benefits of the crime. The triangle of crime, namely a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian, is constructed linguistically.

In the following example, the victim occurs in a subject position (within a subordinate clause):

> Example 6.16:
> Detective Chief Inspector Michael Hanlon – who described the case as 'one of the most horrific' he had dealt with – said the victim was killed with a large knife driven into his back, piercing his body cavity and causing a fatal wound.
> (*Daily Mirror,* 15.04.2009)

We find the victim in the subject position of the subordinate clause and he is thereby foregrounded although he is acted upon. The victim's passivity and his being at the receiving end of the action are constructed through the use of passive sentence structure, the victim being the goal of the action and the actor being omitted. The word choices 'case' and 'victim', as well as the rather technical language when describing what actually happened to the victim, depersonalise the crime, potentially increasing the degree of distance we feel from the victim. This enables the reader to cope with the brutality of the crime which might otherwise be too much to bear. This example provides a good starting point for presenting the results of the transitivity analysis which I will detail in the following section and shows how naming choices and transitivity interlock in the construction of a victim.

6.3.2 Processes and states

The majority of sentences can be categorised as Material Action Intention (673 sentences out of 857, or 78.53%) (see also Example 6.15). This finding echoes the result of the transitivity analysis of the offender-related sentences (see Section 6.2.3) and links with the already mentioned result that the victim is mainly found in an object position (see Section 6.3.1). I also found relational processes in 294 sentences (34.31%). This category of transitivity 'expresses processes of being' (Simpson 1993: 91), and includes a carrier and an attribute, as illustrated in the following example:

> Example 6.17:
> Doctors initially said the older boy, who suffered a life threatening head injury, was critical.
> (*Daily Mirror,* 08.04.2009)

This sentence refers to the case of two immature boys (10 and 11-year-old) who attempted to murder two other boys (9 and 11 year-old) in Edlington, South Yorkshire (*Daily Mirror*, 08.04.2009). In this subordinate sentence structure, the clause 'the older boy […] was critical' describes the condition one of the victims was in, using an intensive relational process. In this sentence, 'the older boy' is the carrier and 'critical' the attribute. This transitivity category is used to describe the condition the victim is in to illustrate the severity and the impact of the crime. The severe injuries have an impact on the construction of the offenders although they are absent in this sentence. This means that causing such injuries to children who are the offenders' peers constructs enhanced cruelty and brutality.

When analysing verb tenses (which is also a means of deixis and thus constructs time and space in the text worlds of the newspaper articles), I found simple past in the majority of sentences (706 sentences, or 82.38%), followed by simple present in 190 sentences (22.17%) and past perfect in 79 sentences (9.22%). Example 6.17 above illustrates the use of simple past anchoring the event in the past. These results contradict Benarek and Caple's (2012: 87) finding that, in newspaper writing, verbs occur more often in the present tense than in the past.

I also analysed verb voice and found active voice in 731 sentences (85.30%) and passive voice in 265 (30.92%). An example of active voice is the following sentence:

> Example 6.18:
> He claims 48-year-old Mrs Chenery-Wickens staged her own disappearance to escape worries she had surrounding her finances and work, Lewes Crown Court heard.
> (*Daily Mail,* 23.02.2009)

This sentence refers to a court trial against 'spiritual minister' David Chenery-Wickens, who murdered his wife Diane, an 'award-winning make-up artist' and dumped her body in the countryside where it was later found in a decomposed state. In court he claimed that his wife committed suicide but was eventually proved wrong (*Daily Mail*, 23.02.2009). In this sentence, the victim is constructed as having actively done something when in reality she was acted upon. This is achieved through the use of active voice and Material Action Intention. The verb 'staged' echoes the victim's profession and at the same time implies the creation of an illusion which has an indirect effect on the truthfulness of the offender's pleading to the charge. Namely, it suggests that his statement might be an illusion, too. The victim's action is presented in a subordinate clause (I found subordinate sentence structure in 527 sentences, or 61.49%), which leads to a foregrounding of the offender in the main clause instead of the victim. This foregrounding effect is intensified through the offender being the sayer and the subordinate clause being the verbiage (Simpson 1993: 90). Overall, I found verbalisation in 194 sentences (22.64%). The speciality of this sentence is that the victim's Material Action Intention and the offender's verbalisation are both the phenomenon the court (senser) perceives and thereby part of a mental, namely perception, process (Simpson 1993: 91).

6.3.3 Opinions

In Examples 6.15 and 6.16, we find speech presentations that quote a prosecutor and a police officer. In the analysis of the victim-related sentences, I found Direct Speech in 288 sentences (26.60%) and Indirect Speech in 160 (18.67%) (see Section 3.3.1.6). In Section 6.2.4, I showed that Direct and Indirect Speech are more often used in victim-related sentences than in offender-related sentences (DS: 16.96%, IS: 17.79%). The following sentence demonstrates the power of this device in the construction of a victim:

> Example 6.19:
> One of his previous victims was a four-year-old girl and he had written in one letter: "I'm just a paedophile, the best, and I love it".
> (*Yorkshire Post,* 14.02.2009)

This sentence contains Direct Speech taken from a letter written by the offender. In the course of the investigation several diary entries and notes were seized (*Yorkshire Post*, 14.02.2009). Therefore it can be concluded that the choice of this particular sentence over others to be presented in this newspaper article is already manipulative. The offender labels himself as a paedophile (Becker 1966), which shows his internalisation and therefore the naturalisation of the labelling process, which Lemert (1951) called secondary deviance (see Section 2.2.1.1). But although through labelling he positions himself at one of the lowest moral levels in society,

he aims at distinguishing himself from other paedophiles by claiming superiority and pride. His verbiage contradicts expectations that an offender should be sorry and show guilt and remorse. His statement 'and I love it' distances him even further from the law-abiding society (which is 'us') by implying a passion and therefore a voluntary element instead of an obsession, which is often used in an attempt to mitigate guilt. The phrase 'One of his previous victims' presupposes that this four-year-old girl is not his first one and that he committed more than two offences, namely (a) the crime against the four-year-old girl and (b) the current crime which initiated this newspaper article. Direct Writing in this sentence is used to construct a morally despicable offender who shows no remorse. Using the offender's own verbiage is 'particularly dramatic' (Busà 2014: 119). The use of Direct Speech compared to less faithful forms of presenting the offender's verbiage (see Section 3.3.1.6) preserves the locution and illocution of the utterance and thus creates the impression that the offender speaks up for himself. This leaves the reader to judge the offender by his own verbiage, which is far more powerful than the use of another form of speech presentation which the reader might question for its faithfulness. This construction of the offender has an impact on the construction of the victim. The victim is foregrounded by being mentioned first. She is the embodiment of innocence and a deserving victim in terms of victimhood status by reference to her young age in a subject and subject complement structure. But the major linguistic device which constructs her in terms of being morally innocent is the choice of Direct Speech and the contrast between her and the morally despicable offender. Those characteristics of victim and offender are accentuated, placing them at opposing ends on a morality scale. This example underpins Christie's notion (1986) of the interdependency of the construction of victim and offender in terms of their idealisation. It also illustrates a stereotyping of offenders which 'is the idea that social stereotypes exaggerate and homogenise traits held to be characteristic of particular categories and serve as blanket generalisations for all individuals assigned to such categories' (Pickering 2001: 10). This stereotyping constructs a 'flat' character (Forster 1927) which is 'schema reinforcing' (Culpeper 2001: 95) because he provides no surprises. It also allows a suppression of any consideration of the offender's motive or his individual biography but instead provides the ground for a 'moral workout' (Jewkes 2009: VIII; Katz 1987: 67).

When analysing the sources quoted in the victim-related sentences in the ENC, I found that here again the police (97 sentences out of 857), the prosecutor/prosecution office (47 sentences) and the judge/court (43 sentences) are the primary definers (Hall et al. 1978: 58; Newburn 2007: 99) in the construction of victims, sharing together 21.82%. The second most often quoted group (10.62%) are the victims themselves (34 sentences, 3.97%) and the victim's relatives/friends (57 sentences, 6.65%) which often replace the victim's voice, for example in murder cases. When comparing this result with offender-referring sentences, I conclude

that victims are more often quoted in sentences which relate to themselves than to offenders.

The third most frequent source quoted in victim-related sentences are offenders (60 sentences, or 7.00%) who thereby occur more often here than in offender-related sentences (5.27%, see Section 6.2.4). Unknown sources heard in court are quoted in 57 sentences (6.65%).

The following example shows how the words of the supposedly murdered victim's father are used to construct the victim:

> Example 6.20:
> Miss Lawrence's father, Peter Lawrence, who was at the news conference, said he understood why the police were now treating his daughter's disappearance as murder but said he believed she was still alive.
> (*Independent,* 24.04.2009)

This sentence refers to a police investigation after 35-year-old chef Claudia Lawrence from Heworth, York, went missing on 18.03.2009 (*Independent*, 01.04.2009). So far, this case remains unsolved and the victim has not yet been found.[1] The victim's father, a lawyer, is quoted in Indirect Speech. This choice of category is a stylistic one and is still close to the original verbiage in terms of faithfulness (see Section 3.3.1.6). The illocutionary force of the victim's father's utterance would change considerably if the sentence was transferred to Narrator's presentation of Voice as I have done below:

> Example 6.21:
> Miss Lawrence's father, Peter Lawrence, who was at the news conference, realised that the case of his daughter is handled as murder but keeps up hope to see her alive.

In Example 6.21, the illocutionary force of the utterance has changed considerably because the speech presentation is less faithful to the locution and also some details from the original utterance are missing, for example, the subject who handles the case as murder. This example illustrates the manipulative power of speech presentation already without the reader being able to compare it with the actual utterance.

However, the change in the police investigation from a missing person case to a murder investigation makes Claudia Lawrence's father realise that the police have given up hope to find his daughter alive although he is not convinced. The father's concern for his daughter's wellbeing and whereabouts is constructed through the employment of epistemic modality, using the lexical verb 'believed'.

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1. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Disappearance_of_Claudia_Lawrence

I found epistemic modality in 143 sentences (16.69%), with the use of lexical verbs in 69 (8.05%). The father's realisation that his daughter might be dead constructs a family disaster and ordeal which implies strong family ties and a victim who is loved and cared for. The contradiction between his realisation that his daughter fell victim to a capital crime and his hope to find his daughter alive is constructed through opposition, using the conjunction 'but' as a syntactic trigger. I found opposition in 216 sentences (25.20%), mainly achieved through negation in 107 (12.49%) or syntactic triggers in 92 (10.74%). The use of these linguistic devices has an impact on the construction of the victim. By anchoring the victim firmly within a social system (family), the victim becomes idealised in Christie's terms (1986).

6.3.4 Differences between victims and offenders

Having outlined the major linguistic devices in the construction of offenders and victims respectively in the ENC, this section presents the identified differences which I obtained through log-likelihood ratio calculation (see Chapter 5). Significance of the devices used to construct offenders and victims respectively was obtained through a descending order of percentages of occurrences whereas the significant differences were obtained through log-likelihood ratio calculation. Although a log-likelihood ratio result above 10.83 already indicates significance, I focused on the highest values (up to a limit of log-likelihood ratio Figure 20.00), because the higher the log-likelihood ratio figure, the more significant the difference. Table 6.1 below shows the results in descending order:

Table 6.1 Significant differences between victim- and offender-related sentences

Structural device	Significance value (log-likelihood ratio)	Sentences where structural device is more used	Example
other actor than target	169.62	victim-related	6.14, 6.15
target=actor	142.63	offender-related	6.10
target=subject	122.65	offender-related	6.4
target=object	79.33	victim-related	6.14, 6.15
target=(part of the) adverbial	75.06	victim-related	6.22
relational processes	53.02	victim-related	6.17
active voice	32.66	victim-related	6.18
premodifying possessive adjective	28.71	victim-related	6.14
metaphor	28.50	offender-related	6.23

(*Continued*)

Table 6.1 Significant differences between victim- and offender-related sentences (Continued)

Structural device	Significance value (log-likelihood ratio)	Sentences where structural device is more used	Example
nominalisation	25.92	offender-related	6.2
other premodifiers	25.59	offender-related	6.2
no actor	25.04	offender-related	6.3
premodifying descriptive adjectives	22.65	victim-related	6.15
opposition	21.89	victim-related	6.19

The major differences stem from the analysis of victim- or offender-naming noun phrases and verb phrases. In Table 6.1, each structural device is attributed a contextualized example. Those devices which only turn up in the significance analysis of the differences between structural devices in offender- and victim-related sentences, namely 'target as part of the adverbial' and 'metaphor', will be explained in the remainder of this chapter. A significance analysis using log-likelihood ratio calculation to detect differences is able to identify additional devices which would not have been apparent when only comparing percentages.

The next sentence shows the victim in connection with an adverbial. I found this constellation in 144 victim-related sentences (16.80%):

> Example 6.22:
> A 50-year-old man has been arrested in connection with the murder of teenager Colette Aram 25 years ago, police said today.
> (*The Independent,* 08.04.2009)

The adverbial 'in connection with the murder of teenager Colette Aram 25 years ago' provides information about why the offender has been arrested. Although the offender has just been arrested and not been sentenced yet, the crime is already referred to as murder. This anticipates the legal subsumption by the court where the offence could be classified as, for example, manslaughter, manslaughter through culpable negligence, etc. (Ashworth 1998: 194f). Example 6.22 implies that the arrested 50-year-old man is Colette Aram's murderer unconcerned with evidential sufficiency (Ashworth 1998: 180). This is achieved through the employment of a subject-predicator-adverbial (SPA) sentence structure, the use of nominalisation ('murder') in the extended noun phrase 'the murder of teenager Colette Aram 25 years ago', which turns the process 'to murder' into a given fact, and the postmodification of the head noun 'murder'. This allows the writer

to 'package up' (Jeffries 2010a: 19) information to be taken for granted (see also Example 6.2).

The last example in this chapter illustrates the use of metaphors (as briefly mentioned in relation to Example 6.15) and contains two target nouns, one of the statistically significant names for an offender ('girl') and one for a victim ('teenager').

> Example 6.23:
> A 15-year-old girl lured a 'smitten' teenager to his brutal death in a honey trap arranged by his love rival, a court heard today.
> (*Daily Mail,* 21.04.2009)

This sentence refers to the killing of 16-year-old Shakilus Townsend, who was in love with a 15-year-old girl, whose name remains unknown for legal reasons. The girl did not reciprocate his feelings but was in love with 18-year-old Danny McLean instead. Danny, on the other hand, had lost interest in her so she started having an affair with Shakilus to evoke jealousy. Finally, she agreed to lead Shakilus into a cul-de-sac where Danny and others were waiting to beat him to death (*Daily Mail*, 21.04.2009).

