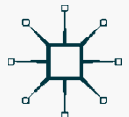# Language and Crime

*Constructing Offenders and Victims
in Newspaper Reports*

Ulrike Tabbert

Language and Crime

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Constructing offenders and victims in newspaper reports

palgrave
macmillan

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To my parents with deep gratitude

Foreword

People naturally want to feel secure from harm, or at least to know how much risk of harm they are exposed to. For most of us, fortunately, our knowledge of serious harm comes mainly from the media, including newspapers, rather than at first hand, so what is reported, and how it is presented, is very important. Or is it so fortunate? How accurate is the knowledge we think we are getting? Newspapers have more than one agenda: to inform the public, certainly, but also to attract readers. The London *Times*, for example, used to pride itself on being a newspaper of record and would devote space each day to reports of proceedings in parliament. What our elected representatives say is, we hope, important; but it was not considered interesting enough, and now it is included only when there is something out of the ordinary to report.

So it is with crime. The commonest crimes receive little coverage, except when statistics are published showing a marked rise or fall in numbers, and the rare but serious ones are given prominence. Taking for example the most serious harm to which we are exposed, namely death: among the causes (apart from illnesses associated with old age such as cardiovascular diseases), unintentional injuries rank relatively high (57.0 per 100,000) including road traffic accidents (19.1), compared with violence (9.0)[1]; but

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[1] Figure from 2002, but probably not greatly changed; accessed on 30 March 2016: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_causes_of_death_by_rate#By_frequency.

their relative reporting in the media is the other way round. The greatest prominence is given to murder, and even that is not always reported unless it is exceptional in some way: when well-known people were involved, or it was unusually violent, or there was a particularly vulnerable victim. This reflects the phenomenon of 'newsworthiness', which Ulrike Tabbert explores in this book among others. To some extent this reflects the values which society places on the actions; for example, industrial pollution or financial malpractice may be regarded as a 'regulatory offence' rather than a crime, and hence reported on the business pages of a newspaper rather than the news pages where crimes are usually featured.

But our impression of what goes on in the world around us is affected not only by what is reported but also by the way in which it is reported, and this calls for more subtle analysis. Here Dr. Tabbert places the newspaper reporting under the microscope of linguistics, and specifically critical stylistics. She has chosen examples from *The Guardian*, a left-leaning paper aimed at an educated readership, and finds that even there, hidden assumptions can be detected in the way journalists report stories and describe protagonists. It is not clear to what extent they do so deliberately, or whether they have slipped into stereotyped patterns of thought, like M. Jourdain in Molière's play *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* who was amazed to be told that he had been speaking prose all his life without knowing it. By doing so they may, by their choice of words, reinforce readers' similar perceptions, in which victims are idealised, especially if they are children, and offenders are monsters, especially if they are teenagers. Interestingly, the same words can convey different impressions, depending on the context; for example, to describe a man as a middle-aged schoolteacher may make us think of him as worthy and respectable, but if he is accused of a sexual relationship with a pupil, the same description carries the judgmental implication that he ought to have known better.

One aspect of 'newsworthiness' is the use of headlines; it is not uncommon to find a reasonably balanced report under a sensational headline. An interesting explanation of this comes from Finland. There, almost 90 per cent of newspapers are sold on the basis of subscription, and therefore do not have to compete with each other on the

newsstands through eye-catching headlines. It is suggested that this balanced approach contributed to the fact that the Finnish government was able to adopt a policy of deliberately reducing the prison population, bringing it into line with Scandinavian neighbours, without provoking a populist-punitive outcry (Lappi-Seppälä 2013).

Dr. Tabbert also points to other ways in which the message is massaged; for example, by the use of direct quotations as against indirect speech, or by giving greater credence to official sources and marginalising alternative ones. All these contribute to the way in which writers compile a story and thereby construct a reality which may or may not be congruent with the way the characters in the story see it. This matters because public perceptions affect public opinion and hence ultimately laws and the way in which they are enforced; and at another level because offenders also read newspapers (probably ones in which the manipulation of the stories is more blatant than in *The Guardian*), and if they are demonised with humiliating epithets they are all the more likely to live up to their labels. There are even reports of offenders proudly collecting newspaper cuttings about themselves. Like other people, many offenders experience *Geltungsbedürfnis*, an expressive German word meaning the need to count for something, and it is all too easy to encourage them to revel in being labelled as a monster rather than to count for nothing.

Dr. Tabbert has painstakingly analysed these and other tendencies in news reporting; this is timely, because we need reminding of the power and importance of language, in a visual age. Readers, especially criminologists, who are new to linguistics may find that they read their newspapers with more critical attention.

London, UK   Martin Wright

Reference

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Crime news and what this book is about

Crime holds an enduring fascination. Different subjects like criminology, psychology or linguistics have different methods to study this phenomenon and thereby answer different questions related to crime, criminals and victims of crime. This book takes a primarily linguistic approach to the study of crime. It aims at introducing linguistic text analysis, in particular the framework of Critical Stylistics[1] (Jeffries 2010a), to criminologists to broaden their toolkit for analysing crime news reports as part of societal discourse on crime.

Before we get to the content of newspaper articles on crime, in other words to the text and its analysis, I start this book by taking a media and therefore producer perspective. Separating text and producer is based on a three-part distinction between producer, text and recipient as 'three loci of meaning' (Jeffries 2015c) out of which this book focuses primarily on the meaning of the text, referred to as textual meaning. However, knowledge about the producer's side helps to understand and separate textual meaning from producer meaning or recipient meaning.

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[1] Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010a) is a framework for textual analysis and comprises ten textual–conceptual functions of texts (the latter also used as headlines in this book). It is introduced in Sect. 2.2. A glossary of this and other relevant linguistic terms used throughout the book is provided at the end.

This means that we start with looking at the terms media and news as well as the profession of journalists before we move to textual meaning and explain what this book is about from Sect. 1.5 onwards.

Fowler (1991:1) argues that 'the "content" of newspapers is not facts about the world' but instead ideas comprising beliefs, values, theories, propositions and ideologies. Therefore, reportage about people and events in newspaper articles is in fact a presentation of ideas about them and the world as presented by the text. As such people, whether police officers, judges, offenders or victims, have counterparts in reality, their construction in the text world of newspaper articles is necessarily a discourse of omission not least due to word or space limits. Based on the linguistic approach presented in this book, we are naturally less interested in what is omitted in crime news reports following from a selection process but instead in what is to be found in such texts.

Necessary limitations to some selected features like distinct character traits, prevalent social roles or outstanding circumstances of an offence open the gate for manipulation. Choices over how to portray a person or how to present a progression of events in a text are equally manipulative as are choices over what to include in a report and what to leave out or what to report on at all. Every reporter/editor has to make these choices as reality is far too complex to be reproduced comprehensively in a newspaper article. Choices, in particular stylistic choices, are at the core of this book and will be introduced in more detail in Sect. 1.5.3. Choices over what and how to report lead to *news* presented in the *media* and we begin by looking at these two terms.

1.1   Media

Newspapers belong to the category of 'legacy news media' (Westlund 2014:136) which together with TV or radio are called 'old media'. The latter are contrasted by Devereux (2007:10) against the 'new media' (internet, digital TV, etc.), a distinction governed by historical considerations.

The media owe their name to the fact that they provide a medium for communication between senders and receivers or recipients

(Devereux 2007:10; Heffer 2005:5) and are a form of channel to present content, namely information (Durant and Lambrou 2009:26). This basic definition ties in with the producer–text–recipient distinction mentioned before and is just one aspect of a broader definition of mass media with reference to the quantity of people they are available to. Taking a broader view, mass media and newspapers as an example thereof can be conceptualised in six different ways. Besides mass media being a means of communication, they are also industries, agents of social change and globalisation, agents of socialisation and sources of social meaning; mass media texts are commodities as well as cultural products (Devereux 2007:13). Taking these approaches into account allows for a holistic picture of what mass media actually are and leads to a better understanding of their power. Mass media are 'a primary source of definitions of and images of social reality' (Devereux 2007:11) and, in relation to crime, they shape 'the conceptual boundaries and recorded volume' of it (Reiner 2007:316). Thus, the picture of crime presented in the mass media and its analysis provide valuable insight into how society views crime.

Mass media are not to be confused with social media (e.g. see Page 2012; Page et al. 2014), the latter being an umbrella term for services like *Twitter,* generally defined as 'Internet-based sites and services that promote social interaction between participants' (Page et al. 2014:1). Whereas mass media broadcast in a non-reciprocal or 'one-to-many' way (Durant and Lambrou 2009:17; Page et al. 2014:1), social media have many senders and many receivers with the possibility of immediate reaction. Although social media are not eligible to replace newspapers or journalism (Cole and Harcup 2010:4; Gore 2014:52), they are regarded as 'game-changers' (Gore 2014:53). Due to the internet it has never been as easy as today to immediately access free-of-charge news from many different sources (e.g. blogs, tweets, SMS news alert services, online news provided by search engines) in our globalised world. This together with changing human living patterns (Preston 2008:643) as well as the emergence of free print publications like *Metro* has led to considerable pressure on and change in the newspaper landscape in Britain to which we will return later.

1.2   **News and news sources**

As Robert Park, a sociologist, puts it: 'Dog bites man isn't news. Man bites dog is' (quoted in Moore 2014:26). This example serves as a gateway towards a definition of the term 'news'. News, as its semantics suggests, is supposed to inform people about something new although sometimes known stories are warmed up with little or no new twist in them. As I am writing, the allegedly upcoming marriage of the murderer Charles Manson (which never materialised) as soft news might serve as an example. Soft news such as stories on art, sports, lifestyle and celebrities focus on entertainment in opposition to hard news covering catastrophic or life-threatening events, politics, economics, crime and so on. (Bell 1991:14; Busà 2014:16, 37). A type of hard news is breaking news which is referring to unexpected events (ibid.). For example, the original hard news about Manson's crimes is warmed up on occasion of his intended marriage. Crime news is thus hard news, sometimes even breaking news (e.g. terrorist attacks), and can occasionally provide the background for soft news.

An important distinction is to be made between a news event and a news story, the first referring to an event in the real world, for example, the actual crime committed, and the latter to a newspaper text or article which narrates this event (Bignell 2002:79, 87). When I use the term 'news' in this book, I mean news stories.

The informative function of news is to be distinguished from evaluation where opinion, interpretation or recommendation is offered, often in feature articles (Bell 1991:14). Harcup (2004:31f) holds that news is mainly about people doing or saying things. News does not faithfully mirror or list events but is rather considered to be a 'selective view' of what is going on in the world (Harcup 2004:30). An advertisement in *The Guardian* once phrased it a bit more colloquially: 'Isn't it amazing that the amount of news that happens in the world every day always just exactly fits the newspaper?' (quoted in Harcup 2004:32).

News is not out there; instead journalists construct facts and 'a context in which these facts make sense' and thereby reconstruct '"a" reality' (Vasterman 1995, 2005). Thus journalists do not report, find or gather but produce or construct news (ibid.). Devereux (2007:186) even states

that media content is socially and culturally determined. This ties in with the conceptualisation of mass media as agents of socialisation and social change as well as sources of social meaning as mentioned above. This constructivist approach, to which we return in the next section, is covered in a semiotic definition of news as 'not just facts, but representations produced in language and other signs like photographs' (Bignell 2002:79). News is rightfully named the 'most widely dispersed and understood discourse genre of modern times' (Durant and Lambrou 2009:77) which makes crime news a popular consumer product (Peelo 2005:20).

Not only news but also the reader or consumer of news is constructed by journalists by presuming what interests the reader (Randall 2011), by deciding what the reader needs to know and by assuming a 'common core of beliefs and experiences' which the audience shares (Busà 2014:25). Journalists write 'with their audience in mind' (Busà 2014:34). Following from conceptualising media texts as commodities, Devereux (2007:13, 101) holds that audiences 'are constructed primarily as consumers rather than citizens who have a right to be informed'. What follows from this constructed consumerism is a further decline of the public sphere as introduced by Habermas (1989) and referring to a space where 'informed citizens can engage with one another in debate and critical reflection' (Harcup 2004:4). Habermas (1989) observes a decline of the public sphere following from commercialisation of print media and the advent of mass media in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Verstraeten (1996) by contrast argues that the full potential of the public sphere has not been achieved yet. However, a key function of the public sphere is 'to facilitate debate and argument about the behaviour and performance of the powerful in society' (Devereux 2007:107), and journalism plays a pivotal role here by informing discussion through news (Harcup 2004:153).

In summary, news is not only a selective linguistic but also multimodal construction (Bignell 2002; Nørgaard 2009; Van Leeuwen 2006) with ties to events in the real world and serves an informative and sometimes also evaluative function. The encoding/decoding model introduced by Hall et al. (1980) understands news as a message asynchronously encoded by a sender (a journalist) and decoded by a receiver (a newspaper reader). As we are working with the product, namely a

newspaper text, we are interested in the message itself rather than what happens at the sending and receiving end. However, in order to avoid criticism for being logocentric, we need to have knowledge about the work of journalists as well. Their profession and professional standards are introduced in Sect. 1.4.

Whittle states that 'sources of news are everywhere' (quoted in Harcup 2004:45). A 'good' journalist, who is never off-duty (Harcup 2004:45), is able to 'find at least two good stories during a twopenny bus ride' (Mansfield quoted in Harcup 2004:47). These assertions are rather simplistic but indicate a distinction regarding news sources, namely news events a journalist discovers him- or herself and those provided by other accessible news sources (Bignell 2002:88). Such sources or providers could be people who call the newsroom but are most often news agencies like Reuters or the Associated Press (AP), press releases or sources in the journalist's contact book. The latter are either 'on-diary sources' contacted routinely or 'off-diary sources' contacted in case of an unexpected event (Busà 2014:40f). Information-finding routine by repeated contact with official sources is called 'newsbeat' or 'beat' (Moore 2014:21). Concerning crime news, the police, courts or the prosecution office provide press releases which serve as news sources, as do court trials.

All sources need to be assessed and the overriding principle due to time constraints is efficiency (Harcup 2004:44). Gans (1980) lists the following six 'source considerations': past suitability, productivity, reliability, trustworthiness, authoritativeness and articulateness. It immediately comes to mind that not only in relation to crime news, official sources like the police, emergency services or courts fulfil these requirements, which accords with them being regarded as 'primary definers' (Hall et al. 1978:58; Newburn 2007:99) of deviance. On the other hand, these sources expect to have media access and their press releases or statements become 'raw material for the language of news stories' (Bignell 2002:88). The preference for official sources serves the powerful in upholding hegemonic discourse surrounding issues of crime and deviance as can be shown through linguistic analysis (Tabbert 2015). Consequently, alternative sources whose evaluation is more time consuming are marginalised (see also Jewkes 2004b:19).

1.3 Constructivism and news values

The notion of constructivism became salient in postmodernism with an increased 'awareness of the socially constructed nature of reality' (Parton and O'Byrne 2000:21). Following from a constructivist approach, the picture presented in newspaper articles is a construction in its own right contributing to and constituting crime-related societal discourse underlining the notion of crime being a social construct (Zedner 2004:38). Constructivism had an impact on Critical Discourse Analysis, 'a social movement of sociopolitically committed discourse analysts' (Van Dijk 2011:621), by drawing on the 'social constructivist paradigm' (Berger and Luckmann 1967; Toft 2014:784). Such a constructivist approach levels the path for a discursive view (Downey et al. 2014:880) as we will see throughout the book.

Lippmann holds that mere facts do not constitute news but that these facts need to be given a shape in order to become news (Harcup 2004:32; Lippmann 1999). Durant and Lambrou (2009:85) argue along the same lines by stating that news does not denote events but instead construct a representation thereof which ties in with the notion of constructing or manufacturing news (Harcup 2004:32). This aligns with a discursive approach to the criteria of newsworthiness as we will see next.

Choices of what to present and how, also called 'process of selection', are guided by news values, individual to every media organisation and based on 'the (imagined) preferences of the expected audience' (Branum and Charteris-Black 2015:200; Richardson 2007:92). News values in a cognitive approach are conceptualised as beliefs or assumptions about necessary qualities of an event which make it worth reporting on or 'newsworthy'. In a discursive approach, however, it is assumed that newsworthiness is not event-immanent but constructed through discourse, in that language and image are used to adapt a news event according to criteria of newsworthiness (Bednarek and Caple 2012:44; Richardson 2007:91ff). We shall see throughout the book how news stories are presented in such adaptation and how that is realised linguistically. Criteria of newsworthiness based on news values were first systematically listed by Galtung and Ruge (1973) after Lippmann (1922, 1999) provided an enumeration of news value attributes. The initial lists, applicable to

news in general, have been altered and extended over the years in numerous publications (e.g. see Bednarek 2006; Bednarek and Caple 2012, 2014; Bell 1991; Busà 2014; Chibnall 1977; Cole and Harcup 2010; Conboy 2006; Durant and Lambrou 2009; Fairclough 1995; Fowler 1991; Harcup 2004; Harcup and O'Neill 2001; Katz 1987; Mayr and Machin 2012; Potts et al. 2015; Van Dijk 1988).

Chibnall (1977) was first in focusing on criteria of newsworthiness for crime news and thus provides one basis for Jewkes' enumeration (2004a:217ff, 2011:39ff). She extracted 12 most salient criteria in relation to crime news out of which she put emphasis on six: risk, sex, proximity, violence, spectacle/graphic imagery and children. I consider them the most important ones and have explained why elsewhere (Tabbert 2015:24f). The selected news event is constructed in a news story accentuating those aspects which accord with these criteria (Bednarek and Caple 2012; Galtung and Ruge 1965; Harcup and O'Neill 2001:264). This leads to mediating such values through discourse (Bednarek and Caple 2014:139). News reflects and at the same time constitutes these values (Richardson 2008, 2012).

If a particular event in the real world and how it is reported on in the text world of a newspaper article differ, why is the analysis of the latter relevant to the study of crime? The answer lies in the fact that newspaper articles on crime partake in societal discourse. According to Fairclough (1992:4), discourse is a three-dimensional concept in that any instance of discourse is simultaneously seen as 'a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice'. Newspaper articles on crime as instances of discourse are thus a social action shaping our perception of crime and criminals. As most people do not knowingly meet an offender in person or witness a major crime, they rely on the media for input on the subject and have consequently limited means to evaluate media reportage (Berns 2004:41). Newspaper articles, among others, are sources of information. They are regarded as more credible than TV (Berns 2004:42) and shape our perception of crime and the relevant participants. As crime reports in newspapers are the result of selection and editing processes, their analysis sheds light on how society views crime which consequently has an impact on policy making and the legal system (Emmers-Sommer et al. 2006:314; O'Hara 2012:247).

Understanding the power that comes with writing and editing newspaper reports (on crime) requires some background knowledge of the profession of a journalist.

1.4   Journalists

Describing journalists as 'encoders' would only be a limited part of the picture. Rather ambitiously, journalism is described as the 'oxygen of public life' (Smith and Higgins 2013:1). However, 'journalist' is one possible job title which relates to the occupational group of 'journalists, newspaper and periodical editors' according to number 2471 of the UK Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) Codes (UK Government April 2015). Other related job titles listed in the SOC are broadcast journalist, editor, radio journalist and reporter. The National Union of Journalists[2] (NUJ) has extended the list and included columnist, critic, feature writer, foreign correspondent and writer to name but a few. In this book, I will use the term 'journalist' as an abbreviation for the entire occupational group.

Exemplary job tasks for journalists listed in the SOC are:

- determines subject matter and undertakes research by interviewing, attending public events, seeking out records, reviewing written work, attending film and stage performances and so on
- writes articles and features and submits draft manuscripts to newspaper, magazine, periodical or programme editor
- selects material for broadcast or publication, checks style, grammar, accuracy and legality of content and arranges for any necessary revisions
- liaises with production staff in checking final proof copies immediately prior to printing.

These tasks give an impression of the complexity of a journalist's job; many are routine activities, however, the same as with linguistic research:

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[2] www.nuj.org.uk, accessed on 22 March 2016.

an article/research can only be as good as the journalist/researcher writing/doing it.

Articles in a newspaper are not necessarily written by one single reporter although the byline might suggest otherwise. A reporter collects information, checks it for accuracy, writes the original copy or first version of an article and searches for or takes pictures accompanying the article (Busà 2014:17). An editor is responsible for the editorial process which besides text revisions also includes a review of the accompanying photographs and headlines. An editor takes responsibility for the overall direction of the paper and its position on particular news events. Editors' tasks are highly specialised concerning either topics (e.g. political editor, sports editor), the production process (production editor) or parts of newspaper contents (picture editor, news editor) (Busà 2014:17; Perrin 2013:13). Sub-editors or copy editors align texts and a newspaper's layout to the house style and correct spelling or grammatical mistakes (Busà 2014:17). One of their key skills is the 'production of pithy and attractive headlines' (Smith and Higgins 2013:73). Although reporters, editors or sub-editors are all journalists, their tasks differ which illustrates the range of tasks the profession includes.

Journalists are, of course, bound by the law, in particular legislation concerning gathering, accessing and publishing information (Harcup 2004:22). In relation to crime reports, the Magistrates' Court Act 1980[3] codifying the procedures in magistrates' courts in England and Wales conclusively lists what facts are allowed to be reported. Therefore, reports on court hearings often end with the stock phrase: 'Reporting restrictions were not lifted' (Harcup 2004:20).

Writing on crime news events, however, requires legal knowledge of the criminal code and police procedures as well. As I myself witness in my daily practice at the prosecution office, usually crime news fail to provide a correct understanding of questions of law (Tabbert 2015). This accords with Rowbotham et al. (2013:200) who remark that 'press coverage rarely dwelled upon the legal nuances of crime news'. Sadly enough, journalists' sometimes fragmented and rudimentary knowledge of legal

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[3] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1980/43/section/8C, accessed on 22 March 2016.

facts concerning crime is the most complete and detailed available for most readers of newspaper reports on crime (Chibnall 1977:8).

Apart from the law, journalists are also ethically bound, for example, as members of the National Union of Journalists by the NUJ code of conduct[4] upholding principles of truthfulness, accuracy, objectivity, impartiality and fairness (Busà 2014:33). Nevertheless, journalists or newspaper companies are not seldom sued for breach of confidence or libel. The first is based on a conflict between the right to privacy according to Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights, incorporated by the Human Rights Act 1998, and the right to freedom of expression according to Article 10 of the same legislation. Libel because of defamatory reporting is unlawful if it cannot be justified or if it is unfair or unprivileged (Welsh and Greenwood 2001).

Legal constraints and professional standards are just two of the 'structural factors' Harcup (2004:27) lists which influence and direct journalists' work. Others are, for example, time constraints, organisational routine, market forces and media ownership. We will return to the latter two later on.

Journalists have privileged access to information concerning news events, they deal with sources and write or tell news stories (Harcup 2004:9), they are 'professional story-tellers of our age' (Bell 1991:147). In doing so, they select information and opinion. They not merely report information about recent events (Busà 2014:25) but have manipulative power which follows from their privilege to select not only what but also how to report, in other words from the choices they make. In this context, Golding and Elliott (1979/1999) and Moore (2014:33) talk about a '"passive exercise of routine" that governs news selection' in an attempt to mitigate conscious and therefore deliberate manipulation. I am not saying that journalists deliberately conspire to manipulate, far from it. Their socialisation and professional training combined with the particular overarching outlook or direction every newspaper company has allows for these selection processes to become naturalised and played out unconsciously (Jewkes 2004b:19). Journalists and editors are thus referred to as 'gatekeepers' (Harcup 2004:33, 39; Moore 2014:33), less guided by

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[4] https://www.nuj.org.uk/about/nuj-code/, accessed on 22 March 2016.

personal attitudes but rather 'the mechanical and bureaucratic processes involved in producing and editing news stories' (Gieber 1964/1999).

Within the realm of selecting news events falls the term 'investigative journalism' which some regard as a tautology because all journalism ought to be investigative. Good journalists ask 'questions and question the answers' (Cole and Harcup 2010:14). In practice, however, journalism is often an unchecked forwarding of information to the reader (Harcup 2004:74f). Some even claim investigative journalism 'is now effectively dead' (Dorril 2000:6). Journalism in relation to sex offences, for example, is seldom investigative outside a judicial context (Soothill and Walby 1991:15, 35). However, a salient characteristic of investigative journalism is originality by revealing new information which the journalist discovers him- or herself instead of being presented with the whole story (Harcup 2004:75). These uncovered news events should be in the public interest to know. What is in the public interest to know has been defined by the Independent Press Standards Organisation replacing the Press Complaints Commission[5] in the Editors' Code of Practice,[6] namely

- – Detecting or exposing crime, or the threat of crime, or serious impropriety.
- – Protecting public health or safety.
- – Protecting the public from being misled by an action or statement of an individual or organisation.
- – Disclosing a person's or organisation's failure or likely failure to comply with any obligation to which they are subject.
- – Disclosing a miscarriage of justice.
- – Raising or contributing to a matter of public debate, including serious cases of impropriety, unethical conduct or incompetence concerning the public.
- – Disclosing concealment, or likely concealment, of any of the above.

However, Dean (2013:5ff) describes how these criteria were sometimes neglected at the time when New Labour came into power. During their election campaign and former British Prime Minister Tony Blair's first

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[5] https://www.ipso.co.uk/IPSO/index.html, accessed on 23 March 2016.
[6] https://www.ipso.co.uk/IPSO/cop.html, accessed on 23 March 2016.

years in office, their 'media machine' fed New Labour's narrative to a grateful and often uncritical press. Nevertheless, it was a mutual gain when *The Sun* for the first time supported a Labour Party candidate in a general election after Labour dropped media reforms in their manifesto from 1997. This is just one example of the influence the media have on policy and politics as Rupert Murdoch commented to his biographer 'That's the fun of it, isn't it? Having a little smidgen of power' (Shawcross 1993:550).

The product of newspaper journalism, namely the (newspaper) text is of interest for this book, the meaning of which can only be fully understood and properly analysed against the background of the information provided so far.

1.5   What this book is about

Focused on the linguistic construction of victims and offenders in news reports, this book is primarily written for criminologists as well as researchers with backgrounds in subjects other than linguistics who are interested in adding a linguistic perspective to the study of crime. Following Peelo and Soothill's (2005:XII) plea directed at criminologists 'to read the media at both a macro and a micro level', this book provides means for conducting such a micro level analysis as a necessary prerequisite for a macro level perspective. Being situated at the intersection between linguistics, media studies and criminology, this book presents a framework to name and thus label what it is in terms of language use that constructs offenders and victims in news reports in a particular way. As this book foremost intends to be a practical manual, it is introductory and requires no prior knowledge of linguistic text analysis.

I intend this book to be a preceding companion to my book *Crime and Corpus* (2015) as it provides a basic introduction of the tools and methods used there. In *Crime and Corpus*, I carried out a thorough investigation into the linguistic construction of offenders, victims and crimes in newspaper articles and provided linguistic evidence for predominant ideological concepts of crime in British society. This book, in contrast, intends to equip non-linguists with the relevant linguistic knowledge to integrate into their own analysis of crime representation in the media.

It therefore does not provide another thorough analysis of a collection of newspaper articles on crime. On the contrary, the extracts from newspaper articles on crime presented in this book are a means to illustrate the application of the linguistic toolkit.

The main concern of the book is to enable a systematic identification of the linguistic features[7] to be found in newspaper reports on crimes and how these features construct a (text)world and its attached values. The latter connects with ideology as discussed in detail in Sect. 2.1. In relation to ideology, Jeffries (2015b:381) talks about 'the construction of ideological meaning' in texts. Identifying such ideological meaning in newspaper reports on crime is the distinctive aim of the framework presented here.

Bearing in mind that the (text)world constructed in a newspaper article does not mirror reality but only has a counterpart of events and people in the real world, the analysis therefore deals with text worlds (Gavins 2007; Werth 1999). These text worlds, as they aim to report on real events, necessarily overlap to a large extent with our real world in that the same fundamental rules (e.g. physics) and norms (e.g. jurisdiction) apply in both. The distinction between a text world and the real world is key to understanding where manipulation is located and how it is possible to create a perception of offenders as, for example, criminally predisposed in accordance with a positivist approach to crime. A more detailed introduction to text worlds is provided in Sect. 2.1.

To facilitate the illustration of mentioned linguistic phenomena, this book uses examples from crime reports in *The Guardian*, namely its online edition.[8] As mentioned, I have presented an in-depth linguistic analysis of a systematic collection of articles on crime (a corpus) from a variety of different newspapers elsewhere (Tabbert 2015). The articles examined there stem from eight British daily newspapers including tabloids and broadsheets, national as well as regional ones, including *The Guardian*. That book answers the question of how victims, offenders and crimes are constructed linguistically in a corpus of crime news reports based on empirical evidence.

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[7] These linguistic features can also be seen as stylistic choices, the notion of style will be explained in Sect. 1.5.2.

[8] http://www.theguardian.com/international, accessed on 22 March 2016.

This book, as mentioned, follows a different approach. Its distinctive aim is to enable researchers with no background in linguistics to apply a linguistic framework in order to detect and prove ideological meaning in texts. The presented examples illustrating the linguistic toolkit and its application were taken from *The Guardian* exclusively.

The Guardian was chosen because it is seen as a neutral observer. However, the paper must accept the boundaries of predominant perceptions of crime if it wishes to be taken seriously and fit into public discourse (Braber 2014; Scott 2002; Scott and Tribble 2006:161ff). Although *The Guardian* is owned by a trust and has therefore no shareholders or profit distribution, it is nevertheless responding to and participating in societal discourse on crime. This illustrates the power of established or naturalised perceptions of crime over papers like *The Guardian*, which would (theoretically) have the means to disobey.

News reportage in *The Guardian* has been the focus of numerous research projects, in particular comparative analyses of *The Guardian* and other papers. Some of those are briefly reviewed now. For example, Gregoriou (2011:15ff) compared and contrasted the construction of the serial killers Steve Wright, Levi Bellfield and Mark Dixie in articles from *The Sun* and *The Guardian* from April 2008 and holds that articles in *The Sun* are more emotive and sensationalist. Braber (2014) analysed newspaper articles on domestic violence in *The Guardian* and *The Sun* from 2009 to 2011 and found significant similarities between the reporting in both despite an exaggerated form of reports in *The Sun*, thus echoing Gregoriou's result. Branum and Charteris-Black (2015) analysed reportage on the Edward Snowden affair in *The Guardian*, *Daily Mail* and *The Sun*. Given the fact that it was a journalist working for *The Guardian* who first met Snowden in Hong Kong and further considering that it was *The Guardian* which first published classified documents provided by Snowden, it is of interest to the analysts whether different stances towards state surveillance can be traced in the reportages of these papers. The authors conclude that all three papers have different reportage strategies with *The Guardian* being defensive of its own decision to publish classified documents. For its reporting on government surveillance following Edward Snowden's revelations, *The Guardian* became newspaper of the year 2014 at the British Press Awards.

In my brief review of previous linguistic research concerning *The Guardian*, Scott and his colleagues' work (2002; Scott and Tribble 2006:161ff) needs to be mentioned as they conducted keyword analyses of two separate *Guardian* corpora compiled from the *Guardian Weekly*. Not being focused on crime news in particular, the authors note a gender imbalance across the articles (Scott and Tribble 2006:177).

These selected results point towards an alignment of *The Guardian* in relation to other papers meaning that the reportage in *The Guardian* is not fundamentally different compared to other papers. Its reportage being less sensationalist as stated by Gregoriou (2011:15ff) does not necessarily mean that *The Guardian* has a different approach to crime but merely a different style of reporting. Based on these findings, *The Guardian* promises to deliver interesting examples to illustrate the application of the toolkit introduced in this book.

The structure of this book is dictated by the framework of Critical Stylistics (introduced in Chap. 2) and its textual–conceptual functions which will be dealt with in consecutive order in Chaps. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. Additionally, an introduction to some corpus linguistic tools is presented in Chap. 3 (Sect. 3.4) which can be applied to detect linguistic patterns in a systematic collection of texts (a corpus). The application of these corpus tools will then be demonstrated in relation to various textual–conceptual functions to provide the reader with some ideas for their usage. Chapter 8 rounds off the book by providing an in-depth analysis of one lengthier text (Example 8.1) which shows how the identified linguistic features are interwoven and construct a text world and its underlying ideologies. Relevant linguistic terms are explained in the Glossary.

Before we have a closer look at stylistic choice and its linkage to ideology, we look at *The Guardian's* market share and its competitors to further broaden our view concerning the producer side.

1.5.1 *The Guardian* among other newspapers

Cole and Harcup (2010:6) remind us to distinguish between journalism (such as making decisions about what to publish) and its products in terms of how and where they are published. As an efflux of the liberal model of

a free press, a newspaper can be published by everybody without a license or censorship in Britain (Harcup 2004:4). The market being tight and competitive impacts not only on the number of different newspapers but also their circulation figures which are both in decline (Cole and Harcup 2010:7). A distinctive part of income for newspapers, particularly up-market broadsheets, comes from advertising (Moore 2014:54; Tunstall 1996:14). Thus, circulation figures are a salient criterion to attract adverts and ultimately for a newspaper's economic success. In general, newspapers as mass media are industries, businesses controlled by corporations whose aim is to generate profit for their shareholders (Bignell 2002:80). *The Guardian* is an exception as it has no shareholders but needs to be profitable nevertheless to secure its existence. The aim of profitability has led to a concentration of media ownership or 'conglomeration' of the media including newspapers (Devereux 2007:91; Moore 2014:18). Such concentration can be horizontal or vertical. Vertical concentration refers to conglomerates owning or controlling a number of companies involved in different stages of the production and distribution of a particular media product, for example, Time Warner and Warner Bros. Horizontal conglomeration refers to ownership of different media products as in the case of Rupert Murdoch or Springer Nature, the latter a parent company of Palgrave Macmillan, the publisher of this book. When I started writing this book, Palgrave Macmillan belonged to the Georg von Holtzbrinck Publishing Group which illustrates the pace at which the building and extension of conglomeration progresses.

A core strategy of media conglomerates is synergy which Turow (1992:683) defines as 'the co-ordination of parts of a company so that the whole actually turns out to be worth more than the sum of its parts acting alone, without helping one another'. Such a concentration narrows the number of different voices heard and has a contracting influence on the public sphere (Devereux 2007:92).

Newspapers can be divided into tabloids, broadsheets and the 'mid-market' (Cole and Harcup 2010:20). Tabloids or red tops have a 'sensationalist news style, a celebrity oriented and sexualised news agenda', use paparazzi and sometimes 'chequebook journalism' (Johansson 2008:402). They are written and designed to provide an enjoyment factor (Johansson 2008) with a higher number of crime or celebrity

news stories. This underlines that crime news are situated at the border between hard and soft news as they have an entertainment value. The accessible and readable language used in tabloids is termed 'tabloidese' (Cole and Harcup 2010:22). This language use is orally based and connotes 'familiarity, camaraderie, and entertainingness' (Bignell 2002:89). Features are a restricted set of vocabulary and sentence structure, deliberate misspellings, slang words, first names or nicknames, contractions, alliteration, idioms and contrastive stress through letter format to name but a few (ibid.). In relation to crime reports, tabloids tend to use 'a fear-inducing, sensationalist tone' (Moore 2014:91). They are targeted at a less educated working-class audience (Busà 2014:34f) or 'lower socio-economic groups' (Cole and Harcup 2010:22). Their sales figures are much higher than those of broadsheets (Cole and Harcup 2010:23). Some selected major tabloids are *The Sun*, *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Star*. Out of these three, *The Sun* is not only the most prominent tabloid in the UK but also the one with the highest circulation figure by far with 1,818,935 (June 2015) (compared to 2,033,606 [June 2014])[9] copies a day.

Broadsheets in the serious or quality market are named after the larger format they were originally printed in. Not only the format but also the language use which connotes 'authority, formality, and seriousness' (Bignell 2002:89) distinguishes them from tabloids. Features of broadsheet language are longer and not incomplete sentences, less misspelling and no contrastive stress to name but a few (Bignell 2002:90). Being targeted at an educated middle-class audience (Busà 2014:34ff), their topic choice differs by providing more foreign news (Bignell 2002:82).

Although broadsheets are still distinct from tabloids, Busà (2014:16, 21) notes a trend towards tabloidisation and spectacularisation not only in newspapers but other media (audio, video) as well which the author links with customisation to a changed readership and the aim to boost

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[9] Circulation figures presented in this section are obtained from:

– for 2015: http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/national-newspaper-abcs-june-2015-most-tabloids-suffer-double-digit-declines-sun-reclaims-sunday-top, accessed 22 March 2016
– for 2014: http://www.theguardian.com/media/table/2014/jul/11/abcs-national-newspapers, accessed 22 March 2016.

sales. The latter is of distinctive importance as not only the circulation figures for tabloids but also those for broadsheets, which are already lower, are on decline.

As *The Guardian* is a broadsheet newspaper, it is introduced with a bit of detail as are its main competitors in the broadsheet market:

– *The Times*
  The origin of this paper is the *Daily Universal Register*, founded in 1785, which in 1788 became *The Times* (Cole and Harcup 2010:62). Its stable mate is *The Sunday Times* with discrete editorial staff. Today the paper is owned by News UK, a subsidiary of News Corp as is also the case with *The Sun*. Its circulation figure of 389,409 (June 2015) (compared to 393,530 [June 2014]) is much smaller than that of tabloids. In the nineteenth century, however, it was a leading paper not only in terms of having the highest circulation figure until 1855 but also in terms of its reputation for foreign reporting (first paper to send war correspondents) (Cole and Harcup 2010:62ff). At its height, it was 'the textual identification of confident, aspiring professional classes and an upper bourgeoisie' (Conboy and Steel 2008:652). Today it takes a conservative stance (Cole and Harcup 2010:32) although it supported the Labour Party in two general elections in the beginning of this century.

– *The Guardian*
  The paper the examples in this book stem from fits into the list of broadsheets. Dean (2013:XIV), who worked for *The Guardian* for 38 years, praises the paper as 'producing some of the finest journalism in the country'. Founded in 1821 as *The Manchester Guardian*, a local newspaper, it changed names in 1959 and developed into a national voice. It is owned by the Guardian Media Group, which is in turn owned by the Scott Trust Ltd. This secures the financial independence of the paper with no shareholders and no profit distribution (Cole and Harcup 2010:77). *The Guardian* takes a social democrat (Cole and Harcup 2010:32) and liberal stance and has a very engaged readership claiming 'an almost proprietorial influence' over the paper (Cole and Harcup 2010:76). Angouri and Wodak's (2014) analysis of readers' comments on

articles in *The Guardian* on Greece and the financial crisis, posted on the newspaper's webpage, serves as an example of this influence. Stablemates of *The Guardian* are *The Observer*, a Sunday paper, and *The Guardian weekly*. Its circulation figure of 171,218 (June 2015) (compared to 185,313 [June 2014]) makes it second smallest before *The Independent*.

– *The Independent*
Launched in 1986, it is not only the youngest but also the smallest up-market newspaper with a circulation of 57,930 (June 2015) (compared to 63,505 [June 2014]). Stablemates are *The Independent on Sunday*, the *London Evening Standard* and the *i* newspaper, the latter with a circulation figure of 274,556 (June 2015). Its emergence is linked to the Thatcher era starting as a 'liberal anti-Thatcherite paper' (Cole and Harcup 2010:79). Today under the ownership of Alexander Lebedev, a Russian oligarch, and his son Evgeny Lebedev it takes a liberal centre outlook. Due to a decreasing circulation figure, the paper plans to be published online only.

In between tabloids and broadsheets, the 'mid-market' is located referring to the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* as well as the *Mail on Sunday* and *Sunday Express* as the respective Sunday papers. The paper with the highest circulation figure is the *Daily Mail*. Its sales figure of 1,626,846 (June 2015) (compared to 1,673,579 [June 2014]) makes it the second largest daily newspaper in the UK.

Apart from tabloid and broadsheet formats we find compacts meaning a broadsheet newspaper published in a tabloid format. The compact was first introduced by *The Independent* to make reading easier for commuters in London when using mass transit. *The Independent*, the '*i*' and *The Times* are published in this format only. Another alternative to the original broadsheet format is the Berlin format which is slightly bigger than a compact. *The Guardian* and *The Observer* are published in this format.

Having looked at *The Guardian*'s market position and share as well as at its main competitors, we turn to content issues next and begin with an introduction to the notion of style as understood in this book.

1.5.2 Style

Format issues as well as the aforementioned papers' different house styles or language (see 'tabloidese' above) relate to the notion of style (although not fully accounting for the meaning of 'style' as understood in this book). The term 'style' in a basic and rather colloquial understanding means a way of doing things. Style in sociolinguistics correlates to the 'amount of attention paid by a speaker to his or her production of speech' (Jucker 1992:8). Style in terms of Stylistics, a sub-discipline of Linguistics, is understood as 'the way in which language is used in a given context, by a given person, for a given purpose, and so on' (Leech and Short 2007:9). This definition enables stylisticians (linguistic researchers applying the methods of Stylistics) to talk about and identify, for example, the style of Shakespeare or Dickens or the style of a particular newspaper like *The Guardian*. A stylistic understanding of the term goes beyond of what is understood as 'house style' in journalism or is provided in style guides like *The Associated Press stylebook* (Christian et al. 2011). *The Associated Press stylebook* (Christian et al. 2011), for example, provides guidance to punctuation, when to use capital letters, how to spell words or how to use numerals, to name but a few. Such issues relate to style but do not fully account for its entire meaning as used in Stylistics. Further, *The Associated Press stylebook* hints at gender representation as its sports section contains an abundance of male-gendered references and only a few female-related as found by Bien-Aimé (2016). In relation to gender issues, which are also part of style, *The Guardian book of English language* (Marsh and Hodson 1998) goes further than *The Associated Press stylebook* by explicitly advising on preferred word choice as, for example, in the following passage: 'Our use of language reflects Guardian values, as well as changes in society. Phrases such as career girl or career woman, for example, are outdated (more women have careers than men) and patronising (there is no male equivalent): never use them' (p. 54). Expressing a stance towards gender issues by avoiding particular noun phrases is at the heart of stylistic choice. Beside noun choices, style further comprises word choice (also referred to as semantic choice) in other word classes (e.g. verbs, adverbs) or on other linguistic levels (e.g. morphemes like un- or -ed) or syntactic

structures.[10] Style as a 'motivated choice from the set of language or register conventions or other social, political, cultural and contextual parameters' (Nørgaard et al. 2010:156) covers the style of a particular newspaper as well as the characteristics of a particular situation or text. Therefore, language use is seen contextualised and motivated by a speaker's or writer's 'personal choices and belief systems and socio-cultural factors at every level' (ibid.). As a consequence, no text is free of style, however plain.

Stylistics is concerned with the study of style in its widest sense and draws on cognitive insights of text processing like text world, schema or metaphor theory as well as knowledge from other linguistic sub-disciplines like pragmatics or grammar (Jeffries and McIntyre 2010). It thus provides insight into how texts project and readers construct text worlds and acknowledges the fact that meaning is not contained in a text but constructed in interaction between the text and the reader's/hearer's background knowledge (Semino 1997:124f).