The first metaphor ('honey trap') constructs this crime as an animal hunt (VIOLENT CRIME IS HUNTING). A picture of a bear hunt is created where the animal is lured with honey, something sweet and irresistible. Additionally, 'honey trap' has taken on a secondary meaning derived from the original metaphor. It is conventionally used nowadays to refer to a situation where a victim is taken advantage of by a woman, whom the victim is led to believe is sexually interested in him. This may be the image that comes to mind for most readers, as opposed to the underlying original conceptual metaphor.

The victim Shakilus is unaware of the danger but instead enjoys something he desires, namely being together with the girl he is in love with. He is constructed as being blind for love and therefore defenceless and naïve whereas the offenders, Danny and the girl, are constructed as being superior tacticians taking advantage of Shakilus' feelings and cluelessness. Here again (see also Example 6.15) a hunting metaphor is used to construct a pitiable and innocent victim in contrast to cruel and merciless offenders.

The other metaphor in this sentence ('love rival') constructs love as a competition or a battle. Although Shakilus did not stand a chance to win the girl's love in this situation and Danny had lost interest in her, this metaphor evokes a picture of two men fighting for the same girl. This demonstrates foregrounding of particular aspects of the case in accordance with the criteria of newsworthiness (see Section 2.7), namely a love story with Shakilus as the spurned victim and Danny

and the girl as cold and evil offenders. Although this case shows immature and pathological behaviour on the side of the offenders, which has nothing in common with love, the aspect of love is foregrounded by the employment of the LOVE IS A BATTLE metaphor.

The use of metaphors allows the reader to understand and experience 'one kind of thing in terms of another' (Lakoff et al. 2003: 5). Because our conceptual system is to a large extent structured metaphorically, the use of metaphorical linguistic expressions is familiar to our brains and can thus be understood easily (Lakoff et al. 2003: 6). The other side of the coin is that metaphors constrain our thoughts and prevent us from looking at the broader picture, namely taking other aspects of the issue into account (Lakoff et al. 2003: 10). Metaphors are therefore a powerful device with which it is possible to restrict the different facets of a case to those aspects which accord with the criteria of newsworthiness and construct ideal victims and offenders (Christie 1986).

Having pointed out and illustrated the differences in the construction of victims and offenders in the British Press, it is also important to note that the construction of victims and offenders has a lot in common as well. For example, there is no significant difference in the use of speech presentation, conditional structures, sentence structures, modality, and the use of tenses. This might be due to the fact that we have been looking at English language sentences only so far. In the next chapter, I explain how these structural devices are used in the German data.

6.4 Summary

This chapter has shed light on the construction of offenders and victims in the ENC. I illustrated how naming choices and noun phrases containing the target word construct a one-dimensional offender and a female or sexually neutral victim firmly anchored within a social system (e.g. a family). Thereby the circle of people affected by the crime is enlarged, which enhances its impact. The importance of premodifiers in noun phrases, namely adjectives, has been demonstrated. Particular importance is attached to the use of possessives which allocate the victim to the respective offender and thus construct a relationship between them arising from the crime. In the majority of sentences, the victim naming noun occurs in an object position. Taking into account the results of transitivity analysis where the victim is mainly the goal, the victim is constructed as a passive recipient of an action, namely a crime. Even if the victim occurs in a subject position, then passive voice turns the victim into the goal of the sentence with the actor often being omitted. In contrast, offenders are

either the actor of a Material Action Intention or the goal in equal shares. The analysis has revealed that in cases where the offender is the goal, the sentence constructs what happens to the offender during the investigation or the criminal trial. The use of reported speech, mainly Direct and Indirect Speech, allows implanting other people's views upon the reader by keeping the illocutionary force and, in the case of Direct Speech, also the locution of the utterance. This creates the illusion that the reader is directly spoken to, which has an impact on the perlocution of the utterance. Here again the primary definers (Hall et al. 1978: 58; Newburn 2007: 99) of the news are authoritative persons (police, judge, prosecutor), which assigns the verbiage a high value. Rather unexpectedly, direct quotes from offenders are the third most frequent source quoted in victim-related sentences. But Example 6.19 showed that the offender's verbiage is deliberately chosen to construct an ideal victim and an ideal offender (Christie 1986).

The comparison of the devices used to construct victims and offenders reveals that the major difference is indeed the construction of the victim as the goal and the offender as the actor which is achieved through the function of the respective noun phrases in the sentence (subject, object) as well as transitivity structure and verb voice. This shows that the construction of victims and offenders is interdependent already on the sentence level. Christie's notion (1986: 25) of '[i]deal victims need[ing] – and creat[ing] – ideal offenders' is fundamental here leading to a foregrounding of certain aspects of the personality of the victim which construct a deserving and thus ideal victim in accordance with the criteria of newsworthiness. The construction of such an ideal victim has inevitable consequences for the construction of the respective offender. A morally black and thus ideal offender is placed at the other end of the line wrongly presuming that a person is either good or bad. Here again it can be observed that the crime is not separated from the person of the offender but that the two merge. This enables a picture of binary and canonical opposites *black* and *white* (Mayr et al. 2012: 18) where all the grey shades in-between are eliminated. Also, this opposition has the effect that the construction of the victim automatically has an impact on the offender (and the other way round) even if the offender is not mentioned in the sentence (see Example 6.17). Because victims and offenders are constructed as canonical opposites, the missing part, for example the offender, is nevertheless always present. It seems as if the simplicity of fairy tales in terms of good and bad characters is reiterated in newspaper reports on crime which become modern fairy tales (Bell 1991: 147). In news reports on crime it is casually overlooked that reality is much more complex than those news reports want us to believe. This simplification prevents interpretation and evokes 'consensual conclusions' (Jewkes 2004b: 44). Thus a social reality is constructed, which serves

manipulative purposes but has nothing in common with the real lives of offenders and victims. A person is responsible for his or her crime but should not be reduced to it. The same applies for victims whose lives will be affected by a crime but who should not be reduced to their victimhood status. These limitations in news reports on crime contribute to secondary victimisation (see Chapter 2) and thus to a prolongation of the victim's suffering.

CHAPTER 7

Linguistic construction in the German press

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the analysis of the 1,067 offender-referring and the 718 victim-referring sentences in the German Newspaper Corpus (GNC). As in Chapter 6, I start by explaining the most frequent linguistic tools used to construct offenders in terms of their percentage of occurrences. In Section 7.2.6, I will compare the construction of offenders in the GNC with the ENC (see Chapter 6) and outline the most significant differences revealed through log-likelihood ratio calculation. Each tool will be illustrated with an example from the GNC and an attached translation into English. It is important to bear in mind that German and English are not similar in the way they represent offenders, victims, and crimes although I tried to translate the sentences as close to the original as possible. Humboldt notes '*Mehrere Sprachen sind nicht ebensoviele Bezeichnungen einer Sache; es sind verschiedene Ansichten derselben*' (Different languages are not different names for a thing, they are different meanings for it) (Humboldt [1812] 2002: 110). Following this assertion, there is more than one possible translation for a sentence. My focus when translating the examples was to keep the grammatical components although often at the expense of idiomatic English. But it serves the purposes of illustration.

7.2 Offenders

For this section, 1,067 offender-referring sentences were examined, making it the highest number of sentences analysed for one category and showing that the most frequent offender-naming nouns are often repeated in offender-related sentences in the GNC. The presentation of results follows the structure in Chapter 6.

7.2.1 Naming and equating

I identified the following 16 nouns as being statistically significant in naming offenders in the GNC (see Chapter 5 for the proceedings). Here again *Jährige/r* (year-old) is used as an adjective as well as a noun and both variants are included:

> *Angeklagter* (offender/defendant) (218 sentences), *Jährige* (year-old) (189), *Mann* (man) (161), *Täter* (offender) (78), *Vater* (father) (64), *Mutter* (mother) (56), *Frau* (woman) (55), *Familie* (family) (49), *Eltern* (parents) (44), *Verdächtiger* (suspect) (36), *Mörder* (murderer) (29), *Bruder* (brother) (23), *Jugendliche* (juvenile) (21), *Mandant* (client) (17), *Freund* (friend) (16), *Sohn* (son) (11)

The identified 16 nominal references for offenders in the German press can be grouped into categories as shown in Figure 7.1:

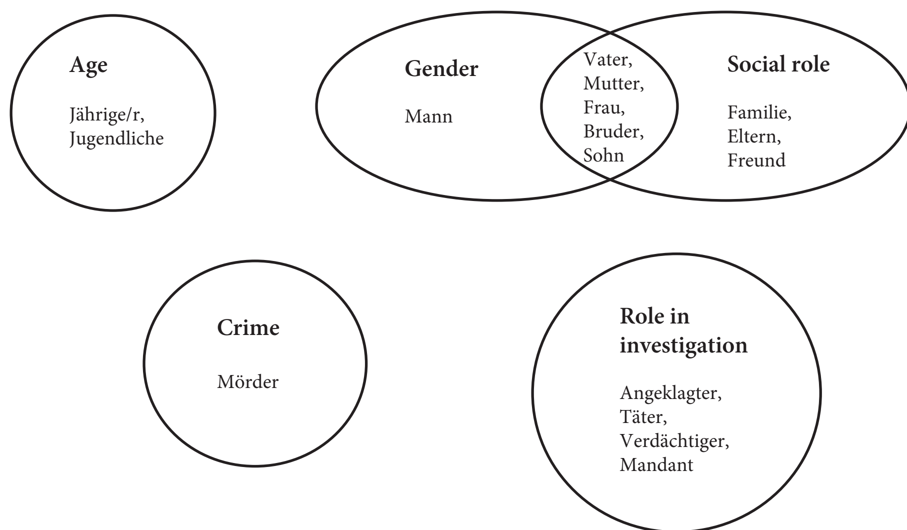

Figure 7.1 Grouping the 16 offender-referring nouns in the GNC into categories

For Figure 7.1, I have applied the same categories I used for depicting the offender-referring nouns in the ENC (see Figure 6.1), omitting the categories 'occupation' and 'other', because none of the significant offender-naming nouns in the GNC refers to an offender's occupation. This figure shows how similar the naming choices for offenders are in the ENC and GNC. Here again, they refer to the offender's age, gender, social role, or role in the investigation. Only four nouns fit into more than one category which demonstrates that the overlap of lexical fields triggered by offender-naming nouns is small.

In 764 sentences (out of 1,067, or 71.60%) the target noun occurs in a subject position and in only 259 (24.27%) in an object position. The target nouns are premodified by descripitive adjectives, other nouns, or a definite determiner. I found descriptive adjectives in 328 sentences (30.74%), mainly possessive adjectives including possessive determiners in 296 sentences (27.74%). The definite determiner *der/die* ('the') premodifies the target noun in 759 sentences (71.13%). And

other nouns premodifying the target noun are used in 321 sentences (30.08%). A table showing these figures in comparison to offenders and victims in the ENC can be found in the Appendix, Table A2. The following sentence illustrates the use of possessive determiners:

> Example 7.1:
> *Grausames Geständnis im Fall Gülsüm S.: Ihr Bruder hat gestanden, seine Schwester auf einen abgelegenen Feldweg bei Rees* (*Nordrhein-Westfalen*) *gelockt und erschlagen zu haben.*
> (Grisly confession in the case of Gülsüm S.: Her brother has confessed that he lured his sister onto a remote cart track near Rees (North Rhine-Westphalia) and beat her to death.)
> (*Die Welt,* 02.04.2009)

This sentence refers to the death of 20-year-old Kurd Gülsüm S., who was killed because of her westernised way of living. This case was subsumed under the questionable term *Ehrenmord*/'honour' killing (*Die Welt*, 02.04.2009). In this sentence, the offender (*Bruder*/brother) occurs in a subject position and is premodified by the possessive determiner *Ihr*/Her. This possessive relationship referring to the fact that victim and offender are siblings is mirrored in the possessive determiner *seine*/his premodifying the object *Schwester*/sister. Using possessives construct a relationship between offender and victim even if this only exists through the crime. This sentence also illustrates transitivity choice, namely Material Action Intention, with the offender being the actor. I will detail the results of the transitivity analysis in the following section. The noun *Geständnis*/confession is an example of nominalisation which I found in 467 sentences (43.77%). This noun summarises the process of admitting a crime and thus turns the process into a tangible entity which is existentially presupposed. The noun *Geständnis*/confession is premodified by the evaluative adjective *grausames*/grisly. Nominalisation in this sentence allows labelling the offender's confession and assessing it as *grausam*/grisly.

Descriptive adjectives are the most frequently found premodifiers in the GNC (328 sentences, or 30.74%). An example for a descriptive adjective premodifying the node is the following sentence:

> Example 7.2:
> *Das dortige Landgericht bezweifelte in seinem Urteil am Donnerstag zwar, dass der Angriff tatsächlich Nothilfe war, wie der 35 Jahre alte Angeklagte behauptet hatte.*
> (Though the local district court in its judgment on Thursday doubted that the attack was actually help in need, as the 35-year-old defendant had claimed.)
> (*FAZ,* 19.02.2009)

The target node *Angeklagte*/defendant is premodified by the definite article *der*/the and the descriptive adjective *35 Jahre alte*/35-year-old. This adjective constructs

the offender in terms of age, and the offender-naming noun *Angeklagte*/defendant refers to the offender's role in the court trial. Both provide little information about the offender who is constructed as a 'flat' character (Forster 1927) who does not tell the truth in court.

7.2.2 Processes and states

The majority of offender-related sentences contain active voice (933 sentences, or 87.44%) and Material Action Intention (749 sentences, or 70.20%). Example 7.1 illustrates this with the offending brother as the actor and his sister as the passive victim. In 453 sentences, the target is the actor (42.46%) and in 274 I found an actor other than the target (25.68%). An example of the latter is the following sentence:

> Example 7.3:
> *Die Polizei fasste den Mann bei der Geldübergabe.*
> (The police caught the man at the handover of the money.)
> (*Süddeutsche,* 27.02.2009)

Here, the target word *Mann*/man is the goal acted upon by the police, who is the actor in this sentence, which shows a passive offender acted upon by authorities. This sentence and Example 7.1 illustrate the use of active voice and Material Action Intention.

There are relational processes in 389 sentences (36.46%). This category is often used to provide information about offenders and thus construct them.

> Example 7.4:
> *Als der Morgen dämmerte, hatten die Mörder Appetit auf Spinat mit Ei.*
> (At dawn the murderers had an appetite for spinach and egg.)
> (*TAZ,* 22.03.2009)

This sentence refers to a court trial against 19-year-old Sven P. and 22-year-old Christian W., who tortured and beat their victim, 55-year-old homeless alcoholic Bernd K., to death. Both offenders were right-wing extremists. This sentence describes the situation the morning after the offence (*TAZ*, 22.03.3009). It contains a relational, namely possessive process (75 sentences, or 12.36%) of 'having appetite for something'. This sentence constructs the offenders as having done hard work which made them hungry. Using the banality of a body feeling shows offenders who regard their offence as something usual and ordinary whereas the mere description of their deed causes 'moral outrage' (Mayr et al. 2012: 18) because 'killing is a threat to social agreements and understandings about how ordinary, everyday life functions' (Peelo 2009: 147). This creates a contradiction between how the offenders see their offence and how it appears to the law-abiding public.

The offenders could therefore not belong to 'us' and are ostracised because of their attitude and ultimately their crime.

I would like to emphasise that I do condemn crime and do not wish to mitigate the offenders' guilt. With this example I aim at demonstrating how powerful the use of relational processes is in the construction of offenders who are reduced to their crimes.

7.2.3 Opinions

Processes of verbalisation are also frequently found in offender-related sentences (280 sentences, or 26.24%). Example 7.1 illustrates this by presenting the verbiage of an offender, where he confesses his deed, in Narrator's report of Speech Act (Leech et al. 2007: 259f). When analysing the sources of speech presentation in the 1,067 offender-related sentences, the primary definers (Hall et al. 1978: 58; Newburn 2007: 99) of the news about offenders are offenders themselves in 140 sentences (out of 1,067, or 13.12%). They are quoted most often followed by prosecutors/prosecution office in 65 sentences (6.09%), the police in 62 sentences (5.81%) and the judge/court in 58 sentences (5.44%). A defence lawyer is quoted in 45 sentences (4.22%) and an expert witness in 29 sentences (2.72%). The victim or his/her relatives are quoted in only 10 sentences (0.94%). Offenders themselves or defence lawyers, who speak on behalf of offenders, provide the majority of information and thus contribute significantly to the construction of offenders in the GNC. The second largest group is the verbiage of authorities, namely the prosecution, the police, and the court.

An example of the verbiage of a defence lawyer on behalf of the offender is the following sentence:

> Example 7.5:
> *Rechtsanwalt Gerhard Härdle fordert Freispruch für seinen Mandanten Ahmed H.; die Morde seien O. anzulasten, einem „skupellosen, kalten, gefühllosen Menschen", der schon im Irak gemordet, Schiiten und gar seine eigene Schwägerin umgebracht haben soll.*
> (Lawyer Gerhard Härdle is demanding an acquittal for his client Ahmed H.; claiming that the murders must be blamed on O., a 'ruthless, cold, callous person', who is said to have already murdered in Iraq, killed Shiites and even his own sister-in-law.)
> (*Frankfurter Rundschau,* 13.02.2009)

Ahmed H. and Talib O. are both accused of having murdered three Georgian car-dealers. In court, they blame one another (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13.02.2009). The verbiage of the defence lawyer is a mixture of different categories of speech presentation, starting with Narrator's report of Speech Act ('Lawyer Gerhard

Härdle is demanding an acquittal for his client Ahmed O.'), Free Indirect Speech ('claiming that the murders must be blamed on O.'), Direct Speech ('ruthless, cold, callous person') and, finally, Indirect Speech ('who is said to have already murdered in Iraq, killed Shiites and even his own sister-in-law'). The reader is unable to assess if this blend of the lawyer's words still contains the original illocutionary force, which is the underlying intention of the speaker (Thomas 1995: 49). Quoting the defence lawyer, who speaks on behalf of the offender Ahmed H., assigns the assertion a high degree of trustworthiness because of the lawyer's role as part of the judicature in Germany. His verbiage provides the argument for why only Talib O. can be the murderer by quoting rumours about previous killings without providing a source for them. The use of evaluative adjectives in an apposition constructs Talib O. as a coldblooded killer, which remains unquestioned by the reader precisely because it is 'packaged up' (Jeffries 2010a: 19) in an apposition as part of the noun phrase. In this sentence, a lot of different information is stuffed into an extended noun phrase, overwhelming the reader and opening the gate for manipulation.

A different way of presenting opinions other than quoting other people's verbiage is through modality. Although the majority of sentences are categorical (i.e. unmodalised; 708 sentences, or 66.35%), I found epistemic modality in 282 sentences (26.43%). Epistemic modality expresses certainty or doubt on the part of the writer, as the following example illustrates:

> Example 7.6:
> *Den Verdächtigen, die inzwischen Anwälte haben, soll die Tat mit Hilfe von Indizien nachgewiesen werden.*
> (The suspects, who meanwhile have got lawyers, should allegedly be proved guilty of the offence by means of circumstantial evidence.)
> (*FAZ*, 14.04.2009)

This example shows that the outcome of this case, which is at the stage of police investigation, is uncertain. Doubt is constructed through the use of epistemic modality ('*soll*/should allegedly') in combination with the assertion that the suspects have got lawyers now, meaning someone who has got legal knowledge and defends them, and that the evidence is (only) circumstantial. Following from this context, the use of the modal auxiliary '*soll*/should' in this sentence is epistemic and not deontic or boulomaic because it expresses uncertainty concerning the offenders' conviction and not an obligation or a requirement (as in Example 7.7) or a desire. Furthermore, the modal auxiliary '*soll*/should' expresses a degree of uncertainty which is different from that of other modal auxiliaries like 'will/shall' or 'might'. In this example, the modal auxiliary 'should' as well as the modal adverb 'allegedly' (both used here to translate the German auxiliary *soll*) express doubt and a lack of certainty about the future conviction which is also mirrored in the

target noun. The offenders are named as '*Verdächtigen*/suspects' with a strong emphasis on the fact that their guilt has not been proved yet.

The following sentence shows the modal auxiliary '*soll*/should' expressing an obligation the court has in deciding in a particular way based on the correct application of the law:

Example 7.7:
Für den Hauptangeklagten und seinen Bruder solle zudem die besondere Schwere der Schuld festgestellt werden, plädiert Staatsanwalt Johannes Kiers am Mittwoch in Stade.
(For the main defendant and his brother the particular severity of guilt should be ascertained, pleads public prosecutor Johannes Kiers in Stade on Wednesday.)
(*Frankfurter Rundschau,* 12.03.2009)

Here, pleading to ascertain the particular severity of guilt expresses the prosecutor's opinion how the court is obliged to decide. In contrast to the previous Example 7.6, which expresses uncertainty concerning the production of evidence, in Example 7.7, the same modal auxiliary '*soll*/should' is used to express the prosecutor's demand and the court's duty and is therefore deontic.

7.2.4 Assuming and implying

The use of implicatures and presuppositions allows the writer to convey subtle meanings which are difficult to detect because they are hidden (Jeffries 2010a: 102). They are powerful tools to reinforce naturalised ideologies which have "the status of 'common sense'" (Fairclough 1992a: 87).

Implicatures arise when speakers or writers flout the Gricean maxims of conversational co-operation, namely quality, quantity, relation, and manner (Grice 1975). I found implicatures in 357 sentences (33.46%), often in combination with negation (150 sentences, 14.06%). In order to identify implicatures, I analysed the extent to which the maxims were being observed (or not). This cannot always be detected from the sentence under scrutiny without its context because implicatures derive from utterances, but sometimes there are indicators in the sentences which direct the analyst to do an in-depth analysis of the sentence in its context, for example negation. Because I analysed sentences taken out of context, I was only able to identify implicatures when they were indicated in the sentence itself. The following sentence illustrates this point:

Example 7.8:
Auch habe der 35-jährige nicht überrascht auf die Todesnachricht reagiert.
(Also the 35-year-old had not acted surprised when given notification of the death.)
(*Frankfurter Rundschau,* 27.03.2009)

The adverb '*nicht*/not' indicates an implicature. This sentence flouts the maxim of relation because it mentions a lack of surprise and thus implies its expected presence (Nahajec 2009). When reading this sentence without any context except bearing in mind that it is taken from a newspaper report on crime, the adverb '*überrascht*/surprised' as well as the noun '*Todesnachricht*/notification of the death' could add to the indication of an implicature. This is due to background knowledge we have of the world where a death caused by a crime is usually unexpected and therefore surprising. Again, this lack of surprise flouts the maxim of relation because it implies its presence, in particular with a '*Todesnachricht*/notification of the death' in case of a crime. Therefore, we can deduce that this sentence contains a conventional implicature which refers to societal expectations/conventions of how to react when being given an unexpected notification of death. But we cannot identify from this sentence alone the full meaning of the implicature without taking context into account. The following example provides the context:

> Example 7.9:
> *"Dem Angeklagten konnte nicht verborgen geblieben sein, dass das Kind total abgemagert ist." Auch habe der 35-Jährige nicht überrascht auf die Todesnachricht reagiert.*
> ("It could not have remained hidden from the offender that the child was totally emaciated." Also the 35-year-old had not acted surprised when given notification of the death.)
> (*Frankfurter Rundschau,* 27.03.2009)

The newspaper article these sentences are taken from refers to the death of 14-month-old Jacqueline from Bromskirchen whose parents let her starve. Her 23-year-old mother and her 35-year-old father were sentenced for life for murder by omission (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 27.03.2009). These sentences present the judge's verbiage when pronouncing the judgement in Direct (Sentence 1) and Indirect (Sentence 2) Speech. The judge explains why he sentenced the father for murder by omission and did not subsume the facts under a different law, e.g. manslaughter by omission. In particular, the judge argues the offender's intent. Knowing this context, key to fully understand what is implied in this sentence is the meaning of 'surprise' which denotes lack of information or knowledge. The negation '*nicht*/not' triggers a conventional implicature [Jeffries uses conventional implicature and pragmatic presupposition interchangeably (Jeffries 2010b: 3)], namely that the judge refers to societal conventions presuming that the audience expects a surprised reaction when a father is notified of the death of his 14-month-old baby. This links to background knowledge we have of the world where infant mortality rate is very low and the death of a baby is rather unexpected or surprising. The

pragmatic presupposition or conventional implicature in this case provides the ground for the conversational implicature (see Section 3.3.1.4) as will be explained shortly. The difference between conversational and conventional implicatures is that a conventional implicature is always there even if the context changes (e.g. if the sentence would be negated) whereas a conversational implicature varies according to the context. In this case, conventions about an expected reaction when given an unexpected death notice and the exceptionality of infant mortality as being conveyed through the conventional implicature remain unchanged even if the context changes (e.g. in case of negation). The propositional content, namely the offender's lack of surprise and the conventional implicature that he should have been surprised, provide the ground for the conversational implicature that the offender is an abhorrent person. The conversational implicature is dependent on context and would change in a different context. The offender's lack of surprise implies that the father was aware of the critical condition his daughter was in and that she was close to death. And if the offender was aware of his daughter's condition, then he is guilty of not having prevented her death, meaning he intended her to die, which is part of the conversational implicature. This makes him an accomplice in the death of the child. Therefore, his lack of surprise conversationally implies his intent and therefore his guilt. This conversational implicature would change in a different context, for example if his child had had cancer and was sick to death. In this case, his lack of surprise would not imply any guilt in her death. This sentence flouts the maxims:

- of quantity, by not making the contribution as informative as required;
- of manner, by being indirect instead of straightforward; and
- of relation, because of all the things the offender has not done, this one was chosen.

The use of this conversational implicature reinforces how society sees child death and causing the death of a child. It is based on ideologies concerning how a child should be cared for. Through this implicature, the offender is constructed as cruel and standing outside society because he did not only neglect his own child but let her starve to death.

7.2.5 Contrasting

As I have stated elsewhere (Tabbert 2012: 138), another means of constructing offenders is through the employment of contrasts, either by creating opposition or by a negation (Jeffries 2010a). Opposition and negation, although not being the same, are closely related. Opposition can be realised through negation and negation is like a regularised opposition because it relies on two opposing concepts,

namely presence and absence. Analysing the 1,067 offender-related sentences I found opposition in 242 sentences (22.68%) and negation in 150 (14.06%) (as an example of the latter see Example 7.9). The following sentence illustrates opposition triggered by the conjunction '*aber*/but'.

> Example 7.10:
> *"Wir hatten oft Streit, aber er war ein guter Vater", sagte die 34-jährige Frau.*
> ("We often had arguments, but he was a good father", said the 34-year-old woman.)
> (*Tagesspiegel,* 01.04.2009)

This sentence refers to a father who is accused of having physically abused his 3-month-old son, causing a life-threatening fracture of the child's skull among other injuries. The child survived. The sentence reports the verbiage of the child's mother, who was initially under suspicion, too, but the allegations against her were dropped (*Tagesspiegel*, 01.04.2009). Through the contrastive conjunction '*aber*/but' (which also triggers a conventional implicature), the two parts of the verbiage presented in Direct Speech are put in opposition to each other. The first clause refers to the relationship between the parents and the second to the father-son-relationship. The mother's assertion that the offender was a good father is proved wrong by the crime. And if the relationship between the parents was also problematic, this sentence constructs a dangerous family situation for the child where the mother is unable to protect her son from the abusive father because she cannot judge the situation correctly.

7.2.6 Comparing the ENC and the GNC

After having outlined the most frequently used linguistic tools to construct offenders in the GNC, this section turns to a comparative study focused on the significant differences between the construction of offenders in the ENC and the GNC. The results were obtained through log-likelihood ratio calculation which allows a direct comparison between the two despite the differing numbers of analysed sentences.