Stylistics has developed over the years (for an overview of its current state see Montoro 2015) from its original focus on literary texts and recurrently turns its attention to the study of non-literary, sometimes multimodal texts to which it applies insights from the study of literature, namely prose, poetry and plays. It thereby proves its 'intrinsically inter-disciplinary nature' (Montoro 2015:355).

Style and stylistic choices are at the heart of writing news stories. Once a journalist has discovered or been offered a news event, three factors shape how the event is reported as news, namely language, audience and technology (Busà 2014:33). This enumeration ties in with Fairclough's (1995) discussion of text production and reception. How language is used in the text of crime news stories will be explored in this book. The medium of interest for this book is online news stories on crime which are targeted at the same type of audience as their printed versions (Busà 2014:35), do not differ significantly in content and appear to be based on the print version (Moore 2014:34, 36).

A news story based on a news event covers the five 'Ws': who, what, when, where and why and follows the KISS and tell formula, meaning 'keep it short and simple' (Busà 2014:96; Harcup 2004:108).

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[10] Rules that govern the structure of phrases or sentences.

Such a news story can be structured in different ways which again is a matter of style. The most common story form for hard news including crime topics is the inverted pyramid which observes the audience's wish for 'fast delivery of information' as well the reader's limited attention span (Busà 2014:51, 63). Stories structured in this form provide information in 'decreasing order of importance' (Busà 2014:62) which also facilitates the editing process because the story can be cut from the bottom to meet space constraints without much information loss. Such a structure allows the online reader to scan the beginning instead of reading the entire story and enables the journalist as producer to update the story by inserting new information in the top part (Busà 2014:63).

A second story form, the hourglass, uses the inverted pyramid in the first part and elaborates on details and background information in the second (Busà 2014:65ff). Other story forms are narrative storytelling or impersonal writing (Busà 2014:68ff). This shows that the reasons behind stylistic choices are manifold and include the structure of a news story or its visual presentation on a (web)page.

The immediately visible structure of an article either in a printed newspaper or on a webpage consists of a headline, a secondary headline (also called deck head, summary line or summary blurb), a byline with the date and reporter's name, an introduction or lead which is the first paragraph and, finally, a body copy (Busà 2014:80ff). The visual appearance of an article as well as accompanying photographs contribute towards meaning-making and are subject to a multimodal approach to stylistic choices not covered in this book.

1.5.3   Stylistic choice

The main focus of a stylistic analysis is an examination of how the text means what it means in terms of language use. A linguistic analysis of style means 'looking systematically at the formal features of a text and determining their functional significance for the interpretation of the text in question' (Jeffries and McIntyre 2010:1; Wales 1989:438). In doing so, we need to bear in mind that there is no one-to-one form/function relation (Jeffries 2014b:477; Nørgaard et al. 2010:156). A particular

linguistic form (e.g. a sentence like 'It's quite hot in here') can have more than one function depending on context (it might just be an information about the temperature in a room or it might be an implied request to open the window). The aim of linking linguistic form and interpretation, as it is of interest for stylisticians, is to provide 'as much explicit evidence as possible for and against particular interpretations of texts' (Short 1996:27). Thereby every stylistic approach to analysing and interpreting texts is informed by the three 'Rs': rigour, retrievability and replicability (Simpson 2014).

Identifying stylistic choices is core to interpreting texts. For our purpose, style is understood as an element of choice over how to express something (Jeffries and McIntyre 2010:25). I refer back to *The Guardian's* stance on gender issues expressed through advice in *The Guardian Book of English Language* on avoiding particular noun phrases (see Sect. 1.5.2). To illustrate the effect of a stylistic choice and its link to ideological meaning I use Danet (1980). She examined naming choices for an unborn child in a manslaughter trial following a late abortion. The child was named a 'baby boy' by the prosecution and a 'fetus' by the defence. These naming choices are stylistic in that they follow from choices made over how to name the referent out of a variety of different possibilities. Both naming choices are directive for argumentation in court namely whether the performing gynaecologist, who was the defendant, committed a crime. This is because both nouns carry different ideological meaning (a working definition of 'ideology' will be provided in Sect. 2.1). By naming the unborn child a 'baby boy', he is constructed as a human being in line with the prosecution's argument that an abortion six months into a pregnancy constitutes a criminal offence. In contrast, naming it a fetus 'fosters a neutralizing, medical frame of reference' and allows for a construction of the abortion as law-conform behaviour because a six-month-old fetus is not regarded a human life yet (Danet 1980:196). Therefore, the stylistic choice of using the noun 'baby boy' contributes towards the construction of a (text)world where this abortion is seen as killing a human. In contrast, choosing the noun 'fetus' relates to a different set of values.

The idea of choice over how to name the unborn child being ideological is an example of how ideological meaning in texts is created by means of stylistic choices. An identification of ideological meaning in

newspaper reports on crimes therefore starts with an analysis of stylistic choices. The identified stylistic choices provide evidence and are thus a necessary prerequisite for a subsequent interpretation of the text and its underlying ideological meaning. We therefore take Stylistics as our starting point and add a critical perspective as offered by Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010a). This framework, introduced in Sect. 2.2, allows for a consideration of ideological meaning because it is concerned with both choice and ideology, in other words with 'ideological aspects of linguistic features' in texts (Jeffries 2014a:408). I thereby respond to Hall's (1982) and Downey et al.'s (2014) plea for a rediscovery of the critique of ideology and the tools for analysing ideology in relation to media studies.

Having introduced the topic of this book, the next chapter focuses on a definition of ideology and provides an introduction to the framework of Critical Stylistics.

2

Critical Stylistics

Text worlds of newspaper articles on crime 'are constructed in interaction between readers and texts' (Semino 1997:160). Texts project meaning and with it simultaneously convey ideologies as part of the projected meaning. The second part of the equation is the reader who constructs (ideological) meaning which a text projects.

This chapter starts with presenting a working definition of the term 'ideology' which is needed when we want to detect underlying ideologies in the reportage on crime. The second part of this chapter introduces the framework of Critical Stylistics and its textual–conceptual functions which are explained in greater detail in the following chapters.

2.1 Defining ideology

Before defining ideology, we first need to clarify why it is important for the research at hand. We therefore make a brief excursion into Schema and Text World Theory to understand how texts make meaning.

When we analyse newspaper reports on crime with the aim of extracting the picture painted in them about what offenders and victims are and

its underlying ideology, we need to bear in mind that this picture does not exist in isolation from other discourse or previous experiences. On the contrary, in order to understand these newspaper texts we bring with us our personal knowledge about the world and in particular the society we live in. This world we live in is the 'real world' or reality, leaving aside arguments that the real world is merely a construction and that we 'cannot be certain of an objective reality beyond men's conception of it' (Quinney 1970:4). In contrast to the real world, a 'discourse world' is 'the immediate situation which surrounds human beings as they communicate' (Gavins 2007:9), also described as 'the space in which the language event takes place' (Lugea 2013:135). We as human beings inhabit a discourse world and thus become discourse participants when we, for instance, talk to one another, read a book or newspaper, watch TV or write something, all discursive events. A discourse world only exists when at least one speaker, writer, listener or reader is consciously present (Gavins 2007:9). In such situations, we bring with us our knowledge about the world, stored in schemas. The term 'schema' refers to 'a portion of background knowledge that contains generic information about different types of events, situations, people or objects' (Semino 1997:18). Schemas are built on past experiences whether lived through or read or heard about (Jeffries 2010a, b:128). When it comes to a murder trial, for example, not many people have first-hand experience but almost everybody has a schematic knowledge about it from previous readings. This knowledge is activated when reading a newspaper article on such a topic. Schemas are not static but dynamic (ibid.), meaning that every new experience further develops an existing schema in that it reinforces or adapts it. Because the reader brings his or her world knowledge stored in schemas to the text, meaning cannot solely be located in the words and structures of a text but arises from the text following a negotiation process between the reader and the text (Jeffries 2010a, b:127; Semino 1997).

Schema theory links with Text World Theory (Gavins 2007; Werth 1999), briefly mentioned in Chap. 1, when explaining how readers understand texts. Text worlds of newspaper articles on crime overlap to a large extent with our discourse world in that the same norms and rules apply in both (Tabbert 2014). It would be different when reading

a science-fiction novel where human beings invade other galaxies inhabited by aliens, which is impossible in our discourse world. Such different rules as, for example, are valid in science-fiction worlds must be indicated in the text which then allows the reader to shift him/herself mentally (also referred to as a shift of the deictic centre) into another world, namely the text world of a science-fiction novel, in order to see the world as the text does (Jeffries 2010a, b:159). In the absence of such information the reader assumes that the world in the text is identical to the discourse world in terms of spatial, temporal and social coordinates. This is referred to as principle of minimal departure and originates from Possible World Theory (Ryan 1991). The text world which arises in the reader's mind when reading newspaper articles on crime is congruent with the discourse world in that both share the same spatial, temporal and social coordinates, which is also the case when a past event is reported on.

Both text and discourse worlds are inhabited by entities. Real people participating in the discourse world are called discourse participants (see above), inhabitants of a text world are enactors (Gavins 2007:42; Lugea 2013). When someone reads a newspaper article on crime, the person of the offender or victim constructed in there is to be regarded as an enactor in a text world and thus comparable to a fictional character in a novel (which is an enactor in the novel's text world) except that the enactor (e.g. offender, victim) in the newspaper article text world has a counterpart in the discourse or real world. I do not wish to conflate fictional and non-fictional texts and want to emphasise that newspaper articles on crime are not fiction. However, they are 'still merely a *story* about reality, not reality itself' (Smolej 2010:70). Likewise, people named and constructed in these articles do not mirror real people but are instead constructions of their own with ties to their counterparts in the real world. This allows for an analysis of these texts and the enactors in them using the tools developed for literary analysis, following Jeffries' (2014a:408) argument that texts, whether fictional or non-fictional, 'make meaning in fundamentally the same way'.

Stockwell and Mahlberg (2015:132) argue that the language we use when talking about fictional characters (also referred to as enactors)

cannot be distinguished from that used when talking about real people (or discourse participants). As a consequence, we engage with real people or fictional characters in fundamentally the same way (ibid.). When we are reading a newspaper article on crime (or any other text), the enactors are built in our mind on templates of self-hood. Any information in the text about the enactor is regarded as a cue 'towards an alteration of an existing template', namely self-hood (Stockwell and Mahlberg 2015:133), observing the principle of minimal departure mentioned above.

When reading newspaper articles on crime, the enactors in the text world are built on the basis of the picture we have of ourselves, with the text providing information on how they differ from us. The greater the divergence between the enactor and our self-hood, the more information the text needs to give. However, this is obviously not the case as most newspaper articles on crime are not very long and do not provide much information about the offender (see Example 8.1). Therefore, it is rather through the type (than the amount) of information provided in the text that a deviant character or enactor is constructed. Drawing on schema theory, a noun like 'monster' used to name an offender (see Example 8.1) triggers the relevant monstrous offender schema and inspires a horrible fascination with the darker side of life (Peelo and Soothill 2005:IX). Every reader has an individual monster schema. As such a schema is primarily a linguistic and cultural construction (Nuzzo 2013:57), it is mainly shaped by predominant societal discourse surrounding this issue (in newspapers, TV, novels, etc.) rather than personal encounters. A monster is associated with criminality and badness, it 'serves as a model of all deviance' (Nuzzo 2013:65, 67). In criminological terms it links with the predestined actor model meaning that a person is destined to be a criminal (Burke 2001:10) and thus inherently bad.

The monster-example shows how little information is actually needed to enable the reader to flesh out the offending enactor, counting on the world knowledge the reader brings to the text. At the same time, triggering the monster schema allows for alterations of the self-hood template in that the reader is able to figure out individually how the monstrous offender in the text world differs from him/herself. Thirdly, and this brings us back to the starting point of our excursion into Text

World and Schema Theory, the monster-example illustrates the necessity of defining the term 'ideology' and how it is used in this book. If we want to identify how offenders (and victims) are constructed linguistically in newspaper articles on crime, we need to extract and test the underlying ideologies. The notion of inherent badness embedded in the monster schema is ideological in that it follows a judgmental process and the assignment of values to a constructed text world and its inhabitant (Jeffries 2015b:382ff). Using the noun 'monster' (see Example 8.1) as a lexical choice reflects 'the ideological stance of the user or the group' (Jaworska and Krishnamurthy 2012:405). By giving preference to this naming choice for an offender over others it is made clear how the offender is seen and judged (see also the 'baby boy'/'fetus' example in Sect. 1.5.3 where victim-naming choice impacts on the construction of the offender). Although not all schema-triggers are as obvious and straightforward as the noun 'monster', and they do not all trigger the underlying ideology of inherent badness, it is through linguistic analysis in combination with criminological frameworks that these triggers can be identified and the underlying ideologies explained.

In further approaching how the term 'ideology' is understood in this book, we need to bear in mind a major divide between 'two general types of conception' of the term, namely a neutral and a critical one, and their branches (Thompson 1990:5, 55). Based on this initial divide, four definitions existing in the relevant literature are introduced next, acknowledging that the term 'ideology' is a fluid concept, constantly further developed and adapted to our changing world.

First, a basic and descriptive definition of ideologies as ideas (Giddens et al. 2003:20) follows de Tracey's understanding of the term when first introduced as a 'science of ideas' (Thompson 1990:30) or an 'idea-logy' (Richardson 2007:32). Defining ideology as ideas can be regarded as neutral because it does not imply that ideology is 'misleading, illusory or aligned with the interests of any particular group' (Thompson 1990:53). Particularly the last is taken into account by Fowler (1996) and also by Kress and Hodge (1979) who take on board the notion of point of view, which can be understood as a presentation of events seen through the eyes of someone else (McIntyre 2006:1). Kress and Hodge (1979:6)

define ideology 'as a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view'. Fowler (1996:34) even equates ideology and point of view regarding the way news is presented. This brings in a subjective perspective because ideas from a particular point of view align ideology with the interests of a person or group. Therefore, merely equating ideology with ideas is insufficient in that it does not take into account the notion of attached value following a judgmental process which we have identified as a necessary component when defining the term 'ideology' considering the monster-example.

Values are considered in a second, relativist definition of the term which sees ideology as a 'coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or values' (Wodak and Meyer 2009:8). This approach aligns ideology not merely with any idea but specifies these ideas as beliefs and values. Van Dijk (1998:135, 191) emphasises that these sets of beliefs need to be shared by groups and expressed and reproduced in discourse. Defining ideology in a relativist sense is applied by numerous authors, for example, Althusser or Mannheim, and further in Critical Discourse Analysis as well as sociology and journalism studies. McQuail (2000:497) defines 'ideology' as 'some organised belief system or set of values that is disseminated or reinforced by communication'. This shows that the relativist definition of the term is used across disciplines. The notion of discourse as a means of transport and dissemination of ideologies is a basic assumption for the research at hand which is concerned with identifying ideologies in discourse on crime, namely in newspaper articles on this topic.

Critical notions of the term 'convey a negative [...] or pejorative sense' (Thompson 1990:53f). They characterise ideology as 'misleading, illusory and one-sided' (Thompson 1990:54). Such a third approach towards defining the term 'ideology' follows Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony and sees ideology as 'meaning in the service of power' (Fairclough 1995:14; Thompson 1990:7) or, in other words, 'in the interests of a social class and/or cultural group' (Mayr 2008:10). The critical approach to ideology embraces the notion of manipulation and connects ideology with power and hegemonic struggle over ideas and concepts. Furthermore, it opens up the possibility of seeing different forms of power at work in regard to social class, gender, age and ethnicity. In other words, the dominant ideology can seek to reinforce, make claim to and redefine

groups who in relation to power have often been marginal. In this context, Fairclough (1992:87) in his Marxist approach to Critical Discourse Analysis sees ideologies as 'significations/constructions of reality'.

Ideology is an arena for contested meanings and is increasingly centred around notions of power and control, that is, who has the means to create an ideological perspective which presents as the unquestioned truth. In this regard, there are a number of prominent philosophers and critical social theorists who have sought, in their own particular ways, to examine how dominant discourses impose themselves and to develop strategies to expose the contradictions. For example, Jacques Derrida developed deconstruction to highlight the inherent but unidentified contradictions within seemingly coherent discourses. Pierre Bourdieu utilised the tool, *inter alia*, of 'symbolic violence' by which seemingly self-evident truths are products of powerful groups maintaining their vested interests. Michel Foucault proposed the notion of 'episteme' by which we are all 'made' subjects within the power of discourse. These ideas, although disparate in their formulation, offer similar arguments that meaning is never 'innocent', that is, devoid of value judgments, and is often indicative of the operations of power. This shows similarities with the sociological school of symbolic interactionism and one of the most prominent pioneers in this area, Howard Becker and Labelling Theory. The key principle is who has the power to successfully label individuals and groups so that the label becomes reality.[1]

According to Fairclough (1992:87), ideologies are most effective 'when they become naturalized, and achieve the status of "common sense"'. This is characterised by values and positions not being presented in a context of alternatives but instead as if they were without alternative or not worth considering alternatives (Corner 2016:268). The same happens in case people repeatedly hear information and are unable to source-attribute it; this information is regarded as common knowledge or common sense too (Berns 2004:44). Common-sense ideologies enable ruling by consent (Quinney 1970:9) and power maintenance which is at the core of a critical approach to ideology. Such critical definitions correlate

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[1] I am grateful to Tom Considine for sharing his thoughts with me on the matter.

with the notion of domination in 'asymmetrical relations of power' (Mayr 2008:11). Devereux' definition of the term in journalism studies as 'ideas that legitimise the power of a dominant social group or class' in order to 'perpetuate unequal power relations' (2007:157, 168) is one example of the application of critical definitions across disciplines. Constructing crime in newspaper articles partakes in the construction of the deviant other or the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' (Van Dijk 2006:370) which not only reinforces norms and assures people that the system works but is a means of power maintenance (Durkheim 1938:67).

A fourth definition of ideology in universalising terms holds that 'where there is a sign, there is ideology' (Voloshinov 1986). Voloshinov's approach, influenced not only by Marxist ideas but also by de Saussure's work, deviates from the classical Marxist understanding of ideology as an illusion or mental phenomenon as mentioned above. Instead, Voloshinov holds that no language use is free from ideology which he understands as a social construct based on a sign system. I mention this definition because it philosophically underlines a basic assumption for the research at hand, namely that no text is free from ideology (Julian 2011:767), or, as Jeffries (2010a:8, 2015b:383) states, '[t]here is not, however, any possibility that any discourse is free of ideas, and thus of ideology'.

While Fairclough (1992:88f) argues that 'it is not possible to "read off" ideologies from texts', they are nevertheless 'identifiable through textual analysis' (Jeffries and Walker 2012:214). These core assumptions, namely the 'universal presence of ideology in a text' (Kemppanen 2004:91; Voloshinov 1986) as well as the possibility of identifying ideologies through linguistic analysis, provide the basis for the research presented in this book.

How ideology is defined in this book depends on the research at hand. All four definitions have their justification given the research presented in this book. They are used not only in Critical Discourse Analysis but also in sociology and criminology as well as journalism studies. In deciding which of the four can serve as the one applied in this book, we need to return to the question how texts make meaning and transport ideological meaning.

Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010a), the framework used for analysis in this book, takes Halliday's metafunctions of language as a starting

point to explain how ideology is conveyed by texts. Halliday claims that language serves three functions, namely an ideational, interpersonal and textual. 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 (ibid.). 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).

Jeffries (2015b:384) focuses on ideation when explaining how ideologies are conveyed by texts which she understands as 'the construction of a particular description of the world through language'. It is through ideational processes that text worlds are produced, constructing a world, its inhabitants and the valid rules in this world (e.g. gravity, system of government, etc.). Ideology 'enters the picture […] where these ideational processes in texts produce worlds which have values attached to them' (Jeffries 2015b:384) as relevant to the relativist definition of the term. Text worlds are constructed along temporal and spatial coordinates and are inhabited by enactors who act following some norm; this is all part of an ideational process. Hints of attitudes or, in other words, attached values following from a judgmental process add ideology to ideation (Jeffries 2015b). Therefore, 'ideation and ideologies are delivered by the same set of textual features' (Jeffries 2015b:384) and ideological meaning can be revealed through textual analysis. This assertion is underlined by Teo (2000:11) stating that language is regarded as 'the primary instrument through which ideology is transmitted, enacted and reproduced'. Particularly in newspaper reports, which are considered to be 'self-conscious loci of ideology production' (DiGiacomo 1999:105; Ensslin and Johnson 2006), detecting ideology is crucial to understand and unmask manipulation. Wodak (2007:209) in this context claims that one aim of Critical Discourse Analysis is 'to "demystify" discourse by deciphering ideologies'. Thus, the approach to ideology taken by Critical Stylistics goes beyond the relativist definition of the term in that it explains where ideological meaning is to be located in texts and thus how it is possible to prove it linguistically.

Summarising, the connection between language and ideology lies in the fact that language 'is crucial to the creation and maintenance of "common-sense" ideology' (Mooney et al. 2011:17). Ideology in this book is understood as the attachment of values to the constructed text world following a judgmental process (Jeffries 2015b) and is therefore defined as a further development of a relativist definition of the term. Detecting ideologies is possible if we can identify attached values or hints of attitude through linguistic analysis and explain their effect. With this working definition in mind, we turn to Critical Stylistics by introducing the framework and explaining how it is possible to trace ideological meaning in texts using textual analysis.

2.2   Critical Stylistics and its textual–conceptual functions

The framework of Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010a) on which this book is based is a strand of Stylistics and enables researchers to analyse newspaper reports on crime in a transparent, rigorous and replicable way. It brings together well-established linguistic models in a systematic way (Tabbert 2015:45) by inventorising the tools that can be used for identifying ideological meaning in texts. A core assertion of Critical Stylistics which is of distinctive importance for this book is 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)

Critical Stylistics emphasises and enables the conduct of a rigour and replicability analysis. This is particularly important to point out as the study of social phenomena like crime reported on in newspapers is not destined to exhaust itself in general reflections on a text by using methods *ad libitum* and overstretching the term 'Discourse Analysis' but can instead be done in a more systematic and text-centred way. As the study of newspaper articles on crime predominantly aims at revealing underlying ideologies these texts are based on as well as power relations, their

detection needs to be as unbiased and objective as possible to avoid criticism of bending analysis to prove prefabricated results. The advantage of the framework of Critical Stylistics is that, if followed through, the underlying ideologies will be identified with the researcher in an observing instead of a manipulative position. As 'language is at the heart of journalism' (Zelizer 2004:111), this book provides means to pay credit to and enable linguistic analysis. Occasional critique of linguists having a 'logocentric' perspective (Kopytowska 2015:370) is met by taking into account insight from media studies and criminology and thereby bridging a rift between these disciplines.

The term 'Critical Stylistics' was first coined by Jeffries in 2010, appearing as the title of the book in which she first systematically introduced the framework. Jeffries developed this framework following her analysis of the linguistic construction of the female body in women's magazines (2007) where she introduced some of the categories like 'Naming and describing' which she later named 'textual-conceptual functions of texts' (2010a). Since then, Jeffries has applied (2012; Evans and Jeffries 2015) and extended (2014a, b, 2015a, b, c) her framework in several publications. Other researchers in applying Critical Stylistics have demonstrated its relevance and advantages as, for example, Coffey-Glover (2013, 2015) in analysing masculinity in women's magazines, Evans and Schuller (2015) concerning a radicalisation of the May 2013 Woolwich attack in British press reportage, Olaluwoye (2015) on the construction of minority groups in the Nigerian press and the present author in analysing crime reportage in the British and German press (2015) as well as in comparing a crime-related fictional and a non-fictional text (2014). This section serves to introduce the latest version of Critical Stylistics to date.

Critical Stylistics builds on various well-known linguistic foundations. First, there is Saussure's (1986) distinction between *langue* (language) and *parole* (speech). *Langue* refers to the rules and conventions underlying a signifying system like the English language, *parole* means language use including imperfections and innovations (Jeffries 1998:261f). Jeffries adds 'textual meaning' into the space between the idealised system of language and its use (2015b:380) on which she builds Critical Stylistics as 'an integrated model of textual meaning' (2014b:469).
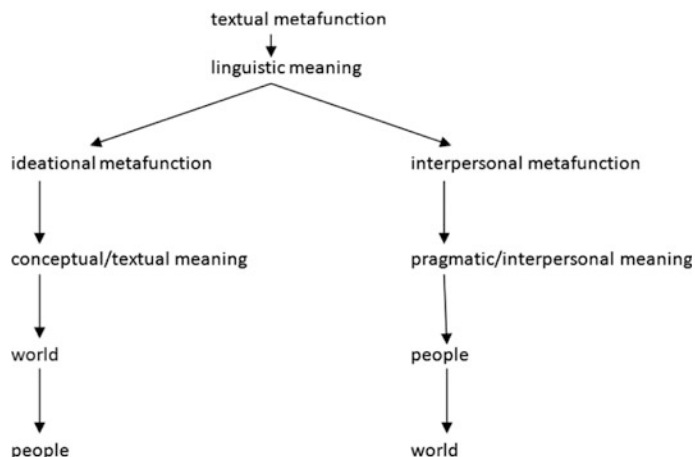
Fig. 2.1 Revised metafunctions of language and their relationship to meaning, adapted from Jeffries (2014b:472)

Textual meaning refers to a 'separ*able*' meaning of the text, distinct from producer and recipient meaning (Jeffries 2015c) and has a 'less clear set of form-function relationships' than *langue* (or linguistic meaning, see Fig. 2.1) (Jeffries 2015b:380).

Another foundation of Critical Stylistics is speech act theory and the distinction between locution, illocution and perlocution, based on the work of Austin (Urmson and Sbisà 1978) and further developed by Searle (1969) and Grice (1975, 1978). Locution means the actual words uttered, illocution refers to the force or intention behind those words and perlocution is the effect on the hearer/reader (Thomas 1995:49). Combining this with the *langue/parole* distinction allows for explanation of 'mismatches between the superficial form of a text or utterance and its contextualised meaning' (Jeffries 2014b:473). An utterance like 'I feel awful'[2] in a particular context might be more than simply describing a feeling but instead the speech act of apologising when considering the illocutionary force behind it (ibid.).

A third concept Jeffries draws on is Halliday's (1985) set of meta-functions of language, namely the ideational, interpersonal and textual,

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[2] This example is used by Jeffries (2014b:473f).

briefly mentioned above. These three characterise the different functions of language. The ideational metafunction refers to the representation of the world through language, the interpersonal to mediation between people through language and the textual metafunction refers to the internal organisation system of language like grammar or syntax in order to make meaning and keep up the flow of discourse. Jeffries (2015c) takes Halliday's distinction as a starting point and renames the textual metafunction as 'linguistic meaning'. It covers the structure of language, comprising form and function. Into this category fall phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics as they provide the linguistic underpinning to language. Ideational meaning is renamed as textual meaning. Within this category fall transitivity and modality, because they produce ideation in that they create a mental image of the world described. As Jeffries (2015c) holds, '[t]extual meaning is the co-textual effect of how the structures produced by the underlying linguistic systems work'. Compared to linguistic meaning, 'textual meaning has a less clear set of form-function relationships' (Jeffries 2015b:380). For the third category, Jeffries keeps the term 'interpersonal'. It encompasses pragmatics (including speech acts or Gricean maxims/implicature) and is concerned with 'what the language is doing to/with people in the situation' (Jeffries 2015c). This separation between linguistic, textual and interpersonal meaning makes clear that textual meaning 'is dependent on, but different from' linguistic meaning and 'informs, but does not determine, what is going on interpersonally—or interpretatively' (Jeffries 2015c). As an example, Jeffries uses a scene from the UK TV series 'The Big Bang Theory' where Penny gives Sheldon a Christmas gift and Sheldon replies: 'You haven't given me a gift, you've given me an obligation' (Jeffries 2015c). The linguistic meaning is the literal meaning of Sheldon's words, namely that Penny has not given Sheldon a gift but an obligation (parallel structure of the two clauses, negator 'n't' in the first clause). The textual meaning is that 'gift' and 'obligation' are linked by means of a *Not X, Y* structure, constructing opposition between the two, following from the syntactic structures of both clauses. The interpersonal meaning is that Sheldon is offended by the gift he sees as an obligation and Penny is likely to be offended by Sheldon's reaction.

Jeffries proposes a hierarchy of these three categories where the lin-guistic meaning is the 'foundation of all language activity' and cannot be directly accessed by the user (Jeffries 2014b:472). Nevertheless, the user draws on it while presenting or receiving a version of the world (textual category, producing conceptual meaning) and simultaneously interacting with other people (interpersonal category, creating prag-matic meaning). These relations can be pictured as shown in Fig. 2.1.

The ideational/textual meaning of a text primarily leads to a world construction which, in a second step, has an impact on the recipient in that s/he accepts or rejects the constructed (text)world. Simultaneously, the interpersonal strand with the pragmatic meaning it produces acts pri-marily upon people, which in a second step can have an impact on the world by, for example, the recipient's acceptance of the illocutionary force of an utterance (Jeffries 2014b:472).

This model allows Jeffries (2015b:381) to focus on 'the specific role textual meaning plays in producing ideological effects, whether or not the producer of the text intends them consciously and irrespective of whether readers allow them to influence their own outlook, either tem-porarily or permanently'. It further allows us to place the text at the cen-tre of linguistic analysis of ideological meaning in texts as well as separates textual meaning from producer and recipient meaning (Jeffries 2015c).

Based on this model, Jeffries provides a range of tools for linguistic analysis which she groups under different headlines or labels, each a different way 'in which a text constructs a conceptual world' (Jeffries 2015b:388). These labels are called 'textual-conceptual functions' of texts and build the framework of Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010a). Jeffries (2014a:412) holds that these labels are 'a combination of textual features (triggers) and ideational function'. They have no clear-cut one-to-one mapping with particular lexical or grammatical features but are instead each 'a complex network of form-function relationships' in themselves (Jeffries 2010a:15f, 2015b:388). Jeffries (2014a:412) acknowledges that her framework holds potential for extension and that different languages may have different (sub-)sets of these categories.

Table 2.1 lists the ten textual–conceptual functions:

These textual–conceptual functions are introduced individually in the following chapters. This introduction serves as an overview which

Table 2.1 The ten textual–conceptual functions of Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010a, 2014a, 2015a)

Naming and describing
Representing actions/events/states
Equating and contrasting
Exemplifying and enumerating
Prioritising
Implying and assuming
Hypothesising
Negating
Presenting others' speech and thoughts
Representing time, space and society

does not wish to merely replicate Jeffries' writings but instead to present the framework with a particular focus on identifying ideological meaning in crime reports. I dedicate longer sections to those textual–conceptual functions I identified as being most significant features in the construction of offenders, victims and crimes (Tabbert 2012, 2013, 2015). Others will be kept at a minimum, referring the reader to the cited literature and in particular to Jeffries' book *Critical Stylistics* (2010a).

In summary, having defined ideology as values attached to the world constructed by a text and following from a judgmental process, we can link choices to ideology. For example, choices how to name a referent (see the 'baby boy'/'fetus' example in Sect. 1.5.3) present a world view and construct a world and its values (e.g. where a late abortion is either a crime or law-conform behaviour). Such values are ideological, for example, a late abortion constituting a crime is build on a view of mature unborn babies as being regarded humans with a right to live. To detect what kind of world and what values attached to this world the text constructs, we need to link linguistic form to ideological meaning by means of its conceptual function (Coffey-Glover 2015:341). We start with the first of the textual–conceptual functions 'Naming and describing' in the following Chap. 3. In that chapter, I also introduce the use of the freely available Software Package *AntConc* (Anthony 2014) and how it can be combined with Critical Stylistics to further enhance replicability of an analysis (Sect. 3.4). Their combination allows for examination of larger systematic collections of data (corpora). However, a corpus does not contain new information about the language in it but, using a

software tool offers a new perspective on it (Hunston 2002). Software packages self-evidently do not produce ready-made results but can only assist a qualitative analysis by providing lists, figures and percentages. Consequently, Corpus Linguistics is always a combination of statistical methods and functional interpretations (Biber et al. 1998; McEnery et al. 2006). Nevertheless, even Corpus Linguistics in combination with Critical Stylistics is unable to fully eliminate researcher's bias. Whenever subjective choices are necessary, the analyst needs to be open about them to secure transparency. Some frequently used corpus linguistic tools are briefly introduced in Sect. 3.4.

3

Naming and describing offenders and victims

How offenders and victims are viewed largely depends on how they are named. Naming happens in noun phrases. This chapter intends to provide a brief overview of what noun phrases in sentences consist of and how they can be analysed in order to identify naming choices for offenders and victims. The model of grammar used in this book is called SPOC (subject, predicate, object, complement), for more information beyond what is presented here, I refer to Leech and Svartvik (2002).

Naming choices are part of a mosaic where different linguistic elements combine to construct offenders and victims based on ideological views of them. I link linguistic analysis with criminological and sociological theories as, for example, labelling theory and the question how, for example, labelling an offender in a newspaper article to a certain extent happens through paradigmatic choices in noun phrases.

Labelling a person as criminal is a societal reaction (Tierney 1996:138ff), or as Becker (1966:9) puts it: 'the deviant is one to whom the label has been successfully applied'. When labelling theory became prominent in the 1960s, it shifted the focus from the actor (offender) to the reactor (society) (Walsh and Ellis 2007:125) and questioned the until then undisputed sociological concept of deviance as 'the infraction of some agreed-upon rule'

(Becker 1966:8). In case of crime as one form of deviance, the 'agreed-upon rule' is the criminal law (Burke 2001:137). Labelling theory is concerned with three main lines of interest: (1) why some activities are regarded as deviant, (2) why particular people or groups attract being labelled criminal more than others and (3) how labelled people experience being recipients of the label (Burke 2001:136). It puts forward the perspective that deviance 'is created by society' (Becker 1966:8) by making rules, applying them to particular people and labelling them as outsiders in case their behaviour is assessed as not rule-conform (Becker 1966:9). As labelling theory holds, no behaviour is inherently criminal, least of all is a person. It is through societal reaction that certain behaviour is determined as criminal and the label is conferred upon it (Becker 1966:11). As a matter of fact, it does not stop here but the judgement is extended to the person who is labelled a criminal, which Tannenbaum (1938) refers to as 'dramatisation of evil'. According to him, attaching a label is a self-fulfilling prophecy because society expects that 'badness' which comes with committing a crime must find expression in committing further crimes (Burke 2001:143). Thus, the criminal is stereotyped as incapable of law-conform behaviour and faces discrimination of all sorts which opens a vicious circle of internalising the label and further, secondary deviance (Lemert 1951).

Becker holds that those rules, in the case of crime the criminal law, are made by powerful people and enforced on those with less or no power (Burke 2001:137). As the criminal law represents the powerful, there is a direct relationship between a person's position in society and the likelihood that this person is labelled criminal, according to Quinney (1970). Thus, power relationships are important for labelling. As we have seen in Chap. 1, newspapers are a means for the powerful to control information and thus maintain their power. Bearing this in mind, I argue that labelling happens in newspaper articles on crime and can be traced there linguistically.

3.1   Noun phrases and their structure

Following from Mead's notion of symbolic interactionism, newspaper articles construct a symbolic world through social interaction which is based on and also creates meaning of things (Giddens et al. 2003:16f).

This explains 'how the media are able to construct crimes, offenders and victims through triggering symbolic thoughts which are not limited to our own experience and are thus open to manipulation' (Tabbert 2015:20).

Offenders and victims are constructed linguistically partly by how they are named and described in noun phrases in newspaper articles on crime. How both are named is part of a societal labelling process. To enable the reader to gather linguistic evidence for the labelling process and other predominant criminological concepts, this chapter provides the necessary linguistic background knowledge for identifying and analysing noun phrases.

Nouns on their own or in combination with other words build noun phrases. Noun phrases in sentences like

Example 3.1
A man has been killed at a bus stop outside London's Waterloo station.
(*The Guardian*, 3 January 2015)

can be identified when looking for nouns in it: 'man', 'bus stop' and 'London's Waterloo station'. Nouns are a lexical word class, others are verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The first noun phrase in Example 3.1 is 'a man' and consists of an indefinite determiner 'a' and the head noun 'man'. Determiners are a grammatical word class, others are pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions and auxiliary verbs. Whereas lexical word classes have an almost indefinite number of words in them, grammatical word classes are small and with a rather fixed group of membership words.

The second noun phrase is 'a bus stop' which besides an indefinite determiner ('a') consists of the noun 'bus' premodifying the head noun 'stop'. This noun phrase is part of the longer prepositional phrase 'at a bus stop' (Greenbaum and Nelson 2009:89). What changes the phrase type from a noun phrase to a prepositional phrase is the added preposition 'at'. This demonstrates that one phrase can be part of another, longer phrase. Noun phrases and prepositional phrases are two out of five phrase types; others are verb, adjective and adverb phrases. Each phrase type is 'centred on a head word of the relevant class' (Jeffries 2006:103), which in the case of noun phrases is called the head noun.

In the third noun phrase 'London's Waterloo station', two proper nouns premodify the head noun 'station': 'London's' as a classifying genitive

(Biber et al. 2002:80f) and 'Waterloo'. 'London' and 'Waterloo' are called proper nouns because they name unique entities like the city of London. This third noun phrase is part of a prepositional phrase 'outside London's Waterloo station' and part of an even longer prepositional phrase 'at a bus stop outside London's Waterloo station' which illustrates how words can build phrases and phrases can build other phrases.

In noun phrases, not only determiners and/or nouns (including proper nouns) can premodify a head noun. Apart from these two, adjectives can also be used for premodification as in the following example:

Example 3.2
A 32-year-old man has been charged with the murder of a father who was found dead in the basement of a West Midlands house.

(*The Guardian*, 3 January 2015)

Here, the adjective phrase '32-year-old' consists of a descriptive adjectival compound (Biber et al. 2002:192) (as opposed to evaluative adjectives or evaluative adjectival compounds). Descriptive adjectives describe a noun by adding information, here the age of the defendant. The choice which additional information is provided (as opposed to omitted information) can emphasise certain aspects of an entity in accordance with their label. Evaluative adjectives on the other hand add value judgments or interpretation to the noun and are thus of importance not merely for the construction of the referent but also for the labelling process by providing a moral guideline. The adjectival compound in Example 3.2 together with an indefinite determiner premodify the head noun 'man' in the noun phrase 'A 32-year-old man'. The term 'adjective' as used in this book also covers enumerators (e.g. 'twenty' as a cardinal and 'twentieth' as an ordinal number).

The head noun in a noun phrase can stand on its own or be pre- and/or postmodified. Premodification happens before the head noun, postmodification after. Premodification can include in the following order: predeterminers, determiners, enumerators, adjectives and nouns like in the invented noun phrase in Example 3.3.

The order in which these premodifiers can be used is governed by their syntagmatic relationship (horizontal axis), which dictates how words can be combined in a meaningful way. Each of the words used in Example 3.3

Table 3.1 Syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationship in noun phrases

Syntagmatic relationship

Example	Predeterminer	Determiner	Enumerator	Adjective	Noun	Head noun
3.3	all of	the	twenty	committed	country	leaders
3.4	nobody among	the	ten	chosen	asylum	seekers

Paradigmatic relationship

can be exchanged with another word from the same word class (paradigmatic relationship, vertical axis) which then changes the meaning of the noun phrase, as invented Example 3.4 in Table 3.1 shows.

To demonstrate the crucial importance of paradigmatic choices for the construction of offenders, two sentences are presented from the same *Guardian* article on Ched Evans, a footballer who was convicted of rape in 2011, released from prison in October 2014, got offered a contract to play for Malta's Hibernians in early 2015 which was later retracted and who was meanwhile granted a retrial after winning an appeal against his conviction.[1] The article's body starts with the following sentence:

Example 3.5
Former Sheffield United and Wales striker Ched Evans has been offered a route back into football—by Maltese side Hibernians.
(*The Guardian*, 2 January 2015, emphasis added)

and continues in the second sentence:

Example 3.6
The 26-year-old convicted rapist had an offer to train with his former club retracted in November following strong local opposition, while Tranmere, Oldham and Hartlepool also rejected the opportunity to sign him.
(*The Guardian*, 2 January 2015, emphasis added)

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[1] http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/apr/21/ched-evans-wins-appeal-against-conviction, accessed on 24 April 2016.

In Example 3.5, the head noun of the extended noun phrase (underlined segment) is 'striker Ched Evans', premodified by the adjective 'former' and other (proper) nouns linked by the conjunction 'and': 'Sheffield United and Wales'. The head noun 'striker Ched Evans' could be further divided into 'striker' and 'Ched Evans', the latter could be regarded as an apposition although not separated by commas from the former. In Example 3.6, the head noun is changed to 'rapist', now premodified by the definite determiner 'the', the descriptive adjectival compound '26-year-old' and the descriptive adjective 'convicted'. Table 3.2 illustrates this paradigmatic exchange.

Whereas in Example 3.5 the head noun is 'striker Ched Evans', a noun (nominalisation of the verb 'to strike') and a proper noun ('Ched Evans'), in Example 3.6 these are exchanged with the noun 'rapist' (nominalisation of the verb 'to rape'). Choosing one word over another has an impact on how the referent is constructed through noun phrases. Much has been written about naming choices for offenders (e.g. Cameron and Frazer 1987; Ervin-Tripp 1969; Richardson 2007:49ff; Tabbert 2015) and I refer to these references for more detailed information. In Examples 3.5 and 3.6, changing the head noun is an example of labelling the offender by means of a nominal choice.

A head noun naming an offender (or another person) can either be a lexical noun (Example 3.2), a proper noun (Example 3.5) or a nominalisation (Examples 3.5 and 3.6). Nominalisation happens if a verb (or an adjective or adverb) is turned into a noun, for example, rape—rapist. This converting of a process into a nominal does not only change the word class but has ideological consequences as well. In general, nominalisation hides agency, existentially presupposes an entity, contributes to naturalisation and is part of 'packaging up' information which otherwise might be open for debate (Jeffries 2010a:25ff). Fowler

Table 3.2 Paradigmatic exchange in relation to Examples 3.5 and 3.6

Example	Determiner	Adjective	Adjective	(Proper) nouns	Head noun
3.5			Former	Sheffield United and Wales	striker Ched Evans
3.6	The	26-year-old	convicted		rapist

(1991:80) holds that nominalisation 'offers substantial ideological opportunities' and names mystification and reification as potentials of nominalisation. In Example 3.6, using the noun 'rapist' to name the offender reduces him to one role out of many (e.g. footballer, man, partner, son) and labels him as such (Becker 1966). He is also reduced to the crime he supposedly committed and has served a sentence for. Naming choices are ideological precisely because of the either conscious or unconscious preference for one word instead of another or the choice of a nominal instead of a process. An analysis of the lexical items used to name offenders and victims is part of the picture of how they are constructed.

Having looked at head nouns and their premodification, I now briefly introduce how head nouns can be postmodified. I will expand on this later as examples occur. Postmodification can be realised either through a prepositional phrase or through a relative clause. In Example 3.2, the relative clause 'who was found dead in the basement of a West Midlands house' postmodifies the noun 'father', the prepositional phrase 'of a father' postmodifies the noun 'murder'. A relative clause postmodifying a head noun usually follows the head noun immediately, is introduced by a relative pronoun ('who' in Example 3.2) (Jeffries 2006:112) and is subordinated. A prepositional phrase begins with, as mentioned above, a preposition.