First, we have to bear in mind that the number of offender-related sentences analysed in the ENC (607) and the GNC (1,067) differs considerably. Although I identified 23 statistically significant target words naming offenders in the ENC and 16 in the GNC, the latter 16 words occur in more sentences (1,067) than the 23 target words for the ENC (607). This means that although there are less different target words in the GNC, they are used more often to name offenders. Before we turn to the differences, I want to point out that there are also similarities in the construction of offenders in the ENC and GNC as, for example, the subject position of offender-naming nouns, the use of premodifiers as well as transitivity

choices (see Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2). Table 7.1 below lists the significant differences sorted according to log-likelihood ratio figures:

Table 7.1 Significant differences between offender-related sentences in the ENC and GNC

Structural device	Significance value (log-likelihood ratio)	Corpus where structural device is more used	Example
determiner *the*	149.19	GNC	7.8, 7.9
circumstantial	123.25	GNC	7.12
implicature	97.97	GNC	7.8, 7.9
verbalisation	93.25	GNC	7.5
other actor than target	64.88	GNC	7.3
target=goal	63.52	ENC	6.10
passive voice	55.72	ENC	6.10
active voice	52.29	GNC	7.1, 7.3
Free Indirect Speech	51.84	GNC	7.5
no actor	49.77	ENC	6.3
adverbial	45.96	GNC	7.12
relational processes, possessive	42.69	ENC	6.12
present	38.49	GNC	7.11
determiner *a*	38,38	ENC	6.6
target=premodifyer	35.68	ENC	6.2
coordinate sentence structure	33.92	ENC	6.3
other premodifyers	32.46	ENC	6.2
present perfect	30.19	ENC	6.8
deonic modality	29.58	GNC	7.7
descriptive adjective as premodifier	27.77	GNC	7.2
past perfect	26.26	GNC	7.2
categorical (unmodalised)	23.53	ENC	6.3
apposition	22.37	ENC	6.6

A difference of high significance is the use of definite ('*der, die*/the') and indefinite ('*ein, eine*/a') articles as premodifying determiners in the offender-related noun phrases in both corpora. The definite article is used in 759 sentences (71.13%) in the GNC and in 247 (40.69%) in the ENC. The indefinite article is used in 96 sentences (9.00%) in the GNC and in 120 (19.77%) in the ENC. Although German

also has a neuter form of a definite ('*das*/the') and indefinite ('*ein*/a') determiner, I will not discuss those forms because the 16 offender-naming nouns are either male or female (or in the plural form) and I have only analysed the use of definite and indefinite determiners in those noun phrases containing one of the 16 target words. On the surface, the use of definite and indefinite determiners seems to be comparable in both languages. Research on definiteness in both languages (Löbner 1985, 2011; Pollex 2008) reveals that there are different "degrees of familiarity or 'language user closeness'" (Pollex 2008: 39) to an entity in both languages which have an impact on the use of definite articles. This use demands a higher degree of familiarity with the entity (Gavins 2012: 351), in this case with the offender. Taking into account that the definite article can also trigger an existential presupposition, as in the often referred to example 'The king of France is wise' (Levinson 1983: 170 ff), we might conclude that the degree of familiarity, even if only presupposed, is higher in the GNC, which might be due to cross-linguistic divergence. Returning to the wordlists of both corpora, I found that the definite article 'the' occurs 3,857 times in the ENC (75,072 tokens, or 5.14%) and '*der/die* (the)' occur together 4,900 times in the GNC (75,408 tokens, or 6.49%). The indefinite article 'a' occurs 2,129 times in the ENC (2.84%) and '*ein/eine* (a)' occur together 1,084 times in the GNC (1.44%). This disproves that the salience of definite articles in the GNC and indefinite in the ENC is caused by the limited sample of sentences analysed from the ENC and GNC and underpins the representativeness of the results for the entire ENC and GNC corpora.

Another significant difference is the use of tenses, in particular, present, present perfect, and past perfect. The tenses used most often in the ENC are simple past (453 sentences, or 74.63%) and simple present (115 sentences, 18.95%). In the GNC, the most frequently used tenses are *Präteritum* (simple past) in 394 sentences (65.04%) and *Präsens* (simple present) in 350 sentences (32.80%). This indicates that simple present and simple past are most frequently used in both languages. But the log-likelihood ratio test reveals that the differences in that respect between the two languages are significant. Simple present is used more often in the GNC (log-likelihood ratio 38.49), whereas simple past is more salient in the ENC (log-likelihood ratio 16.79). Also, past perfect (in German comparable to *Plusquamperfekt*) is more often used in the GNC (123 sentences, 11.53%) than in the ENC (27 sentences, 4.45%). This difference is significant, as the log-likelihood ratio figure of 26.26 (distinctly higher than 10.83) reveals. In Example 7.2, the use of the German *Plusquamperfekt* (comparable to past perfect) is illustrated.

As I pointed out in Chapter 5, the German language anchors narrative mainly in the present tense (Bamberg 1994: 194). An example of anchoring a past event in the present is the following sentence:

Example 7.11:
Angeklagter beteuert seine Unschuld
(Defendant protests his innocence)
(*FAZ,* 19.02.2009)

Although the denial of his guilt is a past event at the time of publication, the offender's action is presented in present tense (*Präsens*). This constructs the same effect as the present perfect in English where an event in the past has an impact on the present.

Bamberg argues that in German the simple past (*Präteritum*) is in the process of being replaced by the present perfect (*Perfekt*) (1994: 192) and that simple present (*Präsens*) and present perfect (*Perfekt*) are the most frequently used verb tenses (1994: 237). This notion is only partly supported through my analysis, which found merely a few uses of the present perfect (*Perfekt*) in the GNC. The German language has an equivalent to the English present perfect which is the German *Perfekt*. It can have the same meaning as the English present perfect constructing a past event with present consequences. The use of present perfect in both languages turns out to be significantly different (log-likelihood ratio 30.19) when comparing offender-related sentences in the ENC and the GNC. Present perfect is more often used in the ENC (46 sentences, or 7.58%) than in the GNC (21 sentences, or 1.97%). An illustration for the similar meaning of the English present perfect and the German *Perfekt* is Example 7.6 in this chapter. The fact that the suspects have got lawyers shows a past event (when the lawyers took on the case) which has consequences for the present (the suspects are legally represented by their lawyers now). Although Kortmann (2005: 158) states that the German *Perfekt* in spontaneously spoken language 'is almost exclusively used as an (absolute) past tense', it can be observed in the GNC that there are a few occasions where the German *Perfekt* is used similarly to the English present perfect.

Another significant difference is that in the GNC, the offender-relating noun phrase functions as an adverbial in the sentence.

Example 7.12:
In der Klinik war den Ärzten aufgefallen, dass sich zwei Nabelschnüre im Körper der Frau befanden – daraufhin wurde die Polizei informiert.
(In the hospital the doctors had noticed that there were two umbilical cords in the woman's body – thereupon the police were informed.)
(*Die Welt,* 27.03.2009)

This sentence refers to a 21-year-old student who killed her babies before and shortly after the delivery which she lived through alone. The crime was discovered after her hospitalisation following her severe physical condition (*Die Welt*, 27.03.2009). In this sentence, the target node '*Frau*/woman' is part of the adverbial constructing the initial suspicion of a crime.

In summary, the differences indicated by log-likelihood ratio figures show a higher number of statistically significant differences between the tools used to construct offenders in the ENC and GNC than the differences shown in Chapter 6 between offenders and victims in the ENC. This supports my argument that although the underlying ideologies arising from the construction of offenders in the ENC and GNC are similar, this is achieved through different linguistic devices due to the fact that English and German are two different languages. The limit for presenting the most significant differences in Tables 7.1 and 6.1 is a log-likelihood ratio figure of 20.00. This limit was subjectively chosen in order to focus on the statistically most significant differences. Within this span, I listed 23 differences between offenders in the ENC and GNC in contrast to only 14 when comparing offenders and victims in the ENC. This might be due to the fact that the differences within the same language are not as manifold as between two different languages, although the mere comparison of linguistic tools used to construct offenders in the ENC and GNC show numerous similarities.

7.2.7 Summary

So far, I have presented the results for the analysis of the 1,067 offender-referring sentences from the GNC, limited to the 16 most significant offender-naming nouns and all sentences they occur in. Grouping the 16 offender-naming nouns into categories (Figure 7.1) shows a comparable picture to the grouping of the 23 offender-referring nouns in the ENC (Figure 6.1). The tools used to construct offenders in the GNC are similar to those in the ENC in terms of their percentage, namely subject/object position, active and passive sentence structure, verb voice, and transitivity structures. This shows that both languages are used similarly. Analysis reveals that implicatures can sometimes be detected in a single sentence or phrase by triggers like negation. But to understand the implied meaning fully, the context has to be taken into account.

Log-likelihood ratio figures indicate differences in the use of linguistic tools in both languages. The use of definite and indefinite articles as well as tenses are the most statistically significant ones. Despite the shared roots of English and German and a similar use of some linguistic devices in both languages, linguistic differences also indicate ideological differences in the construction of offenders in both corpora. The frequent use of definite determiners presupposes the existence of an offender and a familiarity even if he or she is mentioned for the first time. This familiarity provides the ground for stereotyping where all offenders are supposed to share the same idealised features. Use of verbalisation shows that reported speech and thus the notion of primary definers (Hall et al. 1978: 58; Newburn 2007: 99) of news concerning offenders is of more importance in the GNC than

in the ENC. Interestingly, offenders and their legal representatives are most often quoted and thus contribute to their own construction, although the choice of the reported verbiage is subjective and carries ideologies already. Also the use of passive and active voice differs in the ENC and GNC. The passive voice is more often used in offender-related sentences in the ENC whereas active voice dominates in the sentences from the GNC. These differences underline Humboldt's ([1812] 2002: 110) notion that different languages are not different naming choices for the same thing but different meanings for it. Despite the identified differences, the overall picture shows many similarities in the use of linguistic devices as well as the underlying ideological concepts. Offenders are constructed as entirely evil, not separating them as persons from their crimes.

7.3 Victims

In the second part of this chapter, I present the results of the analysis of the 718 victim-related sentences in the GNC and detail the differences in comparison to the offenders in the GNC and to the victims in the ENC. This provides the answer to the question of how victims are linguistically constructed in the GNC. As in Chapter 6, the most significant differences were determined by means of log-likelihood ratio calculation. I demonstrate the importance of naming choices and the use of premodifiers, in particular possessives, in the construction of victims. Primary definers (Hall et al. 1978: 58; Newburn 2007: 99) of news about victims are, beside official authorities, offenders whose verbiages contribute to the construction of victims. The construction of victims in the GNC shows many similarities with that of victims in the ENC. The differences between offenders and victims in the GNC accord with those in the ENC. This shows the close relatedness between the construction of victims and offenders in the GNC and ENC and indicates similar ideological concepts.

7.3.1 Naming and equating

The following 18 nouns are significant in naming victims in the GNC (see Chapter 5 about how they were derived). Here again, *Jährige/r* (year-old) is used as an adjective as well as a noun and both variants are included:

> *Frau* (woman) (116), *Kind* (child) (109), *Jährige/r* (year-old) (90), *Opfer* (victim) (70), *Mädchen* (girl) (53), *Leiche* (body) (37), *Schwester* (sister) (36), *Tochter* (daughter) (36), *Familie* (family) (28), *Mann* (man) (27), *Eltern* (parents) (21), *Baby* (baby) (18 sentences), *Mutter* (mother) (16), *Junge* (boy) (14), *Schüler/in* (pupil) (13), *Toten* (deceased) (13), *Polizisten* (police officer/s) (11), *Sohn* (son) (10)

Out of these 18 victim-naming nouns the following seven nouns have already been identified to be lexically significant for naming offenders in the GNC (see Section 7.2.1):

> *Frau* (woman), *Jährige/r* (year-old), *Familie* (family), *Mann* (man), *Eltern* (parents), *Mutter* (mother), *Sohn* (son)

As already mentioned in Section 6.3.1 in reference to the ENC, although naming choices for offenders and victims in the GNC differ, there is an overlap of nouns which name either an offender or a victim. The identified 18 lexically significant nominal references for victims can be grouped as shown in Figure 7.2:

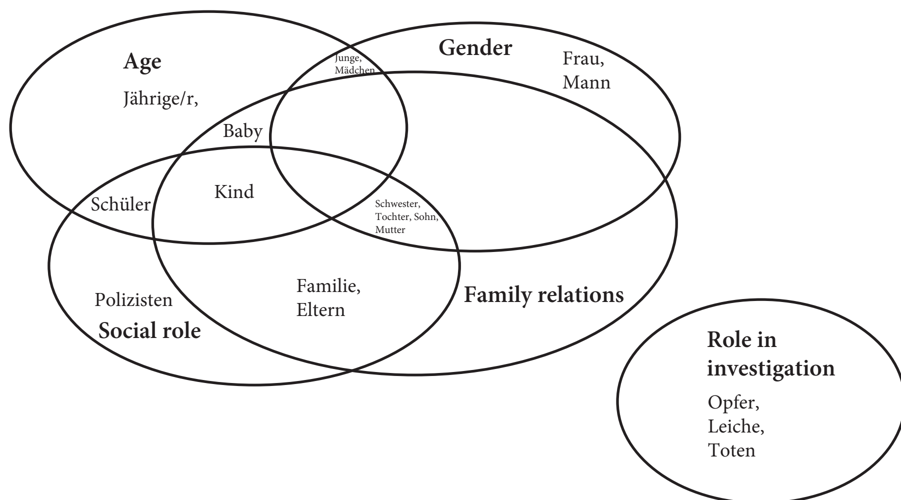

Figure 7.2 Grouping the 18 victim-referring nouns in the GNC into categories

For Figure 7.2 I have used the same categories for depicting the victim-referring nouns in the ENC (see Figure 6.2). Figure 7.2 shows that the majority of victim-naming nouns refers to more than one category and thus triggers different lexical fields. A noun naming a victim already provides information about him or her, e.g. his or her age. By referring to the victim's social or family relations, the victim is anchored in a social system and any harm done to the victim automatically has an impact on that system and eventually on society. A large percentage of victim-naming nouns does not allow any conclusions about the victim's gender regardless of the fact that every noun has a grammatical gender in German expressed through the associated premodifying article. The singular nouns *Kind* (child), *Opfer* (victim), *Leiche* (body), and *Baby* (baby) as well as the plural nouns *Familie* (family) and *Eltern* (parents) occur in 283 sentences in total

and do not name the victim's gender. The nouns *Frau* (woman), *Mädchen* (girl), *Schwester* (sister), *Tochter* (daughter) and *Mutter* (mother) occur in 257 sentences and construct a female victim. Only the nouns *Mann* (man), *Junge* (boy) and *Sohn* (son) refer to a male victim and occur in 51 sentences. We have to take into account that the nouns *Jährige/r* (year-old), *Schüler/in* (male or female pupil), *Toten* (deceased) and *Polizisten* (police officer/s) can either refer to a male or a female victim or to a plural number of victims depending on the German case. I conclude that the majority of victim-naming nouns construct a female or neutral victim in terms of gender foregrounding the victim's physical weakness, immaturity, and vulnerability.