3.2   Noun phrases and their function

Having considered the grammatical form of noun phrases and the function of the words or phrases in them as premodifier, head and postmodifier, in this section we look at the syntactic function of noun phrases in clauses and sentences. Form and function of noun phrases are distinct. In Example 3.1, the noun phrase 'a man' functions as the subject of the sentence whereas the prepositional phrase 'at a bus stop outside London's Waterloo station' (consisting of two noun phrases) functions as an adverbial. A noun phrase can function as subject, object, complement or (seldom) adverbial in a clause or sentence. The following Example 3.7 illustrates three of the different functions of noun phrases:

Example 3.7

Daynes, who used the online monicker EagleOneSix, befriended Breck in the internet gaming group TeamSpeak in which the 19-year-old was described as the controlling ringmaster.

<div align="right">(The Guardian, 12 January 2015)</div>

The extended noun phrase 'Daynes, who used the online monicker EagleOneSix', which consists of a proper noun as the head and a post-modifying relative clause, functions as the subject of this sentence. The noun phrase 'Breck' which consists of a single proper noun functions as the object. This sentence has a subordinate structure (as opposed to coordinate) meaning that the subordinate or dependent clause 'in which the 19-year-old was described as the controlling ringmaster' cannot stand on its own. Nevertheless, both main and subordinate clause consist each of a subject and a predicator (see Chap. 4 for further information on predicator analysis). In the subordinate clause, the noun phrase 'the 19-year-old' functions as subject and the noun phrase 'the controlling ringmaster' as subject complement, further describing the subject. Note that in Example 3.7 the subordinate clause is a relative clause postmodifying the noun phrase 'the internet gaming group TeamSpeak' which together with the preposition 'in' builds a prepositional phrase functioning as the adverbial in the main clause. As we can see here, because form and function of noun phrases in sentences are distinct, they need to be described observing this separation.

3.3   Labelling through noun phrases

Naming happens (1) through preferring one noun to name a referent over another, (2) through pre- and/or postmodification of that noun which further describes the referent and (3) through nominalisation which is the choice of a noun instead of a process (Jeffries 2010a:25ff). Having introduced basic linguistic tools to describe how offenders and victims are named and described and thus labelled in noun phrases, in this section we apply this linguistic knowledge and analyse various examples. This leads us to the stage of interpretation where we are able to interpret

our linguistic findings and link them with criminological frameworks like labelling theory as shown in regard to Examples 3.5 and 3.6. As mentioned in Chap. 1, 'there are many different ways of saying essentially the same thing' (Jeffries and McIntyre 2010:25; Leech and Short 1981). This 'element of choice' (ibid.) over how to say something or, in other terms, over language use is what produces ideological meaning. Labelling someone as criminal does not necessarily mean to use the exact term, any lexical item which relates to crime or, in linguistic terms, belongs to the lexical or semantic fields of crime and criminal is a label which this chapter aims to identify. Conveying the label of being criminal is always ideological because it follows a judgmental process and makes the label value-loaded. The label 'criminal' stands for something bad, immoral, best to be avoided, lawbreaking and a devaluation.

In linguistic terms, the noun 'criminal' is negatively connotated which is the meaning attached to a word by virtue of its usage (Jeffries 2006:229). This connotational meaning is distinct from the denotational meaning of a word. The noun 'criminal' denotes a person who has done something contrary to the law. This noun carries negative connotations as it is used in relation to forbidden, often negative acts harming other people or property. The noun 'criminal', its denotation and connotation are to be distinguished from the label 'criminal' which can be attached to a person or an act not merely by using the exact term but also by using different lexical items, as can be seen in the following Example 3.8. Media texts are thus not only a source of information but also the place where labelling happens.

The construction of the victim in newspaper articles contributes to the construction of the respective offender because they are perceived as naturally occurring and thus binary, canonical opposites (Jancarikova 2013, 2014; Tabbert 2012, 2014, 2015). This follows from Christie's (1986) notion that ideal victims need and create ideal offenders. Constructing a victim in a newspaper article can also be regarded as a labelling process by emphasising those aspects which accord with the notion (or the label) of an 'ideal victim' (Christie 1986). Therefore, the victim's construction is both a labelling process in itself (Kenney 2002) and a contribution to labelling the offender. When we approach how labelling functions in newspaper articles on crime, we need to take into account both the offender and the victim.

In the following Example 3.8, the offender is named a 'controlling killer' and thus labelled as criminal because 'killer' belongs to the lexical field of 'crime' and 'criminal' and is thus an alternative naming choice instead of actually using the noun 'criminal':

Example 3.8
Outlining his story in a matter-of-fact manner, <u>the controlling killer</u> told the operator: "I grabbed the knife and stabbed him in the back of the neck, I believe somewhere near the brain stem."

<div align="right">(The Guardian, 12 January 2015, emphasis added)</div>

The head noun 'killer' is premodified by the definite determiner 'the' and the evaluative adjective 'controlling'. The offender is named through a nominal, namely the nominalisation of the process 'to kill'. He is thereby reduced to his crime and labelled as such. From the context in the article, it is known that the offender is 19-year-old computer engineer Lewis Daynes who murdered 14-year-old Breck Bednar after grooming him over an online gaming forum (see also Example 3.7). After the murder, he posted pictures of the dead body, showered, changed clothes and destroyed evidence before making the phone call as cited in Example 3.8. He was sentenced to a minimum of 25 years in prison for murder.

Although a teenager himself with a difficult biography, the offender is described as being in charge of the situation, even after committing the crime. The fact that he controlled the situation, constructs him as clever and resourceful which are not negative character features *per se*. The fact that he used these resources to commit a crime and to keep control afterwards turns them into negative ones by means of context, constructing Daynes as cold-blooded and manipulative, showing no emotions nor remorse. By naming him a 'killer', any empathy for him is suppressed as a result from this naming choice. His ruthless and planned course of action is transferred onto him and converted into a character trait by means of a premodifying adjective: 'controlling'. Using this evaluative adjective is judgmental and constructs Daynes as being in a powerful, superior position during and immediately after committing the crime. The noun phrase naming the offender functions as the subject in this sentence, which, because of the focal point of subjects, further emphasises the

offender and his label. These choices how to name and describe Daynes bear ideological meaning, namely how he is viewed and labelled. Bearing in mind that we are interested in the text and textual meaning, we leave aside the possibility that these choices might have happened on a subconscious level on the part of the text producer.

We will return to this case of Daynes and Bednar later on because the offender is not only constructed through the underlined noun phrase.

A linguistically different way of attaching a label is shown here:

Example 3.9
Police arrested <u>the respected teacher of 30 years</u> after the girl's family uncovered the identity of her child's father and wanted to protect other pupils.

<div align="right">(The Guardian, 20 January 2015, emphasis added)</div>

This sentence refers to the case of 52-year-old former drama teacher Simon Parsons who had a consensual relationship with his 16-year-old pupil for four years and fathered a child with her. He was jailed for 12 months (see also Examples 5.1 and 7.7).

The offender is named in a noun phrase (underlined segment) functioning as the object in this sentence. The object position emphasises that he is acted upon by authorities, namely the police, and been brought to justice. The naming choice for him taken on its own can be seen as an appraisal as a form of evaluation (Martin 2000; Martin and White 2005) by referring to his profession ('teacher'), his reputation ('respected') and the length of his professional experience ('of 30 years'). However, this naming choice is ambivalent in its meaning. Given the context, emphasising the offender's long-term professional experience implies that he should have known better than getting involved with one of his underaged pupils which enhances the severity of the crime and worsens the moral dimension of his wrongdoing. Example 3.9 shows that labelling does not necessarily happen through the usage of a particular lexical item (like 'killer' in Example 3.8) but can also be realised in other ways. Worth noticing in relation to Example 3.9 are the different naming choices for offender and victim. Whereas the offender is constructed as an adult with a long-term career, the victim is presented as underaged and immature

by being named a 'girl' and a 'pupil'. The noun 'girl's' as a classifying genitive (Biber et al. 2002:80f) premodifies the head noun 'family' in the noun phrase 'the girl's family' functioning as the subject in the second clause of this sentence in coordinate sentence structure. This noun phrase anchors the victim in a family system, which is one typical feature for naming victims (Tabbert 2015:111,114,132) and enhances the impact of the crime because other people, namely the girl's family, are affected by it as well. This is also referred to as indirect victimisation (Shapland and Hall 2007:179). The noun phrase 'other pupils', functioning as the object in the second clause, presupposes that the victim is a pupil too (Levinson 1983:182). The thus constructed contrast between a mature, seasoned offender and an innocent, naive victim by means of naming choices underlines the assertion that the offender should have known better and that it was in his power to prevent the crime.

In line with Kenney's (2002) argument, labelling theory is also applicable to victims of crime. This is due to the fact that 'victims are stigmatized as such due not only to the unsettling feelings of vulnerability and helplessness they evoke in others, but the common belief that we live in a world where people get what they deserve and deserve what they get' (Kenney 2002:240; Lerner 1980). Victims are stigmatised as victims, deviants or emotional deviants, the latter in cases of perceived 'inappropriate behavior in public settings' (Kenney 2002:241, 250). Because others respond to victims on these grounds (Kenney 2002:237), victims internalise their label which leads to a distinction between primary and secondary victimisation in parallel with primary and secondary deviance (see above). An example of secondary victimisation is the fact that the victim's resulting social and emotional isolation follows as a defence or reaction to being labelled a victim (Kenney 2002:252). Example 3.10 shows the application of a label to a victim.

Example 3.10
They said: "Sam is a homely, private, loving mother of four children aged six, four, two and one."
(*The Guardian*, 26 January 2015)

This sentence is a direct quote from the statement of the victim's family, taken from an article about the suspicious disappearance of

25-year-old Samantha Henderson from Corfe Castle. The victim is named in a subject/subject complement construction. The fact that the victim's family makes a statement pleading for her return as well as the abbreviation of her first name 'Sam' indicate her closeness to her family and, again, firmly anchor the victim in a family system (Tabbert 2015:111, 114, 132). Through the subject complement 'a homely, private, loving mother of four children aged six, four, two and one' she is further constructed in terms of Christie's (1986) notion of an ideal victim. The head noun 'mother' in the subject complement phrase adds to her construction as being part of a family, in this case even being the nurturer of four underaged children, one of them still a baby. Her construction accords with what Gregoriou (2011:168) refers to as 'the Virgin Mary' category. This category is opposed to the 'Whore' category and based on Cameron and Frazer's (1987:29ff) discussion of different types of female victims.

3.4 Corpus Linguistics

Having analysed individual examples of naming and labelling victims and offenders, we now broaden our perspective with the aim of identifying naming patterns in a group of texts. In order to be able to handle larger amounts of data and to uncover linguistic patterns in them, software programmes were developed. The branch of Linguistics which employs these computational methods is called Corpus Linguistics, the term 'corpus' referring to a systematic collection of examples of '"real life" language use' (McEnery and Wilson 1996:1). Corpus Linguistics, to provide a definition, 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 and Wilson 1996; Tabbert 2015:55). This section serves as an introduction to Corpus Linguistics, the use of corpus tools will be illustrated throughout the book. Rather than splitting this section on corpus tools across the entire book, I keep it in one place and introduce all tools here although not all of them are to be illustrated by analysing naming patterns in *The Guardian*. We continue with the textual–conceptual function of Naming and describing in Sect. 3.5.

Many different corpora have been compiled for different purposes, some are freely available, for example, from the Oxford Text Archive[2] database. Which corpus to use or how to compile a corpus depends on the research question one wishes to answer. If, for example, patterns of contemporary general language use across different genres are to be identified, generally representative corpora of contemporary spoken or written British English are to be used as target corpora, meaning the corpus to be analysed. The British National Corpus (BNC) is an example of being representative of discernible varieties of contemporary British English. However, if the research question targets language use concerning reports on crime in a particular newspaper, a specialised target corpus is needed which consists of articles from that newspaper. The size of such a target corpus depends on the research question. If, for example, one wishes to compare the linguistic representation of crime in newspapers from the nineteenth century and today, at least two corpora are needed for such a diachronic study, each containing articles from one of the relevant time periods limited to the number of articles published or available in them. For demonstration purposes, we are concerned with the representation of crime in *The Guardian* in a particular time period for which purpose our corpus, the *Guardian* Corpus (GC), consists of all articles on crime issues published online in *The Guardian*[3] between 1 January and 1 February 2015. The size of our corpus is limited by the number of published items within the given time period, in our case a month. Once the corpus is collected, it needs to be converted into a readable format and uploaded into the computer software we are using.

3.4.1 *AntConc*: Getting started

Different software tools provide different means of analysis. This section aims to introduce basic knowledge required to use corpus tools. One software package which provides these tools besides other, more

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[2] https://ota.ox.ac.uk/, accessed on 26 March 2016.

[3] http://www.theguardian.com/international, accessed on 26 March 2016.

advanced options and which is freely available online is Laurence Anthony's *AntConc*.[4] The version used in this book is *AntConc 3.4.4w* (*Windows*) (Anthony 2014), also available for Macintosh OS X and Linux. Once installed on your computer the opening interface looks as shown in Fig. 3.1.

AntConc is able to read and process data converted to a required format (.txt, .htm, .html or .xml). It might be worth using an annotation scheme in order to keep track of the contents of the corpus (Baker 2006:38), one option is Standard Generalised Markup Language (SGML). This way, metadata like newspaper name, date, author, and so on which are not needed in the analysis can be added to each file, providing information about its content. Such information can be 'hidden' in the header of a file by using diamond brackets, also
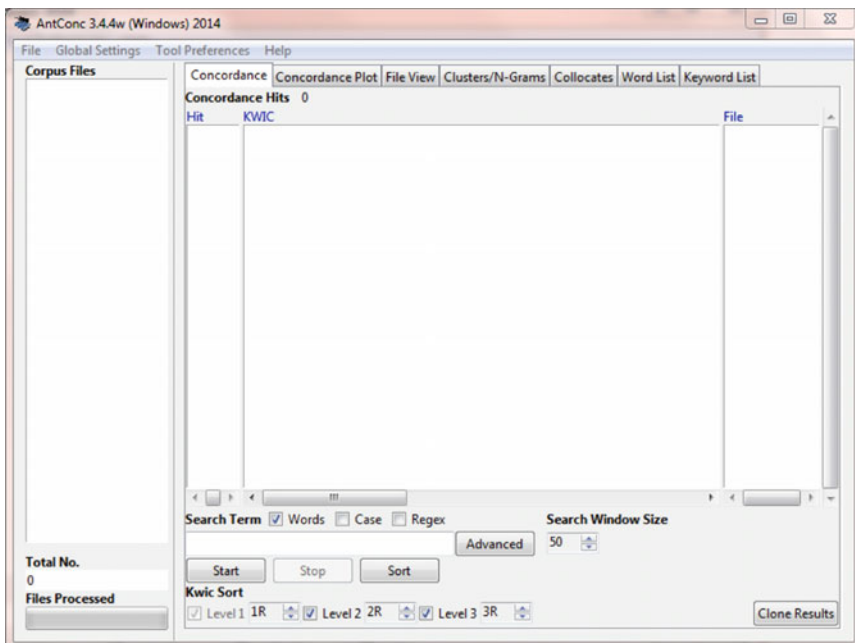
Fig. 3.1 Screenshot 1 from *AntConc* (Opening Interface)

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[4] http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/, accessed on 26 March 2016.

referred to as tags. An example of including additional information in a header in a .txt file looks like this:

```
<file source="Guardian">
<date="080115">
<author="Owen Gibson">
```

It says that the article stored in this file is taken from *The Guardian*, published on 8 January 2015 and authored by Owen Gibson. The newspaper text itself can be split, for example, into a title or headline and a body which look like this:

```
<title>
Ched Evans offered deal by Maltese side Hibernians for
remainder of season
</title>
<body>
Team at top of Maltese league table look […]
</body>
```

Such a split helps to identify headlines at a later stage of analysis because their synthetic language with preserved lexical words, omitted function words and a specific syntax deviates from the language used in the article's body (Busà 2014:81). For further options, tagging single sentences or words in a file based on content, syntactic or grammatical considerations I refer to Baker (2006).

Once all the articles collected for a corpus have been converted into the required format and optionally annotated, they are ready to be uploaded into *AntConc* by clicking on 'File' and 'Open File(s)' successively at the top left. When uploaded successfully they will be displayed in the left window as shown in Fig. 3.2. Before proceeding it is necessary to adjust 'character coding' by clicking on 'Global Settings' and changing it to 'Western Europe "Latin1" (iso-8859-1)'.

General information about the corpus such as the number of words in it, can be obtained by clicking on 'Word List' in the index line followed by 'Start' at the bottom. *AntConc* then generates a wordlist, introduced in the following Sect. 3.4.2. General information about the corpus is provided near the top:
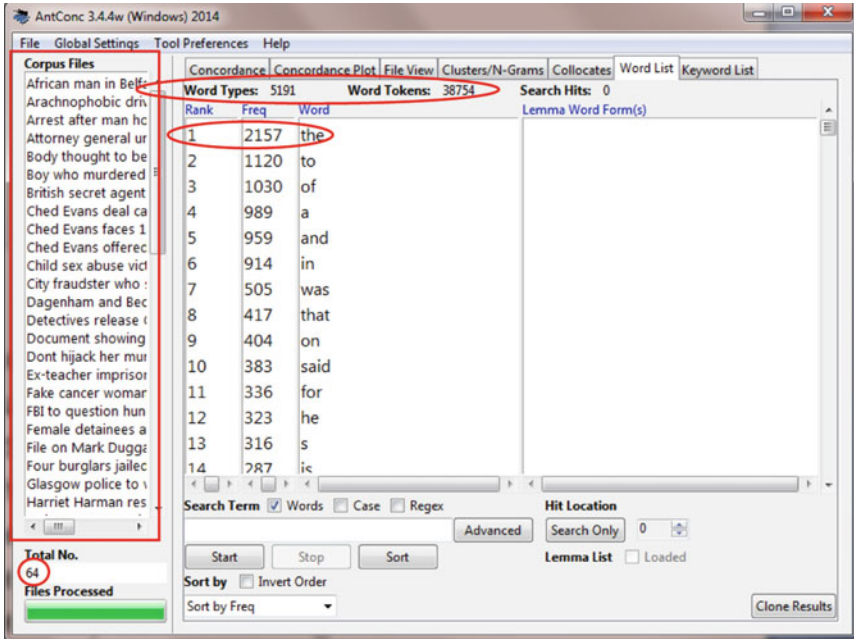
Fig. 3.2   Screenshot 2 from *AntConc* (Wordlist)

Our GC (*Guardian* Corpus) consists of 38,754 word tokens and 5,191 word types. Token refers to the number of words in the corpus and type to the number of different words. For example, the definite determiner 'the' occurs 2,157 times in the corpus (token) but counts as one type only. At the bottom left, the total number of files (64) uploaded into *AntConc* is given for double-checking whether the corpus has been uploaded completely. As a default, *AntConc* treats all data as lowercase meaning that the software does not process the same word starting with lowercase differently from when it starts with uppercase or is written in uppercase completely. If one wishes to change the default, click on 'Tool Preferences' and 'Word list' successively and un-tick the relevant box. In case of an annotated corpus one can ensure that the tags are not processed as words belonging to the corpus, by clicking on 'Global Settings' at the top left, then on 'Tag Settings', choose 'Hide tags (but allow tag search in Conc/Plot/File View)' and conclude with 'Apply'.

3.4.2 Wordlist

A wordlist shows all the words in the corpus and can be sorted according to frequency or alphabetically (first or last letter of a word) and each also in reverse order. Usually, grammatical words (also called function words, e.g. determiners, prepositions, pronouns, auxiliary verbs, conjunctions) lead a wordlist because they are limited in their number and therefore occur more frequently than content words (Baker 2006:53). A closer study of their use on its own does not promise further insight into how offenders and victims are constructed linguistically in the GC but might be worth considering on occasion in connection with the analysis of content words.

A list of the most frequent content or lexical words from the wordlist up to rank 60 is shown in Table 3.3. In Table 3.3, 'said' and 'told' as main verbs occur high ranking indicating that in the GC the presentation of other people's speech seems to be a characteristic feature. The nouns 'police' and 'court', pending detailed analysis, point towards these institutions as primary definers of deviance (Hall et al. 1978:58; Newburn 2007:99). What further underpins this notion is that the word 'home' refers to the Home Office in 19 concordance lines and to the Home Secretary/ies in eight as sources for information.

An adjectival compound consisting of the noun 'year' and the adjective 'old' provides the age of a person, the frequent use of both words in the GC indicates that age is an important factor in the construction of participants even if not offenders or victims.

Table 3.3 Highest-ranking content words in the GC wordlist	Rank	Frequency	Content word
	10	383	said
	22	232	police
	38	146	year
	43	101	court
	46	91	old
	50	81	one
	51	81	told
	52	81	two
	55	76	home
	57	75	man
	59	74	more

The noun 'man' occurs 75 times in the GC, its plural form 'men' 48 times. These terms are often used to name offenders or victims (Tabbert 2015:92, 103), which seems to be a recurring pattern in the GC.

The adjectives 'one', 'two' and 'more' relate to quantity; patterns of their use can be examined by means of clusters and concordance lines as outlined in the following sections.

3.4.3   Clusters and concordance plot

An option to analyse a word in its context is by using the cluster tool *AntConc* provides. The term 'cluster' refers to groups of words in which the search term occurs frequently in the corpus. From the rank of a word in the wordlist we can draw conclusions about how often it occurs in the GC and, concerning 'one', 'two' and 'more', that their occurrence is relatively frequent compared to other words in the corpus. Searching for clusters of these three terms might shed first light on their usage in the GC. *AntConc* generates clusters once the header 'Clusters/N-Grams' is chosen, the search term inserted in the search box near the bottom, the cluster size determined (conveniently between 2 and 5) and the box 'Search Term Position On Left' un-ticked, concluded by 'Start'. Optionally, the minimum cluster frequency can be set at '2' thus eliminating all clusters which only occur once. Figure 3.3 shows the most frequent clusters for the word 'one'.

The most frequent clusters for our three search terms are listed in Table 3.4, the number of their total occurrences is given in brackets, as are the percentages of the respective clusters in comparison to the total occurrence of the search term (calculated manually).

Two-word clusters or 2-grams are most frequent for each of the three search terms. One cluster is most salient in terms of its percentage compared to the others namely 'more than', providing a comparison.

To determine whether this cluster only occurs in one file or is evenly dispersed across the corpus, *AntConc* provides the tool 'Concordance Plot' (by clicking on the respective header) which allows for assertions about where in the corpus and in each file the search term, here the cluster 'more than', is located. Such a concordance plot is shown in Fig. 3.4.

The 2-gram 'more than' occurs in 19 different files at least once, in three files even four times. Taking into account that the GC consists of
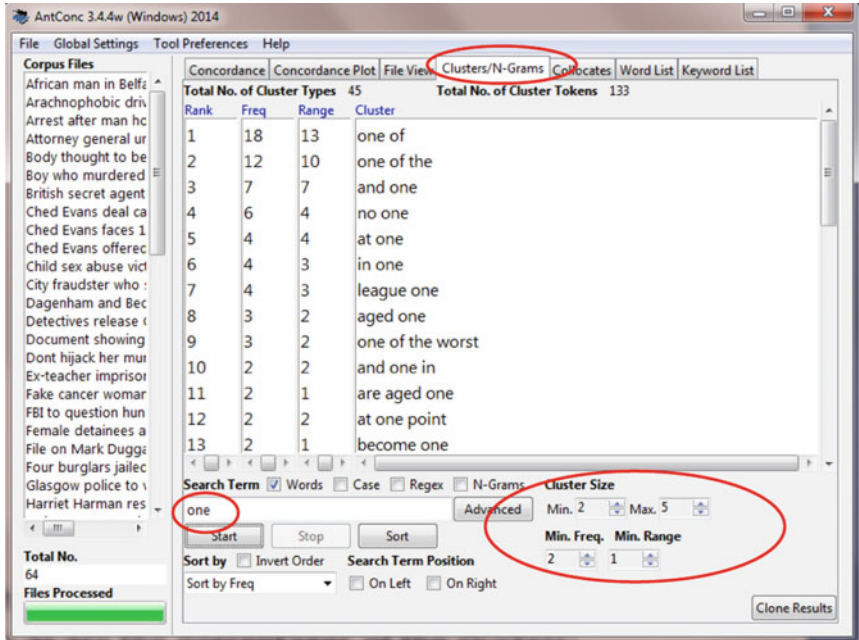
Fig. 3.3 Screenshot 3 from *AntConc* (Clusters)

Table 3.4 Frequent clusters of 'one', 'two' and 'more' in the GC

Frequency	One (81 occurrences)	Two (81)	More (74)
31			more than (41.9 %)
18	one of (22.2 %)		
12	one of the (14.8 %)	and two (14.8 %)	
11		two other (13.6 %)	
9		two men (11.1 %)	
		two years (11.1 %)	
7	and one (8.6 %)	the two (8.6 %)	

64 files in total, the cluster occurs in only 30 per cent of all its files and is thus not evenly dispersed across the corpus.

A next step of analysis can be to look at all occurrences of the cluster 'more than' and to search for patterns of its usage in the GC. *AntConc* offers a concordance tool for such an analysis.

Fig. 3.4 Screenshot 4 from *AntConc* (Concordance Plot for 'more than')

3.4.4 Concordance

A concordance shows the search term in its textual environment by list-ing all 'the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context that they occur in' (Baker 2006:71). Another name for concordance is key word in context (KWIC) (ibid.), not to be mixed up with the term 'keyword' (see Sect. 3.4.5). A concordance of a par-ticular search term in *AntConc* can either be obtained by clicking on the relevant term in the wordlist or by inserting the word in the search term box, followed by 'Start'. Concordances can be created for single words or multiple words, as in our case a cluster. Concordances can be sorted using 'Kwic Sort' near the bottom, *AntConc* will then sort the concor-dance lines according to the words occurring in proximity to the search term, for example, according to an alphabetical order of the words imme-diately before the search term (1R or first word to the right). Sorting also functions with up to three search options in consecutive order, for example, 2R on level 1, 3R on level 2 and 4R on level 3, followed by 'Sort' (Fig. 3.5).

The concordance lines of 'more than' immediately reveal that the search cluster in all but one instance is followed by either a number (e.g. 60 per cent, five, £200,000, once, a third) or an indication of time (e.g. a month, in 2012/2013). The one exception is the phrase 'nothing more than a common criminal' in line 1 where a comparison is used metaphor-ically in combination with a negation (for more information on both I refer to Chaps. 6 and 7 in this book). In all other cases, this cluster is used unmetaphorically. This first result, like all the others following in this section, is obtained through manual analysis, meaning that the analyst looks at each concordance line and searches for recurring patterns either in terms of content or structure.

Bednarek and Caple (2012:47) argue that quantification as a linguis-tic device construes news value. It 'can be used to maximize any aspect of the reported event' (ibid.) as, for example, in Fig. 3.5, line 13 where the amount of money Alex Hope spent on champagne in a hotel club is provided. Taking into account that the cluster 'more than' is used in ref-erence to time in 9 concordance lines, people (9), crime cases (6), things

Fig. 3.5 Screenshot 5 from *AntConc* (Concordance)

including money (5) and repetitions (2), it becomes clear what entities are maximised and thus which aspects of the stories are constructed as newsworthy.

Concerning structure, the cluster 'more than' is found as part of an adverbial (12), an object (10), a complement (5) and a subject (4). Its position as part of an object or subject where it is usually pre- or post-modifying indicates that information on quantification is 'packaged up' (Jeffries 2010a:19) which has the effect that this information remains unquestioned. An example of how quantifying information is packaged up as part of a subject in an extended noun phrase (underlined segment) is the following:

Example 3.11
<u>A fraudster who scammed more than 100 investors out of £5.5m and spent nearly half to fund his lavish lifestyle</u> has been jailed.

(*The Guardian*, 30 January 2015, emphasis added)

Originally, noun phrases serve to name and describe an entity (see Sects. 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 above). In Example 3.11, the line between this and the presentation of a process, namely what the offender did, is blurred. As a result 'a process can be presented as being more like an entity' (Jeffries 2010a:19).

3.4.5 Keywords

The last tool to be introduced in these sub-sections on *AntConc* and Corpus Linguistics is the keyword list tool. Scott introduced the term 'keyword' which he defines as those words 'whose frequency is unusually high in comparison with some norm'.[5] The keyword list tool is used to compare frequencies between corpora, namely which words occur statistically more often in (the wordlist of) corpus 1 (e.g. our GC as a specialised corpus) compared to corpus 2 (a reference corpus) (Baker 2006:125). Those words occurring statistically more often are key in the target corpus and therefore called keywords. Negative keywords are those which are statistically underrepresented in the target corpus compared to a reference corpus.

Keyness in *AntConc* is determined by calculating statistical significance using simplified log-likelihood (LL) ratio (Arnoult et al. 2007:7)[6] or complete chi-square depending on the analyst's choice as opposed to a mere comparison of percentages. LL ratio and chi-square are two different formulae for calculating statistical significance and thus testing a (linguistic) hypothesis. More detailed information can be found elsewhere (Dunning 1993; McEnery et al. 2006:55ff; Rayson et al. 2004; Tabbert 2015:84ff).

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[5] http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version6/HTML/index.html?keywords_info.htm, accessed on 3 April 2016.

[6] http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html, accessed on 27 March 2016.

Keywords can shed light on the aboutness of a corpus, namely which content word(s) occur unusually often in the corpus under scrutiny in comparison to some norm (Scott 2004, 2015),[7] usually provided by a chosen reference corpus. They indicate what the main topic of the target corpus is or, in other words, what the corpus is about (aboutness) (Scott 2002:44). High-ranking proper nouns might also be indicative of aboutness as we will see later on. Whereas high-ranking content words in a keyword list indicate aboutness, key grammatical words rather indicate style (Baker 2006:127),[8] for example, the particular style of *The Guardian*. As an example of style indicated by a grammatical word, Baker (2006:123) notes a repeated use of the conjunction 'and' in a discussion on sex *and* violence elsewhere, constructing a connection between the two which might be indicative of particular discourses.

As mentioned before, style refers to the fact that every language use has an 'element of choice over *how* to say something' (Jeffries and McIntyre 2010:25). Style as studied in Stylistics is not limited to grammatical words but can also be traced in the use of content words and apart from semantics also on other linguistic levels such as phonology (the sound of words), morphology (morphemes as the 'smallest unit of meaning' in language [Jeffries 2006:5, 71]) or syntax (the structure of language above the word level). Having said that, a keyword list only presents single words which can be analysed considering their individual surroundings in the text, the co-text. Nevertheless, word choice already relates to ideological meaning as we have seen, for example, in regard to Danet's (1980) article on naming choices for a male baby (see Sect. 1.5.3).

For us, being interested in the construction of offenders and victims in a corpus of newspaper articles on crime, an analysis of key content words might be more rewarding than an analysis of grammatical words.

For a keyword analysis, a reference corpus is needed. What reference corpus to choose can have an impact on the resulting keywords although Scott (2009:91) found that 'keywords identified even by an obviously absurd RC [reference corpus] can be plausible indicators of aboutness'.

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[7] http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version6/HTML/index.html?keywords_info.htm, accessed on 27 March 2016.

[8] http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version6/HTML/index.html?keyness_definition.htm, accessed on 27 March 2016.

A reference corpus provides a norm with which the target corpus is compared. Therefore, the question which corpus to choose or build, needs to be given some thought.

Culpeper (2009) argues that regarding the choice of a reference corpus three aspects matter: content, size and date. The starting point when searching for a suitable reference corpus is the research question overarching the analysis. Since we are, for reasons of illustrating the tools, interested in the construction of offenders and victims in *The Guardian* in a particular time period (1 January and 1 February 2015), our reference corpus should contain written language from the same genre, that is, newspaper articles ideally on crime. Concerning language and date, the reference corpus should be contemporary British English, the same as our target, the GC. Concerning size, Scott and Tribble (2006:58) argue that a reference corpus 'should be an appropriate sample' of the language the target corpus is written in. By that, they mean 'a large one, preferably many thousands of words long and possibly much longer' (ibid.). However, the size of a reference corpus is not very important above a certain threshold (Xiao and McEnery 2005:70). In support of this argument, Scott and Tribble (2006:64) note that with reference corpora above a certain size, a 'robust core of KW's [keywords]' is obtained whichever reference corpus is used. The authors reached this conclusion from comparing keywords obtained when using the BNC (100 million words) and the FLOB Corpus (1 million words) as reference corpora. The FLOB corpus is the Freiburg-Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus, for more information see Baker (2006:138) among others.

The question occurs what to do if only a small reference corpus is available for reasons the research question brings about. Culpeper (2002, 2009; Hoover et al. 2014), for example, analysed the character talks of six characters in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* by contrasting each in turn against a reference corpus consisting of the remaining five. He as well as Walker (2010) and McIntyre (2010) among others have demonstrated that even smaller reference corpora are suitable for keyword analysis as long as they are not too small to carry out statistical testing. They all have given preference to content and date aspects of a reference corpus over size issues.

A reference corpus can be obtained by downloading an already existing corpus or can be compiled for the task. Many different corpora are available which need to be checked against our aforementioned criteria concerning content, date and size. One place to look for a reference corpus is the Oxford Text Archive[9] which provides a number of freely available corpora for non-commercial use. One corpus offered there is the BNC which, as mentioned above, can also be used as a target corpus itself for a different kind of analysis than ours. The BNC consists of 90 per cent written British English from a variety of genres including newspaper articles and contains texts from the end of the twentieth century.[10] It provides a discernible variety of contemporary British English and consists of 100 million words (258 times bigger than our GC). The BNC meets our criteria of content and date but what about its size? For reasons outlined in detail in the Appendix A.1, due to the huge size difference between the GC and the BNC, the latter is unsuitable to serve as a reference corpus.

Another option is to compile a reference corpus tailored for our analysis as Branum and Charteris-Black (2015) did. Their task was to identify reporting strategies in *The Guardian*, *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* on the topic of state surveillance in connection with the Edward Snowden affair by means of a keyword analysis (briefly mentioned in Sect. 1.5). Their three target corpora consist of topic-related articles from the three newspapers with sizes of 294,891; 303,552; and 20,693 words, respectively. As a reference corpus they compiled one containing articles on the same topic but from eight different newspapers including their three target corpora as well as articles from other tabloids, broadsheets and papers from the mid-market. The resulting reference corpus had a size of 803,124 words and was thus regarded as balanced in comparison to each target corpus. Through their suggested method, Branum and Charteris-Black (2015:202; Seale and Charteris-Black 2010) were further able to control the variable of discourse meaning that the identified keywords could be analysed knowing that target and reference corpora only contained discourse on the relevant topic. They argued for a 'comparative

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[9] http://ota.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/index.html, accessed on 27 March 2016.
[10] http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/, accessed on 27 March 2016.

keyword analysis' which replaces the generally representative reference corpus with a '"discourse reference corpus" by selecting only language that shares a particular purpose' (ibid.). This accords with the aforementioned approaches Culpeper, Walker and McIntyre followed when choosing their reference corpora.

A reference corpus as close as possible to the target corpus in terms of content and date is particularly suited as it could shed light on the differences in the construction of criminals and victims in *The Guardian* compared to a broader picture as outlined by Tabbert (2015). Part of the research question there was concerned with how offender and victims are constructed linguistically in newspaper articles on crime in the British press. For that purpose, I compiled a corpus (English Newspaper Corpus [ENC]) with newspaper articles on crime from a variety of different British daily papers which can serve as a reference corpus for the project at hand. Both the GC as our target corpus and the ENC as reference corpus contain newspaper articles on crime with the ENC consisting of articles from a broader variety of papers, namely the *Daily Mail* (rather mid-market, see Sect. 1.5.1), *Daily Mirror*, *The Sun* as tabloids, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Times* as broadsheets and the *Yorkshire Post* as a regional newspaper. The ENC thus covers a broad range of newspapers with different political views and is fairly contemporary being collected over three months from February to April 2009 by visiting the websites of the relevant papers. It has 72,673 word tokens (calculated with *AntConc*) and is thus slightly bigger than the GC but not as big as the BNC which avoids aforementioned problems with corpus size. The fact that the ENC was compiled as a specialised corpus does not hinder its usage here as a reference corpus for the purpose of demonstrating the keyword list tool.

GC and ENC were compiled with a time difference of almost six years, which needs to be kept in mind. Pending analysis, these results might not only be explained with a possibly different view of criminals and victims in *The Guardian* but might also be grounded in the diachronic aspect of the analysis and hence a change in discourse on this topic over time. This issue could be overcome by compiling a new corpus matching the sampling criteria for the ENC. However, as the ENC as reference corpus

is used here mainly for the purpose of illustrating the use of the keyword list tool, it suffices as reference corpus.

To generate a keyword list, the files in the target and reference corpora have to be converted into a .txt, .xml, .htm or .html format. *AntConc* can process all these different file types simultaneously when clicking on 'Global Settings', 'File Settings', adjusting to 'ALL' in the drop-down menu below 'Default file type to use with "OpenDir"', concluded by 'Apply'. Having uploaded the GC as target corpus following the instructions as outlined in Sect. 3.4.1, the reference corpus is uploaded via 'Tool Preferences', 'Keyword List' and 'Use raw file(s)'. Choose 'Add Directory' if the reference corpus is arranged in a folder structure or click on 'Add Files' if it comes in single files and conclude by clicking on 'Load'. Once applied, the reference corpus box near the bottom lists all the files and provides their total number to check for completeness. You might want to choose the keywords to be calculated with chi-square instead of the default setting LL ratio, which you can change by choosing from the drop-down menu 'Keyword Generation Method'. When clicking on 'Keyword List' and 'Start', a pop-up window informs you that *AntConc* needs to create wordlists first before generating the keyword list which is a necessary prerequisite given that a keyword list is a comparison of two wordlists.

AntConc offers different options for sorting the obtained keyword list, for example, by keyness figure or frequency. Concordance lines for each keyword can be generated by clicking on the relevant term. The tool 'Concordance Plot' shows the different files the relevant keyword occurs in and its exact place and thus enables us to judge if it is widely distributed across the corpus and even a single article.

Having introduced the basic tools *AntConc* provides[11] and demonstrated how they can be employed in a corpus linguistic analysis, the following sections and chapters occasionally combine the tools from Critical Stylistics with Corpus Linguistics to illustrate possible usage of the corpus linguistic tools in relation to the textual–conceptual functions listed by Critical Stylistics.

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[11] For more detailed information on Corpus Linguistics, I refer to Adolphs (2006), Baker (2006), Kennedy (1998) or McEnery et al. (2006).

3.5 Identifying and labelling offenders and victims in noun phrases using Corpus Linguistics

In this section, we apply the corpus tools introduced above to the analysis of naming strategies in the GC. For identifying how offenders and victims are named in the GC, the starting point is the GC wordlist. This wordlist needs to be examined manually to identify all those nominals that could possibly name an offender or a victim. To obtain a printed version of the GC wordlist for manual analysis, click on 'File' and 'Save Output to Text File' successively. The thus generated .txt file can be stored on your computer and printed on demand, preferably in landscape format.

The highest-ranking nouns and proper nouns naming offenders and/or victims starting with 'man' (see Table 3.3) and including the nominal use of 'year-old' (Tabbert 2015:79) are listed in Table A.4 in the Appendix A.2 to this book. The limit point for presentation in Table A.4 was subjectively chosen at a frequency of ten occurrences in the GC. There can be debate about the most appropriate limit point. Nevertheless, presenting nominals which occur at least ten times in a corpus of 38,754 tokens keeps the focus of analysis on the most frequent part of the data and secures replicability of the analysis. Furthermore, the researcher's bias is repressed by focusing on frequencies instead of content (as it would be the case when choosing to include/exclude particular words).

In a next step, each of the nouns listed in Table A.4 is examined in context, which is enabled by the concordance tool. This allows us to verify whether the noun under scrutiny refers to an offender, a victim or another participant irrelevant for our research purpose. When judging whether a noun names a victim, the definition of victimhood by the United Nations is applied:

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 dependant 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)

According to this definition, parents of a murder victim (as in the case of Alice Gross [*The Guardian*, 27 January 2015] later on) or his/her widow (as in the case of Litvinenko [*The Guardian*, 27 January 2015]) are also regarded as victims of crime as are those persons who were actually acted upon. In the literature, this is referred to as indirect victimisation (Shapland and Hall 2007:179).

A concordance can be obtained by either clicking on the relevant word in the wordlist or by choosing 'Concordance', typing the search term in the search box and clicking on 'Start'. If a concordance line showing the search term in its context within a window span of up to ten words to the left and right is not sufficient to judge who is named, the complete source text, namely the newspaper article, can be accessed by clicking on the search term in the relevant concordance line.

A manual analysis of the 73 concordance lines for 'year-old' reveals that this word refers to victims in 40 lines, offenders in 28 lines and other participants in 5 lines. Out of the total 68 lines referring to an offender or a victim, the word is used as an adjective in 50 lines and as a noun in 18, the latter naming an offender and a victim in 9 lines each. The same applies in relation to the word 'dead' which is used as a noun only once in the GC; all other occurrences are adjectival. This illustrates that the grammatical category of a word can sometimes only be judged from context. As we are interested in nouns, the adjectival use of the words in questions is to be detected before it can be excluded from further analysis. Considering that a person's age can also be given in brackets, this is not relevant for identifying head nouns naming offenders and victims. Numbers in brackets never serve as a head noun in the GC but are part of a noun phrase on occasion.

Regarding some occurrences of the words 'family', 'men' and 'pair' (as indicated in brackets in Table A.4), they refer to both offender and victim simultaneously as in the following example where 'pair' names 19-year-old offender Daynes and his 14-year-old victim Breck Bednar (see also Examples 3.7 and 3.8):

Example 3.12
(1) Prosecutors said (2) there was evidence of sexual activity between the <u>pair</u> shortly before the killing (3) and that afterwards Daynes sent pictures of Breck's bloodied body to two of his online friends.
                    (*The Guardian*, 12 January 2015, numbers and emphasis added)

Such naming choices blur the boundaries between offender and victim, which are usually constructed as binary opposites (Tabbert 2015:93). Lamb and Keon (1995:211) in their article on men battering women state that 'the couple as agent' implies 'shared responsibility' and encourages diffusion. However, in our example the oneness in the second clause (underlined segment) is overridden in the following third clause constructing a contrast between unification through sexual activity and separation through the subsequent murder. The naming choices for the offender (surname: Daynes) and the victim (first name: Breck) (Ervin-Tripp 1969; Leech 1999; Richardson 2007) underpin the reinstalled opposition by constructing a distance from the offender and a closeness to the victim by means of first or family name. Note that unification between victim and offender happens before the crime was committed or discovered so that the label had not been attached yet. This applies to the other relevant examples as well.

The most frequently used nouns (not proper nouns) naming *offenders* in the GC in consecutive order up to ten occurrences are:

man (46), men (27), offenders (17), teacher (16), woman (15), defendants (12), client (11), gang (11), pair (10)

The most frequently used nouns (excluding proper nouns) naming *victims* in the GC up to ten occurrences are:

victims (68), victim (51), family (48), body (31), girl (31), child (25), woman (25), man (23), children (19), people (19), mother (18), survivors (15), wife (15), son (14), investors (13), women (13), daughter (10), husband (10), pupil (10)

As can be seen from these two lists, more and different nouns naming victims are used than for offenders. By opting for other naming

choices than the victims' first or family name (which are sometimes not allowed to be used for legal reasons), various different aspects are emphasised such as them being part of a social system (like 'wife', 'son') or their victimhood status (e.g. 'victim'). Given the definition for victims of crime as applied in this book, it might also account for labelling victims by referring to their role in a social system. However, Clark (1992:210) with a focus on sexual violence notes that 'details are given not so as to individualize the victim but to label her'. This is particularly true given that nouns like 'wife' or 'son' could apply to millions of people and allow the reader to identify with them. Clark (ibid.) lists nouns like 'wife', 'mum' or 'mother of two' as examples for such a labelling process, focused on female victims. She also states that labelling victims instead of individualising them 'lends itself to a voyeuristic rather than a sympathetic reading of events' (Clark 1992:222). Although Clark analysed articles from *The Sun*, the same pattern happens to reoccur in our GC, which has no exclusive focus on sexual crimes.

By grouping the victim-naming nouns into categories (Table 3.5), it becomes obvious where the focus in their construction in the GC lies. Figure 3.6 visualises the overlap of categories for naming victims.

Victims in the GC are mainly constructed as belonging to a social system, foremost a family. They are also named with reference to their gender or age as well as their victimhood status whereby some naming choices simultaneously trigger more than one category (e.g. 'girl' refers to age as well as gender). This accords with the picture when looking at naming categories for victims in the ENC (Tabbert 2015:104). It can

Table 3.5 Grouping victim-naming nouns into categories

Category	Victim-naming nouns
Social system	family, child, children, mother, wife, son, daughter, husband, investors, pupil
Gender	girl, woman, man, mother, wife, son, women, daughter, husband
Victimhood status or role in investigation	victims, victim, body, survivors
Age	girl, child, children, pupil
Profession	pupil, investors
Other	people
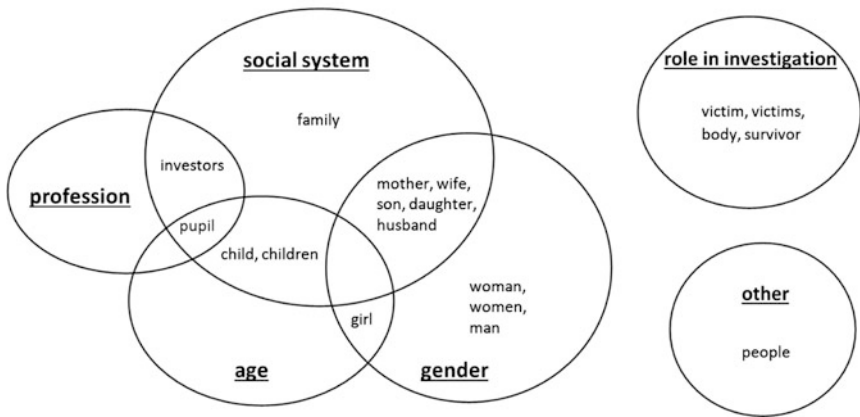
Fig. 3.6 Categories of naming victims in the GC

be concluded that victims are named and thus constructed along some core dimensions (see Table 3.5) as for example their (young) age in order to emphasise their vulnerability and innocence. By naming them in reference to their family (e.g. 'husband', 'daughter'), the circle of people affected by the crime is enlarged (indirect victimisation) given that, for example, relatives of killed, kidnapped or abused victims are regarded as victims as well when applying the United Nations' definition. Nouns like 'victim' or 'survivor' trigger empathetic feelings, the victim-label 'contains connotations of someone bringing a sacrifice' (also in the German noun *Schlachtopfer* [victim]) (Van Dijk 2009:7). Naming victims is part of the labelling process in that victimhood status is assigned to them which makes them deviant from other people. Kenney (2002:240) in this context talks about stigmatising victims through a feeling of vulnerability and helplessness evoked in others; Van Dijk (2009:12) calls it 'stereotypes of passivity and helplessness'. This way of framing them convinces the audience to legitimise and allows victims to claim their status of ideal victims (Van Wijk 2013:160).

Contrary to ideal victims (undeserving of their fate but deserving in terms of their victimhood status) are those who deserve what they get and get what they deserve following a belief in a just world (Lerner 1980). Constructing a shared guilt by blaming victims for their fate

(Van Dijk 2009:13) was linguistically proved by Clark (1992). She states that victims are named dependent on the naming choice for the respective 'fiend'- or 'non-fiend'-offender (1992:210f). A more sympathetic construction of a 'non-fiend'-offender correlates with victim-naming choices like 'blonde', 'blonde divorcee' or 'Lolita' (1992:211). Gregoriou (2011:34) in her analysis of *The Guardian's* coverage of Sally Anne Bowman's murder by Mark Dixie interprets similar findings differently. She states that the victim's part-time job as a model (as opposed to her main job as a hairdresser) is deliberately put into focus through naming her a 'fashion model' or 'aspiring model'. This serves to 'strengthen the impression of an undeserving victim […] unworthy of her fate as she was a beautiful woman' (ibid.). Although this naming choice for Bowman could also contribute to the construction of a 'non-fiend'-offender in Clark's terms and a constructed joined guilt, Bowman's physical beauty in Gregoriou's analysis apparently serves her construction as a deserving, vulnerable victim which has an impact on the construction of the respective 'fiend'-offender and shows an ambivalence when constructing a victim based on her physical appearance.

However, the most frequently used naming choices for victims in the GC do not relate to physical appearance but to categories as listed in Table 3.5. Their deservingness (Stanko 2000:153) in terms of victimhood status is mainly constructed through those naming choices referring to the victims' social belonging as well as their, sometimes, immature age. Such naming choices level the path towards claiming victimhood status and convincing the audience of granting it (Van Wijk 2013:160).

In contrast, naming choices for offenders other than their first or family names can be grouped as follows (Table 3.6):

Table 3.6 Grouping offender-naming nouns into categories

Category	Offender-naming nouns
Status as offender or role in criminal proceeding	offenders, defendants, client
Gender	man, men, woman
Social relation	gang, pair
Profession	teacher

Figure 3.7 depicts these categories and their overlaps.

When comparing these naming choices for offenders in the GC with those in the ENC (Tabbert 2015:92), the picture only partly accords. In fact, only four nouns re-occur from the list of highest-ranking nouns naming offenders in the ENC: 'man', 'defendants', 'offender' and 'gang'. Whereas offenders in the ENC are also named using nominalisations of the crime they committed (e.g. 'rapist'), such a phenomenon cannot be found in the top-ranking offender-naming nouns in the GC. This indicates that it is not a salient feature of the articles in the GC to connect an offender with his/her crime.

Furthermore, the offender's age is not a prevalent naming feature in the GC either. Instead, there is an emphasis on social relations or social systems an offender belongs to. However, these systems differ from those to which victims are related in that offenders belong to a negatively perceived group as in the case of 'gang' or are part of criminal proceedings as 'client', 'defendants' and 'offender'. Particularly the last three nouns emphasise formality and thus create a distance. A comparable distance from a victim is only achieved by the noun 'body'. Naming choices for offenders in the GC seldom trigger more than one category in contrast to victim-naming nouns. Whereas victims are firmly anchored in a positively connoted
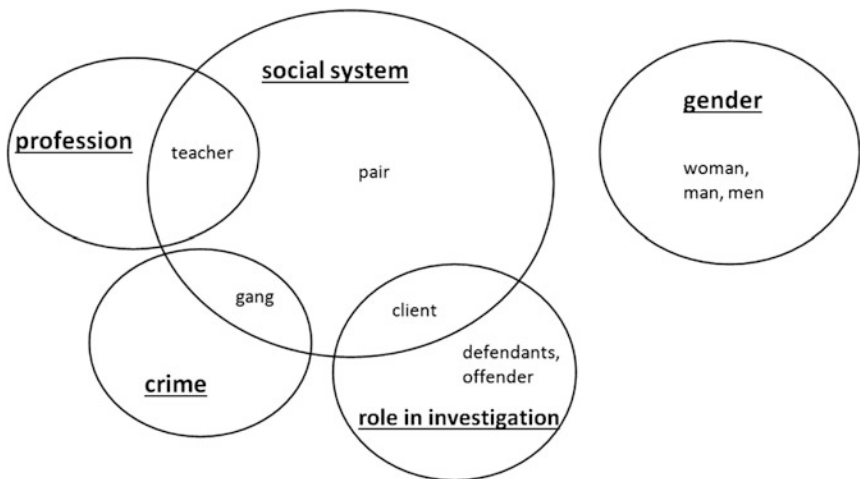
Fig. 3.7 Categories of naming offenders in the GC

family system, 'gang' as an example of a social system an offender belongs to has crime-related and thus negative connotations. Given that according to Labelling Theory, a person's behaviour is not criminal *per se* but is only determined as such by the successful application of the label, naming choices enable a transfer of the label onto the offender and underline the importance of naming choices for the labelling process.

In regard to the proper nouns listed in Table A.4, it is worth noticing that although some of them are among the most frequent words naming offenders or victims in the GC, they sometimes only occur in one article, as in the case of 'litvinenko', and are thus not evenly dispersed and not representative for the entire corpus. However, when looking for their overall patterns it can be observed that offenders in the GC seem to be named by using their first or surname rather than other nouns whereas the opposite applies to victims who are less frequently named by using their first or surname, maybe due to legal reasons.

The most frequently used proper nouns naming offenders in the GC up to 11 occurrences (providing their frequency and dispersion across the corpus in brackets) are listed in consecutive order:

evans (57 occurrences/6 files), watkins (34/2), mjadzelics (25/2), putin (19/1), ched (17/6), lugovoi (17/1), kovtun (16/1), regan (14/1), zalkalns (14/2), matthews (13/1), tomaszewski (13/2), watson (13/1), hayman (12/1), jennings (12/1), cornick (11/1), kerner (11/2), parsons (11/1), salmon (11/1)

Out of this list, only one ('ched') is a first name, the others are surnames. Although first and family names function on a denotative level and are lexically meaningless (Mhlambi 2007:130), they reveal naming strategies or modes of address which can contribute to a construction of distance.

The most frequently used proper nouns naming victims in the GC up to 11 occurrences are:

litvinenko (43/1), kohler (24/2), breck (22/1), alice (21/2), ben (17/1), samantha (17/4), henderson (16/2), maguire (12/1), josie (11/1), singh (11/2)

Out of this list, five are first names and five surnames. Naming a victim with his or her first name constructs closeness by suggesting being on first-name terms which relates to the interpersonal strand in Fig. 2.1. When comparing naming choices for offenders with those for victims in the GC, an examination of the proper nouns reveals a constructed closeness to the victim suggested by the use of their first names in contrast to an overall distancing naming strategy for offenders by means of a preferred use of their surnames.

In summary, this chapter has introduced possible ways of analysing naming choices using (manual) critical stylistic analysis either on its own or accompanied by a corpus approach. Evidence was provided for labelling processes using naming options as well as how offenders and victims are described through noun phrases. Similarities and differences in their construction by means of naming choices in *The Guardian* compared to an overall picture (Tabbert 2015) were identified which was mainly possible by means of using a corpus approach. However, offenders and victims are not solely constructed on the basis of how they are named and described in noun phrases. This is just one textual–conceptual function of texts as listed by Critical Stylistics although the most important in my opinion regarding our topic. The others will be addressed in the following chapters, starting with the predicator and how it constructs events, processes and states in Chap. 4.

4

Representing actions, events and states through the predicator

This chapter introduces the analysis of the predicator in a sentence either manually by using a critical stylistic approach or assisted by *AntConc*, the latter to reveal a representative picture in larger amounts of texts. Having considered how entities in the text world of newspaper articles on crime are named and described through noun phrases (Chap. 3), we now approach ways to analyse how 'the actions and processes that take place between these entities are typically represented' (Jeffries 2010a:37). Processes, according to Simpson (1993:88), 'can be classified according to whether they represent actions, speech, states of mind or simply states of being'. Actions refer to what is being done (Jeffries 2010a:38). Different models are used in Linguistics to describe and distinguish different kinds of predicators, we will use verb voice and transitivity, the latter a categorisation system of process types expressed by a verb phrase, which allow us to describe verb choice in a text.

4.1 Verb voice

The grammatical term 'verb voice' refers to a property of verbs and describes the relationship between the action and its participants. An analysis of the predicator therefore needs to examine both the verb as

well as the grammatical role of the participants as subjects, objects or their complements. When the subject is the actor (e.g. 'X hit Y'), we talk of active verb voice, which is commonly used (Greenbaum and Nelson 2009:75). Passive verb voice (e.g. 'Y was hit by X') in opposition to active verb voice is used when the subject is acted upon with the object being the actor or the actor being omitted (agentless passive, e.g. 'Y was hit'). According to Leech and Svartvik (2002:238), an active clause is transformed into a passive one by replacing the active verb form with the matching passive one, by making the object of the active clause the subject of the passive one and by making the subject of the active clause the agent of the passive one (e.g. by placing it in an object position). Although active voice is most commonly used in journalist writing (Busà 2014:102), the passive has a role to play in news design (Cotter 2010:18) for various reasons. It is used, for example, if the journalist aims to 'organise the text around a particular figure or topic' (Busà 2014:102) taking into account that the focus of a text usually lies on the grammatical subject (Busà 2014:108). Another reason for using passive voice can be 'to avoid referring to the person performing the action', for example, if the actor is unknown, obvious or irrelevant (Busà 2014:102; Greenbaum and Nelson 2009:76; Stubbs 1997:103). As a first example, we examine the following sentence:

Example 4.1

She <u>had been</u> in critical condition since <u>being stabbed</u> in the back by a suspect, Yishai Shlissel, who <u>carried out</u> the attack just weeks after <u>being released</u> from a 10-year prison sentence for stabbing participants in the 2005 march.

<div align="right">(The Guardian, 2 August 2015, emphasis added)</div>

This sentence is taken from an article reporting on protests against hate crimes in Israel where 16-year-old Shira Banki was attacked and fatally wounded by an ultra-Orthodox Jew at a gay pride march in Jerusalem. It illustrates the interplay between active and passive verb voice. All four verb phrases in this sentence are underlined. The victim is mentioned first by referring to her by means of an anaphoric personal pronoun 'she', relating back to the previous sentence where her name and age are given

(also referred to as intratextual cohesion). The personal pronoun 'she' with no self-evident ideological reading substitutes the victim's name and thus prevents repetition.

The victim being mentioned first puts emphasis on her as the grammatical subject of this sentence and increases her relevance (Bohner 2001:517). The first verb phrase 'had been' is active voice, followed by passive voice 'being stabbed' as part of an adverbial ('since being stabbed…'). The third verb phrase 'carried out' in a subordinate clause is active voice again followed by passive voice 'being released' with the actor, namely the criminal justice system, being omitted for reasons of obviousness. We can see that the responsibility of the criminal justice system for previously releasing the offender is rather backgrounded than deliberately hidden (Partington 2014:135; Van Leeuwen 1996) because it is nevertheless present by triggering the relevant prison schema and thus existing background knowledge the reader brings to the text. This illustrates, as Stubbs (1997:103) argues, that 'the agentless passive has no self-evident ideological reading' but instead has to be examined in every single case to determine whether it has.

Although the victim is mentioned first, she is the passive recipient of the offender's action ('being stabbed') who in turn is acted upon by the criminal justice system ('being released'). The offender is constructed as the actor of the same offence twice, namely stabbing Shira Banki, first by means of passive voice 'being stabbed by a suspect, Yishai Shlissel' and second by active voice 'who carried out the attack'. This repetition foregrounds the offender's criminal action and contributes to his construction as an active agent. Such active agents feature 'more prominently in a text-world than passive ones' (Gavins 2007:44) which contributes to a focalisation on the offender. Note that the lexical cohesion between the past participle 'stabbed' and the noun (gerund) 'stabbing' relates to the offender's previous offence. The constructed active offender accords with rational choice theory in that 'offenders make decisions about offending in particular situations and in relation to particular types of crime' (Coleman and Moynihan 1996:139). Particularly a violent offence like the homophobic one reported on here relates to a variant of this approach suggesting that the offender's decision to attack was 'hasty or ill-considered' (Clarke 1980, 1987:118). The proposition of a '*limited* or *bounded* form

of rationality' (Burke 2001:44, emphasis original) allows for the construction of this crime as that of a single, misguided person which puts the blame on the individual rather than society and ultimately the ruling power. This is of particular importance as in the context of the article it becomes clear that protesters in Israel blame the government for not having sufficiently tackled the problem of Jewish extremism.

The following example illustrates an ideological reading of an unmentioned actor which depersonalises and obfuscates responsibility (Busà 2014:108):

Example 4.2
Myra Forde, 67, who has twice been jailed for operating a brothel in Salisbury, Wiltshire, where Heath lived after leaving office, is reported to have had a prosecution against her dropped after threatening to expose him as a paedophile.

(*The Guardian*, 4 August 2015, emphasis added)

The article this sentence is taken from reports on alleged paedophile offences of the former Tory leader, the late Sir Edward Heath. Our focus being on the underlined segment, the use of passive voice in this example obfuscates the actor (as it remains unclear who allegedly stopped prosecuting Ms Forde) and the reason why charges against Forde were dropped. The missing information about the actor can be filled in using existing schemas where either the police or the prosecution can drop charges which accords with information provided elsewhere in the article where 'Wiltshire police' is named as the alleged actor. However, it remains unclear why charges against Forde were dropped and, if applicable, on whose instructions. This sets up Forde as a persistent criminal because we assume that she is guilty even though charges were dropped. Further, room is left for speculation by presupposing that Heath committed child molestation and implying that either he abused his power by giving orders to cover his tracks or others acted in pre-emptive obedience (for information on presupposition and implicature see Chap. 5). Both scenarios or 'competing interpretations' (Cotter 2010:18) imply corruption and a criminal justice system serving the powerful. This ties in with a left or radical approach to crime (Taylor et al. 2003; Walton

and Young 1998) in that the powerful are alleged to or are suspected of stretching the system in their favour to maintain their influence and wealth.

Another example where the use of passive voice allows for hiding the agent is the following:

Example 4.3

The 55-year-old is believed to have been killed with a claw hammer in a ground floor bedroom in Smugglers Lane, Bosham, on 30 December 2013.
She was bludgeoned as she house-sat with her sister Jan, mother Eileen and her sister's partner, Nigel Acres, while the property's owners holidayed abroad over Christmas.

(*The Guardian*, 18 January 2015)

These two sentences each contain passive voice and report on the alleged murder of Valerie Graves and the latest development in the inquiry into her death, namely a mass voluntary DNA screening of men in the area. Passive verb voice is indicated by the predicators 'is believed to have been killed' as well as 'was bludgeoned'. Although the agents are omitted, they can easily be deduced from context, namely the offender(s) who 'killed' and 'bludgeoned' as well as the police who 'believe'. Nevertheless, their omission not only allows for the focus to be on the victim but also leaves the actors without a face. This is frequently the case with authorities, namely the police or prosecution, because it is of subordinate importance which individual police officer or prosecutor made a particular decision (different in Example 4.2; interesting in this regard is that judges are nevertheless frequently mentioned by name). With offenders, however, their omission conveys a different message. Transforming Example 4.3 into active voice could read as follows; the transformation is visible in the underlined segments:

Example 4.4

(transformation of Example 4.3):
<u>Police believe the offender(s) has/have killed the 55-year-old</u> with a claw hammer in a ground floor bedroom in Smugglers Lane, Bosham, on 30 December 2013.

He/They bludgeoned her as she house-sat with her sister Jan, mother Eileen and her sister's partner, Nigel Acres, while the property's owners holidayed abroad over Christmas.

Such a transformation enhances the brutality of the crime because it is no longer committed anonymously but by actor(s) presented in a subject position. However, as the crime is still unsolved, using active voice obviously provides some difficulties as it remains unclear how many men were involved. Passivisation circumvents this predicament. Further, it enhances suspense which leaves this story open for follow-ups.

4.2   Transitivity

Building on the active–passive distinction, this section introduces transitivity as a means of analysing the verb and the predicator (the extended verb form) in a sentence. Transitivity in a narrower understanding refers to whether a verb requires an object or two or none at all. The following invented sentences serve to illustrate this:

Example 4.5
(a)   He gave me (indirect object) the letter (direct object). (ditransitive)
(b)   He showed me (object) around. (transitive)
(c)   He grunted. (intransitive)

The verb voice in all three sentences is active. Based on active verb voice, verbs requiring one object are called (mono)transitive verbs, those requiring two objects are called ditransitive and those not requiring any object are referred to as intransitive. When Example 4.5a is transformed into a passive sentence, it would read: 'The letter was given to me (by him)'. This transformation does not change the fact that the verb 'gave' is still ditransitive. However, using passive voice allows for omission of the agent ('he') who was in a subject position before and is now in an indirect object position and could easily be removed without leaving the sentence incomplete. Such an omission of the agent was illustrated by Examples 4.2–4.4. The verb 'drop' in Example 4.2 usually requires an

object (to drop something) and is thus transitive. Using its passive form means the object it requires ('a prosecution') is made the subject of the clause which allows for the actor ('Wiltshire police' as mentioned elsewhere in the article) to be removed. Such a transformation into a passive sentence does not change the fact that 'drop' is a transitive verb, it is its use in a passive form that allows for omission of agency.

When a non-compulsory indirect object is kept in a passive sentence, this can be used to express blame as illustrated by Example 4.1. This sentence would have been complete without mentioning the offender at all: 'She had been in critical condition since being stabbed in the back.' The verb 'stabbed' is transitive as it requires an object (X stabbed Y). When transforming it into its passive form, the agent X who was in a subject position before is made the non-compulsory object [Y was stabbed (by X)]. By keeping the agent in such a passive construction and further describing him by means of an apposition as well as a subordinate clause, individual responsibility is located and the culpable blamed. This could as well be achieved by using active verb voice. However, the first clause in Example 4.1 has an additional focus lying on a description of the victim's condition ('She had been in critical condition since…'). The description of the victim's condition is a different process type than the description of the stabbing which leads us to a broader understanding of transitivity based on Halliday's work (1985) and further developed by Simpson (1993, 2014). This model builds on the active–passive distinction as well as the distinction between intransitive, (mono)transitive and ditransitive verbs but goes further by classifying and labelling different process types. It is suited for our purpose, namely detecting ideological meaning in relation to the linguistic construction of offenders and victims, and is introduced in the following sub-sections.

Different types of processes used in a text contribute to the construction of a world view and thus ideation. Such processes comprise 'actions, speech, states of mind' and 'states of being' (Simpson 1993:88). Simpson (1993:89ff) divides these processes into material processes (processes of doing), verbalisation processes (saying), mental processes (sensing) and relational processes (being). We will deal with all four in turn. Simpson (2014) later updated the model by including existential and behavioural processes which we leave aside given the introductory nature of this book.

4.2.1 Material processes

Material processes consist of an actor, a process and a goal. The example sentences 'X hit Y' and its passive form 'Y was hit by X' are used to define the terms 'actor', 'process' and 'goal'. We have established when introducing verb voice that in the sentence 'X hit Y', X is the subject and Y the object. As transitivity is more concerned with the relation between X and Y in this sentence, in other words the process type that takes place between the two, the main focus lies on the verb which indicates the type of process. 'Hit' is an example of an action, in fact a Material Action Intention as it can be witnessed by others and is performed with intent, carried out by an animate actor ('X') against a goal ('Y'). When transformed to passive ('Y was hit by X'), the process type of Material Action Intention as well as the participants ('X' as actor, 'Y' as goal) remain the same. However, 'Y' as the goal becomes the focus of the passive sentence as 'Y' is now in a subject position.

Simpson (1993:89) divides actions performed by an animate actor (Material Action Processes, e.g. 'John kicked the ball' or 'The boy fell over') from those done by an inanimate actor (Material Event Processes, e.g. 'The lake shimmered'). Material Action Processes are then further subdivided into Intention (e.g. 'John kicked the ball' = Material Action Intention Process [MAIP]) and Supervention Processes (e.g. 'The boy fell over'= Material Action Supervention Process). In case of MAIPs,[1] the actor ('John') performs the act ('kicked the ball') voluntarily and intentionally whereas a Material Action Supervention Process[2] just happens. The examples for each of these subcategories were taken from Simpson (1993:89).

Simpson (1993:90) argues that these divisions should rather be seen as 'handy approximations' rather than 'strictly delineated categories'. The following sentence serves as an example of two different MAIPs.

---

[1] A MAIP can also be referred to as the process or transitivity type material action intention in this book. The same applies to the other material process types.

[2] Capital first letters for process types are only used in this section for a better understanding of the origin and building of these compound nouns. Elsewhere in the book, process types will be named without capital initials.

Example 4.6
An African pensioner whose house was targeted by racists in a paint bomb attack over the weekend is moving out of his home.

(*The Guardian*, 4 January 2015)

The first MAIP is 'was targeted' with 'house' being the goal and 'racists' the actors. Although this clause contains passive voice ('was targeted') the participants' roles are the same as they would be in an active sentence (e.g. 'Racists targeted an [African pensioner's] house'). This sentence serves as an example of how passivisation allows for the goal ('house') to be placed in a focal position as subject of this clause. Being presented in passive verb voice does not change the process type as mentioned above, 'racists' were actively and intentionally targeting the man's house which makes this a MAIP. The second MAIP in Example 4.6 is 'is moving out' with 'An African pensioner' as the actor and 'of his home' the goal. This clause is active in contrast to the first which is passive. MAIPs are the most commonly used process type in offender- and victim-related sentences in news reports on crime (Tabbert 2015:98, 107).

Example 4.6 constructs the victim's MAIP as a reaction to the offenders' hate crime (MAIP) by means of verb tense (simple past for the attack and present continuous indicating a future event for the victim's move). Hate crime, the term itself being contested[3] in the relevant literature, is a 'message crime' (Perry 2003:19) serving to 'warn' members of the target group, in this case the ethnic minority group the victim belongs to. It induces fear (as Example 4.6 indicates) and has a 'deleterious effect' (Perry 2003:20) on communities. Therefore, hate crime's impact is threefold, affecting the immediate victim, his group as well as the local (sometimes even national) community (Perry 2003:18). The focus in our sentence lies on the victim because he is mentioned first and he ('An African pensioner') and his house ('house') are the subjects in both clauses respectively. The use of passive voice in the subordinate clause ('whose house was targeted by racists in a paint bomb attack over the weekend') allows for the goal of the MAIP ('house') to be mentioned first and in a subject

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[3] Some authors regard all (violent) crimes as being hate crimes, others claim that such type of crime is not necessarily about hate but rather bias and prejudice. For a discussion see (Perry 2003:2ff).

position of this subordinate clause which syntactically underlines the focus of this sentence.

4.2.2 Verbalisation processes

Processes of saying include a sayer (who says something), a target (to whom something is said) and the verbiage (what is said) (Simpson 1993:90). The participant roles can sometimes overlap as in this example:

> **Example 4.7**
> The IPCC disclosed on Monday that it was investigating claims by a retired senior officer that the prosecution against a suspect in the 1990s was dropped because threats were made to expose Heath as an alleged child abuser.
>
> (*The Guardian*, 8 August 2015)

The sentence refers to alleged paedophile allegations against the late Sir Edward Heath (see also Example 4.2). The first verbalisation process is indicated by the verb 'disclosed' with the sayer being 'The IPCC' (Independent Police Complaints Commission) and the verbiage 'that it was investigating claims … [until end of sentence]'. The second verbalisation process is indicated by the noun 'claims' with 'a retired senior officer' being the sayer and 'that the prosecution against a suspect in the 1990s … [until end of sentence]' as the verbiage. In both verbalisation processes, the target is omitted for reasons of obviousness (the IPCC made their announcement to the public) or irrelevance (it is of no importance who the retired police officer initially made his claims to).

I have stated elsewhere (Tabbert 2015) that official sources, as in our case the IPCC, are most often cited in offender- and victim-related sentences in news reports which underlines their importance as primary news sources (Jewkes 2009:XVII). Seen from a journalist's perspective, it is required to 'attribute information to its source', in other words to tell readers where the information originates from (Busà 2014:42; Cotter 2010:145ff). Attribution of information not only allows for a '"distal" positioning of the reporter' but is also an element in story design (Cotter 2010:146). By analysing verbalisation processes it is therefore possible to

identify the sayer (who provides information for the articles under scrutiny) and the verbiage (what kind of information is provided).

Verbalisation processes and their explanation by means of transitivity are one possible option for analysis, another is provided by the Speech, Writing and Thought presentation model introduced by Leech and Short (1981, 2007) and further developed in several studies (Semino and Short 2004; Short 2007, 2012). That model has a different trajectory for analysing discourse presentation (see Chap. 6) compared to the analysis of verbalisation processes introduced here.

4.2.3 Mental processes

Processes of sensing are subdivided into processes of perception, reaction and cognition (Simpson 1993:91). Participants in a mental process are the senser (a conscious being that perceives, reacts or thinks) and the phenomenon (what is perceived, reacted to or thought about) (Simpson 1993:91). Mental processes are distinct from verbalisation and material processes in that they are internal whereas the latter two happen externally.

> **Example 4.8**
> This girl believed she was pregnant and sought help from Salmon, Moore said.
>
> (*The Guardian*, 6 January 2015)

This sentence is taken from an article about a court case against paediatrician Michael Salmon, accused of several counts of rape, indecent assault as well as using an instrument to perform abortions, affecting several of his underaged female patients. In case of this particular girl mentioned, he falsely confirmed her imagined pregnancy and pretended to perform an abortion with an instrument which made her bleed. Afterwards he told her 'one favour deserves another' and raped her. Later on, under the false claim she 'may have been going to have twins' he repeated the fake abortion and consecutive rape (see also Example 4.11).

A mental process of cognition is indicated by the verb 'believed' with 'the girl' being the senser and 'she was pregnant' the phenomenon.

The victim being the subject makes her the focus of this sentence which accords with the continuing trend of victims being 'the pivotal focus of news stories' (Dean 2013:135). As such mental processes rarely occur on their own in newspaper reports in crime, Example 4.8 also contains instances of each of the aforementioned other process types. Material action intention is indicated by the verb 'sought' with 'this girl' being the actor and 'help from Salmon' the goal. The verb 'said' is indicative of a verbalisation process with 'Moore', a prosecutor, being the sayer and 'This girl believed she was pregnant and sought help from Salmon' the verbiage. The prosecutor being the sayer underlines that criminal justice institutions are primary news sources (Jewkes 2009:XVII).

Apart from the mental process type this example serves to introduce, it is further an illustration of the interdependency between the construction of victim and offender. Following from Christie's (1986:25) notion of ideal victims needing and creating ideal offenders, the young girl in our example comes very close to Christie's characteristics of an ideal victim even if she does not constitute 'the ultimate "ideal victim"' (Moore 2014:77f). Her idealness has an effect on the construction of the offender and both together are a 'powerful discursive tool' (Collins 2014:3). The fact that children are most easily given victimhood status (Van Wijk 2013:162) allows for prejudging the offender and constructs him as callous, taking advantage of the precarious situation the victim believed herself to be in. The victim is named 'This girl' (note the use of the demonstrative 'this' constructing an emotional proximity, see Sect. 7.1 on deixis for more information) whereas the offender is referred to by his surname 'Salmon'. Thus, the contrast between the two becomes obvious already on sentence level through naming choices. Additionally, the mental process cognition 'believed' provides insight into the victim's thoughts which brings her close to the reader and creates sympathy with her and her naivety. In contrast, the offender is named by using his surname only without the honorific 'Mr' (Ervin-Tripp 1969). Indicating that the offender was believed to be able to provide help constructs his superiority at the time of the offence and implies a power imbalance between victim and offender. This not only contributes towards the constructed opposition between the two but further enhances the moral dimension of Salmon's wrongdoing in that he as a paediatrician was able to diagnose that the girl was not pregnant and could have informed her to end

her distress. Instead, he took advantage of her predicament, injured and abused her.

Further, this example provides evidence for the discursive construction of news values in that this story is adapted to offer sex, children, violence and is set in Britain in terms of spatial proximity. This allows for selling this particular news event as newsworthy (Bednarek and Caple 2014:139) by means of stylistic choices how to report the event and thus language use. Based on these choices the label 'sex offender' is publicly attached to Salmon which secures public support for policies tough on (sex)crime (Harris and Socia 2014).

4.2.4   Relational processes

The last process type of the four introduced here are processes of being. They can be used to 'present qualities and attributes of people and objects' (Busà 2014:107). Participants of relational processes are called 'carrier' (the person or object described) and 'attribute' (the description) (Simpson 1993:92). Simpson (1993:91f) distinguishes between relational processes intensive (X is a), possessive (X has a) and circumstantial (X is at/on a). An example is the following sentence:

Example 4.9
A man with paranoid schizophrenia stabbed a healthcare assistant to death in a low-security mental health unit because he was unhappy at moving to a hospital that had no Wi-Fi and where smoking was banned.
(*The Guardian*, 9 January 2015)

The second clause contains a relational process intensive with the verb 'was' being the process, 'he' the carrier and 'unhappy at moving to a hospital that had no Wi-Fi and where smoking was banned' the attribute. This clause provides the motive behind the crime constructed in the first clause. The crime itself is presented by means of a MAIP with 'stabbed to death' being the process, 'A man with paranoid schizophrenia' the actor and 'a healthcare assistant' the goal. The two clauses are connected through the conjunction 'because' indicating a subordination of the second. The focus of this sentence lies on the first clause and thus the crime itself. The pettiness of the reason for committing it constructs an imbalance between the

severity of a homicidal offence and the trifling motive. Considering the fact that the offender is mentally ill, this sentence relates to the limitations of the rational actor model with a gradation of the level of responsibility due to individual culpability. In neo-classical theories it was first acknowledged that the mentally insane or 'feeble-minded' are less responsible for their actions (Burke 2001:30). Further, the pursuit of pleasure, in this case to be able to continue using Wi-Fi and to smoke, relates to a utilitarian approach with a limited or bounded rationality.

4.2.5 Transitivity through the lens of Corpus Linguistics

Having introduced four transitivity process types, we now focus on ways to analyse them in a larger data set. For this, a corpus approach is employed to examine transitivity in our GC, using the GC wordlist as a starting point. Bringing in corpus tools illustrates how they can be combined with Critical Stylistics to identify patterns in corpora.

As types of processes are indicated by verbs, Table 4.1 is a list of the highest-ranking verbs in the GC. It reveals that 's' is used as an abbreviation of 'is' in only 31 lines, the others are mainly instances of classifying genitive (Biber et al. 2002:80f) like 'The children's money' (*The Guardian*, 19 January 2015). The following verb forms from Table 4.1 can be grouped under the lemma 'be': 'was', 's', 'is', 'been', 'are', 'were', 'be', 'being' with a total of 1,553 occurrences. The second largest group are those belonging to the lemma 'have' including 's', 'had' and 'has' with a total figure of 692. It would be wrong to jump to the conclusion that the majority of transitivity forms in the GC are therefore relational processes, either intensive (processes of being) or possessive (processes of having). This neglects the fact that forms of 'to be' and 'to have' are frequently used as auxiliaries (as in passive constructions discussed above) in sentences like:

Example 4.10
This afternoon a postmortem examination was carried out on the body recovered in Hamworthy.

(*The Guardian*, 31 January 2015)

Table 4.1 Highest-ranking verbs in the GC

Rank	Verb	Number of occurrences
7	was	505
10	said	383
13	s	316 (31 is, 3 has)
14	is	287
16	had	269
19	have	252
24	been	219
30	has	168
31	are	167
33	were	160
34	be	159
51	told	81
56	will	76
66	would	70
69	being	66 (22 passive auxiliaries)
70	found	66
76	last	58 (1 verb)
85	could	51
93	arrested	48

The main verb in Example 4.10 is 'carried out'. Bearing in mind that it is always the main verb which indicates the transitivity type, the identified transitivity type in this case is MAIP. The auxiliary 'was' indicates verb tense (simple past) and verb voice (passive) but not the type of transitivity. Only when a form of 'to be' is used as the main verb can it be indicative of a relational process intensive as shown in Example 4.9 above.

The verbs 'said' and 'told' from Table 4.1 indicate verbalisation processes as in the following sentence:

Example 4.11
He then <u>told</u> her to lie on the bed, said "one favour deserves another" and raped her, Moore <u>said</u>.

<div align="right">(The Guardian, 6 January 2015, emphasis added)</div>

This sentence is again taken from the article reporting on paedophile paediatrician Michael Salmon (see also Examples 4.8 and 6.16). It contains three instances of a quoting verb (Cotter 2010:149), presenting two utterances of the offender Salmon, one even being a direct quote (see Chap. 6 for more information on speech presentation), as well as one of the prosecutor Moore. Cotter (ibid.), echoed by Busà (2014:47), claims

that 'said' purports neutrality and is therefore most frequently used in news reports. Quotations, whether direct or indirect, are used to front the speaker and to help maintain the reporter's neutrality (Cotter 2010:146).

The offender's verbiage is embedded in the prosecutor's. Thus, the offender's verbiage becomes the prosecutor's which assigns a value of authority and reliability to the fact that it was actually uttered by the offender. The prosecutor, repeating the offender's exact words spoken to the victim shortly before the rape, constructs the offender's manipulative power over the victim and a power imbalance between the two.

The way the verbiages are presented follows a common strategy in news reporting where 'what is said is more important than who said it' (Busà 2014:47). The reporting clause in this sentence comes last which allows for the focus of this sentence to be on the offender's verbiage (see also Examples 5.5, 6.9, 6.13, 6.20, 6.29). Out of 383 total occurrences of 'said', it is to be found 77 times at the end of a sentence (followed by a full stop).

Naming both the pretended termination of the victim's imagined pregnancy as well as the victim 'allowing' him to rape her a 'favour' equalises them. This is achieved linguistically by means of a presupposition, namely the iterative adjective 'another' (Levinson 1983:182), in connection with an ellipsis (leaving out the repetition of the noun 'favour'). Further, the noun 'favour' has connotations of selflessness, gratefulness and something positive. It triggers the relevant schema, or background information, with 'non-sequentially ordered information' stored as a frame, like a picture frame holding together the content (Goffman 1974; Minsky 1975; Short 1996:228). The offender using the term 'favour' in connection with rape constructs the criminal act as a harmless social convention, namely merely calling in a favour on the offender's side and paying back a (pretended) debt by the victim. The offender thus downplays the seriousness of the act and the fact that it constitutes a criminal offence. Additionally, given that the victim only imagined her pregnancy and that the offender took advantage of this constructs a wicked, hard-boiled and ruthless offender in accordance with the predestined actor model. Considering that this sentence was written before the verdict, the presumption of the offender's guilt is anticipated. In a later article from *The Guardian* published after Salmon had been sentenced to 18 years in prison, the judge is quoted in

indirect speech: 'Salmon was a predatory paedophile who showed significant planning and a gross breach of trust in his grooming and abuse of young patients' (*The Guardian*, 12 February 2015) which echoes *The Guardian*'*s* earlier construction of the offender in Example 4.11 and is an illustration of inter-textual cohesion.

Returning to our corpus approach to transitivity in the GC, an examination of the high-ranking verbs 'said' and 'told' indicating verbalisation processes confirms that 'said' is the most frequently used quoting verb. The most frequent cluster for 'said' is 'said the' occurring 57 times with a range of 29 (which means the cluster occurs in 29 different files), followed by 'he said' occurring 47 times (range 20). The most frequent cluster for 'told' is 'told the' occurring 20 times (range 15). Zooming in on 'said', an examination of its concordance lines reveals that 'said' is used in its active form in all but two instances with the sayer being presented in close proximity. The exceptions follow a pattern as demonstrated here:

Example 4.12
PC Doyle and two other off-duty officers <u>were said</u> to have been attacked in Colquitt Street at around 3.15am on 19 December.

(*The Guardian*, 21 January 2015)

In this sentence, 'said' does not indicate a verbalisation process but is used to modalise and thus weaken the certainty of the fact that the officers were attacked (see Sect. 6.1 on modality).

The verb 'said' is not negated in all but one concordance line:

Example 4.13
Investigators <u>have not said</u> whether the gunman killed himself or was killed by someone else.

(*The Guardian*, 07 January 2015)

Negation, which will be introduced in more detail in Sect. 6.2, evokes alternative scenarios, here that the information whether it was suicide or a crime committed by a another person was given. Negating the fact that something was said leads to the question whether this changes the process type. As the process type is indicated by the main verb, here 'said', this

sentence is still a verbalisation process which does not change in case of negation.

4.2.6 Transitivity in context

In order to round up this section on transitivity, a lengthier piece of text taken from an article reporting on the shooting of a man in Salford on 12 August 2015 is presented and analysed. A particular focus lies on the application of Simpson's (1993) transitivity model to explain how the text presents processes and constructs a world and the values attached to it through these processes.

Example 4.14

(1) A 33-year-old man suffered a gunshot wound to his hip in the Weaste area at around 6.15pm on Wednesday, and has been taken to hospital.

(2) His injuries are not thought to be life-threatening, Greater Manchester police said.

(3) Detectives are investigating the possibility the shooting could be linked to the murder of Paul Massey in Clifton last month.

(4) Massey, 55, died from a gunshot wound to the chest after a lone gunman in "military-style" clothing opened fire as his victim arrived home and got out of his silver BMW car.

(5) Ch Supt Mary Doyle said: "An investigation into this incident has been launched but I would like to stress that inquiries are at a very early stage.

(6) "We are looking into the possibility that this incident is connected with the murder of Paul Massey and as such we currently have two specialised major incident teams working tirelessly to identify and prosecute those responsible for these offences."

(7) Father-of-five Massey had been dubbed "Mr Big" in Salford, where he was a well known figure linked to organised crime and involved in security firms operating in Manchester.

(8) Some fear his murder may lead to open gang war on the city's streets as detectives hunt the killer.

(*The Guardian*, 13 August 2015, numbers added)

This extract contains instances of each of the four aforementioned process types. The majority of verbs are material processes and active verb voice which echoes findings from a larger corpus (Tabbert 2015:98, 107). Table 4.2 provides an overview of the process types and verb voice in Example 4.14.

The majority of verb voice is active. This underpins Busà's (2014:102) observation that this is the 'preferred form' in news reports.