Comparing Figure 7.2 with Figure 7.1, the overlap of categories a victim-naming noun can be grouped into is larger, which mirrors the results from the comparison between the victims and offenders in the ENC. This shows that offenders are named by foregrounding just one aspect out of many whereas the victim-naming nouns provide more information. In comparison with the victims in the ENC (see Figure 6.2), the picture is almost identical as is the choice of victim-naming nouns. Ten out of 16 (ENC) and 18 (GNC) victim-naming nouns are even identical: *Frau* (woman), *Kind* (child), *Jährige/r* (year-old), *Opfer* (victim), *Mädchen* (girl), *Leiche* (body), *Tochter* (daughter), *Mann* (man), *Junge* (boy), *Sohn* (son).

In 296 sentences (out of 718, or 41.23%), the victim occurs as a subject and in 358 sentences (49.86%) in an object position. Whereas it has been constant so far that victims are mainly found in an object position and offenders in a subject position, the percentage of victim-referring nouns in the GNC occurring in an object or a subject position is nearly equal in size. Victim-naming nouns are premodified by the definite article *der, die, das*/the in 419 sentences (58.36%), by descriptive adjectives in 219 sentences (30.50%) including possessive adjectives, in 210 sentences (29.25%). They occur together with other nouns in 289 sentences (40.25%). An illustration for the latter will be given in Example 7.16 below and will be explained there.

Example 7.13:
1988 wird das erste Inzest-Baby im Verlies geboren.
(In 1988, the first incest-baby is born in prison.)
(*Bild,* 20.03.2009)

This sentence shows the victim *Baby*/baby in a subject position premodified by the definite article *das*/the, another noun *Inzest*/incest and the cardinal number *erste*/first as a descriptive adjective presupposing that there will be at least one more baby born. This sentence refers to the Fritzl case in Austria (see also Examples 3.1, 6.7, 6.13 and 6.14).

The next example is the subsequent sentence from the same article showing the victim in an object position premodified by the possessive adjective *seiner*/his.

> Example 7.14:
> *Immer wieder vergeht sich das Inzest-Monster an seiner Tochter.*
> (Repeatedly the incest-monster indecently assaults his daughter.)
> (*Bild* 20.03.2009)

This sentence constructs a passive victim enduring repeated rape from her father. The use of the possessive adjective *seiner*/his constructs a relationship of possession between offender and victim which, in this case, goes beyond the crime because the target word *Tochter*/daughter refers to family relations existing between them. It is worth noticing here that the noun *Monster*/monster has a grammatically neuter gender in German expressed through the definite article *das*/the in its neuter form. This takes away any human characteristics from the offender and constructs a victim passively enduring a crime from an inhuman entity. Although masculine and feminine gender do not necessarily equate to male and female gender in German nouns [e.g. *das Tier*/the (neuter) animal], in the case of persons it mainly does and thus the use of a neuter form leads to dehumanisation in this case. A neuter offender in terms of gender provides a contrast to rape-crime which is never sexless and always power-dominated. Using the term *Monster*/monster is an example for 'fiend naming' (Clark 1992: 224) that constructs demonisation and monstrosity on the part of the offender and can be linked to opportunity theory and a criminal predisposition of the offender. Therefore the victim could not prevent the offences, which foregrounds the inhumanness of the crime and the defencelessness of the victim. In this context, Greer (2003: 56) talks about a 'shock-factor' typical of sex crimes.

Although victim-referring nouns mainly occur in subject and object positions, I found 200 sentences (27.86%) where they are part of an adverbial:

> Example 7.15:
> *An dem Toten findet die Polizei zahllose schwere Verletzungen, auf seinem Körper liegt verbrannter Müll.*
> (On the deceased the police find numerous serious injuries, on his body lies burnt rubbish.)
> (*TAZ*, 22.03.2009)

The adverbial *An dem Toten*/on the deceased describes the circumstances where the police found the injuries. This sentence refers to the same case as Example 7.4 where two right wing extremists tortured and murdered a homeless, alcohol addicted man. The victim is foregrounded by being mentioned first. The offenders' attitude towards their victim is constructed through the employment of adverbials. The serious injuries on the body of the deceased could indicate him being tortured

before his death, which is verified when reading the entire article. Placing burnt rubbish on the victim's body equates a human life with something useless and valueless. The offenders' mentality about worthiness and unworthiness of human beings might cause moral outrage (Mayr et al. 2012: 18) and constructs empathy for the victim. The victim naming noun *Toten*/deceased is placed in an adverbial position and thereby becomes part of the circumstances instead of being the syntactic centre of focus as, for example, in an object or subject position. An example for the latter is the following sentence where the victim-naming *Mädchen*/girl is in an object position.

> Example 7.16:
> *Werner M., 58, gelernter KFZ-Mechaniker und Fernsehtechniker, zuletzt tätig als Inhaber eines Ladens für Bootsbedarf in Kappeln an der Schlei, ist der Mann, der vor mehr als 27 Jahren am oberbayerischen Ammersee ein zehnjähriges Mädchen vom Fahrrad gezerrt und in eine im Wald eingegrabene Kiste gesperrt haben soll, um von den Eltern des Kindes zwei Millionen Mark Lösegeld zu erpressen.*
> (Werner M., 58, a trained car mechanic and television technician, who most recently was the owner of a shop for boating supplies in Kappeln on the river Schlei, is the man, who, more than 27 years ago by the upper Bavarian Lake Ammer, allegedly dragged a 10-year-old girl off her bike and locked her in a box buried in a wood, in order to extort two million marks ransom from the child's parents.)
> (*Süddeutsche,* 19.02.2009)

In this sentence, the target word *jährige*/year-old occurs as a premodifying descriptive adjective of the head noun *Mädchen*/girl. The noun phrase *Eltern des Kindes*/ child's parents contains two target nouns in a possessive relation. The sentence also illustrates the use of subordinate sentence structure which I found in 296 sentences (41.23%). It is an example for a mixture of coordinate and subordinate clauses and also for an apposition which is used rarely in victim-related sentences in the GNC (17 sentences, 2.37%). This sentence refers to the death of 10-year-old Ursula Herrmann following her kidnapping in 1981 and quotes the indictment from the prosecution (*Süddeutsche*, 19.02.2009). Although this sentence contains epistemic modality (see Section 7.3.3 below), the charge sheet in a German criminal court trial is always written in categorical style. This suggests that alterations have been made here in comparison to the original illocutionary force of the utterance. The use of modality takes into account a presumption of innocence at this stage of the criminal trial which fades into the background against the flood of information crammed into this single sentence (see also Example 7.5). This overwhelming abundance of information allows the writer to hide, for example, the modal auxilliary *soll*/epistemic modal adverb 'allegedly' which indicate doubt.

Another means of construction is the use of nominalisation in 223 sentences (32.45%) which will be a topic when I discuss the construction of crimes from Section 7.4 onwards. Because it is used frequently in sentences containing victim-naming nouns, I will briefly examine its impact.

Example 7.17:
Das Verbrechen an der Schülerin hatte bundesweit für großes Entsetzen gesorgt.
[The crime (felony) against the (female) pupil had caused great revulsion nationwide.]
(*Frankfurter Rundschau,* 13.02.2009)

This sentence refers to the 'honour' killing of 16-year-old Morsal by her brother in Hamburg in 2008. The use of nouns instead of verbs turns 'a transitory action or process into something stable, with a label' (Jeffries 2010a: 35) which remains unquestioned. The word *Verbrechen*/crime, felony creates a new entity (Fairclough 1992c: 183) because it generates an existential presupposition through a definite noun phrase. Especially the labelling of a criminal action through a noun constructs crime as a tangible object which can be grasped and solved and links with crime science and cooling devices for crime control (see Section 2.2.1).

7.3.2 Processes and states

The majority of the 718 analysed sentences contain active voice (627 sentences, or 87.33%), and only 148 sentences passive voice (20.61%). Transitivity analysis reveals that in 555 sentences (77.30%), and therefore the majority, Material Action Intention is used with the target node as the goal in 331 sentences (46.10%) and a different actor than the target in 418 sentences (58.22%). This result indicates a construction of a passive victim in the majority of analysed sentences with the victim on the receiving end of the action.

Example 7.18:
Als eine Freundin des Täters eingriff, zog dieser das Opfer an den Haaren aus dem PKW.
[When a (female) friend of the offender intervened, he dragged the victim by the hair out of the car.]
(*Tagesspiegel,* 03.03.2009)

This sentence illustrates the use of active voice and Material Action Intention to construct a passive victim (*Opfer*/victim) as the goal who is acted upon by a different person, namely the offender.

Transitivity analysis also shows that here again (see Section 7.2.2), circumstantial processes are used often (in 190 sentences, or 26.46%) to construct a passivity of the victim.

Example 7.19:
Als die Polizei zwei Tage später vom geständigen jüngsten Täter an den See geführt wurde, schwamm die Tonne noch immer an der Wasseroberfläche – und der Leiche hing der Würgedraht noch um den Hals.
(When the police were led to the lake two days later by the confessing youngest offender, the barrel was still floating on the surface – and the wire used for strangling was still hanging around the body's neck.)
(*FAZ,* 30.03.2009)

This example combines Material Action Intention in the first clause and circumstantial processes in the second. The latter describes the situation when the police found the body and constructs a situation almost like a still life where the circumstances of the victim's death are still visible. In the German sentence, all three predicators are in the simple past. But for the translation of the second clause I chose past continuous which does not exist in German. The effect of past continuous in this German sentence is achieved through the adverbs *noch immer*/still and *noch*/still functioning as adverbials.

7.3.3 Opinions

Although the majority of sentences are categorical, which means that they do not contain any modality (542 sentences, or 75.49%), I found 137 (19.08%) sentences which contain epistemic modality, followed by 25 sentences (3.48%) containing boulomaic modality and 15 sentences (2.09%) with deontic modality. Epistemic modality expresses a degree of certainty or doubt the writer wishes to reveal in relation to an assertion, as the following sentence shows.

Example 7.20:
Der aus Osteuropa stammende Mann soll am 18. November zusammen mit einem Komplizen in dem zur Gemeinde Volkenschwand gehörenden Weiler Straß im Kreis Kelheim einen querschnittsgelähmten 55-jährigen Mann und dessen 53-jährige Frau ermordet haben.
(The Eastern European man is alleged to have murdered on 18th November together with an accomplice a paraplegic 55-year-old man and his 53-year-old wife in the municipality of Volkenschwand located Weiler Straß in the district of Kehlheim.
or
The man, of Eastern European origin, together with an accomplice, is alleged to have murdered a paraplegic 55-year-old man and his 53-year-old wife on 18th November in Weiler Straß in the Volkenschwand district, Kehlheim region.)
(*Süddeutsche*, 04.02.2009)

This sentence, also an example of the sometimes complex structure of German sentences (for which reason I offer two possible translations), expresses doubt

about the offender's perpetration of the crime. According to the context in the article, the police hold a strong suspicion against the offender who has been arrested. This example of epistemic modality, expressed in the German sentence through the modal auxiliary *soll* and best translated with the verb 'alleged', indicates doubt. This is in accordance with the presumption of innocence valid for every suspect before a legally binding conviction. Because of the wealth of detail subsequently provided in this sentence, the construction of doubt is backgrounded and not the main effect (see also Example 7.16).

When looking at speech presentation in the 718 victim-related sentences as another means of expressing opinions, it is rarely used in the GNC. I found Indirect Speech in 117 sentences (16.30%), Direct Speech in 86 sentences (11.98%) and Free Indirect Speech in 82 sentences (11.42%). The main sources quoted in descending order of frequency are: offender (80 sentences out of 718, or 11.14%), prosecutor/prosecution office (46 sentences, or 6.41%), police (40 sentences, or 5.57%), judge/court (34 sentences, or 4.74%), and the victim (18 sentences, or 2.51%). Thus the primary definers (Hall et al. 1978: 58; Newburn 2007: 99) contributing to the construction of victims in the GNC are offenders and authorities.

> Example 7.21:
> *Laut Polizeivernehmung – der Angeklagte schweigt vor Gericht- hat Ahmad-Sobair O. seine Schwester gefragt: "Gehst du auf den Strich?", worauf sie erwiderte: "Das geht dich einen Scheißdreck an."*
> (According to the police interrogation – the defendant said nothing in court – Ahmad-Sobair O. asked his sister: "Are you on the game?", to which she answered: "It's none of your effing business.")
> (*TAZ,* 05.02.2009)

This sentence contains a mixture of reported speech, quoting the police, the offender, and the victim, and refers again to the 'honour' killing of 16-year-old Afghan Morsal in Hamburg (see Example 7.17). Her brother, the offender, suspected her to be a prostitute following rumours among his acquaintances. After confronting her, he stabbed her to death (*TAZ*, 05.02.2009). Both quotes in inverted commas (Direct Speech) were uttered by the offender in his police interrogation. The victim's supposed utterance shortly before her death is quoted by the offender and then again quoted by the police. Because Morsal and her brother were alone at the time of her death, it is only through the offender that her last words were preserved if they are not regarded as a mitigating declaration from the offender. The offender's utterance constructs the victim as someone who uses colloquial language, does not explicitly deny the accusation of her being a prostitute, and shows

little respect for her older brother. Direct Speech shows that the writer makes no attempt to mollify the quoted speech by backgrounding it in a more indirect category, for example Indirect Speech. Therefore not only the illocutionary force of the utterance but also the locution are preserved, which allows the reader to draw conclusions about the scene and the relationship between the siblings.

7.3.4 Time and space

A means to anchor an event in terms of time, place, person, or social relations is through deixis. A deictic referent is to be found in almost all sentences. One means to realise, for example, temporal deixis is through verb tense. The most frequently used tenses in the victim-related sentences in the GNC are simple past (*Präteritum*) and simple present (*Präsens*). Simple past is used most often (505 sentences, or 70.33%), followed by simple present in 204 sentences (28.41%), which correlates with the findings from analysing the victim-related sentences in the ENC (see Section 6.3.2). The use of simple past (*Präteritum*) is illustrated in Example 7.18. The use of simple present (*Präsens*) is to be found in Examples 7.13 and 7.14 although the actions described there took place in the past. Present tense constructs a perpetuating effect of the crime onto the present, keeping the horror alive. Bednarek and Caple (2012: 88) state that the present tense in (English) newspaper articles in general 'emphasizes the recency and relevance of the event, construing newsworthiness'. In connection with crime, as demonstrated in Examples 7.13 and 7.14, it drags a past event into the present and allows the reader to live through the crime with the victim.