Some verb forms which I grouped under passive voice and MAIP need closer examination. In six of the eight instances of passive voice the actor is omitted because of irrelevance ('has been dubbed') or obviousness ('has been taken', 'has been launched', 'are not thought to be', 'could be linked', 'is connected with') (Smith and Higgins 2013:89). In case of 'could be linked' in Sentence 3, 'be' is an indicator for passive. The verb 'link' is usually ditransitive, for example, X links Y to Z. In Example 4.14, the police (actor) tries to link (process) the shooting (goal, direct object) to the murder (goal, indirect object). Although the actor is omitted (passive), the process type remains the same as linking is an action actively

Table 4.2 Process types and verb voice in Example 4.14

Process type	Active verb voice	Passive verb voice
Material process action intention	are investigating	has been taken
	opened	has been launched
	arrived	could be linked
	got out	is connected
	are looking	linked
	have working to identify and prosecute	involved
	operating	
	hunt	
Material process action supervention	suffered	
	died	
Material process event	may lead	
Verbalisation	said	had been dubbed
	would like to stress	
Mental reaction	fear	
Mental cognition		are not thought to be
Relational process intensive	are	are not thought to be
	was	

done by an animate actor. The same applies to 'is connected' which is passive voice because the police as actor is omitted and which is a MAIP as the police is actively seeking to connect the shooting of the 33-year-old with Massey's murder. The other instance of 'linked' (the same applies to 'involved') in Sentence 7 is part of an elliptical structure which means 'the missing out of words which are entirely predictable from the context' (Jeffries 2006:231). In full, the relevant part of Sentence 7 would read '…where he was a well known figure <u>and where he was</u> linked to organised crime and <u>where he was</u> involved in security firms operating in Manchester'. The underlined parts are omitted to avoid repetition. The completed form allows for a better judgement of verb voice and process type. It thus becomes obvious that 'linked' is used in its passive form because the actor who linked Massey to organised crime is omitted. This is a MAIP referring back to what was said before in relation to 'could be linked'. The other verb form 'involved' is another MAIP (and not a relational process intensive) because it means that someone involved Massey in business activities with those security firms. The verb 'involved' allows for only a vague description of the kind of business activities Massey was supposedly involved in, maybe because of mere suspicion or because this still needs to be investigated. The verb 'involved' is passive verb voice because the actor is omitted. The omission of the actor in regard to 'linked' and 'involved' bears ideological relevance because connecting Massey to organised crime and (supposedly dubious) security firms contributes to his construction as a criminal.

The police in this extract are constructed as actively fulfilling their task to solve the crime. This is achieved by means of the police being the actor of four MAIPs as well as the sayer of two verbalisation processes. Further, the police are the omitted actor who launched the investigation and are trying to make connections which the reader is aware of due to his/her schematic knowledge. Such a construction of the police as being in charge and fulfilling their duty promotes the notion of a 'presence of lawful authority' (Joyce 2006:136). This becomes particularly obvious through the metaphorical use of 'hunt' and 'war' (see Sect. 7.2) in the last sentence which construct the police as the 'good guys' not only fighting for security but as 'symbolic "guardians" of social stability and order' (Jackson and Bradford 2009:493; Loader and Mulcahy 2003; Reiner 2000).

The other actors of MAIPs are the killed 'underworld chief Paul Massey', 'a lone gunman in "military-style" clothing' as well as 'security firms'. Their naming, description and thus labelling contribute to their construction as adversaries of the police. Note that three of the four material actions with these adversaries being the actors are constructed by means of intransitive verbs, not requiring an object in contrast to the police's actions. This evokes the possibility that anyone could become target of their actions and contributes to their construction as folk devils (Cohen 1980, 2002). Within this realm falls the use of the modal lexical verb 'fear', indicative of the notion of moral panic (Cohen 2002; Hall et al. 2013) which justifies 'state intervention' and the role of the police as rightful law enforcers (Moore 2014:109).

The detective work the police are expected to do in order to solve the crime, also referred to as 'intelligence-led policing' (Joyce 2006:131), is constructed by means of MAIPs ('are investigating', 'are looking into', 'working to identify' and passive 'could be linked', 'is connected') as well as nominalisation ('an investigation'). This together with the use of epistemic modality (see Sect. 6.1) in relation to the police inquiry underlines the early stages the investigation is in as well as the police's effort to damp expectations. The use of modal choices is usually not that often found in crime news reports (Tabbert 2015:150). It is, however, a powerful tool for a potential change of perspective (Busà 2014:123). Its use here foregrounds the anticipated link between the two crimes which, if proved, would not only confirm the police's suspicion but also underline the necessity of fighting organised crime. This reinforces governmental policy on the issue as it was Labour's call for 'new powers to combat organised crime' (Joyce 2006:148f) which led to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005, consolidated by the coalition government in another piece of legislation, the Crime and Courts Act 2013.

In summary, this chapter introduced analytical tools for the predicator and demonstrated how the construction of processes, events or states relates to the construction of crime and its main participants. As we progress, it becomes clear that the construction of offenders, victims and crimes is not achieved by one linguistic feature in isolation but instead by an interplay between different ones which need to be identified individually but interpreted in combination as illustrated in Chap. 8.

5

Equivalence, opposition, enumeration, prioritising and implied meaning

This chapter introduces four different textual–conceptual functions following Jeffries' enumeration. They are concerned with the construction of opposition, the suggestion of completeness in enumerations, how information is prioritised and, finally, about implied and assumed meaning.

5.1 Equating and contrasting

This textual–conceptual function deals with the construction of equivalence and opposition. Both are introduced in this section, starting with opposition. The provided examples illustrate some triggers for oppositional meaning as well as for equating entities.

5.1.1 Opposition

The term 'opposition' covers not only opposites conventionally accepted, also referred to as canonical or binary opposites such as *black/white* or *victim/offender*, but also textually constructed opposition between apparently unrelated entities. Different types of

Table 5.1 Syntactic opposition triggers, from Jeffries (2010a:55) and Davies (2013:60ff)

Negated opposition	X, not Y
Transitional opposition	Turn X into Y
Comparative opposition	More X than Y
Replacive opposition	X instead of Y
Concessive opposition	Despite X, Y
Explicit opposition	X by contrast with Y
Parallelism	He liked X. She liked Y
Contrastives	X, but Y

constructed opposition are listed in Table 5.1 together with their syntactic triggers.

Jeffries (2010a:51ff, 2010b) and Davies (2013) have provided extensive studies of oppositional meaning, mainly in newspaper reports. To avoid repetition, the reader is invited to follow up their work. Due to the introductory nature of this book, we only have space to discuss a couple of examples of constructed oppositional meaning with a particular focus on their contribution to the construction of crime, victims and offenders.

The first example in this section illustrates negated opposition:

Example 5.1

In an email to the judge, Parsons' wife, who was not named, said: "He is not a monster, he is a gentle man who made a massive mistake."

(*The Guardian*, 20 January 2015)

This article reports on a 52-year-old teacher who had a consensual relationship with his underaged pupil for four years and fathered a child with her (see also Examples 3.9 and 7.7). An opposition is constructed between 'monster' and 'man' in a *not X, Y* structure (negated opposition). This structure is most typical or common for constructed opposition (Davies 2013; Jeffries 2010a:55). It uses a negative/positive pair of structures to textually construct opposition by means of negation (Chap. 6) in that it evokes an unrealised but possible alternative scenario. This is that the offender could be (perceived as) a monster. Further, we find a parallel structure (*he is* not X, *he is* Y), another syntactic trigger that can but not always does indicate oppositional meaning (Jeffries 2010b:41). In our case, it contributes to the construction of oppositional meaning between

'man' and 'monster'. Jeffries (2010a:55) holds, that different triggers for opposition can occur cumulatively in one example, as it is the case here.

Mentioning 'monster' in this context links with a positivist approach to crime by evoking a supposedly innate badness of some offenders in line with the incarnation of evil in the fictional entity of a monster only to demarcate Parsons from those (see also Sect. 2.1). Such a classification of offenders (monsters and others) is based on a gradation of wrongdoing depending on a voluntary element behind it ('mistake' entails a lack of intent) and leads to the suggestion that Parsons' crime is less 'bad' because of the person who committed it. This completely leaves aside the impact of the crime on the victim when judging 'badness' and the offender's guilt. Further, it draws a line between innate badness or criminal predisposition as it is at the core of a positivist approach to crime and, on the other hand, human failure in opportunistic actions as proposed by opportunity theory (Natarajan 2011). The use of the noun 'mistake' and its potential to reframe the crime has to be pointed out. 'Mistake', according to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), means 'A misconception about the meaning of something; a thing incorrectly done or thought; an error of judgement'. Given the circumstances of the case, namely the long duration of the relationship, the offender's long-standing professional career and life experience as well as the girl's young age of which the offender was well aware, framing the offence as a mistake sounds at least odd. Additionally, the naming choice 'gentle man' and its resemblance with 'gentleman' not only makes use of the positive connotations of the latter but also evokes a schema of good and courteous male conduct completely contrary to what actually happened. This reframes the offender's behaviour and supports his wife's attempt to mitigate her husband's guilt by achieving a change of perspective.

The following example illustrates a concessive opposition in the second sentence:

Example 5.2
(1) The family from west London stressed they believed in human rights.
(2) Despite their suffering and loss, they are determined to stick by their principles.

<div align="right">(The Guardian, 27 January 2015, numbers added)</div>

The article these sentences stem from reports on the sexually motivated murder of teenager Alice Gross by a recent migrant to Britain in August 2014, in particular her parents' plea not to exploit their daughter's death for an anti-immigration agenda (see also Example 6.2). The victim's parents contest generalisations, namely the perception of immigrants as criminals and a security threat as being promoted by anti-immigration groups. Yet, the murder of Alice Gross would fit well into this line of argumentation as the offender Zalkalns had previously served a sentence in Latvia for murdering his wife and had been arrested over an alleged indecent assault of a 14-year-old girl in London in 2009. Despite his suicide right after his alleged latest deed, Scotland Yard stated there was enough evidence to have charged him (see Example 6.2) which manifests his guilt above a level of suspicion. Taking this into consideration, Zalkalns could be an example for a criminal immigrant who should have been prevented from entering the country in line with arguments supporting anti-immigration initiatives.

After this background information, we turn to examining Example 5.2 in the light of constructed opposition between the parents' 'suffering and loss' and their determination to stick to their principles. Although Alice's parents show that grief and loss can be felt simultaneously with a continued belief in human rights, these things are constructed as opposing in the article. This is achieved by means of a concessive opposition in a *Despite X, Y* structure. This structure, according to Quirk et al. (1972:745), 'implies a contrast between two circumstances; i.e. that in the light of the circumstances in the dependent clause, that in the main clause is surprising'. This quote stresses two aspects, namely that a concessive opposition *implies* oppositional meaning instead of explicitly stating it and secondly that it contains an element of *surprise*. Suffering and loss are not *per se* in opposition to holding up principles but instead can well go hand in hand. In this case, however, opposing the two constructs an inner strife which succeeds in aligning Alice Gross' parents with other parents who also lost their child through a crime and to create empathy.

What makes Alice's parents different perhaps, and this is the surprising element, is that they do not process their grief by blaming immigration policy and the government but hold up human rights and a continued promotion of 'free movement' of people across borders. They brace

themselves against stereotyping and xenophobia and thereby set an example for humanity. Emphasising this aspect of the story not only aligns it with criteria of newsworthiness, for example, unexpectedness, impact, novelty, personalisation and proximity (Bednarek and Caple 2012), but also mediates these values through discourse (Bednarek and Caple 2014:139). What further makes Alice's parents statement worth reporting is that it supports *The Guardian's* stance on immigration. How this news event is reported comes thus as no surprise.

5.1.2 Equivalence

Having dealt with opposition, we now look at the construction of equivalence. A means to achieve equivalence is through apposition as well as subject/subject complement or object/object complement structure. Both will be explained and illustrated in turn.

An example for an apposition is the following sentence, presenting a frequent feature in news reports:

> **Example 5.3**
> Martin Hewitt, a Metropolitan police assistant commissioner, who is the national lead officer on rapes and sexual assaults, told the conference: "The rise in reporting of rapes is something which I unreservedly welcome."
> (*The Guardian*, 28 January 2015)

This example uses both an apposition ('a Metropolitan police assistant commissioner') as well as a subordinate clause ('who is the national lead officer on rapes and sexual assaults') which both further describe the referent ('Martin Hewitt') and build an extended noun phrase functioning as the subject of this sentence. Both are frequently used to provide additional information about news sources, here the source's function, which constructs competence and adds additional weight to their assertion. However, an apposition describes the referent on the same syntactic level and thus creates equivalence whereas a subordinate clause does not.

Another means to construct equivalence is through a complement structure as in this sentence:

Example 5.4

The document about Sir Peter Hayman, prepared for the attention of the then prime minister Margaret Thatcher, was put together during late 1980 and early 1981, before the Conservative MP Geoffrey Dickens used parliamentary privilege to name Hayman as a paedophile in 1981.

(*The Guardian*, 30 January 2015)

The article this sentence belongs to reports on allegations against Sir Hayman, a former British diplomat, who was sentenced for an act of gross indecency in a public lavatory in 1984, but never for sharing child abuse images or for actual child abuse given that it was never proved he actually put his supposed paedophile fantasies into practice. Equivalence between Hayman, who died in 1992, and his alleged crime is achieved by means of an object/object complement construction ('to name <u>Hayman</u> as a <u>paedophile</u>'). Given the circumstances, this is particularly noteworthy as this naming choice for Hayman is based on suspicion only which violates the presumption of innocence. Nevertheless, naming Hayman a paedophile reduces him to and at the same time equates him with an alleged crime.

5.2 Enumerating and exemplifying

Exemplifying means to provide examples, whereas enumerating refers to (comprehensively) listing entities. Sometimes, the reader can only infer from context whether a list is complete (enumerating) or just exemplary (exemplifying) as there is sometimes no linguistic difference between both these textual functions (Jeffries 2010a:66). In both cases, however, a list is provided in which the individual entities are separated by commas and a conjunction ('and') before the last item.

5.2.1 Enumerating

A list of two items, also referred to as a two-part list, often overlaps with the construction of opposition (see above). If the conjunction is missing, this might be indicative of an apposition rather than a list.

A three-part list symbolically indicates completeness without being comprehensive whereas a four-part list or a list of even more items is usually regarded as being explicitly complete (Jeffries 2010a:70, 73) unless stated otherwise (see Example 5.6).

An example of such a three-part list and the symbolic completeness it suggests is to be found in the following extract (underlined segment):

Example 5.5
Vine also said too many women nowadays were crying rape after making a mistake by having "non-violent sexual encounters in dodgy circumstances". In the past, <u>they would simply have had a shower, given themselves a stern talking to and had a cry</u>, instead of "blaming the bloke", she said.
(*The Guardian*, 30 January 2015, emphasis added)

The article reports on the Labour Party's deputy leader Harriet Harman's response to columnist Sarah Vine's article in the *Daily Mail* in which the latter responded to director of public prosecutions Alison Saunders' claim that men must get explicit consent from women before having sex with them. This particular passage quotes from Vine's article and thereby presents her writing. Vine's description of women's alleged reaction to 'non-violent sexual encounters in dodgy circumstances' in the past lists three actions. Judged by context, this list suggests completeness and is thus an enumeration instead of an exemplification. One indicator of completeness is the exclusion of other actions, namely 'crying rape' or 'blaming the bloke'. The first ('crying rape') is excluded by means of oppositional time deixis (see Chap. 7): 'nowadays' versus 'in the past', the latter through a replacive opposition, indicated by the conjunction 'instead of'. A second indicator of completeness is that Vine's list names actions directed towards the woman herself as opposed to outwardly directed actions, namely towards the police and the 'bloke'. In interpreting this enumeration, Vine presents a particular view on women and on what counts as rape and what does not. In particular, she denies victimhood status for those women who got raped while being drunk and thus blames the victim. Here again, the noun 'mistake' is used (see Example 5.1 above), indicating a misunderstanding and therefore avoiding the assignment of responsibility to the offending male or at least constructing a shared responsibility. This debate brings back the clash between victim precipitation or victim-blaming, presuming a dyadic relationship between victim and

offender, also referred to as the 'penal couple' (Mendelsohn 1963), and a feminist perspective on the other hand. The former has developed into a construction of the innocent male as a victim resulting from women's revenge (Kitzinger 2009; Stanko and Williams 2009). The latter, namely feminist criminology, blames male dominance and coercion as well as a patriarchal society for a neglect of female victimhood in intimate partner violence as in this example (Smart 1977; Walklate 2007a, b). Example 5.5 further illustrates secondary victimisation (Walklate 2007a:74) which refers to the way in which legislation and the criminal justice system treat victims of rape.

5.2.2 Exemplifying

In contrast to enumerating, here is an example of exemplifying:

> **Example 5.6**
> Regan's trial last month was told about a catalogue of incidents against the pupil, who is now nine, which included <u>sticking Post-it notes to her thumbs, tying her shoes on with string, calling her a nickname, goading her with a biscuit, hiding her doll and tearing up her photograph</u>.
> (*The Guardian*, 8 January 2015, emphasis added)

Apart from the verb 'included' as an explicit indicator of exemplification, the list is by no means exhaustive as can also be deduced from context. Regan, a teaching assistant, was found guilty of cruelty towards a child and given a community order. The six-part list presents some of her actions with which she bullied the girl. This list being quite long underlines the cruelty of the abuse, its incompleteness suggests further deeds, enhancing the suffering the victim had to endure. Using exemplification not only worsens the actual and moral dimension of wrongdoing but also constructs newsworthiness of this case in that it enhances negativity, superlativeness and impact (Bednarek and Caple 2012:41).

5.3 Prioritising

Under this headline, Jeffries examines syntactic possibilities for prioritising information in sentences. One way is to present the most

important information in the final position of a clause. Another means is transformation, for example, to transform an active sentence into a passive one in order to hide responsibility (see Examples 4.2–4.4) or to present adjectival descriptions as premodifiers in noun phrases as given facts rather than make them prone to debate by presenting them as subject or object complements (e.g. *the dodgy man* versus *the man is dodgy*). Further, Jeffries examines subordination as a means to avoid objection or disagreement. These three sometimes occur together; however, we start with an example of subordination:

Example 5.7
Although women's groups make it clear that football is not a cause of, nor an excuse for, domestic abuse, the evidence of the link between intimate violence and match days is overwhelming, in particular when Rangers and Celtic are involved, even relating to the day of the week when games are played.

(*The Guardian*, 30 January 2015)

The structure of this sentence, taken from a report on police's countermeasures to domestic violence in relation to football games, and the subordination it contains can be graphed as depicted in Figure 5.1.

The message that 'football is not a cause of, nor an excuse for, domestic abuse' is presented in a subordinate position, namely at the lowest level of subordination of this sentence, and thus as an uncontested fact that is rather mentioned *en passant*. The focus of this sentence is instead on a linkage between violence and match days in a superordinate position. This fact can be proved statistically as opposed to the moral claim in subordinate position. Subordination, as the example illustrates, is a powerful tool to avoid objection and to present something as a given fact.

In the following example, provision of information in a focal position, namely at the end of a sentence, is illustrated:

Example 5.8
When sentencing Iqbal in September, Judge Sylvia de Bertodano told the court that he had previously been seen as a pillar of the Kings Heath, Birmingham community.

(*The Guardian*, 8 January 2015)

				the evidence of the link between intimate violence and match days is overwhelming,		even relating to the day of the week when games are played.
main sentence				the evidence of the link between intimate violence and match days is overwhelming,		even relating to the day of the week when games are played.
1st level of subordination	Although women's groups make it clear				in particular when Rangers and Celtic are involved,	
2nd level of subordination		that football is not a cause of,		domestic abuse,		
3rd level of subordination			nor an excuse for,			

Fig. 5.1 Subordinate sentence structure in Example 5.7

The article Example 5.8 belongs to reports on Osman Iqbal, a former police officer who used force intelligence to help a criminal gang. The most important information is that Iqbal was a 'pillar of the Kings Heath, Birmingham community', thus implying that he played a pivotal role in the law-abiding Birmingham community which enhances the moral dimension of his crime because he breached the trust the community put in him. His being a metaphorical 'pillar' is made a priority by means of syntactic structure, namely the presentation in a focal position at the end.

When analysing information structure of a sentence, we need to identify the main clausal elements and, most importantly, the last *compulsory* one as it contains prioritised information (Jeffries 2010a:80). Although we find a subordinate sentence structure here as well (as in Example 5.7 above), our focus zooms in on the last clause: 'that he had previously been seen as a pillar of the Kings Heath, Birmingham community'. This subordinate clause is structured: subject ('he')- predicator ('had been seen')- subject complement ('a pillar of the Kings Heath, Birmingham community') with the subject complement as the last compulsory and therefore focal element (for further information on sentence structure, I refer back to Chap. 3 as well as Jeffries [2010a:80ff]). This explains how the sentence in question constructs Iqbal's deed not only as a crime but additionally as a breach of the community's trust and therefore enhances the morality issue. Focusing on the last compulsory clausal element is a feature of the English language and can differ in other languages.

Example 5.8 further illustrates the use of passive voice in order to hide responsibility as in our case, where it is of no importance who in particular regarded Iqbal as a pillar of the community. This underlines that the use of passive voice (see Chap. 4) is not always ideologically important but can be as illustrated by Examples 4.2–4.4.

5.4   Implying and assuming

Under this headline Jeffries groups implicatures and presuppositions, both used 'to make ideologies appear to be common sense' (Jeffries 2010a:93). Both terms and their meanings are introduced here and further expanded on in Sect. 6.2.

Presuppositions are assumptions built into a text. We distinguish two major ones, namely existential and logical presuppositions. Existential presuppositions can occasionally be powerful but are innocent in ideological terms most of the time. An illustration of this is Example 5.3 above, where the definite determiner 'the' in the noun phrase 'the national lead officer on rapes and sexual assaults' presupposes the existence of such a post but is not worth noticing in terms of ideology except that it underlines a political focus on victims and their rights.

Logical presuppositions can be inferred through (logical) deduction. Levinson (1983:181ff), for example, provides a list of some most frequently found triggers such as change of state verbs (e.g. Example 6.14 'who has lost his distinguished career' meaning he had one before) or iterative words (Example 3.5: 'a route back into football' presupposing that Evans is currently not participating in professional football but was before). Other logical presupposition triggers are temporal clauses as in Example 5.8 ('When sentencing Iqbal'), presupposing that Iqbal was sentenced, or counterfactual conditionals as in Example 7.2 ('If I was on that jury'), presupposing that Vine was in fact not a member of the jury in the Ched Evans case.

Implicatures arise from not observing the Gricean cooperation maxims which are part of the cooperation principle (Grice 1975, 1978). Grice assumes that speakers are generally cooperative and make truthful contributions (maxim of quality), make their contribution as informative as

required but not over-informative (maxim of quantity), make it relevant (maxim of relation) and make it clear, brief and orderly (maxim of manner). Once a speaker/writer deliberately does not observe one or more of these maxims, implied meaning arises from such an utterance and its context. The reasons for not observing the maxims are manifold, one of them is flouting, others are violating or suspending among others.

A distinction between presuppositions and implicatures is that in case of negation implicatures vanish whereas presuppositions stay. An example for an implicature is contained in the conversation in the following situation: passenger X sitting at the aisle on a train on a hot day turns to fellow passenger Y who sits next to a window and says 'It's quite hot in here, isn't it?' to which Y replies: 'Would you like me to open the window?' and X answers 'Yes, thank you'. Y's question in reply does not seem to match X's question in its literal meaning, which is seeking consent about evaluating the temperature in the carriage. Instead of directly asking Y to open the window, X prefers an implied request. The reason why X framed his request as a question might be of interest for conversation analysts who deal with politeness in conversations which is no concern of ours here. What interests us is the implied request to open the window. By violating the Gricean maxims of cooperation, namely the maxims of quantity and manner, implied meaning arises under the precondition that speakers are usually cooperative (cooperation principle). Y in reacting to X's question understands that X is not interested in a conversation about the temperature but wants some fresh air. The implicature in X's question would vanish if in the same situation his question was negated: 'It's not hot in here, is it?' This would not imply a request to open the window anymore and would probably lead to a different reaction from Y. Further illustrations are provided in Sect. 6.2 on negation.

In summary, this chapter introduced four different textual–conceptual functions of texts and explained their identification. A corpus approach to the tools introduced in this chapter is not provided as it requires manual tagging of the corpus for instances of implicature, presupposition, enumeration and so on before patterns can be detected. As this book does not aim to present a comprehensive analysis of the GC but only uses the corpus to illustrate the application of tools, the identification of patterns for the features introduced in this chapter must be left for other publications.

6

Hypothesising, negation and presenting others' speech

This chapter provides an introduction to hypothesising by means of modality (expressing a stance towards a proposition), the construction of hypothetical worlds by means of negation and the presentation of other people's speech.

6.1 Modality

Modality is less concerned with a proposition itself but rather the speaker/writer's opinion about or attitude towards it (Simpson 1993:47). Different types of modality (epistemic, deontic, boulomaic are explained below) can be linguistically realised not only through modal auxiliaries but also through other lexical items (modal adjectives, adverbs, verbs) or conditional structures (Jeffries 2010a:121). Furthermore, modal meaning can be invoked phonologically (intonation indicating (un)certainty) or through body language (when shrugging shoulders) (ibid.) which, given the nature of this book, must be left aside. An unmodalised proposition is called categorical which is a main characteristic in journalism (Jeffries 2010a:120) and, in particular,

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The original chapter was corrected: The threshold of chi-square and LL ratio on p. 121 is 10.83 not 11.83.

of newspaper reports on crime (Fairclough 1989:129; Tabbert 2015:127). This finding relates to an overall picture of crime news and might differ when exclusively examining newspaper articles on corporate fraud. Ras (2015) conducted such an analysis and found that newspapers 'refrain from categorically stating a criminal act has occurred when a company is accused of corporate fraud'. This result is interesting given that reports on corporate fraud do not constitute the majority of crime news (not in the GC nor in the ENC) and seem to follow different patterns of reporting. As this book aims to introduce a broad toolkit for the analysis of all crime news to non-linguists, detecting patterns of modal expressions is a necessary part of it.

A first invented example serves as an entrance to the topic:

Example 6.1
(invented):
I am sure John will win the next Eurovision Song Contest.

Although a high degree of certainty about the proposition is expressed, doubts remain whether John will actually win which constructs his winning as a hypothetical version of reality (Jeffries 2010a:114). It can be argued whether modality in fact produces 'a hypothetical alternative reality' (Jeffries 2015a:165) in the way negation does (see Sect. 6.2) or whether it is more concerned with presenting an opinion about or attitude towards a proposition, in other words a point of view (Simpson 1993:47). Due to space constraints we cannot follow up this argument any further but instead start with the premise that modality is able to produce hypothetical alternative scenarios.

Following Simpson (1993:46ff) and Jeffries (2010a:114ff), the focus in this section is on two different modal systems in English: the epistemic and the deontic/boulomaic. Epistemic modality refers to the 'speaker's confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of a proposition' (Simpson 1993:48) as in Example 6.1. The degree of (un)certainty about the truth of a proposition is perceived as a continuum rather than two separate states. Deontic modality refers to the 'speaker's attitude to the degree of obligation attaching to the performance of certain actions' varying from permission to requirement, also perceived as a continuum (Simpson

1993:47). Closely related to deontic is boulomaic modality referring to desirability (Simpson 1993:48), again a continuum of different degrees of desire. These three types will be discussed in turn.

Having said that modal meaning can be expressed in different ways, in Example 6.1 the modal adjective 'sure' as well as the modal auxiliary 'will' both refer to certainty/doubt about John winning the contest and are therefore epistemic. The auxiliary 'will' in Example 6.1 also marks futurity in terms of verb tense. As the future is never certain, it also has epistemic meaning. Other formal options to express modality are, among others, lexical verbs (e.g. wish, hope, think), modal adverbs (e.g. possibly, supposedly, definitely) and conditional structures.

This section introduces a very basic concept of modality acknowledging that Simpson's (1993:46ff) model goes further. He takes into account (other) ways of expressing personal evaluation rooted in the semantic properties of lexical items which leads him to develop a modal grammar of point of view in narrative fiction (Simpson 1993:55ff). Point of view, briefly mentioned in relation to ideology in Chap. 2, refers to the 'angle of telling' (Simpson 1993:2) or a presentation of events seen through the eyes of someone else (McIntyre 2006:1). Ideological point of view is defined by Semino (2002:97) as 'to capture those aspects of world views that are social, cultural, religious or political in origin, and which an individual is likely to share with others belonging to similar social, cultural religious or political groups'. Jeffries (2010a:119ff) applies the concept of point of view to non-fictional texts. For more detailed information on point of view, the reader is invited to follow up the literature cited. Modal choices are important to analyse precisely because they express a personal viewpoint of the speaker/writer which encodes an ideological outlook and has persuasive power particularly if they present opinions (e.g. certainties) expressed by authorities (Jeffries 2010a:123) as in the following example:

Example 6.2
Scotland Yard on Tuesday said <u>there was enough evidence to have charged Zalkalns had he lived</u> and the <u>probable</u> motive for his crime was sexual.
<div align="right">(The Guardian, 27 January 2015, emphasis added)</div>

The article reports on Alice Gross' abduction and murder by migrant Arnis Zalkalns (see also Example 5.2). Epistemic modality expresses Scotland Yard's certainty about the sufficiency of the evidence against Zalkalns (realised through a conditional structure as underlined) as well as his motive (realised through a modal adjective as underlined). Further, different 'degrees of epistemic commitment' (Simpson 1993:49) are constructed. Whereas there is a high degree of certainty about the sufficiency of the evidence, Scotland Yard is less sure about Zalkaln's motive which divides external, objectifiable evidence from internal, subjective motivation. Zalkaln, having committed suicide, cannot be charged and interrogated about his allegedly sexual motive anymore which underlines that modality can create a hypothetical alternative version of reality.

An example of deontic modality is provided by the following sentence:

Example 6.3

In November, at Leeds crown court, Mr. Justice Coulson told Cornick, who was 15 at the time of the killing, that he <u>must</u> serve at least 20 years before he is eligible to seek parole but warned him: It's quite <u>possible</u> that day <u>may</u> never come.

<div align="right">(The Guardian, 29 January 2015, emphasis added)</div>

The deontic modal auxiliary 'must' expresses an obligation for the offender to serve at least 20 years in prison. Cornick was found guilty of stabbing his teacher to death in front of his classmates after having announced his plan to his friends. Afterwards Cornick, whose diagnosed adjustment disorder with psychopathic tendencies does not reduce his culpability, took pride in his deed by saying: 'Everything I've done is fine and dandy' (*The Guardian*, 29 January 2015). The article reports on Cornick's unsuccessful appeal against the minimum sentence and Example 6.3 presents the judge's verbiage from the initial trial. It puts emphasis on a 'due process', as mentioned by classical criminology, where justice 'must be both done and seen to be done' (Burke 2001:33). Further, it aligns with the notion that 'the punishment should fit the crime' (Burke 2001:27) implying that the offender was not suffering from a mental disorder such as to mitigate the sentence.

As mentioned, deontic modality has gradations, or, as Simpson (1993:47) notes, 'a continuum of commitment' ranging from permission to obligation and further to requirement. In Example 6.3, the auxiliary 'must' constructs a strong requirement and is therefore placed towards the requirement end of the scale.

The judge's verbiage in the last sentence of Example 6.3 serves as an example of epistemic modality expressing the judge's doubt whether Cornick will ever be released from prison and thus constructs his release as a hypothetical version of reality. This is realised by means of a modal adjective as well as a modal auxiliary (see underlined segments). It should be noted that the same word can have different modal meanings depending on context. Whereas 'possible' in Example 6.3 constructs doubt, it can also have deontic meaning as in the following sentence:

Example 6.4
Detainees report requesting that female staff should carry out searches, and being told this was not possible.

(*The Guardian*, 14 January 2015)

Here, the detainees are told that what they request is not permitted, expressed by the same modal adjective 'possible'. This demonstrates that modal lexical items do not have a fixed meaning (or no one-to-one form/ function relation, see Sect. 1.5.3). The point of view they express depends on the context.

The third type of modality, boulomaic, is used in the following sentence:

Example 6.5
It added: "I <u>wish</u> all the families of those involved my deepest deepest sympathy; not that this <u>will</u> help them in any way now but, I <u>wish</u> I <u>could</u> turn back the clock so that these events <u>would</u> not occur."

(*The Guardian*, 4 January 2015, emphasis added)

This sentence from a note posted on a Facebook page after a deadly attack outside a pub serves as an example of a mixture of different types of modality and their linguistic realisation. The lexical verb 'wish' occurs twice, both times expressing a desire (boulomaic), the second time in

connection with the modal auxiliaries 'could' and 'would'. The modal auxiliary 'will' indicates doubt about how helpful this posting is for the affected families and is therefore epistemic. This example emphasises that a crime does not only affect the direct victim but has an impact on people closely related to him/her following the United Nations definition of victimhood (see Sect. 3.5) and referred to as indirect victimisation.

To analyse if and how modality is used in the GC, a corpus approach serves to identify patterns in the GC. One way to start is a manual examination of the GC wordlist for indicators of modality. The thus identified highest-ranking lexical items indicating modality in the GC are presented in Table 6.1. The number of occurrences of these words is then compared to the number of occurrences in the ENC as reference corpus to determine if they are overused (or underused) in the GC and thus statistically significant. Statistical significance is calculated by LL ratio or chi-square, both figures are presented to demonstrate their close proximity.

Table 6.1 Highest-ranking lexical items indicating modality in the GC in comparison to their occurrence in the reference corpus ENC

Lexical item indicating modality	Number of occurrences in the Guardian Corpus (word token: 38,754)	Number of occurrences in the English Newspaper Corpus as reference corpus (word token: 72,673)	Log-likelihood ratio[a]	Chi-square
will	76	133	0.23	0.23
would	70	160	1.96	1.92
could	51	99	0.04	0.04
if	51	61	5.5	5.72
may	45	69	1.09	1.11
can	31	54	0.11	0.11
should	31	47	0.83	0.85
believed	31	28	7.78	8.21
suspicion	28	15	16.35	17.45
want	24	30	2.15	2.22
hope	22	24	3.3	3.45
whether	19	18	4.26	4.48
believe	18	37	0.1	0.1
claimed	18	27	0.53	0.54

[a]Calculated with chi-square and LL ratio online calculator: http://mmmann.de/Sprache/signifikanz-corpora.htm, accessed 11 April 2016

Only those words are key (keywords) which occur statistically more often in the GC compared to the ENC. In general, the higher the chi-square and LL ratio result, the higher is the statistical significance of these words being overused (or underused) in the GC. If chi-square and LL ratio are above a certain threshold, we can add a percentage of confidence to the fact that the identified significant overuse (or underuse) of the word is not due to chance. Different thresholds relate to different percentages of certainty, expressed by a probability value (short: *p-value*). Such a threshold can be 10.83 (with a *p-value* of 0.001 which allows for a confidence in the results of 99.9 per cent,[1] see [Tabbert 2015:86]) or 5.024 (with a *p-value* of 0.025 which allows for a confidence of 97.5 per cent) to name but two possible ones. Which threshold one chooses depends on the confidence level one would like to achieve. Out of the highest-ranking lexical items indicating modality in the GC wordlist, the noun 'suspicion', the verb 'believed' and the conjunction 'if' are relatively overrepresented in the GC compared to the ENC, indicated by chi-square and LL ratio figures above a threshold of 5.024 with the accompanying *p-value* of 0.025. We will look at their use in turn.

An examination of these lexical items in their immediate textual environment (using concordance, concordance plot and cluster tools) reveals that the noun 'suspicion' occurs as part of the phrase 'on suspicion of' in 26 out of 28 concordance lines and is thus part of a 3-gram (a cluster consisting of three words) in almost all its occurrences in the GC. It is further part of the following longer clusters which each contain the already mentioned 3-gram: 'arrested on suspicion of' (14 lines), 'on suspicion of murder' (11) as well as 'arrested on suspicion of murder' (7). In all concordance lines, the crime(s) the 'suspicion' relates to is presented within close proximity to the target word (span of up to eight words to the right): murder (17), killing (2), terrorism (5), car theft (2), stealing (1) as well as rape and sexual assault (1). By emphasising that it is a 'suspicion' instead of a proved fact, *The Guardian* pays credit to the presumption of innocence. However, the overuse of 'suspicion' in the GC might result from the fact that the crimes reported on in the GC (compared to

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[1] The percentage of confidence is calculated according to the formula: one minus *p-value* multiplied by 100 per cent (e.g. 1–0.001 = 0.999 × 100 % = 99.9 %).

the ENC) are still in the stage of investigation. This hypothesis is verified by a concordance plot analysis showing that 'suspicion' is used in 12 files (meaning in 12 articles out of 64, 18.75 per cent) in the GC and thus in more different files than in the ENC (8 out of 143 files, 5.59 per cent).

The most frequent cluster for 'believed' is 'believed to' in eight concordance lines. This shows that this verb builds less stable clusters in comparison to the noun 'suspicion'. A manual examination of its concordance lines reveals that 'believed' is used in its active form (X believed Y/in Y, see Examples 4.8 and 5.2) in 14 concordance lines and in its passive form (to be believed, see Example 6.6) in 17. Out of the latter, the verb is used as an epistemic modal auxiliary eight times in phrases such as 'The 55-year-old is believed to have been killed with a claw hammer' (Example 4.3).

The third overused (relative to the GC and ENC corpus sizes) modal lexical item is the conjunction 'if'. It is used as part of other people's presented utterances in 41 out of 51 concordance lines (speech presentation is examined in detail in Sect. 6.3).

The use of 'if' indicating a conditional structure is illustrated by the following sentence:

Example 6.6
A woman who repeatedly warned police about the paedophile activities of the disgraced rock star Ian Watkins, but was herself prosecuted after trying to entrap him, claimed children could have been saved from abuse <u>if</u> she had been believed.

(*The Guardian*, 14 February 2015, emphasis added)

The conditional structure constructs a hypothetical world, namely one in which the woman was believed by the police and the children were saved from abuse. This hypothetical scenario implies blame on the police. The alternative scenario constructed by means of a conditional structure is that the police could have prevented crimes because they were in a position to do so. This is particularly powerful because the lexical verb form 'believed' entails a conscious choice in that the police had to decide whether to believe the woman and act accordingly. By indicating that the police made a mistake in not believing her, it is suggested that the police not only failed to live up to their duty, namely crime prevention,

but questions the foundations of our society where the power to prevent and investigate crime is taken out of the hands of the individual and is a state responsibility.

If-clauses or conditionals (these terms are used interchangeably in this book) can be divided into three types depending on how likely it is that the condition is fulfilled (Powell 1995:34).

In a type I conditional, the condition is fulfillable as in the following sentence:

Example 6.7
"If you are genuinely remorseful, you will waste no more time in telling us, through your counsel if you wish, the real reason we were targeted."
(*The Guardian*, 29 January 2015, emphasis added)

Here, the victim addresses the offenders in court in an attempt to inquire their reason for attacking him and his family. For him to be able to get over the attack he wishes to know the offenders' motive. Therefore, he offers them an appreciation of their answer to his question, namely regarding it as being proof of their remorse. This in combination with a presupposition triggered by 'waste no more time' indicates that the victim sees the offenders' silence on their motive as a negatively connotated 'waste of time' and thus as intolerable instead of it being an execution of their procedural right. Further, it implies that the offenders' shown remorse is not truthful and thus acceptable as long as they do not reveal their motive as well. Such a type I conditional occurs most often in the GC, namely in its complete form in 28 sentences and grammatically incomplete in four more sentences where only the condition is given as in the following example:

Example 6.8
If grooming is the right word to use, it was she who groomed you.
(*The Guardian*, 15 January 2015)

This sentence is part of a judge's direct speech, justifying a suspended sentence for a religious studies teacher who had sexual intercourse with his pupil. The conditional expresses doubt about the word choice 'grooming' in reference to the pupil's obsession with her teacher and indicates a

dilemma between the innocence of an immature victim girl as an ideal victim in Christie's (1986) terms who is protected by the law and, on the other hand, her promiscuous behaviour in pursuing her sexual interest. This case contradicts the stereotype that it is usually the perpetrator grooming the child and therefore blurs the line between victim and offender. The victim is constructed as undeserving of her victimhood status (Hayes and Carpenter 2013; O'Hara 2012), but, most importantly, the offender is looked upon leniently by the judge despite the fact that his crime requires punishment.

This sentence underlines that (child) sex crime news are highly newsworthy (Moore 2014:64, 77) and the relevant news values are mediated through discourse (Bednarek and Caple 2014:139).

In a type II conditional, the condition is fulfillable but this is highly unlikely as in the underlined segment of the following sentence:

Example 6.9
Sadly the mob rule tactics employed by the more radical elements of our society and the constant media reporting has had the desired influence on some sponsors and <u>the club would face significant financial pressure if I joined them</u>, he said.

<div align="right">(<i>The Guardian</i>, 8 January 2015, emphasis added)</div>

Here, the condition that Ched Evans joins football club Oldham Athletic is unlikely to happen due to the sponsor's reaction and the resulting consequences for the club which bars Evans' attempt to re-establish his career as a footballer which he had previous to his crime and prison sentence (see also Examples 3.5, 3.6 and 7.2). This sentence serves as an example of the consequences of labelling (Becker 1966) for the rehabilitation process. Mingus and Burchfield (2012:100) argue that 'the label itself causes external forces to converge in such a way as to limit one's life opportunities' which Evans expects to be the reason behind the club's withdrawal. The conditional constructs an alternative scenario which would play out if the club signed Evans, namely financial pressure on the club. This sentence proves that Evans has not internalised the label of being a sex offender and not limited his options himself in order to avoid potential consequences (ibid.), but instead fights for his rehabilitation. Type II conditionals occur in full in nine sentences in the GC and

in further four sentences in a grammatically incomplete form as in the following example:

Example 6.10
The chaos these games create means that it <u>doesn't</u> matter if the perpetrator's team won or lost.

(*The Guardian*, 30 January 2015, emphasis added)

This sentence refers to a peak of domestic violence cases around Old Firm matches in Glasgow and presents the verbiage of a Glasgow East Women's Aid worker in direct speech (see also Example 5.7). Changing 'wouldn't' to 'doesn't' adds additional certainty to the assertion and thus foregrounds the certainty that abuse happens and the predicament the victims find themselves to be in. This article in *The Guardian* constructs domestic violence as a social rather than an individual problem by not focusing on individual stories but on general assertions emphasising the extent of the problem. This underpins Braber's (2014:101) finding that *The Guardian* takes domestic violence more seriously than *The Sun.* Michelle and Weaver (2003:290) in contrast noted a 'textual focus on personal narratives' exonerating the perpetrator as a journalistic technique of 'intimization' (van Zoonen 1991:217) when analysing documentaries on domestic violence in New Zealand. Intimisation refers to revealing personal information with the effect that perpetrators are constructed as ordinary men. This does not seem to replicate in this particular article from *The Guardian* reporting on the situation in Glasgow in the UK.

An example of a type III conditional was provided in Example 6.6 with the main feature that the condition remains unfulfilled. This type of conditional occurs in five sentences in the GC and is incomplete in one more, namely the following:

Example 6.11
I couldn't tell whether his hands were cut from protecting himself or if he'd been stabbed.

(*The Guardian*, 15 January 2015)

Here, a witness describes a possible scenario providing two explanations why the victim was holding his hands in front of his stomach. This

sentence shows that hypothetical worlds can also be initiated by the conjunction 'whether' which can be used interchangeably with 'if' here (or in Example 6.10). Out of the two alternative scenarios, the latter implies intent and relates to the rational actor model and the offender's free will in committing a crime.

Conditionals in connection with constructing hypothetical scenarios are most powerful if they contain an unrealisable or unrealised condition as is the case with if-clauses type III (see Example 6.6).

Having examined the three identified statistically significant lexical items indicating modality in the GC ('suspicion', 'believed' and 'if'), an additional examination of the keyword list (which compares the wordlists of the GC and the ENC) reveals further lexical items indicating modality above a threshold of 5.024: 'duty' (8 occurrence, chi-square: 15.002), 'possible' (10/8.29), 'risk' (14/8.076), 'trust' (16/7.133), 'needs' (5/6.236), 'unlikely' (5/6.236). Although these words are also key (indicated by chi-square), their total number of occurrences in the GC is not as high as that of the other three words. I thus refrain from further examining patterns of their use for reasons of the introductory nature of this book and continue with an introduction to negation.

6.2   Negation

Both modality and negation construct hypothetical scenarios as a subtle way of manipulation and reveal the point of view of the writer or the person cited. This section introduces negation, the term is used in this book as a generic one referring to a conceptual practice broader than simply the negation of a verb (Jeffries 2010a:106). Negation is a powerful linguistic device because the expression of absence draws attention to the possibility of presence (Nahajec 2012:39, 2014) and 'produces a hypothetical version of reality' (Jeffries 2010a:107). An invented sentence like:

Example 6.12
I didn't go to the cinema last night.

constructs two scenarios, first what actually happened, namely that I was not in the cinema as the absence of an event and second that I

could have gone under different circumstances as a hypothetical presence. Besides the information of what did happen, the reader is made aware of an alternative (Jeffries 2010a:106). Particularly, the latter makes negation manipulative because ideas are implanted and 'a world of possibilities' is evoked (Nahajec 2012:35). As Nahajec (2012:34, 38) argues, 'the expression of absence pragmatically presupposes an expectation [of presence] on the part of one or more discourse participants'. My example sentence 6.12 can only be understood when the alternative, namely that I went to the cinema, is pictured at the same time and thus an expectation is reflected or introduced (Nahajec 2012:35).

Negation serves two primary discourse functions by simultaneously rechannelling and blocking information (Hidalgo-Downing 2000). The oppositional character of negation between presence and absence is summarised by Nahajec (2009:109) arguing that negation opposes non-events against events, non-states against states or non-existence against existence and thereby constructs 'unrealized worlds'. In Example 6.12, the event of not going to the cinema is opposed to the non-event of going there.

In context, negation functions through the interplay of three elements: (1) negation is presuppositional, (2) takes variable forms and (3) produces implied meaning (Nahajec 2012:35). The following Example 6.13 explains these three elements further:

Example 6.13
This is not a case for prison, it is a case for a community order, the judge said.
(*The Guardian*, 14 January 2015)

The pragmatic presupposition in this sentence is that the addressee and perhaps other discourse participants as well expect this to be a case for prison. This then has the further level of implicature that the addressee believes the crime to be serious enough to warrant depriving an individual of her freedom. By negating this, the speaking judge implies that this crime warrants a lesser form of punishment or a more useful punishment which is specified as a community order because this case differs from others. The negation is realised grammatically through the addition of a negative particle (the negator 'not') to the verb phrase (Jeffries 2010a:108).

The difference between presupposition and implicature is briefly summarised as follows, based on the brief introduction in Sect. 5.4: conversational

implicatures arise from flouting cooperation maxims and thus not observing the cooperation principles. Grice (1975:45) argues that for a meaningful conversation, speaker (writer) and listener (reader) should cooperate: 'Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged'. Part of this cooperation principle is four maxims, namely the maxims of quality, quantity, relation and manner. By not observing one or more of these maxims, for example, by flouts which are ostentatious non-observations of the maxims, implied meaning arises from utterances (a sentence and its context).

Presuppositions (existential and logical) are 'tied to particular words' or 'aspects of surface structure' (Levinson 1983:167ff) and, other than implicatures, do not vanish when the sentence is negated (see example dialogue in Sect. 5.4). Levinson (1983:181ff) provides a list of logical presupposition triggers such as definite descriptions, change of state verbs, iteratives and so on. Negation is also a pragmatic presupposition trigger as in Example 6.13 above. A pragmatic presupposition (also referred to as conventional implicature as these terms are used interchangeably in this book) is not tied to the mere semantics of words (Simpson 1993:128) nor does it derive from flouting the maxims but can only be grasped intuitively. Simpson (ibid.) holds that 'pragmatic presuppositions reside in the shared conventions of language use'. Examples will be provided as they occur.

In the first clause of Example 6.13, the pronoun 'this' existentially presupposes the existence of prison cases, the negation pragmatically presupposes that the addressee believes/expects this to be a case for prison. The inter-clausal opposition contrasts prison cases and community order cases through parallel structure (for more information on opposition triggers see [Jeffries 2010b]). Note that the inter-clausal opposition provides an 'overlap' (Jeffries 2010a:111) beyond the mere negation in the first clause. The interplay between negation and opposition creates the conversational implicature by flouting the Gricean maxims that this case, where an arachnophobic general practitioner (GP) caused a fatal accident because a spider fell into her lap as she was driving, is different compared to other cases of causing death by careless driving and that a custodial sentence would have been the appropriate punishment otherwise. The judge argues that despite the fact that the offender caused the death of another person and thus inflicted a high level of harm, a community order as a less severe

form of punishment is the appropriate reaction taking into account the level of the offender's culpability. This mirrors, on the one hand, Beccaria's notion that the punishment should fit the crime as well as an observation of the rule of equality of treatment as part of the European Convention on Human Rights. On the other hand, it takes into account a gradation of responsibility as first introduced by neo-classical theories (Burke 2001). It thus demonstrates a weighting between the consequences of the offending act for the victim and the level of personal responsibility on the part of the offender, emphasising the tragedy and nonconformity of this case.

The linguistic realisation of absence can happen in a variety of different ways, reaching from the prototypical (e.g. 'not') to the peripheral (e.g. 'far from'). In Examples 6.12 and 6.13, negation is realised syntactically through a negative participle added to the auxiliary. Another option is that the semantics of a lexical item (e.g. noun, verb, adjective) encode a kind of absence or lack of action (Jeffries 2010a:108f) like in this example:

Example 6.14
Crosskell said: "He is a gentleman who has lost his distinguished career and his reputation."

(*The Guardian*, 8 January 2015)

This sentence is taken from an article reporting on a pilot who was jailed for flying a commercial chartered plane while being drunk. Negation is realised through the main verb 'lost', logically presupposing that the pilot had a 'distinguished career' and 'reputation' before the offence. Levinson (1983:181) refers to these kinds of verbs as 'change of state verbs' in his list of presupposition triggers. Being an utterance from the defence barrister, the negation implies that the offence had serious professional and personal consequences for the defendant who had had a successful career before, not only underlining the severity of the offence but also the fact that he had a lot to lose. Taking into account the subject/subject complement structure in the main clause as well as the connotations of the noun 'gentleman' (see also Example 5.1), this sentence conventionally implies that the offender is a distinguished person entitled to professional success and a reputation and that their loss weighs harder than appropriate which are mitigating circumstances and should be taken into account when measuring the sentence.

A third way negation can be realised is through morphological processes. Morphemes are the 'smallest unit of meaning' in language (Jeffries 2006:260). This form of negation refers to morphological changes to a word, for example, 'u̲n̲usual' where a prefix (underlined segment), also referred to as a bound morpheme, is added to an adjective and used in the following example:

Example 6.15
"To have two murders in two weeks is also very unusual for an area like Shrewsbury, as the crime rate here is very low."
(*The Guardian*, 5 January 2015)

This sentence was uttered by a female resident in the affected neighbourhood. The adjective 'unusual' is morphologically negated through the added prefix 'un'. This negated adjective presupposes that the addressee of this sentence might assume that violent crime is usual in Shrewsbury given the two murders. Therefore, it contrasts what the speaker is supposing someone thinks of Shrewsbury and what is usually the case. The implied meaning is that for this resident the security the area provides is jeopardised by the fact that two serious felonies were committed there in short succession which makes her feel insecure. This example illustrates how the (perceived) risk of falling victim to a (serious) crime poses a threat to security (Beck 1992; Moore 2014:116; O'Malley 2000, 2010; Woodman et al. 2015) or the individual feeling of security as well as scratches on the margins of moral panic (Cohen 1980, 2002; Hall et al. 2013).

The fourth possibility to create negated meaning introduced in this section is the use of pronouns like 'nobody' or 'no one' as in the following sentence:

Example 6.16
A consultant paediatrician raped and indecently assaulted young girls in the 1970s and 1980s thinking he was "bomb-proof" because no one would believe a child over him, a jury has been told.
(*The Guardian*, 6 January 2015)

The negation in this sentence presupposes that there could be the possibility that someone believed a child over an adult and implies

an arrogance on the part of the offender because he thinks that his cleverness puts him in a superior position compared to the children he molested. This links with the construction of an ideal offender (Christie 1986) because of the conceit implied in the offender's thought presentation.

Although the possibilities of linguistic realisation of negation are not listed comprehensively in this section, this basic introduction serves to provide an overview of the most commonly used forms.

Next, we examine the possibility of identifying patterns of negations through corpus analytical methods and the problems we encounter. Having said that negated meaning can be realised in many different ways, the problems for using a corpus approach become obvious (Kennedy 1998:171–173; Tottie 1991). Because of the huge number of lexical words with negated meaning encoded in their semantics, the question is which words should be searched for using *AntConc*. Here again, the GC wordlist can be used as a starting point to identify such lexical items and check whether they occur frequently in the GC and are therefore listed as high ranking. Unsurprisingly, no such word is to be found in a high-ranking position. The first lexical item with encoded negation, the verb 'lost', is to be found on rank 403 with 13 occurrences. If one particular content word (noun, verb, adverb, adjective) carrying negated meaning in its semantics occurred frequently in the corpus and thus with a high rank in its wordlist, this would not only be indicative of the aboutness of the corpus but also unusual for our type of corpus because of the abundance of possible lexical items out of which one term would be singled out through frequent repetition. Aboutness of a corpus, as mentioned in Chap. 3, refers to its content or its predominant topic(s) which are indicated by content or lexical words. Such words are open-class words, meaning that new members are acquired frequently. In contrast, grammatical words in closed classes such as pronouns or conjunctions (see Chap. 3) have an almost fixed body of members. Precisely because open word classes have a huge number of members some of which have negated meaning encoded in their semantics, there are several ways to express negated meaning and an accumulation of a particular word would not be expected in our corpus with its known crime topic.

The same argument applies to why it is unrewarding to look for negation realised through morphological processes in our corpus because adding a

negator morpheme to a lexical item does not change its word class in most cases so that the aforementioned abundance of possible word choices remains. The fact that no such word is high ranking in the GC wordlist adds to the argument that such words do not occur frequently in the GC.

The most promising corpus approach to negation in the GC appears to be a search for negative pronouns or particles such as 'not'. Which terms to search for is determined by the wordlist and the total number of occurrences of a word listed there. The negative particle 'not' is listed highest ranking in the GC wordlist with 165 occurrences, followed by 'no' (71 occurrences), 't' (49) as part of the abbreviation 'n't' which is not listed as such, 'never' (20) and 'don' (18) (as incomplete part of 'don't') up to a limit point which was subjectively set at rank 400 with 13 occurrences in the wordlist. Subjectively chosen limit points, as mentioned in Chap. 3, secure that the analysis is focused on those parts of the data that are representative and most significant for the entire corpus. Being open about them ensures rigorousness and replicability of the analysis. However, such limit points can only be chosen by disregarding content considerations such as whether to include/exclude a particular word.

Analysing the concordance lines of the highest-ranking negative particle 'not' by using the cluster tool, I found that it occurs most often next to an auxiliary (was [22], did [17], is [17], would [12], had [10]) and is thus used as an adverbial. The other high-ranking terms 't' and 'don' support this finding, namely that negation in the GC happens most often in form of a negated auxiliary which is not a surprising result because it is the prototypical form of negation (Jeffries 2010a:108). Another pattern for the negative particle 'not' identified through manually analysing its concordance lines is that out of its total number of occurrences of 165, in 127 cases (76.99 per cent) it is part of speech or thought presentation (see next section). This indicates that speech or thought presentations are loci of evoking alternative scenarios by means of negated and thus hypothetical worlds as illustrated by the following Example 6.17. Given that 'not' occurs in 63 out of 64 files (identified by using the concordance plot tool), it can be concluded that its occurrence in relation to speech or thought presentation is representative for the entire corpus. This finding ties in with a pattern identified for the adverb 'never' (through manual analysis of its concordance lines) which in 18 out of 20 occurrences is speech related, meaning that it is part of the presentation of other people's speech

as illustrated by the following Example 6.17. However, when looking at the highest-ranking negators in comparison to their occurrence in the reference corpus ENC, we find the following numbers of occurrences and LL ratio figures[2]: 'not' (258 occurrences/LL ratio:3.29), 'no' (112/1.28), 't' (97/0.1), 'never' (53/1.82) and 'don' (27/0.53). All LL ratio figures indicate no significant over/underuse of these terms in the GC. An examination of the highest-ranking keywords reveals that above a threshold of 10.83 (*p-value* 0.001) only the noun 'lack' (chi-square: 12.471,[3] LL ratio: 12.02) indicates negation and is significantly overused in the GC where it occurs ten times compared to two occurrences in the ENC. As this noun only occurs in four out of 64 files in the GC (identified by Concordance Plot tool), I opt for not examining its use any further but instead proceed with an example of negated meaning in relation to speech presentation as this is an identified pattern in the GC:

Example 6.17
She would never walk out and leave her children.
(*The Guardian*, 27 January 2015)

Here, 'never' is part of a statement made by the family of the missing Samantha Henderson (as is the entire sentence, see also Example 3.10). The implied meaning of this negation is that for her family, who are supposed to know her best, it is highly unlikely that she left of her own free will but rather that she fell victim to a crime, which eventually turned out to be the case when her body was found on 30 January 2015. This sentence contributes to the construction of an ideal victim (Christie 1986), namely a caring mother to whom leaving her children is contrary to her nature and convictions (Barnett 2006). It also ties in with one of the seven enduring myths told by journalists in news stories, namely the 'good mother' as a model of goodness (Lule 2001:22ff). Given the context of and the negation in this sentence, contrasting a (hypothetical) mother

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[2] I use LL ratio figures alone without chi-square figures other than in Table 6.1 where I provided both to illustrate their proximity. Due to LL ratio's and chi-square's expected close proximity following from their asymptotic features, LL ratio on its own suffices to indicate that these terms are not significantly over/underused (as would chi-square figures).

[3] This chi-square figure is not reliable and is thus presented in tandem with the LL ratio figure for control because of the discussed minimum threshold of 5 in the Appendix A.1.

leaving willingly (bad mother) against an (existing) mother *not* leaving willingly (good mother) establishes the voluntary element behind the MAIP of 'leaving' as a criterion to assess mothers as either good or bad. This reinforces the idea (and thus the attached value to the world created by the text [ideological meaning]) that a mother leaving willingly is a bad mother. Using negation creates the possibility that there are women who would do that (or worse) and thus act against the stereotypes of motherhood as researched by Jewkes (2004b:108ff) or Collin (2014). Our victim is contrasted against those. As an effect of this opposition following from negation, Henderson's idealness in terms of Christie's (1986) notion is underlined. Also, it firmly anchors her in a family system and thus constructs her as a person loved, missed and needed by others who are also affected by the crime as recognised by the United Nations definition of victimhood (see Sect. 3.5).

Apart from single instances of negation we also find multiple negation where negators overlap in some way. An example of multiple negation is the following sentence:

Example 6.18
Sarah Vine, Daily Mail columnist and wife of Michael Gove, says drunken women are not without reproach if they are sexually assaulted
(*The Guardian*, 30 January 2015)

In this headline we find two negators: 'not' and 'without', both taking scope over 'reproach'. In double or multiple negation, one negator logically cancels out the other (Nahajec 2012:170), in this case leading to the meaning that drunken women share some of the blame for being sexually assaulted. Using double negation allows for hedging such an offensive proposition and making it more nuanced which indicates that it contradicts hegemonic discourse surrounding the issue. Finding two or more negations in one sentence is not necessarily an instance of double or multiple negation as it is here where both negators relate to 'reproach'. The following example illustrates this. The two negators there have separate trajectories of meaning:

Example 6.19
"Mr Putin should be unmasked by the inquiry as nothing more than a common criminal dressed up as a head of state."
(*The Guardian*, 27 January 2015)

These words were uttered by Ben Emmerson, QC, representing Mr. Litvinenko's family in the inquiry into his death in London (see also Example 6.29). The first negation through the verb 'unmasked' is realised morphologically, the second 'nothing more than' through a premodifying adjective in a noun phrase functioning as a subject complement. 'Unmasked' presupposes that Mr. Putin is wearing a mask which implies that he is playing a role, namely as head of state, like an actor and his true self and intentions are hidden or invisible. The second negation equates Mr. Putin with a 'common criminal'. This not only downgrades him from a constructed superior level of a leader to a subordinate one of a criminal but at the same time shows exclusion of criminals as a result of the labelling process. Negation works together with the metaphorical use of 'unmasked' and 'dressed up', evoking a picture of Mr. Putin being an actor as well as a criminal. Although this sentence is primarily about Mr. Putin, it nevertheless shows how society views criminals. They are not only ostracised but also positioned on a low level in a constructed hierarchy of worthiness or classes of people.

A keyword analysis comparing the GC with the ENC reveals that none of the keywords above a chi-square value of 10.83 (*p-value* 0.001) indicate negated meaning. An examination of the negative keywords is more rewarding though. The words listed in the following table are negative keywords, meaning that they occur more often in the ENC and are underrepresented in the GC (Table 6.2):

Table 6.2 Negative keywords relating to negation

Word	Number of occurrences in the GC	Number of occurrences in the ENC	Chi-square value[a]
denies	1	12	4.205
stopped	2	12	2.592
failed	6	23	2.538
doesn (doesn't)	1	8	2.223
indeterminate	1	8	2.223
unsolved	1	8	2.223
denied	5	19	2.058

[a]Here, chi-square figures alone suffice to indicate that the difference between the occurrences is not statistically significant as would LL ratio figures, see Footnote 2 in this chapter

The words listed in Table 6.2 illustrate different forms of negation ranging from morphological processes ('indeterminate', 'unsolved'), syntactic relations ('doesn't') to semantics ('denies'/'denied', 'stopped', 'failed'). None of the negative keywords listed in Table 6.2 reaches a chi-square value of 10.83 (*p-value* 0.001) which means that the different number of occurrences in both corpora is not statistically significant for any of them. However, an examination of 'failed' and its six concordance lines in the GC reveals that it occurs in six different files: five times it is part of the cluster 'failed to' and three times part of presenting other people's speech. The cluster 'failed to' suggests that the verb is used as a transitive verb, meaning that it takes at least one object. Busà (2014:105) argued that such transitive verbs are used to express blame as in the following example:

Example 6.20
Victims told me that they felt staff failed to show warmth, compassion, empathy and patience, Newlove said.

(*The Guardian*, 27 January 2015)

This sentence presents an utterance made by Commissioner Lady Newlove in connection with her review of compliance with the Victims' Code. It reports how victims of crime feel treated inadequately by the criminal justice system and particularly the people working there. 'Failed' as an implicative verb (Levinson 1983:181) presupposes that staff could have shown warmth, compassion, empathy and patience but did not do so, thus opposing two different ways of treating victims. This sentence implies that victims were not given their rightful 'sympathy margin' meaning 'the amount of leeway a given individual has for which he or she can be granted sympathy and not blamed' (Kenney 2002:241) and thus not treated according to societal conventions (Van Dijk 2009:8). Staff working for the criminal justice system are blamed for treating victims inadequately which could lead to secondary victimisation. It further reinforces the idea that the taken-for-granted norm is that staff were expected to provide warmth, compassion, empathy and patience. It is this failure to abide by the (presupposed) expectations that allows for them to be blamed.

As negation is often presented as part of speech we now examine how other people's speech can be systematically analysed.

6.3 Speech presentation

Presenting other people's speech (or writing or thought) in a newspaper report makes it polyphonic by adding a dialogic dimension (Busà 2014:118; Wales 2001:329). We have witnessed this phenomenon in several of the examples presented so far and briefly mentioned it where it occurred. This section provides a systematic introduction to the matter which is considered to be a 'particularly frequent feature of news language' (Busà 2014:116) or one of its building blocks (Richardson 2007:102). The reason why quoting is pivotal lies in the fact that all texts contain fragments of other texts which, in the case of running stories, leads to a 'textual chain' (Richardson 2007:101). Quotations are a means not only to bring in these fragments but also to state where they come from (source attribution).

As journalists heavily rely on information from others, they attribute their information to sources, which allows them to observe the ideal of objectivity and positions them as mere conduits with a professional distance to the reported story. Quotations further serve to underline the article's view on a particular topic, in other words the 'news angle' (Cotter 2010:146f) which relates to point of view as discussed in Sect. 6.1.

Different linguistic options for quoting other people achieve different effects. A direct quote gives authority to a statement (Busà 2014:120). It fronts the source. The choice of what and how to quote remains with the journalist. In terms of newsworthiness, a direct quote is used in case the cited words are particularly dramatic, interesting or clear which increases immediacy and vividness of a story (Busà 2014:119).

Indirect quotations or paraphrases are used when focusing on the substance of what is said and allows for the journalist to 'combine, move or omit parts of the source's speech' (Busà 2014:119). This demonstrates the potential for manipulation as it remains for the journalist to decide what and how to quote.

When talking about source quotation in newspaper reports on crime, we combine a linguistic approach which provides us with the vocabulary to describe our findings with a journalistic and a criminological approach. Journalists quote in a particular way as a means of journalistic practice and they all internalise the criteria of newsworthiness. To analyse quotations in newspaper reports on crime builds on an exact linguistic

description and classification of the discourse presentation we find in the text. The effect of quotations for the construction of particular offenders and victims brings in criminological frameworks which make it easier to explain which particular world view is constructed and its underlying ideology. This links in with the construction of a text world and the values attached to this world as discussed in Sect. 2.1. All three approaches together serve to unveil the manipulative power of speech presentation in reports on crime news. Acknowledging that they are interwoven, we nevertheless need to name our linguistic findings carefully before interpreting them.

A systematic way of classifying different ways of quoting other people beyond the mere distinction between direct and indirect quotations was introduced by Leech and Short (1981) with an initial focus on literary texts. Their model of speech, writing and thought presentation (SW&TP) was further developed (Short 1996, 2007, 2012) and tested by annotating a corpus of three different text types (fiction, newspapers, biographies) (Semino and Short 2004). Because it has proven to be a comprehensive and robust model for analysing discourse presentation across different genres, it provides the linguistic basis for this section.

Before introducing the different speech presentation categories, we start with some basic terminology. Discourse presentation is the overarching term covering SW&TP. Semino and Short (2004:59, 64) identified speech presentation as being the most frequently occurring category in newspaper reports. Due to the introductory nature of this book, this section is limited to introducing and identifying the different categories of speech presentation. The reader is invited to follow up the quoted literature for further information on writing and thought presentation.

Semino and Short (2004:49) present five different categories for speech presentation perceived as a continuum along a horizontal axis with a more free and a more bound end relating to (supposed) faithfulness to the original speech (Leech and Short 2007:260) (Fig. 6.1).

These categories do not only account for faithfulness but also for distinctive formal linguistic features. These formal features are illustrated by converting an invented sentence through all five distinct speech presentation categories:
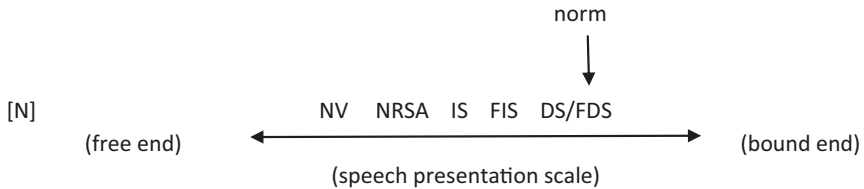
Fig. 6.1 Speech presentation scale
N = narration, no speech presentation involved
NV = Narrator's Representation of Voice
NRSA = Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts
IS = Indirect Speech
FIS = Free Indirect Speech
DS = Direct Speech
FDS = Free Direct Speech

Example 6.21
(invented):
(a) She said, "I will see you again tomorrow." (Direct Speech)
(b) She would see me again the next day. (Free Indirect Speech)
(c) She said that she would see me again the next day. (Indirect Speech)
(d) She agreed to see me again. (Narrator's Representation of Speech Act)
(e) She talked to me. (Narrator's Representation of Voice)

Whereas Example 6.21(a) presents the actual words uttered, all others provide a version of it in descending order of faithfulness to what was originally being said, also referred to as the locution of an utterance. We now look at the five categories of speech presentation, their linguistic realisation and effect in the following sub-sections and illustrate each by using examples from *The Guardian*.

6.3.1 (Free) Direct Speech

This category comprises Direct Speech and Free Direct Speech, to cover both 'Free' is put in brackets. Speech presented in this way is supposedly most faithful to the original utterance by quoting the words used verbatim (Leech and Short 2007:255). Thus, not only the

illocutionary[4] force of the utterance, which is the intention behind the words, but also its locution, meaning the actual words uttered, are preserved (Thomas 1995:49). Leech and Short (1981:345) regard this form of speech presentation as the norm. When emphasising that we are talking about supposed faithfulness we acknowledge that in most cases the reader is unable to judge whether a presented speech is quoted correctly (see Examples 6.28–6.30 below). An example of Direct Speech is the following sentence:

> **Example 6.22**
> DCI Noel McHugh, who is leading the investigation, said: "I am appealing to anyone who was in the RE bar between midnight and the time of the incident, just after 1am, to contact us."
>
> (*The Guardian*, 11 October 2015)

Here, the original words (i.e. the verbatim statement), uttered by Detective Chief Inspector (DCI) McHugh, are presented. Direct Speech, as well as the other categories, is based on a distinction of two different situations. First, the situation where the reported speech was initially uttered (reported speech situation) and second the situation where the reported speech is reported (reporting situation) (Short 1996:290). When talking about speech presentation we always deal with a reporting situation. The inverted commas indicate the beginning (and end) of the quotation, also referred to as the reported clause. The second formal feature of Direct Speech is the reporting clause ('DCI Noel McHugh, who is leading the investigation, said:') which can be positioned at various places in a sentence. 'Said' as a quoting verb is used most often in newspaper reports because of its purported neutrality (Cotter 2010:149) (see also Sect. 4.2.2 and Example 4.11 on verbalisation processes).

As stated elsewhere (Tabbert 2015:99f, 108f), Direct Speech is used most often in the construction of offenders as well as victims in newspaper

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[4] For example: 'It's hot in here' are the actual words uttered or the locution. Their meaning, depending on context, can be 'I want some fresh air' which would be a request. This is the illocution, namely the force or intention behind the words uttered. The perlocutionary effect is that the addressee of the utterance opens a window. Perlocution is thus the effect of the illocution on the hearer (or reader). (Example taken from [Thomas 1995:49].)

reports compared to other forms of speech presentation. The sources quoted most frequently, also referred to as primary news sources (Jewkes 2009:XVII), are authorities (police, prosecution, court). This gives the utterance additional weight and makes these institutions primary definers of deviance (Hall et al. 1978:58; Newburn 2007:99). Additionally, these institutions' authority is generally taken for granted (Zedner 2004:35) and their assessment is most efficient (see Sect. 1.2).

Here, the police appealing to the public for information to solve the crime, presented in Direct Speech, not only reinforces the police's role of investigating crime but also the public's duty to assist with information. By choosing this speech presentation category, the immediacy is increased which underlines the urgency of the appeal. From a journalist's perspective, 'accuracy equals credibility' (Cotter 2010:195) and Direct Speech is the category which supposedly accounts for highest credibility. As indicated, we must nevertheless bear in mind that in most cases a judgement whether the source's words are presented comprehensively and accurately is impossible. Additionally, it remains the journalist's choice who and what to quote, underlining the journalist's function as 'gatekeeper' (Harcup 2004:33, 39; Moore 2014:33) (see Sect. 1.4). This indicates that although Direct Speech *is* supposed to be faithful to the original utterance, manipulation is nevertheless possible.

Within the category of Direct Speech falls Free Direct Speech, characterised by the omission of the reporting clause (mainly in newspaper reports) or the omission of quotation marks (mainly in literature, e.g. in texts by James Joyce) (Semino and Short 2004:92, 95). Free Direct Speech and Direct Speech, according to the updated model of SW&TP (Semino and Short 2004; Short 1996), are not treated separately but belong to the same category because there is no extra claim to faithfulness. Here is an example of Free Direct Speech:

Example 6.23
"We are also keen to hear from anyone who was in Field End Road area around 1am Sunday morning who may have seen or heard anything that they now think might be because of the incident at the RE bar."

(*The Guardian*, 11 October 2015)

DCI McHugh's verbatim statement continues in this sentence and is the beginning of a new paragraph in the same article as Example 6.22. The article reports on the fatal stabbing of a 21-year-old man in a London wine bar. The police officer's utterance stretches over two paragraphs which separates this sentence at the beginning of the second paragraph from the reporting clause in the first and is thus not only indicative of Free Direct Speech but a recurring feature in news reports, particularly tabloids (Semino and Short 2004:94). Free *Direct* Speech is different from Free *Indirect* Speech, the latter introduced in Sect. 6.3.3.

According to Bell (1991:207f), direct quotations serve three purposes. First, the quotation is valued as an incontrovertible fact by being the newsmaker's (as Bell names a source) own words. Second, it serves to distance the journalist from the source by disowning the utterance as not coming from the journalist and third, it adds 'the flavour of the newsmaker's own words' (ibid.). An extended stretch of Direct Speech, as in our case, increases the immediacy, proximity and risk factor of the supposed crime in accordance with the criteria of newsworthiness. Because of the fatal violence involved and the statistical rareness of such an event, it is worth reporting. This underlines the choices journalists make about what to report which then shapes the public's perception of crime, as most people do not have first-hand information but rely on the media for their knowledge about crime. In terms of cognitive linguistics, this text contributes towards building the reader's crime schema (see Sect. 2.1). This schema is either reinforced or updated every time the reader encounters a crime news report.

The police officer's words in this article quoted in (Free) Direct Speech take up two paragraphs and thus build half of the entire article. This accords with suggestions in *The Guardian Book of English Language* (Marsh and Hodson 1998:90), 'Take care with direct speech: our readers should be confident that words appearing in quotation marks accurately represent the actual words uttered by the speaker, though ums and ahems can be removed and bad grammar improved. If you aren't sure of the exact wording, use indirect speech'. However, the quotation taking up half of the article goes against the norm to keep the quote length short 'to accommodate to and achieve balance within the generally short story length overall' (Cotter 2010:150). A deviation from this norm as in this example has a foregrounding effect which draws particular attention to

the quotation, emphasising the police's appeal made to the public. As the police are under pressure to solve this crime but have not made any arrests yet, the perceived pressure on them increases as does the public's fear that the perpetrator is still on the loose (risk factor). This is underlined linguistically by means of extended and thus foregrounded speech presentation, as faithful to the original utterance as it supposedly can be.

In addition to a journalistic perspective, we can look at it from a criminological angle and see that this extended (Free) Direct Speech serves to promote policing as the 'antidote' to a constructed threat of crime (Reiner 2007:327), in this case the killing of a young man by a yet unknown person in a public place. It therefore reinforces existing rules in society, not just concerning the role of the police but also that crime needs to be prevented and controlled and, once committed, it needs to be detected and punished.

6.3.2   Indirect Speech

Although the speech categories are not presented in the order shown in Fig. 6.1 and Example 6.21, introducing Indirect Speech next serves to make it easier to understand the differences between Direct and Indirect Speech. Indirect Speech is to be found more frequently in press reports than in literature (Fludernik 1993:291; Semino and Short 2004:78) and is the second most frequent after Direct Speech in the construction of victims and offenders in news reports (Tabbert 2015:99, 108). It is, however, only third in frequency after Direct Speech and Narrator's Representation of Speech Act in an overall press analysis not exclusively focused on crime news (Semino and Short 2004:67).

Indirect Speech has a summarising function by providing the propositional content of an utterance as opposed to presenting it verbatim (Semino and Short 2004:78). In terms of linguistic realisation, it first of all has no inverted commas. Further, the reported clause is dependent on the verb in the reporting clause and thus subordinate, usually indicated by the conjunction 'that'. First and second person pronouns are changed to third person pronouns. Verb tense is backshifted, time adverbs are backshifted or altered to fit the tense of the reporting clause, deictic adverbs are changed to remote ones (Leech and Short 2007:256).

Let us look at an example from *The Guardian* and see what effect the use of Indirect Speech and other speech presentation categories has for the construction of offenders and victims.

Example 6.24

(1) Jackie Perry, 52, Ward's daughter, told Sky News: "I couldn't believe it when I saw him. (2) He was unrecognisable. (3) The family have been sleeping with their mobile phones next to their pillows because we are so worried about him. (4) Who could do this to anybody, let alone an 80-year-old man?"

(5) Perry told reporters that she and her siblings, Norman, 57, Linda, 56, and Sean, 44, had been hoping to persuade their father to move to sheltered housing, but he was determined to stay in the home where he has lived for 30 years.

(6) His daughter-in-law, Sarah Ward, said the family had been at Ward's bedside constantly.

(*The Guardian*, 12 October 2015, numbers added)

This passage is taken from an article reporting on the attack on 80-year-old ex-serviceman Tommy Ward by burglars who took his life savings and left him for dead. The victim's daughter, Jackie Perry, and his daughter-in-law, Sarah Ward, are quoted. The sentences are numbered for ease of reference.

Perry is cited by employing different speech presentation categories. In the first paragraph, her verbatim statement is presented in Direct Speech, indicated by inverted commas and a reporting clause. Although Sentences 2–4 have no separate reporting clause, they still count as Direct Speech as they follow immediately in the same paragraph and are within the same set of inverted commas (in contrast to Example 6.23). As to the effect, quoting the victim's daughter increases the vividness of the reporting and its immediacy, the reader is invited to share the family's shock, their grief and worries. It further constructs the victim as belonging to a family system which increases the number of people affected by the crime and thus the moral dimension of wrongdoing. In the article, victim Tommy Ward is constructed close to an 'ideal victim' (Christie 1986) by providing his age, former profession and family situation ('widowed father of four'). Christie (1986:18) describes

ideal victims as those who, when hit by a crime, are most readily given 'the complete and legitimate status of being a victim'. Such ideal victims, according to Christie, need and create ideal offenders (1986:25). However, it is not the victim him- or herself who constructs the respective offender but the victim's construction in the text that impacts on the offender's construction. In our example, Ward's constructed idealness impacts on the construction of the respective offenders due to their binary opposition (Christie 1986; Jancarikova 2013, 2014:145; Tabbert 2012:142, 2015:93). Although the offenders are still unknown, they are already suggested to be ruthless and thus morally flawed by means of opposition. Sentence 4 further contributes to the victim's constructed idealness by evoking a hierarchy of victimisation (Carrabine et al. 2009; 2004:117) perceived as a pyramid with undeserving victims in terms of their victimhood status at the bottom (e.g. the homeless or prostitutes) and the deserving (e.g. an elderly female or a baby) at the top. The daughter's rhetorical question in Sentence 4 places Ward near the top of the pyramid, set apart from others by means of a conjunction and by mentioning his advanced age ('let alone an 80-year-old man'). From a journalist's perspective, asking this question directly would have been impossible without losing professional distance. By choosing this question out of the victim's daughter's verbatim statement and presenting it as part of a foregrounded passage of Direct Speech it is manipulative in that it evokes a world of constructed worthiness of victims. It enhances sympathy for the victim underlined by donations to the victim's family reported elsewhere in the article.

Perry is further quoted in Sentence 5. This sentence could fall into the category of Indirect Speech, indicated by the reporting clause 'Perry told reporters', the subordinating conjunction 'that' as well as the third person possessive pronoun ('their'). To test this hypothesis we have a closer look at verb tense in Sentence 5. The verbs 'had been hoping' and 'has lived' are not (necessarily) backshifted as Perry's original words could have been: 'We had been hoping to persuade our father to move to sheltered housing, but he is determined to stay in the home where he has lived for 30 years' in case the attack is seen as a break in persuading Ward to move. In this case, only 'is determined' is backshifted to past tense. Alternatively, Perry's verbatim statement could also have been: 'We have been hoping

to persuade our father to move to sheltered housing, but he is determined to stay in the home where he <u>has lived</u> for 30 years' if the attack provides new arguments for ongoing persuasion. In this case, in addition to the backshifted 'was determined' also 'had been hoping' is backshifted from present perfect continuous to past perfect continuous. The verb 'has lived' does not need backshifting as Ward is still alive and therefore living in his house despite his (temporary) stay in hospital. Backshifting verb tense is a necessary criterion for Indirect Speech. As this sentence intends to summarise Perry's words, it has a reporting clause, a subordination and at least one backshifted verb tense ('<u>was</u> determined') and falls into the category of Indirect Speech.

This example demonstrates the foregrounding effect of Direct Speech when occurring alongside other, less faithful categories of speech presentation, here Indirect Speech (Semino and Short 2004:90) which puts additional weight on Sentences 1–4.

Indirect Speech continues in Sentence 6 by quoting the daughter-in-law although the subordinating conjunction 'that' is missing. However, we find a reporting clause with a reporting verb ('said'), a backshifted verb tense ('had been') as well as the use of distancing (proper) nouns, that is, 'the family' instead of 'we' as well as 'Ward's' instead of 'his' or 'my father-in-law's'. Quoting another member of the victim's family proves that the victim is cared for and loved by his entire family which constructs him as morally innocent and underlines his idealness. The summarising effect of Indirect Speech is demonstrated here as details of how many family members kept watch at what times (if mentioned by Sarah Ward at all) is of no importance to the reader.

6.3.3   Free Indirect Speech

Another means of presenting other people's speech is Free Indirect Speech. Its characteristics are that it follows a stretch of Direct or Indirect Speech, continues on the same topic, does not have a reporting clause nor inverted commas and uses the past tense where the present tense was probably actually used by the speaker (backshift) (Semino and Short 2004:87). It is situated between Direct and Indirect Speech

on the continuum (Fig.6.1) and thus shows features of both. As Short (1996:294) holds, Free Indirect Speech preserves the 'flavour' of the speaker's words and is more immediate as it is closer to the norm (Direct Speech) compared to Indirect Speech. As an example serves the following extract which also illustrates the distinction between Indirect and Free Indirect Speech:

Example 6.25
(1) Scotland Yard said police were not looking for anyone else. (2) The victim had not yet been formally identified but the next of kin were being informed.

<div align="right">(The Guardian, 3 January 2015, numbers added)</div>

Sentence 1 is Indirect Speech. Sentence 2 continues on presenting Scotland Yard's speech in Free Indirect Speech. Sentence 1 has a reporting clause which we do not find in Sentence 2. This makes the verbiage in Sentence 2 more immediate. The backshift of verb tense from Sentence 1 continues in Sentence 2. Semino and Short (2004:83) found that Free Indirect Speech is 'less frequent in the news data' compared to fiction and autobiographies, its introduction is therefore kept short.

6.3.4 Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts

This category is characterised by presenting the illocutionary force of an utterance with only little indication of its content (Semino and Short 2004:52). However, Semino and Short (2004) found long and detailed stretches of NRSA in newspaper reports characterised by complex noun phrases and nominalised clauses which led them to create a subcategory of NRSA, namely Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts with Topic (NRSAp). It covers those instances with sometimes long summaries of the topic of an utterance with no reporting clause. The existence of a reporting clause would be indicative of Indirect Speech which distinguishes these two categories. The authors presume that a particularly frequent use of NRSA in news reports allows for brevity and provision of substance both at the same time (Semino and Short 2004:53). The following two examples serve as illustrations of NRSA and NRSAp:

Example 6.26
(1) Longden, of Avon and Somerset police, told the inquest that Josie had told friends she had tried to take her own life around the same time the previous year after unwanted sexual advances. (2) She had argued with her boyfriend on the day of her death.

<div align="right">(The Guardian, 23 January 2015, numbers added)</div>

This example stems from an article which reports on the inquest concerning the death of Josie Herniman, a 15-year-old schoolgirl who was found by her schoolmates hanged in woodland in Somerset in September 2014.

The first sentence presents the police officer's verbiage in Indirect Speech, the second in NRSA. The first sentence presents Josie's utterance to her friends, which was reported to the police, and a police officer, Longden, reported it to the inquest. Considering such a line of reporting, we cannot be sure about Josie's original words, she might have said 'I tried to take my life' which her friends reported to the police by saying 'Josie said that she had tried to take her (own) life' which Longden reports as 'Josie had told friends she had tried to take her own life'. Semino and Short (2004:171) refer to this phenomenon as 'discoursal embedding' which happens when a quoted source quotes another source.

Whereas we find a reported and a reporting clause in Sentence 1 with a subordinate sentence structure, a backshifted verb tense ('had told') and a distancing third person pronoun ('she'), Sentence 2 has no reporting clause. Only from the context we can judge that the police officer's speech about the circumstances of the girl's death continues in Sentence 2. Here, we find a temporally remote (probably backshifted) verb tense ('had argued'), third person pronouns ('she' and 'her') and a remote time deixis as an adverbial ('on the day of her death'). The speech act verb 'argued' indicates two people were engaged in controversial verbal activity without any further indication of what was said (the locution). The use of NRSA aids to construct a suspicion, namely that the girl's argument with her boyfriend on the day of her death might be connected to her suicide. Following her death, speculation arose on social media whether she had been bullied as reported elsewhere in the article. The inquest, however, concluded that no reason could be found for her suicide. Suspicions that her death might be someone else's responsibility are

nevertheless evoked by mentioning her argument with her boyfriend. This constructs the tragic incident as mysterious which ties in with sensationalism as a criterion of newsworthiness. This news story is further written to fit the criteria of unexpectedness, involvement of children as well as proximity, to name but a few, as Herniman is constructed as a pretty girl (shown by the photo accompanying the article) as well as one being close to an 'ideal victim' except that no crime has been committed.

The second example in this section illustrates NRSAp:

Example 6.27
The couple, of Bradninch, Devon, denied 46 charges of sexual and physical abuse between 1989 and 2004.

(*The Guardian*, 15 October 2015)

The article reports on David and Pauline Williams, who ran a pub frequented by Fred and Rose West and who were found guilty of multiple counts of child sexual abuse. Their denial of the charges is the speech act presented without presenting the exact words they used. However, the verb 'denied' provides little more information about what was said and thus on the topic compared to the verb 'argued' in Example 6.26. It is also a summary of their individual utterances.

Apart from the speech presentation category, the verb 'denied', in particular the negation encoded in the semantics of the verb, needs further examination. It pragmatically presupposes that the addressee expects the couple to confess to the charges. Presupposition is thus not about the situation in focus but about the expectations held by discourse participants, here reader and writer. It imposes the journalist's expectation of what the reader is supposed to expect on the latter. The couple's denial of the charges (detailed in an extended noun phrase serving as the object) implies intransigence and no remorse given that they were found guilty eventually as reported in the same article.