7.3.5 Assuming and implying

As in the offender-related sentences in the GNC, the use of implicatures is salient in victim-related sentences, too (see Section 7.2.4). I found implicatures in 231 sentences (32.17%) and for illustration I will refer back to Example 7.21 and the 'honour' killing after Morsal's non-denial of her brother's accusation. Her non-denial differs from the offender's expectations and therefore has an implied meaning, at least for him. Taking into account her young age and her family's moral concept, the suspicion of her being a prostitute is likely to have been scandalous. This caused the offender's expectation that she should hurry to deny such an accusation (conversational implicature by flouting the maxim of relation). When she does not act accordingly but instead replies that this is no concern of his, he understands that there is truth in the rumour (conversational implicature by flouting the maxims of quality and relation). Therefore the offender's quotation of the victim's last words is supposed to exculpate him or at least raise understanding

for his deed. This conversational implicature can only be understood with the background knowledge taken into account. According to the offender's moral concept, the victim's alleged confession imposes a threat to the family honour. In German culture, the discovery of a child being a prostitute may cause outrage but also agreement about the necessity to support and help the child. These different perspectives do not allow readers socialised into German culture to agree with the offender's reasons for the crime. But the awareness of these differences enables the reader to understand the offender's way of thinking and thus the implicature. Because Morsal was criticised by her family for her 'westernised' life-style (*TAZ*, 05.02.2009), her reply can also be interpreted as her attempt to free herself from her brother's (or family's) supervision, which can be seen as common behaviour for pubescent juveniles socialised in Germany. This interpretation of the victim's words does not lead to the conclusion that her non-denial means she admits to being a prostitute. But the offender's background knowledge forces him to understand her reply as an implied confession (as a result of a conversational implicature which comes about as a result of flouting the maxims of quality and relation), thus representing a threat to the family honour. A different background knowledge and therefore ideology allows the reader to understand the victim's reply differently, eliminating the implicature. Or, if the implicature is understood in the way the offender does, then a different moral concept allows to feel empathy with Morsal and to offer her help instead of killing her. Both variants open the way for an alternative response which would have prevented her death. The implicature in this sentence, generated by flouting the above mentioned maxims, serves to reinforce ideologies, namely seeing this murder as a wrongdoing which imposes 'a threat to social agreements' (Peelo 2009: 147). This sentence and in particular the implicature construct an offender who is ostracised from German society. This is achieved because the reader can understand the implicature although different world knowledge leads to a condemnation of the offender's action, and therefore labelled as crime.

7.3.6 Comparing victims and offenders

After having outlined the major linguistic devices used to construct victims in the GNC, I want to proceed with a comparison between the linguistic construction of offenders and victims. The significant differences were calculated using the log-likelihood ratio formula and the results are given in Table 7.2 (up to the limit of a subjectively chosen log-likelihood ratio figure of 20.00).

The major differences which can be taken from Table 7.2 below are the subject/object position of the target word and transitivity structures with the victim mainly being the goal and the offender the actor. Salient in the construction of

Table 7.2 Significant differences between offender- and victim-related sentences in the GNC

Structural device	Significance value (log-likelihood ratio)	Sentence where structural device is more used	Example
target=actor	201.04	offender-related	7.1
other actor than target	190.89	victim-related	7.18
target=subject	164.86	offender-related	7.1
target=goal	140.67	victim-related	7.18
target=object	123.59	victim-related	7.14
possessive	86.81	victim-related	7.14, 7.16
possessive adjective	83.93	victim-related	7.14, 7.21
adverbial	66.90	victim-related	7.15
target=premodifyer	39.60	victim-related	7.20
Narrator's report of Speech Act	33.19	offender-related	7.5
definite article as determiner	30.99	offender-related	7.2, 7.3
singular	23.70	victim-related	7.13–7.15
nominalisation	22.53	offender-related	7.1

victims is the use of possessives and of victim-referring nouns premodifying other nouns including other target nouns. Adverbials containing a victim-naming noun construct the circumstances of the crime and thus the offender and the victim. The majority of these differences are congruent with those in the construction of victim and offenders in the ENC and underpin the close relatedness of the two languages and the underlying ideological concepts. Examples for each of the significant differences are given in the right column, which illustrate the use of the respective device in context.

7.3.7 Comparing the GNC and ENC

In this section, I will present the differences between the construction of victims in the GNC and ENC. The following Table 7.3 shows the significant differences sorted according to log-likelihood ratio figures. The subjectively chosen limit for this presentation is a log-likelihood ratio figure of 20.00 to keep the focus on the most significant differences.

Table 7.3 Significant differences between victim-related sentences in the GNC and ENC

Structural device	Significance value (log-likelihood ratio)	Corpus where structureal device is more used	Example
implicature	75.99	GNC	7.21
premodifyer, definite article the	72.91	GNC	7.13
possessive	66.42	GNC	7.14
subordinate sentence structure	64.71	ENC	6.18
verb tense, present perfect	63.57	ENC	6.22
speech presentation, Direct Speech	55.54	ENC	6.19
other actor than target	55.47	GNC	7.18
target together with other nouns	41.26	GNC	7.13
plural	37.69	ENC	6.14, 6.19
premodifyer, indefinite article *a*	33.03	ENC	6.15
verb tense, simple past	31.17	ENC	6.17
adverbial	29.19	GNC	7.15
lexical verbs	28.29	ENC	6.20
opposition, syntactic trigger	23.54	ENC	6.20
premodifying preposition	22.41	ENC	6.19, 6.22
passive voice structure	20.95	ENC	6.16
verbalisation	20.59	ENC	6.18

What draws attention here is that the first log-likelihood ratio figures in Table 7.3 are smaller than in Table 7.2 although Table 7.3 compares two different languages whereas Table 7.2 lists the differences within the same language. This indicates that the differences listed in the beginning of Table 7.2 are more significant than those in the beginning of Table 7.3. Therefore the differences in the construction of victims and offenders within the same language are more significant than the construction of either the victims or the offenders across both languages.

The most significant difference is the use of implicatures in the GNC which is a very subtle way of constructing a victim as illustrated in Section 7.3.5 above. The use of definite and indefinite articles as well as verb tenses have been explained in Section 7.2.6 because these linguistic devices were also significant when comparing the construction of offenders in the GNC and ENC. Possessives are frequently

used in the construction of victims in the GNC and assign the victim to the offender. Thus a relationship between the two is established expressing the power the offender has over the victim based on an imbalance in power at the time of the offence. The use of adverbials containing a victim-naming noun constructs the circumstances of the crime and degrades the victim to an object providing evidence for the course of the crime. This goes beyond the construction of an 'ideal victim' (Christie 1986) who remains a human being with his or her feelings and hopes. Objectifying the victim deprives the victim of his or her human feelings and anxieties. The major primary definer in the construction of victims is the offender. In Section 7.2.3, I have already mentioned that the offender is also the most often quoted source in the construction of himself or herself. But we have to bear in mind that the offender's verbiage is subjectively chosen to stereotype the offender and thus perpetuate labelling.

7.3.8 Summary

The second part of this chapter (from Section 7.3 onwards) has presented the major linguistic devices used to construct victims in the GNC. Naming choices invoke more than just one lexical field and thus provide information about victims. It is notable that the majority of victim-naming nouns in the GNC do not allow any conclusions to be drawn about the victim's actual gender, which is achieved through the neuter gender in German. The overlap of naming choices for victims between the ENC and GNC is considerable. Victims are linguistically constructed through the employment of different tools. The use of premodifiers, especially possessives, constructs a relationship between victim and offender even if this is only evoked through the crime. Possessives assign a victim to an offender and thus construct a power imbalance between the two. In accordance with the findings in the ENC, victim-naming nouns are mainly found in object positions but also to a nearly equal percentage in subject positions. The passivity of the victim is achieved through transitivity structure and verb voice with the victim at the receiving end of the action. Primary definers (Hall et al. 1978: 58; Newburn 2007: 99) of news regarding the victim are offenders followed by authorities. The use of modality, in particular epistemic modality, expresses a degree of certainty or doubt which accords with the presumption of innocence for the offender. Although the crimes are regularly a past event at the time of the newspaper report, the event is often constructed through the use of simple present. It is through the employment of deixis that these events are nevertheless anchored in the past. Implicature analysis reveals the power of this commonly used linguistic feature which serves to enforce existing ideologies and assure the public that the system works (Giddens et al. 2003: 186). Through the use of adverbials containing victim-naming nouns, the

victim becomes part of the circumstances of the crime and is thus deprived of his or her human characteristics. The comparative analysis showed more salient differences between the construction of offenders and victims in the GNC than in the crosslinguistic comparison. This again proves the close relatedness of the two languages and the underlying ideological concepts. Victims are idealised according to Christie's notion (1986), achieved in a similar way in both languages. The information provided about the victim foregrounds those aspects which accord with the stereotypes about victims, in particular their vulnerability and weakness. The perpetuated stereotyping allows the media to construct a victim with relatively few words [although space constraints in online editions of newspapers might not be as pressing as in their printed version but readers have limited time for reading and a short attention span (Busà 2014: 19, 51)] because the articles are based on prior or common knowledge about crimes and victims which is retrieved through identical linguistic tools and structures. To disrupt these stereotypes by foregrounding other aspects of the victim's personality requires lengthier articles and a change in the underlying ideological concepts. Such a change would have an impact on the construction of offenders, too. The construction of victims and offenders is interdependent and not only this but the construction of the victim ultimately serves the construction of the offender in which we are interested because of his or her deviance.

The last part of this chapter presents the results of the crime-related sentences in the ENC and GNC and provides the last pieces of evidence needed to fully answer the overall research question.

7.4 Crimes

The analysis of the crime-related sentences, both in the GNC and the ENC, provides further evidence for the close relatedness between the construction of crime and criminals in the GNC and ENC. Because of this close resemblance, log-likelihood ratio analysis can reveal important additional insights as I will show. In this part, I combine the presentation of the results from the ENC and GNC and address the differences between them as they occur. The extraction of crime-naming words, which are not only nouns but also verbs, follows a slightly altered method because all crime-naming words (nouns and verbs) were included in the analysis up to word number 500 in the wordlist.

7.4.1 Naming

The most frequently used nouns and verbs naming crimes in the ENC are listed here and the numbers in brackets indicate the number of sentences they occur in:

> murder (182), attack (70), rape (62), crime (51), died (41), killed (40), killing (32), assault (32), attacked (31), raped (30), death (27), offence (25), crimes (25), attacks (21), stabbed (20), kill (18), shot (17), driving (15), causing (11), involved (9), drug (6), committed (3), gun (3), attempted (2)

These 24 words occur in 773 sentences in total. We have to bear in mind that the process of extracting these words differed in the way of determining the most significant victim- and offender-naming nouns in the ENC and GNC (see Chapter 5). I included all those nouns and verb forms from the wordlist of the respective corpora which name a crime. Because the sample size of relatively frequently occurring words naming crimes was too small, I did not determine their significance but included all crime-naming words up to word number 500 in the wordlist. As these include nouns as well as verb forms, I could only use the analytical tools for noun phrases, e.g. object, subject, pre- and postmodifiers, for those target words which are nouns. Therefore I used additional analytical categories which allowed me to analyse, for example, whether the target word was a noun or a verb and how many target words in the sentence named a crime, an offender, or a victim (for an in-depth outline see Chapter 5). I used an identical procedure for the crimes in the GNC. The following crime-naming words occur in the wordlist of the GNC up to limit point 500 in the wordlist:

> *Mord* (murder) (73 sentences), *Fall* (case) (57), *Verbrechen* (felony) (56), *getötet* (killed) (52), *Mordes* (murder, 2nd case) (49), *Amoklauf* (killing spree) (28), *Totschlags* (manslaughter, 2nd case) (28), *töten* (to kill) (20), *Ehrenmord* ('honour' killing) (19), *verletzt* (injured) (18), *Erpressung* (extortion) (17), *Inzest* (incest) (16), *versucht* (tried, attempted) (16), *geplant* (planned) (15), *Taten* (deads/crimes, plural) (14), *Tötung* (killing) (13), *Unterlassen* (omission) (6), *Misshandlung* (maltreatment, abuse) (4)

These 18 crime-naming words from the GNC occur in 501 sentences in total and comprise nouns as well as verb forms. It is obvious from these two lists that the crimes most often reported on in both corpora are capital ones, namely murder, homicide, and sex crimes, also referred to as 'run-of-the-mill crimes' (Jeffries 2010b: 125). Deviance, intrinsic to every crime, 'is the quintessential element of newsworthiness' (Reiner et al. 2003: 13). But not all crime news passes the threshold of being reported. Mainly capital crimes, which fulfill the criteria of newsworthiness, in particular when featuring risk, sex, and violence, shape crime news (Jewkes 2004a), (see Section 2.7). The often observed overrepresentation of violent crime in the news (Moore 2014; Pfeiffer et al. 2005) does not correlate with reality. According to the German Police Crime Statistics (*Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik*) of the year 2008, 694 out of 6,114,128 (0.01%) registered crimes in total

were murders.[1] Murder and manslaughter together including their attempts were committed in 2,266 cases in 2008 with a percentage of 0.04%. In 2013, 2,122 cases of murder and manslaugther including attempts were registered out of 5,961,662 crimes in total[2] with a percentage of 0.04%. Thus the statistical figure for this type of crime remains low and relatively stable. The British crime statistics for the period from April 2008 to March 2009 show a similar picture: 664 (0.01%) out of 4,702,697 registered crimes in England and Wales were incidents of homicide. For the period from April 2013 to March 2014, the firgure is even lower with 537 (0.009%) incidents of homicide out of 6,013,759 crimes in total committed in England and Wales.[3] Homicide in these statistics includes murder and manslaughter as well as suicide. Still, these figures show that only a tiny proportion of all crimes are murder, which is not mirrored by the type of crime that is reported on most often in the ENC and the GNC.