6.3.5 Narrator's Representation of Voice

The last of the five speech presentation categories introduced in this book is characterised by 'minimal reports of speech, consisting either of simple references to the fact that someone spoke or of general references to

speech events involving utterances from large numbers of people' (Semino and Short 2004:69). The authors found that Narrator's Representation of Voice (NV) has an introductory function and, particularly in press reports, refers to newsworthy speech events, often in the form of a head noun referring to verbal activity (Semino and Short 2004:69ff). One such example is the following:

Example 6.28
After five days of febrile debate League One football club Oldham Athletic have abandoned a controversial attempt to sign convicted rapist Ched Evans, claiming a backlash from sponsors and death threats caused it to pull the plug.

(*The Guardian*, 8 January 2015)

This sentence combines different speech presentation categories, at one instance one is embedded into another. The adverbial at the beginning contains an instance of NV ('debate') which only indicates that supposedly verbal activity from more than one speaker had taken place without giving any indication of what was said and by whom. The topic of the debate can only be deduced from context, namely whether to sign on Ched Evans. The participants of the debate can only be guessed, probably board members and other people. These facts make this instance of speech even less faithful to the original than 'argued' in Example 6.26 where the participants were named. The instance of NV at the beginning of Example 6.28 serves as an introduction to the article as this sentence is the first paragraph after the headline.

Another possible instance of speech presentation could be 'League One football club Oldham Athletic have abandoned a controversial attempt to sign'. Although some speech or writing is implied, 'abandoned' is not a verb indicating speech or, more generally, discourse presentation (which also includes writing and thought presentation). At a push, however, the noun phrase 'attempt to sign' could be regarded as a hypothetical Narrator's Representation of Writing Acts (Semino and Short 2004:104f, 160ff) which is to be left aside as this section intends to introduce speech presentation only.

The second instance of speech presentation ('claiming [quoted source: Oldham Athletics] a backlash from sponsors and death threats [from

another source, not identified] caused it to pull the plug') is Indirect Speech as it has a reporting clause consisting of 'League One football club Oldham Athletic' as the sayer and 'claiming' the verbalisation process (see Sect. 4.2.2) in an elliptic structure. Embedded within this second instance of speech presentation is the third ('death threats'), a summary of speech or writing acts of either spoken or written intimidation presented in NRSA or Narrator's Representation of Writing Acts (for further information on writing presentation see Semino and Short [2004:98ff]). Semino and Short (2004:171) refer to this phenomenon as 'discoursal embedding' as mentioned above.

When examining the effect of these different speech presentation categories and their impact on the construction of the offender it becomes clear that the summarising effect of NV, NRSA and also Indirect Speech allows the journalist to combine brevity with information density. Thereby the journalist decides what information the reader needs, namely the football club's decision, as opposed to presenting who argued in favour and who against signing up Evans and for what reasons. It also demonstrates whose pressure the club responds to or the influence the public (also through sponsors) has on the club's decision making. Evans at the time of reporting had already served a custodial sentence for rape which makes this article an example of the difficulties Evans, who has maintained his innocence, faces in his rehabilitation process. As I am writing and after Example 6.28 was written, the Criminal Cases Review Commission had referred Evans's case to the Court of Appeal which quashed his conviction and ordered a retrial[5] which even opens the possibility that he could be acquitted.

The fact that he is publicly known increases public interest in his story which meets the criteria of newsworthiness, namely sex, violence, celebrity and risk. Previous reports on his case obviously contributed to the pressure the club felt itself to be under and ultimately led to its reported decision. Evans's case further shows that serving a sentence does sometimes not atone for the wrongdoing but that the punishment continues beyond release from prison, particular in cases of sexually motivated felonies. In this regard, Kirkwood and McNeill (2015:514)

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[5] http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/apr/21/ched-evans-wins-appeal-against-conviction.

argue that the community has a duty to support reintegration in ensuring that the punishment ends based on the legal principle *nulla poena sine lege* (no punishment without or beyond the law). Such a duty, Kirkwood et al. argue, follows from the fact that society bears 'some complicity in permitting or exacerbating the criminogenic social inequalities'. Interesting in this context is the fact that Evans is named a 'convicted rapist' rather than, for example, a former League One footballer (paradigmatic choice, see Examples 3.5, 3.6 and Tables 3.1 and 3.2). This ensures that the label which reduces him to the offence he supposedly committed sticks. It takes the focus away from the fact that Oldham considered Evans to be a talented footballer and, at least initially, an asset to its team.

6.3.6 Bringing speech presentation together

After this brief introduction of the linguistic categories of speech presentation, we will look at one last example which illustrates possible difficulties one might face when classifying speech presentation categories. Analysing the example brings together our knowledge about what distinguishes the five speech presentation categories. It further underlines the importance of context when judging which speech presentation category we find in a particular instance.

> **Example 6.29**
> Vladimir Putin is a "common criminal dressed up as a head of state" who presides over a mafia regime and who personally authorised the sensational murder eight years ago of the former Russian spy Alexander Litvinenko, a public inquiry heard on Tuesday.
>
> <div align="right">(The Guardian, 27 January 2015)</div>

This example quotes the same source as does Example 6.19. Both sentences stem from the same newspaper article and differ considerably except for the consistent noun phrase in inverted commas. Both present the verbiage of Ben Emmerson QC who acts on behalf of Litvinenko's widow in an inquiry into his death in London. In Example 6.19, which follows later in the article, the barrister's verbiage is presented in Direct

Speech indicating that these are the speaker's exact words. To reach this conclusion we need to look at Example 6.19 again, this time together with the sentence immediately before the target sentence:

Example 6.30
(extended Example 6.19)
"The trail of polonium traces leads not just from London to Moscow but directly to the door of Vladimir Putin's office," he said. <u>"Mr Putin should be unmasked by the inquiry as nothing more than a common criminal dressed up as a head of state."</u>
(*The Guardian*, 27 January 2015, emphasis added)

In Example 6.30, the target sentence (underlined segment) continues the barrister's verbiage from the previous sentence. As it does not open a new paragraph, it falls into the category of Direct Speech despite not having a reporting clause. When comparing the underlined segment with Example 6.29, only the noun phrase in inverted commas is repeated from Emmerson's presumably verbatim statement.

When judging what speech presentation category Example 6.29 falls into, we need to consider the context. In Example 6.29, we find a (supposedly reporting) clause at the end ('a public inquiry heard on Tuesday') but the reported clause is not presented in inverted commas which rules out Direct Speech and could be indicative of Free Indirect Speech instead. Further, 'heard' is strictly speaking not a reporting verb. We nevertheless assume if someone hears words, someone must have said them. Using 'heard' is thus a way of omitting the sayer. We return to the question whether Example 6.29 actually contains a reporting clause later on.

We do know, however, that Emmerson's exact words as presented in Example 6.30 are not repeated in Example 6.29. This indicates that Example 6.29 is rather a summary of the barrister's speech and thus tends further towards the left of the speech presentation scale (Fig.6.1). The next speech presentation category on the continuum is Indirect Speech. Example 6.29 does not fit into this category either because we find no backshifted verb tense as a distinctive feature of Indirect Speech. As we can easily rule out that Example 6.29 falls into the category of NV, where speech activity is only indicated without providing any topic or content,

we come to consider NRSA. This category, as we have seen in Sect. 6.3.4, preserves the illocutionary force of an utterance. The distinctive feature distinguishing NRSA from Indirect Speech is that it has no reporting clause. The clause which we initially considered a supposedly reporting clause ('a public inquiry heard on Tuesday') therefore needs closer examination. Indicative of a reporting clause is that it is a verbalisation process consisting of a sayer and a process followed by a verbiage (see Sect. 4.2.2). Our clause, however, is different. It is a mental process, namely a perception because it describes a process of sensing (see Sect. 4.2.3). We therefore not regard this clause as a reporting clause and can rule out Indirect Speech in favour of NRSA.

Yet another issue needs attention before we can judge whether Example 6.29 fits into the category of NRSA. Apart from the noun phrase in inverted commas, the choice of the compound noun 'mafia regime' indicates that this might not be the wording of the journalist but instead another quote from Emmerson's speech. A bit later in the same article we find these sentences:

Example 6.31
Emmerson went on: "A significant part of Russian organised crime is organised directly from the offices of the Kremlin. Vladimir Putin's Russia is a mafia state."

(*The Guardian*, 27 January 2015)

Emmerson apparently used the noun 'mafia state' which was transformed into 'mafia regime' in Example 6.29, enhancing negativity by using the negatively connoted noun 'regime' instead of the more neutral 'state'. This rewording or paradigmatic shift shows that Example 6.29 contains speech presentation indeed tending towards the free end of the scale (Fig.6.1). In conclusion, we are able subsume Example 6.29 under the speech presentation category of NRSA with the additions of 'topic' (Sect. 6.3.4) and 'quotation' as it contains a quote in Direct Speech (Semino and Short 2004:54).

In summary, this last example underlines the manipulative power of quotations, not only through selecting what to quote but also how. As the reader is often unable to judge the exactness of a quote, we might come

to question how faithful even Direct Speech stays to the original utterance. Although this category in particular allows for keeping the journalist's voice neutral by taking his/her opinion out of the equation (Cotter 2010:146), Example 6.29 illustrates the manipulative power of quoting sources when using Direct Speech in combination with a rewording of the original utterance (NRSA). This combination can have the effect that the speech presented in NRSA is presumed to be closer to the original utterance and thus more faithful than it actually is (see 'mafia regime').

In general, Direct Speech as the norm is frequently used to present emotional or dramatic content (Busà 2014:116) as it preserves the illocutionary force as well as the locution of an utterance. It makes the source become alive and increases the narrative potential of a story (Busà 2014:118). In some instances, it can put additional weight on an uttered opinion, particularly when quoting an authority (Reber 2014).

Indirect quotations allow the journalist to be brief, to paraphrase and to provide sufficient information all at the same time. Generally, indirect quotations have a backgrounding effect, direct quotations a foregrounding effect (Short 1996:293). Indirect quotations, comprising Indirect Speech, Free Indirect Speech, NRSA and NV, give the journalist even greater control over what and how to report and build on the journalist's judgement of importance. In other words, the variety of speech presentation categories allows for the importance of a particular piece of speech to be indicated (Short 1996:292). This ties in with a core principle of Stylistics, namely the choice of how to say something as mentioned above. This makes speech presentation not only a stylistic feature of crime news reports but a highly manipulative one as well as it serves to attach values to the constructed text world and thus conveys ideological meaning.

Quotations underline the preferred interpretation of an event (Busà 2014:121). It is a feature of inter-textuality in that news reports are 'full of snatches of other texts' and thus exist in relation to them (Fairclough 1992:84, 101ff; Richardson 2007:100). This is particularly useful as illustrated by the examples from the Litvinenko as well as the Ched Evans cases provided in this book as these were ongoing news events at the time of writing this book, covered in numerous articles.

This introductory section on speech presentation hints that using corpus linguistic techniques to automatically annotate a corpus according to

speech presentation categories is almost impossible although first attempts have been made (Brunner 2013). Having presented a manual examination of SW&TP in a corpus of crime news elsewhere (Tabbert 2015), I refrain from repeating the exercise for the GC. Instead, I refer to my work as well as Semino and Short (2004) who have provided statistical figures for discourse presentation in a (sub)corpus consisting of newspaper articles not limited to crime. That research gives an impression how work-intense thorough manual corpus annotation for SW&TP is. In order to gain an overall picture how speech is presented in a corpus, annotation is a method to quantify speech presentation categories in a corpus which goes beyond the scope of the intended introduction to the topic provided by Sect. 6.3.

7

Deixis and metaphor

This chapter concludes the introduction of Critical Stylistics and its textual–conceptual functions by introducing the construction of a time–space envelope through deixis. This textual–conceptual function is concerned with the coordinates the text provides to anchor the text world in relation to time, space and society.

Besides deixis I additionally present an introduction to conceptual metaphor theory in the second part of this chapter. Jeffries does not regard metaphorical meaning as an individual textual–conceptual function (2015a:167). Nevertheless, I find it an important feature contributing to the construction of offenders, victims and crimes and have dealt with metaphorical meaning throughout the book in relation to the textual–conceptual functions of texts. The second part of this chapter intents to equip the reader with a systematic basic knowledge about metaphorical meaning.

7.1 Representing time, space and society (deixis)

Under this headline, Jeffries talks about deixis as it is of particular interest for Text World Theory and Deictic Shift Theory (briefly mentioned in Sect. 2.1). Deixis comes from the Greek term for pointing with a finger. It can therefore be regarded as a linguistic pointer (Semino 1997:32) and is a property of some words. These words shift their reference according to context, for example, who uses them and where in space and time. Examples are the pronouns 'this/that'. Although their semantic meaning is undoubted (something or someone proximal, already mentioned, familiar vs. distal, remote), their denotational meaning varies according to their use. Deixis 'anchors' utterances in relation to person, time and space as its three primary dimensions and thus indicates a viewpoint (Semino 1997:33; Wales 2001:99). Thus, every utterance carries deictic meaning. An example is the following extract:

> **Example 7.1**
> The <u>first</u> attack <u>took</u> place <u>at 11.30pm on 9 October</u> when a woman <u>was</u> grabbed and sexually assaulted <u>on Clitheroe Road</u>.
> A <u>second</u> incident <u>took</u> place <u>in the early hours of Saturday 10 October</u>, and <u>on 22 October</u> a man <u>placed</u> his hands <u>up the dress of a woman at around 9pm on Trent Road</u>.
> <div align="right">(The Guardian, 29 October 2015, emphasis added)</div>

The article these sentences are taken from reports on a series of sex attacks in south London committed by an as yet unknown offender. This example contains an abundance of deictic references (underlined segments), the most obvious are explicit mentions of time and place. However, verb tense can also be regarded as deictic. In our example, simple past places the action in the past and thus before the time of writing or reading which unsurprisingly is found regularly in crime reports (Tabbert 2015:139). It constructs a separation between the recounted events (when the crimes happened) and the coding time (when the article was written) (Semino 1997:39). Most of the discourse on crime in newspaper articles contains deictic meaning which is crucial for building a

text world but is only seldom value-loaded. However, the capacity to align the reader with the text producer's point of view including temporal and spatial coordinates is an important element for persuasion (Jeffries 2010a:147) as we will see.

Deixis is fundamentally egocentric. As a norm, a speaker regards him/herself to be at the deictic centre of his/her speech acknowledging that other people have their individual deictic centres (Jeffries 2010a:148; Jeffries and McIntyre 2010:158). Recognising the deictic centre of others allows us to see things from a different point of view which is called deictic projection (ibid.). In order to understand Example 7.1, the reader mentally leaves his/her default position (the place and time where s/he actually is in the real world when reading the article) and imagines the streets of south London at the proposed time. This is called a deictic shift into the text world of the article, meaning to take up 'a cognitive stance within the world of a narration' and to interpret the text from that perspective (Segal 1995:15). To do this means to position oneself at the deictic centre of the text. This is a particular powerful human capacity and explains why we can get lost in another world when, for example, reading (crime)fiction (Jeffries 2010a:151). Example 7.1 provides an abundance of deictic clues (underlined segments), in its entirety referred to as a deictic field, 'a space/time envelope in which the events of the text occur' (Jeffries 2010a:150).

Semino (1997:31) lists tensed verbs, personal pronouns and demonstratives as prototypically deictic. Systematically, six main types of deixis are distinguished, namely

- – person deixis
- – spatial or place deixis
- – empathetic deixis
- – temporal or time deixis
- – social deixis and
- – discourse deixis (Cruse 2004:332ff; Levinson 1983:61ff).

Person deixis is mainly provided by personal pronouns (e.g. 'I', 'you'). Their denotation depends on the person of the speaker/writer. Closely related is social deixis, which means forms of address such as nicknames or first names (e.g. 'Mr Big' in Example 7.7 or 'Pompey Lads' in

Example 7.5) or titles (e.g. 'Dr'). Spatial deixis, either proximal or distal, is presented through adverbs (e.g. 'here/there'), demonstratives (e.g. 'this/that') or adverbial structures (e.g. 'on Clitheroe Road'). Empathetic deixis (e.g. 'this/that') expresses psychological or emotional distance, in other words, the speaker/writer's attitude which goes beyond a spatial relationship (see Example 7.2). Temporal deixis is provided by verb tense (e.g. 'placed', simple past), time adverbials (e.g. 'yesterday') and also demonstratives (e.g. 'this/that'). Lastly, discourse deixis is, for example, expressed by anaphoric references (e.g. 'That was a nice evening') or intonation (Cruse 2004:332ff; Jeffries 2010a:149; Semino 1997:35f) and is of subordinate importance for our purposes as they seldom carry ideological meaning.

In Sect. 2.1, I mentioned the principle of minimal departure which in relation to deixis accounts for why we are able to understand texts that provide only a few deictic clues. The missing information is filled in by assuming that the text world overlaps with the real or actual world as it is mostly the case with crime news reports. Additional information is only needed in case of deviation from the norm. When reading a newspaper report on crime we believe that it presents at least some truth and reports on incidents that really did happen, in other words that the version of the actual world presented in it is true (Jeffries 2010a:156).

I have not identified deixis as being an important feature for the construction of crime, offenders nor victims in the ENC (Tabbert 2015). This is due to the fact that it only seldom contributes to the attachment of values to the world presented in newspaper reports on crime. However, there are a few instances in the GC where such an evaluation is triggered through deixis beside other features. The following sentence serves as an example:

Example 7.2
Journalist and broadcaster Julia Hartley-Brewer, speaking on the BBC's *Question Time*, said: "If I was on that jury, on what I have read in a lot of detail of that case and the appeals, I would not have convicted him."

(*The Guardian*, 10 January 2015)

The article this quote is taken from reports on the Ched Evans case. The quoted journalist expresses her opinion about the rightfulness of Evan's

conviction. By means of the modal auxiliary 'would' and a conditional structure a hypothetical alternative scenario is constructed where Evans is not convicted. In addition, empathetic deixis ('that', used twice) constructs an emotional distance between the speaker and the jury, its decision and the case and thus indicates her critical attitude towards them. She clearly disagrees with the verdict and distances herself from it by claiming it to be a wrong decision which is an evaluation. The repeated use of 'I' (person deixis) invites the reader to step into her shoes and see the trial and in particular the verdict from her point of view. In order to understand the quoted journalist's assertion the reader is required to shift his or her deictic centre and align with hers, however briefly. This is a powerful means to raise doubts because it invites a change of perspective which is crucial in criminal trials, in particular when it comes to interpreting evidence. In the light of Hartley-Brewer's apparently detailed knowledge of the case, raising the possibility that Evans could be wrongfully convicted in combination with distancing from the verdict construct a possible world or an alternative scenario differing from the actual one and which is supposedly closer to the truth.

This section concludes the introduction of the ten textual–conceptual functions of Critical Stylistics. One additional tool of analysis, namely metaphor identification, is presented in the following section. Metaphors are of relevance in relation to any of the ten textual–conceptual functions.

7.2   Metaphor

In her book on the linguistic construction of the female body, Jeffries (2007) talks about both deixis and metaphor in the section 'The Body in Time and Space'. However, in one of her latest publications she points out that she does not group metaphors under the textual–conceptual category of 'Representing time, space and society' nor does she add it to the list of textual–conceptual functions (Jeffries 2015a:166f). She regards it as being a 'non-linguistic effect of text' (ibid.).

Jeffries (2010a) applies metaphor analysis at various points and in several of her textual–conceptual categories, for example, metaphors used to name actors or to construct equivalence. This section serves to introduce the basics of metaphorical meaning and metaphor identification

as the use of metaphorical expressions is a powerful feature for the construction of offenders and victims and frequently found in crime news reports. It should thus not be overlooked when identifying ideological meaning of such texts. To enable the reader to use it as part of the toolkit introduced in this book, I dedicate a separate section to it.

Steen et al. (2010:58) argue that news is 'a rich source of data for metaphor analysis'. Although this could be said for other texts as well, the focus of this section is on crime news. In general, the frequent use of metaphorical expressions is due to the fact that it fits human ways of thinking and information storing so well. Lakoff and Johnson (2003:3) argue that the human conceptual system is largely metaphorical because the way we think, experience and act 'is very much a matter of metaphor'. To uncover the manipulative power of metaphorical expressions therefore requires a particular awareness and consciousness.

The basis for conceptual metaphor analysis as introduced in this section is provided by Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) seminal work despite the fact that it was extensively criticised (Steen 2007:38; Vervaeke and Kennedy 1996) and further developed (Browse 2016; Cameron 2008; Cameron and Low 1999; Cameron and Maslen 2010; Cameron et al. 2009; Pihlaja 2014). Following Burke's (1945:503) work, Lakoff and Johnson (2003:5) formulated the core assertion how conceptual metaphors work. Metaphors make use of 'understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another' based on perceived similarities. Both 'things' are referred to as conceptual domains and are mapped onto each other. Mapping is understood as a 'transference of constituents' (Nørgaard et al. 2010:61) enabled by similarities. Cross-domain mapping means that particular aspects of both domains are highlighted leaving aside others which is referred to as 'selective mapping' (Steen 2007:38).

A well-known conceptual metaphor in our society serves as an introductory example: TIME IS MONEY (small-size capitals are used to indicate a conceptual metaphor).[1] TIME as the conceptual target domain is understood in terms of another domain, namely the conceptual source domain MONEY. Through the metaphorical sense relation 'X is Y', TIME

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[1] Note that a metaphor is usually not reversible, for example, *MONEY IS TIME.

is constructed as being a resource and as such a valuable commodity as is MONEY (Lakoff and Johnson 2003:9). Because we conceive of 'time' this way, TIME can be 'spent, wasted, budgeted, invested wisely or poorly, saved, or squandered' (Lakoff and Johnson 2003:8). By equalising both through a metaphorical sense relation, the focus is merely on their thus constructed shared features, leaving aside all those aspects that are not comparable. In fact, there are more differences between the two than they actually have in common. For example, 'time' is used to order events in the past, present and future, to measure durations and referred to as the fourth dimension whereas 'money' is a payment for goods or services. A selective mapping or, in other words, the highlighting (or even construction) of shared features is what predisposes our thinking in particular ways (Goatly 2007:24). It allows us to perceive TIME through its shared features with MONEY. This approach to understanding conceptual metaphors is called 'two-domain approach' because of the two tenets, source and target domain. Other approaches include the 'many-space approach', the 'class-inclusion approach' or the 'career of metaphor approach' (Steen 2007:48ff), to name but a few. As this section serves as a basic introduction to metaphor analysis, the focus lies exclusively on the two-domain approach. However, the reader is invited to follow up the reference provided for more detailed information on the others.

When we talk about conceptual metaphor theory, we need to acknowledge that this approach from cognitive linguistics goes beyond a more traditional understanding of metaphors as tropes or linguistic embellishments. Key to grasping this difference is an emphasis on conceptual domains rather than understanding metaphors in terms of utterances, sentences or words. A conceptual domain is defined as 'any coherent organization of experience' (Kövecses 2002:4). In our example, TIME and MONEY are each such mental frames or organisational patterns of experience with MONEY having a rather concrete meaning and TIME a more abstract one. We particularly rely on metaphors in relation to abstract targets (Goatly 2007:14). Understanding the concept of TIME in terms of MONEY allows for a simplification of a cognitive process and has various linguistic manifestations. An example of how the TIME IS MONEY metaphor is used in our GC is the phrase '…you will waste no more time in telling us…' from Example 6.7. Given the context of the

victim's utterance as outlined in Section 6.1, referring to the offenders' execution of their procedural right not to reveal their motive as a 'waste of time' is metaphorical as TIME can only be wasted if it is conceptualised as LIMITED RESOURCE, VALUABLE COMMODITY or MONEY. A conceptual metaphor can be realised linguistically in different ways and is not tied to a particular phrase (Goatly 2007:12, 15). TIME IS MONEY is an example of a conventional metaphor because through its frequent use and thus naturalisation its meaning is regarded as common sense (Goatly 2007:22, 25). This indicates the power of metaphorical expressions in affecting our thinking on a subconscious level.

A metaphor is to be distinguished from simile, metonymy and meronymy. Similes as well as metaphors are based on similarities although not in an 'X is Y' connection as metaphors but rather an explicit comparison 'X is like Y'. An example is the following headline:

Example 7.3
Think Vladimir Putin looks like a Bond villain? It's more serious than that
                                          (*The Guardian*, 19 August 2015)

Vladimir Putin's appearance is compared to that of 'a Bond villain' in reference to a photograph showing the Russian president in a see-through capsule descending into the Black Sea to explore an ancient shipwreck. The main difference between a metaphor and a simile is that the latter compares two things by means of explicit connectives, such as 'as … as' or 'like', whereas metaphors equalise things by associating them. Therefore, metaphorical meaning has to be deduced which makes metaphors far more dynamic (Wales 2001:358).

Although the two concepts are distinct from each other, many metaphors are rooted in metonymies (Goatly 2007:15, 218ff). Metonymy is are a substitution of a referent by something closely associated with it based on the principle of contiguity (Jakobson 1956). It is a figurative comparison. An example is the following headline:

Example 7.4
Rouble crisis—the Kremlin has a cunning plan
                    (*The Guardian*, 17 December 2014)

The proper noun 'Kremlin', a fortified complex in Moscow and official residence of the Russian president, stands for the Russian government without being part of it. Other examples for metonymical sense relation are 'the press' referring to newspapers or 'Downing Street' for the British Prime Minister's office.

Meronymy, in contrast, follows from a part–whole relation of meaning (Wales 2001:247). It describes a semantic relationship denoting part or membership (e.g. 'toe' is a meronym of 'foot'). In the following example we might wrongly jump to the conclusion that 'hands' stand for 'Isis' in such a meronymical relationship:

Example 7.5
How the 'Pompey Lads' fell into the hands of Isis
(*The Guardian*, 27 July 2015)

This expression initially builds on the fact that a hand is part of a person. If someone falls into someone else's hands this usually means that this person is held captive by that person and not just his/her hands, realised by a meronymical relationship between 'hand' and 'person'. However, the case is different here. In our example, 'hands of Isis' is metonomy rather than meronomy as a part ('hands') stands for the whole ('Isis') in a figurative comparison, namely the hands stand for the people belonging to and acting for Isis (or IS as it is called now). Because of such a figurative instead of a semantic relationship between 'hands' and 'Isis', Example 7.5 contains a metonymical relationship.

Further, the metaphorical use of 'fell' in the idiomatic expression 'to fall into the hands of' draws on the conceptual metaphors BEING TAKEN HOSTAGE IS AN ACCIDENT (based on the sudden and involuntary element of falling) as well as BAD IS DOWN (related to the downward trajectory of falling and the negativity or badness associated with Isis). However, the article this headline belongs to uses the idiomatic expression not in the way of physically taking the men hostage. These young lads were deluded by jihadist propaganda and voluntarily joined Isis in Syria where they were eventually killed. This metaphorical sense of the idiomatic expression arises from its contextual meaning, namely that the men's thinking was influenced by propaganda and they got mentally hooked

or brainwashed which then determined their actions. This draws on the metaphors BRAIN IS AN ENTITY and PERSUASION IS TAKING HOSTAGE.

The examples presented in this section so far serve to illustrate the concept of metaphor and define it considering other related terms like metonomy and meronomy. How metaphorical expressions are used for the construction of a text world, its attached values and underlying ideologies will be further illustrated by analysing Example 8.1 in Chap. 8. This section foremost serves to introduce cognitive metaphor theory and a systematic procedure for metaphor identification in texts.

A systematic way to identify metaphors (metaphor identification procedure [MIP]) in texts has been provided by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), a group of academics from a variety of disciplines. They suggest the following procedure:

After reading a text, lexical units are to be identified. For establishing whether a single word or a phrase is a lexical unit, dictionary entries are used. As a rule, single headwords in a dictionary are to be regarded as lexical units (Pragglejaz Group 2007:15) meaning that a lexical unit usually consists of one single word. Proper compound nouns like 'Sonia Gandhi' or phrasal verbs like 'get up', which cannot be 'analyzed through the meaning of its constituent parts', are regarded as single lexical units too (Pragglejaz Group 2007:5, 26). In order to determine whether a lexical unit is used metaphorically the procedure is threefold. First, the analyst needs to establish the meaning of the lexical unit in the context of the text, namely its meaning in the situation it is used in (Steen et al. 2010:33). Second, the 'basic contemporary meaning' of the lexical unit is to be explored, if necessary by consulting a dictionary such as the OED.[2] Third, the contextual meaning of the lexical unit is to be compared with its basic meaning. If 'the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it' (Pragglejaz Group 2007:3), the lexical unit is used metaphorically. If a lexical unit is not used metaphorically, it can be used literally, metonymically, hyperbolically and so on which differ from metaphorical meaning which we wish to identify. In order to figure out the conceptual meaning a metaphor carries we need to identify the target

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[2] Oxford English Dictionary (OED), http://www.oed.com/, accessed 25 March 2016.

and source domain and establish whether one is understood in terms of another.

In order to illustrate the suggested procedure, the following sentence is examined, using MIP.

Example 7.6
Holocaust memorial day posters defaced in east London
(*The Guardian*, 16 January 2015)

This headline can be split up into the following lexical units: Holocaust/memorial/day/posters/defaced/in/east/London. Each single lexical unit is to be examined following the three-step procedure.

Holocaust

(1) contextual meaning: referring to the genocide on mainly Jewish people in the Third Reich in Nazi Germany
(2) basic meaning for 'the Holocaust': referring to the specific event of the mass murder of the Jews in World War II
(the alternative basic meaning for 'holocaust': from Greek, 'holo' meaning 'whole'; 'caust' is to burn, a (religious) sacrifice burned by fire, is irrelevant given the context of Example 7.6)
(3) comparison: basic and contextual meaning are the same and the noun is not used metaphorically

memorial

(1) contextual meaning: commemoration
(2) basic meaning: preservation of memory
(3) comparison: contextual and basic meaning are the same, therefore not metaphorically used

day

(1) contextual meaning: a time unit
(2) basic meaning: a time unit
(3) comparison: contextual and basic meaning are the same, therefore not metaphorically used

posters

(1) contextual meaning: large placards
(2) basic meaning: large placards
(3) comparison: contextual and basic meaning are the same, therefore not metaphorically used

defaced

(1) contextual meaning: to disfigure, to spoil the appearance or beauty
(2) basic meaning: the current use of the verb means to spoil the appearance of anything, indicated by citations in the OED showing its application to non-human entities going as far back as the early sixteenth century. However, its earliest basic meaning refers to human facial disfigurement.
(3) comparison: contextual and basic meaning are the same considering the current basic meaning of the verb. However, we could argue that it has a metaphorical quality based on the 'face' element which intuitively seems to have basic corporeal connotations. The appearance of a poster is explained in terms of a human face. In this context, it could be considered a dead metaphor (Lakoff 1987; Pragglejaz Group 2007:30).

in

(1) contextual meaning: a preposition indicating a spatial position
(2) basic meaning: inside of
(3) comparison: contextual and basic meaning are the same, therefore not metaphorically used

east

(1) contextual meaning: a compass point indicating a direction or region
(2) basic meaning: a region, opposite of west
(3) comparison: contextual and basic meaning are the same, therefore not metaphorically used

London

(1) contextual meaning: the UK capital city
(2) basic meaning: the UK capital city
(3) comparison: contextual and basic meaning are the same, therefore
     not metaphorically used

    As a result, only the verb 'defaced' can be regarded as being used metaphorically considering the argument. This detailed analysis of a single headline shows that metaphorical use of a lexical unit can only be established by examining its contextual meaning in a particular instance of use. Such a detailed endeavour indicates the difficulties corpus linguists face when approaching metaphor identification using MIP because each individual use of a lexical unit needs to be examined manually in order to detect metaphorical meaning. Steen et al. (2010) as well as Semino et al. (Demmen et al. 2015; 2015) have conducted such work-intense projects where they manually annotated corpora using MIP. I have written elsewhere on the use of metaphorical expressions in crime reports (Tabbert 2012, 2015). Annotating the GC for use of metaphorical expressions would go beyond the scope of this book and must be left for other publications. To my knowledge, no corpus of crime reports has been annotated for metaphorical expressions using MIP so far. I expect such an analysis to shed further light not only on the use of metaphorical expressions but also on their contribution to constructing offenders and victims.

    Having introduced the concept of cognitive metaphors and a systematic way of identifying metaphorical expressions, we proceed by examining two selected passages from newspaper reports on crime for the use of metaphors. This illustrates the manipulative power of metaphorical sense relations and their use in the construction of victims and offenders.

Example 7.7
But who really was Salford's "Mr Big"? In the aftermath of his death, much of the media ran with the line that the city had lost a man who had turned his life around, a reformed character who had even run for Salford mayor in 2012.

Yet sources from Manchester's criminal underworld—who say they have no axe to grind with Massey—offer a profoundly contrasting portrait. Massey, they claim, exploited the young and impressionable to do his dirty work, remained active in the underworld and, most damagingly, had become the most reviled criminal type of all, a grass.

(*The Guardian*, 22 August 2015)

This extract is taken from an article reporting on the killing of underworld boss Paul Massey. It is an editorial 'folo', a follow-up on earlier reporting in *The Guardian* (see also Example 4.14) (Cotter 2010:144).

When looking at metaphors and how they are used to construct Massey, we leave aside those not relevant in this regard, for example, the idiomatic expression 'ran with the line' as it rather relates to the construction of the media. This analysis will therefore not outline the complete MIP in detail as done in relation to Example 7.6 but instead present the most relevant findings with a narrowed focus on those metaphors and metonymy used to construct Massey.

The victim of the shooting, Massey, is not solely constructed as such but also as an offender. A victim simultaneously being an offender is referred to as a 'victim-offender-overlap'. This notion stems from the finding that 'victims and offenders are often one in the same' born out of research into intimate partner violence (Muftic et al. 2015; Sampson and Lauritsen 1990:110). However, it is applicable to Massey as well. As an underworld boss, he was involved in criminal offences and police suspect that the motive for his killing is related to it which makes him a criminal and a victim both at the same time.

He is named with his nickname 'Mr Big', referring to his importance in Manchester's underworld. This naming choice incorporates the conceptual metaphors SIZE IS IMPORTANCE as well as SIZE IS POWER. The name is also used as a label classifying Massey's social position in relation to his criminal activities (Busà 2014:143). Further, this name is a repetition from earlier reporting on the issue, used as a means of anchoring the text in relation to those reports (Cotter 2010:171ff). In linguistic terms, this name is an example of inter-textuality (see Example 4.14 from an earlier article on Massey in *The Guardian*). Using the name here again triggers the reader's relevant knowledge from previous reporting on the issue.

The metonymical use of 'city' stands for the people of Salford for whom his death is constructed as a loss under the precondition of his successful rehabilitation. Massey's alleged resocialisation is further constructed by means of the phrasal verb 'turn around' (one's life) drawing on the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The implied meaning of the adverb 'even' underlines Massey's construction as a reformed criminal by suggesting that running for mayor (a metaphor we will not examine here) is ultimate proof of Massey's successful resocialisation.

In contrast, by naming Massey a 'character', he is constructed as someone fictional, out of a drama or a novel, which implicitly negates the possibility that someone like him is capable of reforming in the real world. The conceptual metaphor NEWS IS DRAMA is drawn on. Using the noun 'portrait', denoting an artistic representation of a person with a particular focus on facial expression, relates to 'character', also an artistic, namely literary, construction of an entity in a text world (see Chap. 2). However, both are put in opposition to each other by means of explicit opposition (triggered by 'Yet' and 'contrasting'). Additionally, the use of the noun 'character' is ambiguous in its meaning in that it also refers to Massey's mental and moral qualities, used in a metonymical sense where a person's character stands for the entire person. Massey being named a 'grass' refers back to this meaning of 'character' by revealing a treacherous character trait as an alleged police informant.

The noun 'underworld', used twice, refers to the conceptual metaphor GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN and constructs a parallel criminal world of sometimes organised crime (Hobbs 2013), morally inferior to a law-abiding world. It could also be seen as a metaphorical use of the place where the dead were thought to go to in mythology. The opposition between both worlds denies the possibility of Massey rightfully belonging to both which also ridicules his supposed resocialisation. The use of the noun 'grass' in its metaphorical sense constructs Massey as a traitor and spy by again drawing on the metaphor BAD IS DOWN. Further, 'grass' in combination with a superlative ('most … of all') constructs a gradation of different types of criminals with the traitor being positioned on the lowest level, a behaviour even despised by other criminals. This repeats a constructed hierarchy of classes of people as was also the case in Example 6.19. Within this realm falls the metaphorical use of the adjective 'dirty' in relation to crime (I acknowledge that 'dirty work' can be

used in contexts other than crime as well), drawing on the conceptual metaphor CRIME IS DIRT.

The negation in the metaphorical phrase 'have no axe to grind' suggests Massey fell out with other people in the underworld who sought revenge although not the sources quoted in the article. This indicates the motive behind his killing as suspected by the police (see Example 4.14). It further underlines Massey's construction as an underworld boss and at the same time assesses the cited sources (another metaphor we will not examine) as reliable. Furthermore, it questions Massey's successful rehabilitation as mentioned earlier. Therefore, Massey's construction as an influential underworld boss and police informant is given preference over him being a 'reformed character'.

Summarising, Massey's falling victim to a felony to be investigated and prosecuted constructs him as a victim rather than an offender. This in combination with his supposed resocialisation could have the potential to move him closer to idealness in terms of victimhood status (Christie 1986). In contrast, Massey's allegedly continued pursuit of criminal activities which would enable him to provide information for the police construct him as an offender. Both, suggested to happen in unison, construct him as belonging to a victim–offender overlap (Muftic et al. 2015). However, him being an offender is given preference over his construction as a reformed former criminal, echoing previous reportage. This is indicated by the metaphorical use of the noun 'character' and its relation to the semantic field of fictional drama. 'Portrait', denoting a depiction, is assumed to be closer to the true picture although still not an exact rendition. The opposition between both nouns and consequently both constructions is explicitly expressed by means of the adjective 'contrasting'.

However, the fact remains that he is a victim of murder or manslaughter in a normative sense even if he is constructed as 'unideal' in Christie's terms (1986). This example therefore reinforces the boundaries between the categories of 'victim' and 'offender', perceived as binary opposites (Tabbert 2015:156). Although Massey belongs to a 'victim-offender overlap', his construction is leaning towards the offender-side, depriving him of victimhood status as the negative connotations of the offender-category are expanded onto the 'victim-offender-overlap' here. Example

7.7 further underlines van Wijk's (2013:160) argument that victimhood status is not automatically received, not even by dead victims, but needs to be granted by others. Massey cannot claim victimhood status anymore as he is dead which obviously makes him a victim but does not necessarily mean that victimhood status is granted to him. To grant victimhood status is a conscious decision made by others and no automatism.

In claiming victimhood status, the victim has to successfully frame him-/herself as such, aiming to convince the audience who grants it. Successful framing happens by making sense in dominant discourse (Ashcraft 2000:3). In Massey's case, this endeavour is doomed to fail which is not due to the fact that he is dead and cannot claim victimhood status himself anymore. Rather his construction in newspaper reports like Example 7.7 contributes to a construction of him which prevents the public from granting him victimhood status posthumously.

A second example focuses on the use of metaphorical expressions in the construction of victims.

Example 7.8
(1) "You didn't see the girl as a victim of unlawful or inappropriate behaviour but you now know that your behaviour has had a real impact upon her. (2) I am sure that she is right when she describes the consequences of your actions as resulting in her feeling confused and lost. (3) She said she was let down by a teacher whom she looked up to and trusted."

(*The Guardian*, 20 January 2015, numbers added)

The article reports on 52-year-old married former drama teacher Simon Parsons who had a consensual relationship with his 16-year-old pupil for four years during which he fathered a child with her (see also Examples 3.9 and 5.1). This passage presents the judge's verbiage when sentencing the offender in Direct Speech.

The girl's victimhood status is established by an object/object complement phrase ('girl as a victim') in the first sentence. In it, the offender is addressed twice by means of the personal pronoun 'you', both functioning as subjects. The offender being in a subject position is a typical feature in crime reports (Tabbert 2015:93, 104) and establishes the offender as being the actor and the victim at the perceiving end of the action. The

negation 'didn't' implies that despite the offender's unawareness the girl is rightfully a victim of crime and eligible to claim the status (Van Wijk 2013) in the eyes of the law. This assessment by a judge, presented in Direct Speech with preserved locution and illocution gives the utterance additional weight and authority.

The crime is constructed as a weight or burden imposed on the victim by the offender (CRIME IS A BURDEN ON THE VICTIM), realised linguistically by means of the metaphorical use of 'impact' in combination with the preposition 'upon'. This assesses the crime itself as bad and morally wrong. The conceptual metaphor BAD IS DOWN is triggered by the phrasal verb 'let down', denoting a betrayal committed by the offender. The metaphorical use of 'lost' underlines the treacherous nature of the crime.

An opposition between the admiration and respect the victim had for the offender and the latter's betrayal is constructed by means of canonical opposition between the prepositions 'up' and 'down', both used metaphorically. It further constructs the offender's position of power and the victim's vulnerability and inferiority and the thus unbalanced relationship they had. This inequality is underlined by the naming choices for both in this extract. She is referred to as 'girl' and 'victim', constructing her immaturity and naivety. In contrast, the offender is named a 'teacher', implying possession of professional knowledge and ethics. He therefore should have known better than getting involved with his underaged pupil.

The use of 'see' and 'looked' as verbs of perception used metaphorically relates to the conceptual metaphor SEEING IS PERCEIVING, including both victim and offender.

Summarising, the construction of a vulnerable and immature victim aligns with Christie's (1986) characteristics of ideal victimhood status. She is constructed as 'weak enough' to be regarded a victim. However, this alone is not sufficient, she further has to be 'powerful enough' to claim the status (Van Wijk 2013:166). The judge's assessment assists her in the latter because an authoritative figure is conferring this status upon her.

Such a morally pure victim needs and creates a morally flawed and thus ideal offender, positioned at the opposing end of a morality scale. Despite the fact that both were blinded by love, the offender due to his age and professional knowledge should have known better and acted responsibly.

This extract constructs the crime as a heavy weight imposed on the victim who is already disadvantaged due to her age and inexperience. The downward trajectory of the crime underlines the construction of the offender's superiority and the moral dimension of his wrongdoing.

This section introduced a conceptual understanding of metaphors based on the two-domain approach. Metaphors were distinguished from simile, meronymy and metonymy, which are also powerful tools to construct offenders and victims. The MIP was introduced as a systematic approach to identify metaphorical meaning. Finally, the use of metaphorical expressions in context, their cognitive effects and interplay with other linguistic devices were illustrated by an examination of two extracts from newspaper reports on crime.

With this section, we conclude the introduction of the toolkit for analysis. We got to know how it can be used to identify ideological meaning in newspaper reports on crime. The next and final chapter summarises the analytical tools introduced in this book by examining a newspaper report on crime using the ten textual–conceptual functions of texts as introduced by Critical Stylistics as well as the analysis of metaphorical meaning.