The crime-naming nouns in the ENC are mainly singular (467 sentences, or 60.41%), are premodified by the definite article 'the' (164 sentences, or 21.22%) and/or a preposition (349 sentences, or 45.15%) and occur together with other nouns in 200 sentences (25.87%). The crime-naming noun is part of the adverbial (251 sentences, or 32.47%) and is postmodified by a prepositional phrase in 241 sentences (31.18%). An example which contains all these tools refers to the case against American student Amanda Knox (and her alleged accomplice) in Italy, who were accused of having murdered British exchange student Meredith Kercher in Perugia on 01.11.2007 (Page 2014; Russell et al. 2010):

> Example 7.22:
> This includes the alleged discovery of Ms Knox's DNA on the handle of the presumed murder weapon, a kitchen knife found at Mr Sollecito's flat which had been cleaned with bleach, with Ms Kercher's DNA on the blade; a fragment of Ms Kercher's bra strap which allegedly has Mr Sollecito's DNA on it; and Ms Knox's footprint in blood outside Ms Kercher's bedroom.
> (*The Times*, 04.04.2009)

The target word in this sentence is the singular noun 'murder' which premodifies the head noun 'weapon' in the adverbial 'on the handle of the presumed murder

1. ⟨http://www.bka.de/nn_242508/DE/Publikationen/PolizeilicheKriminalstatistik/AeltereAusgaben/PksJahrbuecher/pksJahrbuecher__node.html?__nnn=true⟩

2. ⟨http://ka.de/nn_229340/DE/Publikationen/PolizeilicheKriminalstatistik/2013/pks2013__node.html?__nnn=true⟩

3. ⟨http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-328153⟩

weapon'. The noun phrase 'murder weapon' is premodified by the preposition 'of', the definite article 'the', and an evaluative adjective 'presumed' and postmodified by the prepositional phrase 'with Ms Kercher's DNA on the blade' following an apposition. This sentence was written before Ms Knox's conviction in 2009, her acquittal in 2011 and re-conviction in 2014 (Page 2014).[4] It summarises the circumstantial evidence against her and her accomplice. Although the modal adjectives 'alleged' and 'presumed' as well as the modal adverb 'allegedly' construct doubt, it is worth noticing here that the adjective 'presumed' only expresses doubt about the function of the kitchen knife but not about whether the crime was actually murder. The combination of these modal words also suggests doubt about the credibility of the whole scenario being reported.

The crime-naming nouns in the GNC are also mainly singular (357 sentences, or 71.26%), are premodified by the definite article *der/die/das* (the) in 146 sentences (29.14%) and/or a preposition (230 sentences, or 45.91%) and occur together with other nouns in 130 sentences (25.95%). They are most often part of an adverbial phrase (185 sentences, or 36.93%) or a subject phrase (114 sentences, or 22.75%). These results match the findings in the ENC except that crime-naming nouns are also quite frequently part of a subject phrase. An example for the latter is the following sentence.

Example 7.23:
Der Fall wurde noch nicht aufgeklärt.
(The case has not been solved yet.)
(*FAZ,* 14.04.2009)

This sentence shows the target word *Fall*/case in a subject position premodified by the definite article *der*/the. This sentence refers to the murder of a couple and both their daughters in Eislingen/Germany. The couple's son and his friend are under suspicion (*FAZ*, 14.04.2009). The definite article in this example presupposes the existence of a criminal case (in contrast to an accident). Negation as well as the adverb *noch*/yet indicate the necessity to solve the case.

Log-likelihood ratio analysis of the data analysis (conducted using the tools listed in the first column of Table A1 in the Appendix) reveals just one log-likelihood ratio figure above 20.00, namely concerning the difference in the use of 'other premodifiers' between the ENC and the GNC (log-likelihood ratio: 20.02). When looking at absolute figures, we find that this difference is significant only because I found no 'other premodifiers' in the target-noun phrases in the ENC and 13 instances in the GNC (2.59%). Bearing in mind that any log-likelihood

4. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amanda_Knox

ratio result in my analysis which is above 10.83 indicates significance, I chose to keep the subjectively chosen limit point of log-likelihood ratio 20.00 as I did in the analysis presented in this chapter and the previous in relation to offenders and victims.

The additional analytical categories I used for analysing crimes in both corpora reveal that the crime-naming words in both corpora are mainly nouns (ENC: 514 sentences, or 66.49%; GNC: 383 sentences, or 76.45%). In 319 sentences in the ENC (41.27%), the crime-naming word is a verb, which is not mirrored in the GNC, where I found crime-naming verbs in only 121 sentences (24.15%). Log-likelihood ratio tests verify that this is a significant difference between both corpora with a log-likelihood ratio figure of 40.43.

In the ENC I found 334 sentences (43.21%) with only one target word, followed by 244 sentences (31.57%) with two target words (including offender-, victim-, and crime-naming words) and 135 sentences with three target words (17.46%). In the GNC, 274 sentences contain just one target word (54.69%), 150 sentences two target words (29.94%) and 55 sentences three target words (10.98%). Only the percentages for those sentences containing just one target word differ significantly (log-likelihood ratio 16.08) between both corpora. This indicates that in the ENC the tendency is to find more than one target word in a sentence, whereas in the majority of sentences in the GNC I found just one target word. If there is more than one target word in a sentence, the question arises as to what these refer to. In the ENC, the other target words mainly name offenders in 587 sentences (75.94%) followed by victims in 469 sentences (60.67%) and, finally, other crimes in 254 sentences (32.86%). In the GNC, the other target words also name offenders, victims, and crimes in the same descending order bearing in mind that crime-naming nouns in the majority of sentences occur alone.

7.4.2 Processes and states

Most of the analysed sentences in the ENC contain active voice in 672 sentences (86.93%). I found passive voice in 353 sentences (45.67%), which means that some sentences contain both active and passive voice. In the GNC, 399 sentences (79.64%) are written in active voice and 104 sentences (20.76%) in passive voice. The prevalence of active voice in both corpora is obvious from the comparison of percentages. Log-likelihood ratio calculation comparing active voice figures in both corpora additionally reveals that the difference, although minor, is still significant because the log-likelihood ratio figure of 11.84 for active voice is above 10.83. Regarding the log-likelihood ratio figure of 85.46 for passive voice, this indicates an even higher significant difference between both corpora. Although

the percentage figures indicate a prevalence of passive voice in both corpora, log-likelihood ratio additionally reveals that the tendency towards passive voice in the ENC is stronger than in the GNC.

Transitivity analysis indicates further similarities between the ENC and the GNC. Transitivity structures with the highest percentages in both corpora are Material Action Intention (MAI) and circumstantial processes. I found MAI in 344 sentences (68.66%) in the GNC and in 671 sentences (86.80%) in the ENC. Log-likelihood ratio confirms that although MAI is most frequent in both corpora, the difference between the ENC and GNC in this respect is still significant indicating a stronger tendency of MAI in the ENC. I found circumstantial processes in 148 sentences in the GNC (29.54%) and in 274 sentences (35.45%) in the ENC. The tendency in both corpora is comparable, which is indicated by a low log-likelihood ratio figure of 4.82. Another tool prevalent in both corpora is 'other actor than target' which I found in 534 sentences (69.08%) in the ENC and in 282 sentences (56.29%) in the GNC. The high percentages are not surprising regarding the fact that crime-naming nouns are per se not expected to be the actors. Despite the prevalence in both corpora, log-likelihood ratio indicates a significant difference in the use of this tool between both corpora with a stronger tendency in the ENC.

Referring to the ENC, I also found verbalisation in 210 sentences (27.17%) and 'no actor' in 294 sentences (38.03%) as further salient linguistic tools. An illustration of the latter is Example 7.24. These tools do not show comparable percentage figures in the GNC. Hence, log-likelihood ratio confirms a salience of both tools in the ENC.

Example 7.24:
Loan shark jailed indefinitely for rape, blackmail and assault
(*The Guardian,* 20.03.2009)

This sentence illustrates the use of the tools 'no actor' and passive voice which are often connected with authorities doing something without being explicitly mentioned. This sentence assumes the existence of a court as schematic knowledge because only through a court trial and a sentence an offender can be legally jailed. The verb 'jailed' in this example can be subsumed under Levinson's (1983: 182) 'verbs of judging' because it implies that rape, blackmail, and assault are offences worth being jailed for and therefore bad by flouting the maxim of quality. The noun phrase 'loan shark' is an existential presupposition because the existence of this person is presupposed and the offences 'rape', 'blackmail', and 'assault' all refer back to the subject of the sentence.

Sentences in the ENC are often complex, using subordinate sentence structure. This is a major difference to the G/NC. A log-likelihood ratio figure of 180.66

underpins this. An example of such a complex subordinate sentence structure is the following sentence:

> Example 7.25:
> "The incident will be assessed on a case-to-case basis to establish whether any further involvement by the police is required, to see whether the incident needs to be referred to other agencies, and to investigate whether the offence may have been committed as a result of issues such as bullying or child neglect."
> (*Daily Mail,* 11.03.2009)

This sentence with its complex subordinate structure is useful for backgrounding information. It refers to a rape of a seven-year-old girl after which the offender was given three years supervision (*Daily Mail*, 11.03.2009). The crime-naming noun in this sentence ('offence'), which is an example for nominalisation and is premodified by the definite article 'the', is constructed as a fact by being existentially presupposed and directs the emphasis on other further investigations needed.

7.4.3 Opinions

The sentences in both corpora are mainly categorical which means the majority of them do not contain any modality. I found 595 categorical sentences in the ENC (76.97%) and 366 sentences in the GNC (73.05%). The log-likelihood ratio figure is below 10.83 indicating that the tendency in both corpora is comparable.

In accordance with the already mentioned figure for verbalisation, I found a majority of Direct Speech in the ENC (163 sentences, or 21.09%) which is supported by a log-likelihood ratio figure of 26.22. The following sentence illustrates this.

> Example 7.26:
> "David Bye hasn't woken up one day thinking, 'I want to rape a child', he has fantasised about it and built up to it."
> (*The Independent,* 17.04.2009)

This sentence was uttered by DI Diane Davies, who carried out the investigation against paedophile David Bye, leading to an indeterminate sentence for the rape of an unidentified child (*The Independent*, 17.04.2009). The use of Direct Speech retains the locution and the illocutionary force of the utterance and allows the writer to use other people's words or rather thoughts and therefore hide his own opinion. Also, Direct Speech suggests faithfulness, which will be proved wrong in this case (see Example 7.27). This sentence implies that Bye's intent to rape did not occur over night but was the result of a process. This assertion repeats the judge's words when sentencing Bye:

Example 7.27:
She said: "Over a period of 12 years you developed an obsession with viewing images of pre-pubescent girls. That behaviour escalated to taking photographs yourself … then graduated to touching the children and actual rape and penetration."
(*The Independent,* 17.04.2009, omission in the original)

Example 7.27 was not part of the analysed 773 crime-naming sentences in the ENC because it does not contain a crime-naming target word. This sentence is given here as an example because it shows the origin of the quote in Example 7.26. Quoting authoritative persons (a leading police inspector as well as a judge) assigns their judgement a high value. Whether the verbiage is faithfully quoted can seldom be judged by the reader. Therefore the reader has to rely on other people's judgements even if, like in this case, they are both not experts in Forensic Psychology. Examples 7.26 and 7.27 also show that Direct Speech only constructs the illusion of faithfulness and the reader is seldom in a position to verify whether this quote is faithful indeed. Therefore not only the choice of what to quote from an utterance is chosen subjectively by the writer, but also sometimes quotes presented in Direct Speech are in fact reformulations of the locution which then already lacks the illocutionary force.

7.4.4 Time and space

As I have stated before in this chapter and the previous one, actions and events are mainly constructed through simple present (*Präsens*) or simple past (*Präteritum*) in both corpora. In the ENC, I found 654 sentences (84.61%) containing simple past followed by 171 sentences containing simple present (22.12%). The major tense in the GNC is also simple past (*Präteritum*) which I found in 249 sentences (49.70%) closely followed by simple present (*Präsens*) in 208 sentences (41.52%). A comparison of the absolute figures already shows the significant differences between both corpora, and are supported by log-likelihood ratio figures of 178.52 for simple past (*Präteritum*) and 54.01 for simple present (*Präsens*). These figures indicate that the predominant tense in the ENC is simple past whereas in the GNC, both tenses are nearly equal in share. This finding is in line with my earlier conclusion that in the GNC past events are constructed using present tense and anchored in the past by the employment of deixis. The use of deixis can be observed in both corpora quite frequently realised by other means than verb tense as well.

7.4.5 Summary

The third part of this chapter, starting from Section 7.4, provided the results of the analysis of the sentences containing the most frequently used crime-naming

words in both corpora. I showed how similar English and German are used judging from these samples of sentences. Crime-naming-nouns often occur together with offender-naming nouns, which construct a close proximity between the crime and the offender. But we have to bear in mind that in the GNC, crime-words mainly occur alone in a sentence. The major differences between both corpora, indicated by log-likelihood ratio figures, are subordinate sentence structure, the use of simple past (*Präteritum*) and passive voice.

Crime is seen 'as a major social problem' by people in most Western societies (Mawby et al. 1994: 23) and leads to the creation of fear. This fear is unrelated to and much more intense than the actual risk of becoming a victim of crime (Mawby et al. 1994: 23; Stanko 2000: 152). The creation of a predatory monster, the so-called 'stranger-danger' (Stanko 2000: 152), and the fear of it help to 'unite the public at large against a common enemy' (Brown et al. 2000: 5). The media including newspapers play an important role in nurturing this fear. Hence, the media go beyond their role of informing the public but also 'shape us' (Hart 1991: 8). This is only possible because most people rely on the media for information around crime and justice and thus these reports 'form much of the reality [...] for much of the public' (Surette 2009: 239). On the other hand, the media induce and satisfy a 'voracious public appetite for crime news' (Jewkes 2009: VII) because they allow a 'moral workout' (Jewkes 2009: VIII; Katz 1987: 67). The latter means that through repeated encounters with crime news readers 'work out individual perspectives on moral questions of a quite general yet eminently personal relevance' (Katz 1987: 67). Naming choices and verbalisation processes, among others, are linguistic tools which direct the reader's 'moral workout' (Jewkes 2009: VIII; Katz 1987: 67). Because of the different possibilities of saying things, the choice of one option over others already contains ideology. The continuous interest in crime reports is guaranteed by the immanent 'backstage' and secret nature of crime (Surette 2009: 240), which allows a glimpse into other people's lives. Crime news perpetuates stereotypes about victims and offenders and thus crimes. Stereotypes are defined by Fowler (1991: 17) as 'socially-constructed mental pigeon-hole[s] into which events and individuals can be sorted' in order to make sense of the world. It is not impossible to change discourses on crime and their stereotypes but this requires a change of linguistic tools which can only happen if the underlying ideologies change.

In summary, this chapter has provided the results of the analysis of the offender-, victim-, and crime-naming words in the GNC and has answered the question of how these three elements are constructed linguistically in newspaper reports on crime in the GNC. The results were compared with each other as well as with the results from the ENC. The concluding chapter provides a summary of the work done and an outlook for further analysis.

CHAPTER 8

Final considerations

8.1 Linguistic constructions

This book has shown how offenders, victims, and crimes are constructed linguistically in two corpora of newspaper articles on crime from the German and the British press. The linguistic analysis provided evidence for underlying ideologies and prevalent criminological concepts in society related to crime issues. The overall question of how offenders, victims, and crimes are constructed linguistically in newspaper reports on crime from the German and British press was answered via the application of a combination of critical stylistic and corpus linguistic approaches. The linguistic analysis of these texts has shown that offenders are constructed in opposition to victims, mainly through naming choices, the function of the offender- and victim-naming nouns as subjects or objects, through the premodification of these nouns, the use of transitivity choices, speech presentation, and implicatures as well as presuppositions. Adjectives, a combination of nouns in noun phrases as well as nominalization and apposition 'package up' (Jeffries 2010a: 19) information which remain unquestioned. Direct and Indirect Speech transport subjective assessments, mainly quoting authoritative persons whose judgements are regarded as insightful and truthful, and contribute to the construction of offenders as one-dimensional and with a criminal disposition which links with the understanding of offenders as expressed through Opportunity Theory. Interestingly, offenders and their legal representatives are often quoted in offender-related sentences and thus their verbiage, although subjectively chosen by the media, contributes to their own construction. The construction of offenders in the British and German press is realised mainly through the same linguistic features although log-likelihood ratio tests reveal that the differences between both languages are most significant in regard to the use of definite and indefinite articles, verb tenses, and verb voice. I found evidence that only those criminological frameworks and their underlying ideologies which take a retributionist stance to crime can be found in newspaper reports on crime in my corpora. This emphasises that the ground for alternative crime responses and their underlying ideologies has not been widely prepared yet although theoretical frameworks already exist in the relevant literature.

The linguistic features in victim-related sentences show that they are constructed as belonging to a family or other social group and that the crime does not only affect the victim but his or her social system as well. The use of premodifiers and in particular possessives constructs a relationship between the victim and the offender. Transitivity analysis shows that the victim is constructed as the passive recipient of the action conducted by the offender which is also the main difference between the construction of victims and offenders. This is achieved through the function of offender- and victim-related noun phrases as objects or subjects, through transitivity choices, and voice. This linguistic opposition between offenders and victims serves their construction as 'ideal victims' and 'ideal offenders' (Christie 1986) who are diametrically and canonical opposed to each other. Thus, the interest in the victim ultimately serves the construction of the offender.

Foregrounding certain aspects of the personalities of victims (turning them into deserving victims who are easily given the victimhood status) and offenders in accordance with the criteria of newsworthiness simplifies complex structures and allows us to reach 'consensual conclusions' (Jewkes 2004b: 44). The overwhelming similarities between the construction of offenders, victims, and crimes in the German and British press indicate that a retributional stance is not a matter of one particular country and its societal discourse on crime but can be witnessed cross-culturally in Western Europe. Despite the advantages of Restorative Justice and the efforts made in the UK and Germany to encourage victim-offender-mediation, one of the reasons for the still low rates of practice lies in the discourse on crime in society.

Crime-naming words (nouns or verbs) in the ENC frequently were seen to co-occur with offender-naming nouns in the same sentence, thus constructing proximity between the crime and the offender. The major differences between the ENC and the GNC as revealed through log-likelihood ration tests are the use of subordination, simple past (*Präteritum*), and passive voice. The underlying notion is that crime is worthy of condemnation, and so is the offender, reducing the offender to his or her crime. In this way, offenders are constructed as one-dimensional entities reduced to their criminal offending role. Thus the draconian approach and the call for harsher sentences are supported, limiting any kind of change. But any change in newspaper reports on crime might bear a reputational risk for the newspaper as well as a risk of losing part of the readership and consequently its market position. Also, more words are needed to report differently. In the traditional way of reporting, schemas are triggered by fewer words because readers are used to this kind of reporting and the thus triggered schemas. Changing the view on offenders needs more than a change in newspaper reports. It requires a societal change of thinking on crime.

8.2 Innovations

The innovations this book brings are many. First, combining Critical Stylistics and Corpus Linguistics is a fairly new method and is applied for the first time to the topic of real-life crime. This method has allowed a view of the linguistic features and postponed the unavoidable interpretation of the findings until a late stage. It has also provided a means of handling large amounts of data and of identifying statistically significant parts of the corpus. A manual analysis of these parts ensured their representativeness for the entire corpus. A new way of extracting keywords naming offenders and victims in newspaper reports on crime was tested taking all naming options for them into account. Furthermore, I analysed a German and an English corpus, which were compiled taking into account the differences in the press landscape in Germany and the UK, using the same software package and thus provided the first crosslinguistic study of newspaper articles on crime from the German and British press.

As far as Corpus Linguistics and, in particular, the statistical method of log-likelihood ratio calculation are concerned, I proved that the log-likelihood ratio calculator provided by Lancaster University is insufficient for statistical testing and I mentioned a different online calculator which uses the complete formula. Bearing in mind the statistical assertion that log-likelihood ratio and chi-square tests always obtain comparative results, I used chi-square tests to verify my log-likelihood ratio calculations. Also, I introduced an additional statistical tool to calculate a confidence interval which allowed me to formulate statistical assertions about the expected tendency of the results in a universal sample.

Furthermore, my analysis has demonstrated the fruitfulness of an interdisciplinary approach to crime, namely one at the interface between Linguistics, Criminology, and Media Studies. The methods used in this book provide evidence for predominant criminological theories on crime, offenders, and victims in society based on the notion that newspaper reports mirror (as well as perpetuate, shape, and even create) societal discourses. By objectively extracting statistically significant linguistic devices used to construct offenders, victims, and crimes, I provided evidence for some salient criminological theories in society. For example, I found evidence for Christie's (1986) notion of ideal victims and offenders, Becker's (1966) Labelling theory, and Opportunity theory (Natarajan 2011).

In relation to Media Studies, I used the concept of foregrounding from Stylistics to prove how the newspaper articles in both corpora are adapted to the criteria of newsworthiness by foregrounding those aspects of the story which fit these criteria. I put forward the argument that news stories are not only adapted according to newsworthiness criteria but constructed to meet them and thus are the offenders, crimes, and victims presented in them. Bednarek and Caple (2014)

argue that news values are constructed through discourse. I would like to extend this thought by arguing that crime and its participants in newspaper articles are also constructed through societal discourse (which those newspaper articles are a part of) in accordance with news values. It follows from these criteria of newsworthiness that the interest in the victim ultimately serves the construction of the offender because victims and offenders are constructed as binary and canonical opposites at both ends of a morality scale. The criteria of newsworthiness serve to satisfy the voyeuristic desire of the audience to peep into other people's private lives (Jewkes 2009: XVI; Surette 2009: 240). This superficial interest is satiated through the construction of a one-dimensional and evil offender, which triggers existing schemas and stereotypes. An interdisciplinary approach which bears in mind the theoretical frameworks of Criminology and Media Studies provides additional insight to understand and interpret the linguistic results of my analysis.

8.3 Critical thoughts and outlook

Beside the innovations, this book has also met with some shortcomings. First, the book is unable to answer questions about the construction of one particular offender or if and how his or her construction has changed over time (from the discovery of the crime to the court trial and beyond). The approach to the data here is governed by consideration of statistical significance. Additionally, a detailed analysis of a lengthier piece of newspaper text in order to demonstrate how ideologies are triggered through various linguistic features in the same text and how these features interlock is beyond the scope of this book although an effort was made to emphasise that offenders, victims, and crimes are seldomly constructed by using one linguistic device alone. Further research may give a more detailed picture of the complex construction of victims and offenders and the underlying ideologies in one entire newspaper article.

Another problem has to do with multimedia. Photos, their colour, chosen motive, and alignment, can contribute to the construction of the story and its participants. However, the nature of the analysis carried out in this book did not allow the inclusion of the pictures which accompanied some articles in the corpora. Although photos, like other pieces of art, have a *façon de parler* (way of speaking) (Boehm 1989: 15), their analysis requires different tools than those used for written texts [(Kress et al. 1996, 2001; Machin et al. 2012, 2013; Mayr et al. 2012), among others]. If carried out, an analysis of a newspaper corpus including images might yield interesting additional insight into the construction of crime (or other topics) in the news.

Another limitation has to do with subjectivity. The interpretation of the results and the links made to criminological frameworks may have run this risk and may therefore bear the danger of bias. Having said that, it has been made clear throughout the book what the objective figures are and where the interpretation of the results started. This shows that even when using tools provided by Critical Stylistics and Corpus Linguistics, subjective choices or interpretations have to be made at certain points and the only way to observe the methodological principles of rigour and replicability is to be explicit and open about these choices.

Another aspect which has to be taken into account is that the results obtained only allow assertions about the data in both corpora. I am reluctant to generalise these results or to apply them to a different time period. For example, during the time when I collected the articles for the ENC and GNC, a number of killing sprees occurred in Germany which then turned out to be significant in the data. If the corpora were compiled at a different time period, the noun *Amoklauf*/killing spree would not have obtained a higher ranking and therefore would have become a frequent word in the wordlist of the GNC.

The same caution applies to the finding that the underlying ideologies concerning crime, offenders, and victims are similar in the ENC and GNC. Due to my professional background, I am aware that Restorative Justice and mediation as one form of an alternative crime response seem to be more often applied in the UK than in Germany which includes different branches, for example, criminal law and civil law. This might be due to the fact that access to the justice system is less costly in Germany than in the UK due to legal expenses insurance or generously provided legal aid. Therefore the need for alternative dispute solving methods is enhanced and the readiness to tread this path is increased. Despite these differences and the more advanced use of alternative crime responding concepts in the UK, I have not carved out these differences in the data, which might indicate that these alternatives still play a subordinate role in the societal view on crime.

In summary, this book has shown that Linguistics can contribute to Criminology and in particular the sociological and the scientific positivist approach to crime as well as to Media Studies. If we wish to develop a more differentiated view on offenders aiming at their re-socialisation and integration, we need to change societal discourses by, for example, presenting a more holistic picture of offenders. Whether we succeed or not could later be verified through further analysis of newspaper articles on crime collected within another time period. Because these articles reflect how society views offenders and are a valuable indicator for society's attitude towards them and their crimes, their analysis provides insight whether alternative views on crime have reached the broad public or not.

Although it is sometimes challenging to empathise with offenders, I argue that we need to separate the crime from the offender and to undo the binary opposition

between offender and victim. Punishing the offender for the crime he or she has committed is required, necessary, and unavoidable. This punishment can happen through sentencing in court or through restorative processes like victim-offender-mediation or by a combination of the two. This way the victims of crime are given a chance to verbalise the effect the crime had on them and to formulate ways in which, if ever, compensation can be reached. In accordance with recent tendencies to bring victims of crime into focus (see Section 2.3) giving them a voice can contribute to their coming to terms with what happened. However, it is equally important to provide a perspective for the offender. A starting point could be to draw a distinction between offenders and their crimes. Such a separation signals to society that, although the crime is despicable and worthy of condemnation, the offender is not. Self-evidently, the offender has to take responsibility for the offence (except in cases of lack of criminal responsibility) but he or she will also be given another chance to reintegrate (or to receive treatment). Offenders are not a different category of people; we have more in common than what separates us. This book has shown that such a differentiated view cannot be traced in the newspaper articles in both corpora here analysed, which might indicate that this attitude has not been internalised by the broad public. Language use can make a difference and is an indicator of society's stance towards crime and offenders. A society's view on offenders can be regarded as an indicator of its moral maturity. Being aware of the power of language is a first step towards the perception of offenders as human beings who have committed a crime and have thus remained behind their human potential.

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Appendix

Table A1

Table A1. Tools used to analyse the sentences

Table 1	Table 2	Table 3	Table 4
pre-modifier	active	**Modality**	apposition
ordinal number	passive	lexical verbs	parallel structure
cardinal number	Material Action Processes	modal adverbs	coordinate sentence structure
evaluative adjective	Material Action Intention	modal adjective	subordinate sentence structure
descriptive adjective	Material Action Supervention	conditional structure	**opposition**
determiner: a	Material Action Event	epistemic	antonymous sense relation
determiner: the	target=actor	deontic	syntactic trigger
demonstrative: proximal	target=goal	boulomaic	negation
demonstrative: distal	no actor	categorical (no modality)	enumeration (2,3,4 part list)
possessive adjective	other actor than target	modal auxilliary	exemplifying
preposition	verbalisation	**presupposition**	**verb tense**
other premodifiers	Mental Cognition	existential	present
target noun	Reaction	logical	present continuous
subject	Perception	**implicature**	present perfect
object	Cognition	Maxim of quality (truth)	past
subject complement	Relational processes	Maxim of quantity (information)	past continuous
object complement	Possessive	Maxim of relation (relevance)	past perfect
adverbial	Circumstantial	Maxim of manner (clarity)	future
target word together with other nouns	Intensive	**Speech (and Thought) Presentation**	conditional
singular		Direct Speech	deixis

(*Continued*)

Table A1. Tools used to analyse the sentences (Continued)

Table 1	Table 2	Table 3	Table 4
plural		Free Indirect Speech	metaphor
extended noun phrase with target word		Indirect Speech	nominalisation
possessive		Narrator's Report of Speech Act	comparison
post-modifier		Narrator's Presentation of Voice	
prepositional phrase			
subordinate clause			
target=pre-modifier			

Table A2

Table A2. A comparison of premodifiers in the ENC and GNC

	ENC				GNC			
	Offenders		Victims		Offenders		Victims	
	Figure	%	Figure	%	Figure	%	Figure	%
Target=subject	405	66.72	322	37.57	764	71.60	296	41.23
Target=object	171	28.17	439	51.23	259	24.27	358	49.86
premodifiers								
Descriptive adjectives	116	19.11	257	29.99	328	30.74	219	30.50
Evaluative adjectives	52	8.57	60	7.00	85	7.97	43	5.99
Definite determiner	247	40.69	316	36.87	759	71.13	419	58.36
Indefinite determiner	120	19.77	154	17.97	96	9.00	59	8.22
Target together with other nouns	159	26.19	215	25.09	321	30.08	289	40.25

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