8

Analysing a newspaper report on crime by means of Critical Stylistics

Newspaper articles on crime are moral tales and news stories a way of moral storytelling (Kelsey et al. 2016:2, 5). Critical Stylistics aims at identifying ideological meaning in texts and thus provides a toolkit for analysing newspaper reports on crime as we have seen throughout the book. It is 'mainstream text-based stylistics with a particular (critical) purpose' (Jeffries 2015a:159) and aims at 'finding the ideology in any text' (Jeffries 2014a:410). What makes an adaptation of a toolkit for literary criticism (Stylistics) to non-fictional texts (Critical Stylistics) possible is the assertion that texts, whether fictional or non-fictional, 'make meaning in fundamentally the same way' (Jeffries 2014a:408). This chapter rounds off the introduction to Critical Stylistics by delivering an in-depth examination of an extract from a newspaper article on crime and by bringing together the ten textual–conceptual functions of texts as introduced by Critical Stylistics in combination with conceptual metaphor analysis.

8.1   Introducing Example 8.1

Critical Stylistics allows the analyst to attach explicit labels to textual features (Jeffries 2015c). It thus provides linguistic evidence for a possible interpretation of the text. Such an interpretation is based on the obtained linguistic evidence following in the 'scientific tradition of linguistics' which is 'empirical and evidence-based' (Jeffries 2015c). This makes the interpretation testable and falsifiable. This chapter aims at showing how such a textual analysis and interpretation can be conducted.

Throughout the book, the means to identify and label textual features were introduced separately first before we now apply the whole toolkit together. A construction of an offender (or a victim) is seldom achieved by using one single linguistic feature in isolation. Consequently, a fully fledged picture of how offenders and victims are linguistically constructed only emerges from an analysis of different linguistic features and their interplay, particularly in longer text passages. An examination of a lengthier passage allows me to demonstrate how linguistic features intertwine and how offenders and victims are constructed through their interplay. As an example serves a lengthier passage from a *Guardian* article:

Example 8.1
(1) A former butcher has been found guilty of murdering a woman he met in his local pub in a sexually motivated attack before dismembering her body.
(2) Christopher May, 50, invited Tracey Woodford back to his flat in Pontypridd, south Wales, where he strangled her and then looked at pornography for three hours.
(3) Two detectives carrying out routine inquiries into 47-year-old Woodford's disappearance were stunned after pulling back a shower curtain in May's home and discovering something resembling a scene from a horror film.
(4) Woodford's torso was found stuffed in a rucksack in May's cupboard, while her head was later discovered inside a storm drain. (5) May was said in court to be a sexual predator fixated on women with red hair—like Woodford.
(6) The jury's verdict, which came after less than an hour of deliberations, was met with cries of "yes" from the public gallery at Cardiff crown court.

(7) Woodford's family described May as a monster. (8) In a statement they said: "His action on that night in April and over the following days with what he did to Tracey's body has destroyed us all."
(9) "We simply cannot understand how anyone can treat another human being in this way." (10) The thoughts and visions of what he did to Tracey has haunted us every day for the last seven months and is something we will never get over.
(11) "People say time is a great healer, but we can honestly say no amount of time will heal our pain or fill the hole this monster has left in our family."
(12) The family described Woodford as a 'very kind, caring and loving person who didn't have a bad bone in her body'.

<div align="right">(The Guardian, 18 November 2015, numbers added)</div>

The article this extract stems from reports on a court trial regarding the murder of Tracey Woodford by Christopher May from Wales, who had previous convictions and was eventually jailed for her murder for a minimum of 28 years.

A first glance through the text leaves the impression that May is constructed as an evil and cold-hearted murderer who not only committed a major but also sensationalist crime. A sexually motivated murder is newsworthy because it satisfies the audience's craving for stories that send a chill down the reader's spine based on the presented abnormality, brutality and unusualness. In terms of established criteria of newsworthiness, this story seems to meet quite a few: negativity, timeliness, proximity, novelty, superlativeness and personalisation (Bednarek and Caple 2012:41). Crimes like this one occur seldom and are thus at the margins of crime statistics as provided by the Crime Survey for England and Wales. At the time of writing, the report notes 'an estimated 6.6 million incidents of crime against households and resident adults (aged 16 and over) in England and Wales for the year ending September 2015'[1] of which 574 were incidents of homicide (0.0087 per cent). Nevertheless, they are reported on regularly due to the fact that the construction of the sex fiend helps to sell newspapers (Soothill and Walby 1991:35).

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[1] Statistical bulletin: Crime in England and Wales, Year Ending September 2015, released 21 January 2016, http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/crimeinenglandandwales/yearendingseptember2015, accessed on 25 March 2016.

The framework of Critical Stylistics allows for a rigour and replicable textual analysis which enables the analyst to explain how a particular ideological meaning follows from stylistic choices. When interpretation and the identification of ideological meaning is tied to the textual level,[2] transparency of the analysis is assured. We therefore follow the order of the ten textual–conceptual functions as introduced in this book, dealing with metaphorical expressions not in a separate section but as they occur.

8.2   Naming and describing victims and offender in Example 8.1

We begin with analysing the naming choices for the offender May, the victim Woodford and her family. The latter are affected by the crime as well and therefore regarded as victims too (see Sect. 3.5). Table 8.1 provides an overview of all naming choices for them in the text, excluding personal pronouns.

The offender is referred to by his first and surname on one occasion and by his surname only on four more. The victim is named with her full name in one instance, with merely her family name in five and her first name in two more. The fact that May is not once named with his first name only as opposed to Woodford (who is named 'Tracey' twice) already indicates a distance from the offender. This distance is enhanced by May being named a 'monster' in two sentences and 'a sexual predator' in one. The negativity associated with these terms is used to construct the deviant other in contrast to the victim who is referred to as a 'very kind, caring and loving person' as well as a 'human being'. By means of the repeated use of 'family' in Sentences 7, 11 and 12, the victim is firmly anchored in a social system. Elsewhere in the article, it is stated that Woodford lived with her mother and brother. Consequently, her death affects at least these two as well which maximises the impact of the crime. This is underlined by directly quoting the family as well as by the

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[2] By textual level, I mean the words and structures of the text under scrutiny which are the building blocks for the world the text constructs and its attached values.

metaphorical expression that Woodford's death left a hole (Sentence 11). Of interest is the different use of Woodford's and May's names as classifying genitives. May's home and cupboard refer to inanimate objects whereas 'Woodford's torso' and 'Tracey's body' alongside 'her head' refer to her body parts, 'Woodford's family' to her social relations and '47-year-old Woodford's disappearance' to her whereabouts. Therefore, the genitive not only classifies different referents but in fact different classes of referents.

Naming May in reference to his profession 'butcher' correlates with him dismembering her body. Butchers are trained to break animal carcasses and cut them into pieces. Thus, May's professional training provided him with the relevant knowledge for dismembering Woodford's body.

Table 8.1 Naming choices for victims and offenders in Example 8.1

Sentence	Offender May	Victim Woodford	Victim's family
1	A former butcher	a woman	
		her body	
2	Christopher May, 50,	Tracey Woodford	
3	May's home	47-year-old Woodford's disappearance	
4	May's cupboard	Woodford's torso	
		her head	
5	May	women with red hair - like Woodford	
	a sexual predator		
7	May a monster	Woodford's family	Woodford's family
8		Tracey's body	
9	anyone	another human being	
10		Tracey	
11	this monster	the hole	our family
12		Woodford	The family
		a "very kind, caring and loving person who didn't have a bad bone in her body"	

In addition to the naming choices listed in Table 8.1, May is referred to by the personal pronoun 'he' on four occasions, used as anaphoric references enabling intratextual cohesion. In contrast, Woodford is only once referred to by means of a pronoun (Sentence 2: 'her'). Taking this into account, May is mentioned 14 times in total, Woodford 15 times, almost equally often. Nevertheless, more instances mentioning her are used for naming her by means of noun phrases compared to May. This underlines that naming a victim by means of noun phrases allows for her construction in a particular way which is not possible when using pronouns as they have no self-evident ideological meaning. Woodford's gender ('woman/women' in Sentences 1 and 5) is explicitly mentioned which is not repeated in relation to May. His gender is provided by the masculine personal pronoun 'he' (Sentence 1). Him being male accords with the stereotype that 'sex killers are always men' (Cameron and Frazer 1987:27).

Considering metaphorical expressions contained in the noun phrases under scrutiny, Woodford's death leaving a hole in her family draws on the conceptual metaphor FAMILY IS A WHOLE. By losing one family member, the family is not complete anymore. Death creates a hole in the family which equals to loss. This relates to the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS LOSS for which only May is to blame.

The metaphorical expression 'didn't have a bad bone in her body' (Sentence 12) draws on the conceptual metaphors CHARACTER IS IN THE BONES as well as CHARACTER IS CORE. By negating this expression it is pragmatically presupposed that the addressee, here the reader, believes that Woodford might have negative character traits alongside positive ones (as every human being has). By denying it she is constructed as being ideal in terms of Christie's (1986) notion, moving her towards the morally pure end of the scale. This has an impact on May's construction which automatically moves towards being morally flawed following not from textual but canonical or binary opposition between victim and offender. Canonical opposites are those 'which seem to be the most firmly established in a culture' (Davies 2013:14; Murphy 2003); examples are hot/cold, black/white or victim/offender. Christie's (1986) notion that ideal victims need and create ideal offenders is based on their canonical opposition. In the text, the metaphorical expression that Woodford

'didn't have a bad bone in her body' in addition to what was said above leads the reader to conclude that May had a lot of 'bad bones' in his body. This is achieved by the canonical opposition between victim and offender with the effect that if only one part of the pair is mentioned, the presence of the other, opposing part is automatically evoked (Tabbert 2015:115). The negation of Woodford not having any 'bad bones' leads to another alternative scenario, namely that someone else has 'bad bones' and, based on their binary opposition, to the conclusion that this someone is May. The implied meaning following from the negation and the canonical opposition between victim (Woodford) and offender (May) is that May is inherently bad.

Note that 'bone' in its literal meaning could be seen as belonging to the same semantic field as 'butcher', relating to May's treatment of Woodford's body as a fragmented and degraded object like that of an animal carcass. Using the noun 'bone' contributes to intratextual cohesion and together with the just mentioned implied meaning that May is inherently bad because of the 'bad bones' he has underlines his constructed idealness in Christie's (1986) terms. May's constructed badness leaves aside the fact that 'most ordinary lawbreakers are more sick than evil' with their lawbreaking rather being 'an expression of their differentness, their apartness, their sad inability to live by the sensible rules of normal society' (Chibnall 1977:20). This fact is overthrown by May's construction through naming choices in this extract which demonstrates the danger of simplification (Schudson 2008:2).

In term of pre- and postmodification, the noun phrase 'a "very kind, caring and loving person who didn't have a bad bone in her body"' (Sentence 12) is further examined. This is the only longer noun phrase in this extract (consisting of 16 words, all other noun phrases listed in Table 8.1 are shorter) and the only one were the head noun ('person') is simultaneously pre- and postmodified. Premodification is realised by means of three adjectives which form a three-part list indicating completeness (see Sect. 5.2). The suggested completeness is of importance as it excludes any negative character traits Woodford might have had and thus underlines her idealness in Christie's (1986) terms. The same is achieved by means of the metaphorical expression in the postmodifying subordinate clause as mentioned before. This almost leads to a posthumous glorification of the

victim which pushes the offender further towards the opposite far end of the morality scale. Additionally, it furthers an 'objectification' of victims of homicide which is 'a part of a social process of neutralizing anguish' (Peelo 2006:165).

8.3   Representing actions, events and states in Example 8.1

Concerning the function of these noun phrases in Example 8.1, we find naming choices for May (including personal pronouns) functioning as subjects in nine instances, as part of an adverbial in two instances and once each as subject complement, object and object complement. In contrast, naming choices for Woodford occur as (part of) an object in ten instances, three times as subjects and once as an object complement. This further underpins the opposition between the two also by means of syntactic choices. However, we need to bear in mind that a subject is the focal position in sentences with active verb voice whereas in a passive sentence or clause the focus lies on the former object which is now subject. The majority of sentences in Example 8.1 contain active verb voice, passive is to be found in only four (Sentences 1, 4, 5 and 6). This underlines Busà's (2014:102) statement that active verb voice is the preferred form in journalism. Considering verb voice leads to an examination of transitivity choices as presented in Table 8.2.

An examination of transitivity choices reveals that the processes conducted by May are mainly material actions intention ('invited' being a verbalisation process), which aligns with an active offender doing harm to others (Tabbert 2014). Apart from these material actions the extract under scrutiny contains several processes of verbalisation (which we will further examine under the textual–conceptual function of presenting other's speech) as well as mental processes. We need to bear in mind, however, that the verbs 'destroyed', 'get over', 'heal', 'haunted', 'fill' and 'left' are all used metaphorically and actually fall into the category of mental processes (in their literal or basic meaning these verbs would be material processes). The policemen's reaction when discovering the crime scene ('were stunned') is a mental reaction rather than a

Table 8.2 Transitivity and verb voice in Example 8.1

Process type	Active verb voice	Passive verb voice
Material action intention	murdering dismembering strangled looked at carrying out pulling back came did can treat did	has been found guilty
Material action supervention	met discovering	was found was discovered
Verbalisation	invited described said can say described	was said to be was met
Mental reaction	were stunned has haunted	
Mental cognition	has destroyed cannot understand will never get over will heal (will) fill has left	
Relational intensive	was said to *be* (fixated) is is	
Relational possessive	didn't have	

relational process intensive as it foremost describes their reaction instead of a character feature. Further, the extract contains five -ing forms: 'murdering', 'dismembering' (Sentence 1) as well as 'carrying out', 'pulling back', 'discovering' (Sentence 3). The first two describe material actions intention, committed by May, the last three were carried out by two detectives with 'discovering' being a supervention process. Taking this into account, the majority of processes in this extract are material actions which accords with the overall picture I extracted when looking at a larger corpus (Tabbert 2015:98f, 107f, 111). Transitivity choices, as Conboy (2007:57) holds, follow from a choice over how to report a

news event which suppresses other possible ways of telling the story. This news story is told from the journalist's perspective based on the police's as well as the victim's family perspective. This is evidenced by Woodford's family being the sayer of all but one of the active verbalisation processes as well as by them together with police officers being the senser of the mental processes. This leaves aside the offender's perspective as none of the mental processes has May as the senser. His verbalisation process ('invited') will be further examined in Sect. 8.10. Although May is the actor of some of the material actions, these are presented by talking about May in the third person instead of May reporting them himself (e.g. 'he strangled her' instead of 'I strangled her' in Sentence 2). At the end of the article (not included in Example 8.1), May is given a voice by being quoted verbatim. However, in the extract under scrutiny the news event is not reported from his point of view.

Mental processes serve to present the impact the crime had on Woodford's family. Their dramatic words need to be seen in relation to Nelson and Nelson's (2013:287) claim that violent crimes 'furnish much greater opportunities for dramatic story-telling' as well as Harper and Hogue's (2015:3) finding that articles on sex-related crimes have 'angrier and more emotionally negative tones than stories on all other groups'. Using metaphorical expressions makes the presented emotions particularly graphic and is thus a means for dramatic storytelling. In our example, mental cognition processes allow the reader to access the family's inner world of emotions and see the offence and thus the offender from their point of view.

Presenting the inner world of a novelistic character serves to construct this character as rounder which is regarded as 'an important distinction in characterisation' (Culpeper 2001:53ff). The distinction between flat and round characters is based on Forster's (1987) and Culpeper's (2001) work, the latter conceiving this distinction as a scale with some characters being rounder than others. Culpeper lists the following factors which are associated with roundness: 'complexity, change, conflict, and inner life'. In contrast, factors like 'simplicity, stasis, immunity from conflict, and external life' allow the reader only limited insight into the character's inner life which make these characters rather flat (ibid.). Woodford's family is being regarded as an enactor in the text world of the article (see Sect. 2.1)

which allows for application of the characteristics of flat/round characters to them. Although little information is provided about the family (Woodford lived with her mother and brother), the description of the family member's mental state makes them rounder and creates empathy with them and their loss which makes it easier for the reader to step into their shoes and adopt their point of view. This reinforces family values and the need for bringing May to justice as he has 'destroyed' the family.

However, it becomes clear from the extract under scrutiny that justice done in a homicide trial by sentencing an offender will self-evidently not bring back the deceased and therefore cannot 'make good' (Wright 2008) the harm done to the victim and her family. This indicates an existing gap between justice achieved in such a trial on the one hand and the family's wishes and needs that go beyond what is achievable in a criminal trial on the other. Although Woodford cannot be brought back to life, restorative practices might offer a different approach in addition to a criminal trial, as Miller (2011) has discussed. However, the focus of this extract does not lie on advocating restorative justice which would have called for May's construction to be different. By presenting an extended passage of the Woodford family's statement, a text world is evoked where the offender is perceived as a 'monster' because the reader is allowed direct access to the family's perception of May by means of mental processes. Such a discourse on crime serves to construct and reassert morality (Durkheim 1933:65–110) and supports the upholding of the current criminal justice system by dramatising its work 'for a public audience' (Wilson 2014:105).

8.4   Equating and contrasting in Example 8.1

Equating is achieved by means of a subject/subject complement or object/object complement structure in Sentences 5 and 7 where May is equal to 'a sexual predator fixated at women with red hair' as well as to 'a monster'. These serve to construct the 'outsider' (Becker 1966), someone deviant and ostracised from society even if these words quote other people.

In comparison, Woodford in Sentence 12 is named by means of the same object/object complement structure in combination with a

subordinate clause, namely 'a "very kind, caring and loving person who didn't have a bad bone in her body"'. Such a parallelism in structure, used to build all three mentioned phrases, foregrounds the victim–offender pair and puts emphasis on their oppositeness at both ends of a morality scale. It linguistically proves the interdependence between the construction of victim and offender due to their binary opposition.

8.5   Enumerating in Example 8.1

A three-part list is to be found in Sentence 12, consisting of three adjectives premodifying the noun 'person' naming Woodford: 'very kind', 'caring' and 'loving'. This list suggests a complete description of her character traits which is essential for Woodford's construction as an ideal victim because it excludes any faults she might have had as outlined in Sect. 8.2.

Another three-part list is the enumeration of May's activities at the time of Woodford's murder in Sentence 2: 'invited', 'strangled' and 'looked at pornography'. The completeness evoked by this list suggests a concerted action planned by a cold-blooded offender which leaves no room for empathy or remorse. Its suggested completeness is supported by the fact that this list merely contains MAIPs leaving aside any mental or verbalisation processes as discussed in Sect. 8.3.

8.6   Prioritising in Example 8.1

Prioritised information is of importance in relation to Sentences 3 and 4. In Sentence 3, 'something resembling a scene from a horror film' is the object and the last compulsory element of this sentence. It explicitly draws on the relevant schema by means of a comparison. Although everybody's horror film schema is different, triggering it is much more effective than a detailed explanation of what in particular the officers found behind the curtain. The reader is invited to create his or her own crime scene which allows for personalisation and dramatisation.

In Sentence 4, the focus lies on the adverbials 'stuffed in … cupboard' as well as 'inside a storm drain'. They describe the places Woodford's

body parts were found. Particularly the latter contributes to May's construction as a bad person who treats Woodford's dismembered body like waste. Prioritising this information by presenting it in the last compulsory clausal element enhances empathy for the victim and at the same time contempt for the offender and again illustrates the interdependency of both constructions.

8.7   Implying in Example 8.1

Implied meaning is of particular interest in Sentence 6. The fact that the jury took less than one hour implies that the facts presented in court were straightforward and left no room for doubt about May's guilt. The 'cries of "yes" from the public gallery' indicate that members of the public watching the trial appraise the jury's decision as being correct. This constructs unity in condemnation of evil and unites the public at large against a common enemy. It is the 'us' versus 'them' (or in this case rather 'him') dichotomy triggered here.

8.8   Hypothesising through modal choices in Example 8.1

Modal choices add to the creation of a particular point of view as they reveal the speaker's/writer's attitude towards an assertion. Most sentences in Example 8.1 are categorical or unmodalised which aligns with the general finding from a larger dataset (Fairclough 1989:129; Tabbert 2015:127). The following instances though are indicators of modality: 'was said to be' (Sentence 5), 'cannot understand', 'can treat' (Sentence 9), 'will never get over' (Sentence 10), 'can honestly say' and 'will heal … or fill' (Sentence 11). All but one are to be found in the Woodford family's statement. In addition to speech presentation (see below), modal choices allow the reader to view the (text)world through the Woodford family's eyes. However, in presenting their speech including modal choices it becomes a 'textual point of view' (Jeffries 2010a:117), contributing to the construction of a text world with attached values.

As explained in Sect. 6.1, there are many different formal possibilities to construct modal meaning: one is through the employment of modal auxiliaries. In our example, we find two modal auxiliaries: 'will' and 'can'. As their modal meaning depends on context, we shall examine each instance in turn.

- 'We simply <u>cannot</u> understand how' (Sentence 9)

As this sentence expresses a certainty about not being able to understand or an impossibility for the family to understand, this instance is to be regarded as epistemic although it is tinged with boulomaic meaning (a wish to understand although understanding is impossible). This example indicates that the clear distinction in theory between epistemic, deontic and boulomaic modality is in fact rather a reference point with these three often overlapping in practice (Jeffries 2010a:118). This instance indicates how torn the Woodford family is, struggling to understand the impossible.

- 'how anyone <u>can</u> treat another human being in this way.' (Sentence 9)

This instance is primarily epistemic as it expresses incomprehension and thus doubt concerning how anyone is capable of doing what May did to Woodford. The use of this modal choice sets May's deed and ultimately May himself apart and broadens the gap between him and 'us' who are incapable of doing what May did. Epistemic modality in this instance contributes towards the construction of the monstrous, an entity beyond human reasoning (Nuzzo 2013).

- 'something we <u>will</u> never get over.' (Sentence 10)

This modal auxiliary expresses certainty about not ever being able to forget the mental images the Woodford family has in their minds concerning the conduct and the result of the crime. The use of the auxiliary 'will' leaves no doubt that they will never come to terms with the event. As 'will' expresses a strong certainty on a continuum, its use here aligns with the finality of death. This crime, because of how it was committed, causes never ending suffering, indicating that for the Woodford family it is not merely about the fact that their loved one was murdered but also

how. In this context, the metaphorical meaning of 'get over something' in the sense of recovering from or forgetting these images needs to be pointed out. It indicates an inner struggle or inner work that needs to be undertaken in order to 'get over' the event. It further indicates that in the family's opinion this fight can never be won.

– 'we <u>can</u> honestly say ' (Sentence 11)

Here, the auxiliary is used with an epistemic meaning as this instance has to be seen in connection with the next and refers to the family's certainty about their ongoing pain.

– 'no amount of time <u>will</u> heal our pain or fill the hole '
  (Sentence 11)

I refer back to what was written concerning 'we will never get over' (above) as this modal choice is epistemic as well. The strong certainty expressed by this auxiliary underlines the impact this crime had, which not only serves to reinforce morality but underlines the notion that around the world and through time there has always been a catalogue of deeds bearing the appellation of crime beyond doubt which includes homicide (Wozniakowska-Fajst 2015:10). The grave consequences of such a crime, as indicated in our example, underline this. Although Berns (2004:158) holds that 'abusers are too familiar to us which makes the dramatisation of evil uncomfortable', this does not apply to sexually motivated murderers and, based on our findings so far, clearly not to May.

Lastly, the phrase 'May was said in court to be …' (Sentence 5) is to be examined. This idiomatic expression carries epistemic meaning as to the certainty of whether May was indeed fixated on women with red hair. This leaves, as a summary, all instances of modal expressions in Example 8.1 to be primarily epistemic, indicating certainty about a proposition. As this refers to an inner stance, these modal choices provide further access to the Woodford family's inner world. Although one might assume that even severe trauma can hopefully be overcome eventually, the family's denial of this possibility is important for May's construction. May is carrying a moral burden beyond his being guilty of the crime and beyond his sentence. This clashes with the little information we get about May, namely that he seems to be more sick than evil

and that his lawbreaking is an expression of his 'differentness', 'apartness' and his 'sad inability to live by the sensible rule of normal society' (Chibnall 1977:20).

8.9   Negation in Example 8.1

Another of the textual–conceptual functions is negation. We find five instances of negated meaning, four morphosyntactic core forms ('can<u>not</u>', 'never', 'no' and 'did<u>n't</u>') and one adverb ('less than') (Nahajec 2012). The first four occur in the Woodford family's statement. Interesting are the pragmatic presuppositions they trigger, namely the expectations the text presumes are held by the reader as a discourse participant. If we take, for example, the assertion 'no amount of time will heal our pain' (Sentence 11), it is pragmatically presupposed that the writer expects the reader to expect that time will heal the family's pain. In Sentence 11, the family explicitly mentions this expectation by means of a metaphorical expression ('People say time is a great healer'). In negating this common knowledge it is implied that this case is different from general expectations and thus extreme because the usual way of healing after bereavement is not working here.

The same applies to the negation in Sentence 10 ('we will never get over') where it is pragmatically presupposed that the reader expects the family to be able to forget those dreadful pictures. Negation in these two instances suspends common knowledge about the human psyche and the usual way of coming to terms with bereavement. The implied meaning is that the distinctiveness of this case constructs an exceptional moral burden the offender has to live with.

Negation in Sentence 9 ('we cannot understand') pragmatically presupposes that it is hypothetically possible to understand. However, the Woodford family cannot understand May's treatment of Woodford and thus cannot understand how other people could understand this either. This implies that this crime is beyond understanding, underlining its distinctiveness.

Negation in Sentence 12 ('didn't have a bad bone'), as touched upon in Sect. 8.2, pragmatically presupposes that the reader expects other people to have 'bad bones' including the offender. In negating this, the implied

meaning is that the victim was an ideal human being and thus an ideal victim who is rightfully entitled to victimhood status. Although the use of Direct Speech allows for the journalist to keep a professional distance to the family's evaluation, their verbatim statement is used to convey their point of view (instead of the offenders) and indicates at least a sympathy margin for the family.

The last instance of negation ('less than an hour' in Sentence 6) refers to the time the jury took for their decision. Here, the pragmatic presupposition is that the writer/reader expected the jury to take an hour or longer. In negating the upper boundedness (an hour) in favour of a lower point on the time scale (Horn 1985), it is implied (scalar implicature) that the facts of the case were straightforward and there was no need for extended discussion about the question of May's guilt as there was no doubt.

8.10 Presenting others' speech in Example 8.1

We find extended (Free) Direct Speech, quoting Woodford's family. The foregrounding effect of (Free) Direct Speech is enhanced by the length of the passage. Although no individual speaker is identified, allegedly more

Table 8.3 Speech presentation in Example 8.1

Speech presentation category	Indication	Sayer	Sentences
(Free) Direct Speech	'cries of "yes"'	unknown people on the public gallery at Cardiff Crown court	6
	'said'	Woodford's family	8–11
	'described'	Woodford's family	12
Indirect Speech	'was said'	unknown people speaking in court	5
	'described'	Woodford's family	7
Narrator's Representation of Speech Act	'invited'	May	2
Narrator's Representation of Voice	'verdict'	jury	6

than one person are speaking in unison which enhances the force behind their statement. When conducting an analysis of all seven instances of speech presentation we find the results as presented in Table 8.3.

Admittedly, grouping the seven instances of speech presentation into categories is not always straightforward. We can judge immediately, however, that the Woodford family's statement in Sentences 8–11 falls into the category of Direct Speech in Sentence 8 and Free Direct Speech in Sentences 9–11 as it has all the relevant characteristics (inverted commas, reporting clause, quoting verb 'said', stretches over three paragraphs).

The next instance of speech presentation is indicated by the verb 'invited' in Sentence 2. As we are not given May's exact words but merely an indication of the topic of his utterance (an invitation), we group this instance into the category of NRSA. As information is provided where May invited Woodford to and thus a bit more than just the fact that he invited her, we add 'p' for 'topic' meaning that this instance provides a bit more content than just the bare fact that someone spoke. However, by choosing this less faithful speech category the locution of May's utterance (meaning is actual words) is hidden in favour of a minimal summary of his utterance (Semino and Short 2004:75). Thus the judgement, whether May's words were indeed an invitation, are made by the writer instead of the reader.

May's description as a 'sexual predator fixated on women with red hair—like Woodford' in Sentence 5 is the next instance of speech presentation. The verb 'was said' in this sentence does not merely function as a quoting verb but is part of an idiomatic expression ('is said to be') as well, indicating epistemic modality (certainty or doubt about the proposition). As the speech presented, despite it being summarised, is still quite detailed we group this instance into the category of Indirect Speech, acknowledging that it is leaning towards NRSAp.

Speech presentation in Sentence 6 is not that easy to classify either. 'The jury's verdict' is the first instance and provides an alteration of the verbiage supposedly uttered by the jury's foreman. Normally, the judge would ask the foreman (or -woman) of the jury, 'Have you reached a verdict upon which you are all agreed?' to which the foreman answers either 'Guilty' or 'Not guilty'. The noun 'verdict' merely summarises that someone (the foreman) spoke but does not provide the foreman's answer verbatim which can only be deduced from context, namely from

Sentence 1: 'found guilty' of murder. This instance of speech presentation has thus to be grouped under NV.

The second instance of speech presentation in Sentence 6 is 'cries of "yes" from the public gallery'. Although inverted commas indicate Direct Speech, Sentence 6 has no reporting clause and no quoting verb. This instance presents comments from more than one person in reaction to the jury's decision. Normally, people sitting on the public gallery in a court room are not allowed to partake in any conversation held in court. This indicates that 'yes' was indeed their only comment. We can thus assume that the locution as well as the illocutionary force behind the utterance are both preserved and the verbiage is quoted verbatim. As there is no reporting clause in this sentence, we group this instance of speech presentation into the category of Free Direct Speech.

Speech presentation in Sentence 7 is indicated by the verb 'described'. As we can see from Sentence 11, Woodford's family has explicitly named May a monster. Sentence 7 is thus a preceding summary of the statement or rather a highlighting of its most sensationalist bit of information according to the journalist's judgement. It therefore falls into the category of Indirect Speech. This summary allows for a repetition of the noun 'monster' which secures May's construction as such.

The other speech presentation indicated by the verb 'described' is to be found in Sentence 12. This time we find inverted commas, indicative of Direct Speech. Although only an extract of the Woodford family's utterance concerning their loved one is presented, we can group this instance into the category of Direct Speech as we find a quoting verb in close proximity.

In summary, the analysis of speech presentation shows how the different categories are used to foreground the most important information according to the journalist's judgement. These are the descriptions of May and Woodford by Woodford's family as well as the description of the thoughts and feelings of the family members of the deceased. Interestingly, 'cries of "yes"', indicating approval from the public, underline May's guilt and grant victimhood status to Woodford and her family. The extended stretch of (Free) Direct Speech in Sentences 8–12 allows us to step into their shoes, which brings them closer to us in contrast to May who is not quoted once in this extract from the article but only later on

in the article. Such a dominance of the victims' voice does not align with the picture extracted from a larger dataset where the victim is quoted in only 2.8 per cent of the offender-related sentences containing SW&TP (Tabbert 2015). In this example their verbiage is thus foregrounded and becomes a powerful tool in the construction of the offender. Presenting the family's utterance verbatim allows the journalist to hide his/her own opinion behind it in order to maintain a professional distance. A statement such as this from the Woodford family allows for sensationalist reporting in accordance with the criteria of newsworthiness such as negativity, proximity, consonance, impact, superlativeness and personalisation (Bednarek and Caple 2012:41).

8.11 Representing time, space and society in Example 8.1

Most deictic referents, particularly those relating to time and space are straightforward and ideologically uninteresting. An analysis of social and empathetic deixis is more rewarding in this regard. In the victim's family statement, Woodford is named by her first name 'Tracey' (Sentences 8, 10) which is indicative of her closeness to her family (as already mentioned in Sect. 8.2 on naming choices). It further constructs her as part of a family system which enlarges the circle of people affected by the crime (indirect victimisation). The use of the emotionally distal demonstrative in the phrase 'that night in April' (Sentence 8) underlines the family's pain and suffering as well as their yet unsuccessful attempt to come to terms with what happened to their loved one.

8.12 Summarising the analysis of Example 8.1

May is explicitly named a 'monster' and 'sexual predator' and is thus constructed as a threat to the law-abiding community. This threat can only be neutralised by incarceration. Woodford is constructed in opposition to May as an ideal and deserving victim in terms of her victimhood status (Christie 1986; Stanko 2000:153) by pointing out her positive

character traits, summarised by the metaphorical expression that she had no 'bad bone in her body' (Sentence 12). The canonical opposition between victim and offender is key to a constructed white/black or good/bad antagonism of morality with no grey shades in between. The offender is reduced to his criminal offending role which is a recurring feature in crime reports (Tabbert 2015:91). Further, in accordance with mainstream criminology, the crime is explained through the person who committed it (Cameron and Frazer 1987:29) instead of, for example, sociological factors. May's construction relates to a positivist approach to crime based on the assumption that some people are criminally predisposed and can only be hold in check in prison.[3] This negates any prospect of their rehabilitation and reform. May is an example of 'born criminals', namely atavistic 'throw-backs to a lower form of life', following Lombroso's approach (Cameron and Frazer 1987:75; Lombroso 2006). Based on Cameron and Frazer's (1987:34) distinction that killers are constructed as either sub- or superhuman, May clearly falls into the first category, achieved not only by means of naming choices but also a description of the crime scene (the shower in Sentence 3) and its extreme appearance by making use of the reader's horror film schema. This extract proves that discourse on sexually motivated murders often blurs the boundaries between fact and fiction (Cameron and Frazer 1987:52). It further constructs a risk society (Beck 1992), neglecting a post-risk framework with its key terms precaution and resilience (Mythen 2014).

The interdependency between the construction of victim and offender can be witnessed. Although not much explicit detail is provided about May himself, he is constructed by means of describing the victims (Woodford and her family) as well as his deed. May's construction as inherently evil mainly follows from him being named as 'monster' (Sentence 7) as well as a 'sexual predator' (Sentence 5), from a combination of canonical oppo-

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[3] Former British Prime Minister David Cameron said on 8 February 2016: "Not everyone shows remorse, and not everyone seeks redemption. But I also strongly believe that we must offer chances to change, that for those trying hard to turn themselves around, we should offer hope, that in a compassionate country, we should help those who've made mistakes to find their way back onto the right path. In short: we need a prison system that doesn't see prisoners as simply liabilities to be managed, but instead as potential assets to be harnessed. But the failure of our system today is scandalous." (http://www.politics.co.uk/comment-analysis/2016/02/08/cameron-prison-reform-speech-in-full), accessed on 25 March 2016.

sition, implied meaning and the metaphorical expression of having bad bones in one's body (Sentence 12), by triggering the reader's individual horror film schema to enable visualisation of the crime scene (Sentence 3), by suggested completeness of his actions before, during and after the crime in a three-part list (Sentence 2) and intratextual cohesion between 'butcher' and 'dismembering' as belonging to the same semantic field (Sentence 1). The family's constructed eternal suffering (particularly expressed by modal choices) enhances May's resulting moral burden and makes his future reintegration seem unthinkable at this point. This aligns with the overall picture of the predisposed criminal and indicates that *The Guardian* in this example does not go against mainstream perceptions of crime. Instead the text is written to align with and at the same time to construct the relevant criteria of newsworthiness. The point of view evoked by the text is clearly in favour of the victims (expressed by transitivity choices, their extended speech presentation and an enumeration of Woodford's character traits). This is what the journalist expects the audience not only to be interested in but also to be able to sympathise with. Through this the readership can partake by means of personal identification in the Woodford family's grievance. As this text repeats stereotyped perceptions of good and bad, a 'foothold' (Lippmann 1999:10) is supplied for the reader, making identification and sympathising easy.

The journalist needs to persuade the audience that his or her interpretation of the news event is the rational and appropriate one (Kieran 1998:27). How this is achieved has been demonstrated through textual analysis. The main point, however, is adopting the point of view of the Woodford family who in this text serve as a societal conscience, reinforcing morality and values. Morality shapes the law (Hayes and Carpenter 2013:166), both serving in the upholding of power. May being found guilty assures the public that the system works because his (material intention) actions are publicly condemned and punished. Such a discourse defines boundaries between what is seen as normal and abnormal (Woodman et al. 2015:1122) by attaching values to the world presented by the text. Not only May's actions are judged as abnormal but his person as well by extending condemnation of the action onto the actor. This extended judgement blurs boundaries between a person and his/her actions, salient in crime reports in newspapers.

Rounding off the analysis, it illustrates how ideological meaning can be identified by means of a critical stylistic analysis and can be tied to textual features. Further, it relates to the enigma of the monstrous, going beyond the limit and serving as a model of all deviance (Nuzzo 2013). This article partaking in discourse on crime allows a glimpse into the moral abyss of a monster and serves to construct and reassert morality (Durkheim 1933:65–110).

With these thoughts I wish to end this book, invite the readers to test the framework of Critical Stylistics and conduct their own analyses. Using Critical Stylistics (optionally combined with Corpus Linguistic tools) allows for interpretation of textual meaning on an empirical basis and can open a new perspective on news reports on crime and how offenders and victims are constructed in them. It can further be used to examine how the reporting of crime influences public perceptions of it.

Appendix A.1: Discussion of size difference between target and reference corpus (Sect. 3.4.5)

Huge size difference between the BNC and the GC makes the former unsuitable to serve as a reference corpus as the screenshots in Figure A.1 demonstrate.

The first column in each screenshot in Fig. A.1 indicates rank, the second frequency of the keywords in the target corpus GC. The third column provides keyness figures. As highlighted, the keyness figures for the proper noun 'litvinenko' differ considerably when being calculated with chi-square or LL ratio which is contrary to the expected close proximity due to the asymptotic[1] feature of chi-square distribution (Wilks 1962:262, 410). This has two reasons: first, *AntConc* uses an incomplete or simplified formula for calculating LL ratio, namely the one also provided by Lancaster University,[2] which can be used for ranking but not for statistical testing (for more information on this see Tabbert 2015:86f). The second reason relates to matters of corpus size.

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[1] The term asymptotic means approaching a value or curve arbitrarily closely, definition obtained from http://mathworld.wolfram.com/Asymptotic.html, accessed on 27 March 2016.

[2] http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html, accessed on 27 March 2016.

Fig. A.1 Top keywords using the BNC as reference corpus and calculated with chi-square in the left and simplified log-likelihood ratio according in the right column[3]

The proper noun 'litvinenko' occurs 43 times in the GC but not at all in the BNC. Calculating statistical significance by using chi-square or LL ratio is based on a comparison of the differences between observed and expected values (McEnery et al. 2006:55). Observed values are the actual frequencies extracted from the target and reference corpora (e.g. forty-three and zero occurrences of the proper noun 'litvinenko' in GC and BNC, respectively). Expected values are frequencies of the search term under the precondition of homogeneity (zero or null hypothesis), meaning a similar distribution of the search term in both corpora. If under the precondition of homogeneity chi-square or LL ratio figures (complete formula) are above a certain critical value (e.g. 10.83, *p-value* 0.001), the difference between expected and observed values cannot be explained through chance and is thus significant (Bickel and Doksum 2007:216). The calculation of expected values is based on observed values and the precondition of homogeneity. Their calculation follows from a 4-cell or contingency table for two corpora as depicted in Table A.1.

In Table A.1, the terms 'a' and 'c' refer to the occurrence and non-occurrence of a particular search term in Corpus 1, for example, the GC; terms 'b' and 'd' refer to the occurrence and non-occurrence of the same

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[3] http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html, accessed on 27 March 2016.

Table A.1   4-Cell or contingency table

Corpus 1	Corpus 2	
a	b	a+b
c	d	c+d
a+c	b+d	N=a+b+c+d

Table A.2   Contingency table with figures from GC and BNC for 'litvinenko'

	Guardian Corpus	BNC	
Occurrence of search term	43	0	43
Non-occurrence of search term	38,711	99,690,003	99,728,714
Total number of words	38,754	99,690,003	N = 99,728,757

search term in Corpus 2, here the reference corpus BNC. The proper noun 'litvinenko' occurs 43 times in the GC which consists of 38,754 word tokens in total. The remaining 38,711 words in the GC are thus not the proper noun 'litvinenko'. As mentioned, 'litvinenko' does not occur in the BNC at all.

Table A.1 filled with these observed values from the 'litvinenko' example looks as shown in Table A.2.

Following from this contingency table filled with observed values, the expected values for each term (a, b, c and d) can be calculated using the formulae presented in Table A.3.

As listed in Table A.3, the expected values 'a' and 'c' for our search term 'litvinenko' (last row) differ greatly from the observed values 'a' and 'c' (first row). This causes problems for calculating statistical significance because, as argued elsewhere (Clauß and Ebner 1983:260; Tabbert 2015:85), in case the difference between observed and expected values is greater than the expected value or if the expected value in any section of the contingency table is less than 5, chi-square calculation should only be used in combination with a continuity or Yates correction. Further, Rayson et al. (2004:8) warn against using unbalanced sized corpora for a comparative analysis and argue that the minimum frequency of expected values should be 8; Weber (1961:396ff) and also Hautz (2004:71) even suggest a minimum of 10. Hoey (2009:5) notes that the more observed and expected values differ, the more chi-square will 'tend to compute

erroneous answers'. Due to the size of the BNC, the expected value for term 'a' falls below the required threshold which leads to results as depicted in Fig. A.1, namely divergences between the keyness figures calculated with chi-square and simplified LL ratio for the proper noun 'litvinenko'. This rules out using the BNC as a reference corpus due to such a huge size difference between target and reference corpus and the resulting lower deviation of at least one contingency table term from the above mentioned threshold norm of at least 5.

Table A.3 Formulae to calculate expected values for a, b, c and d

Observed values	a(43)	b(0)	c(38,711)	d(99,690,003)
Formulae for calculating expected values based on observed values and the presumption of homogeneity	$\dfrac{(a+c)*(a+b)}{N}$	$\dfrac{(b+d)*(a+b)}{N}$	$\dfrac{(a+c)*(c+d)}{N}$	$\dfrac{(b+d)*(c+d)}{N}$
Resulting expected values for 'litvinenko' example	0.02	42.98	38,753.98	99,689,960.02

Appendix A.2: Table A.4 (Section 3.5)

Table A.4 List of the highest-ranking nouns and proper nouns referring to victims and/or offenders in the GC

Rank	Frequency	Noun	Proper noun	Offender related	Victim related	Other
38	146	year		9	9	see Section
46	91	old				3.5
57	75	man		46	23	6
68	68	victims		0	68	0
71	63		evans	57	3	3
74	59	family		2 (+1)	47 (+1)	9
78	58	people		9	19	30
88	51	victim		0	51	0
94	48	men		26 (+1)	4 (+1)	17
101	44	woman		15	25	4
104	43		litvinenko	0	43	0
111	40	women		14	13	13
112	39	officers		3	3	33
119	37	body		3	31	3
127	35	girl		4	31	0
130	34		watkins	34	0	0
136	32	child		0	25	7
137	32	children		0	19	13

(continued)

Table A.4 (continued)

Rank	Frequency	Noun	Proper noun	Offender related	Victim related	Other
150	30	staff		9	4	17
162	27	dead		0	1	adjectival use
164	27	mother		5	18	4
169	26	criminal		4	0	22
178	25		mjadzelics	25	0	0
186	24		kohler	0	24	0
202	23	wife		0	15	8
205	22		breck	0	22	0
209	22	friends		0	2	20
220	21		alice	0	21	0
222	21		ben	0	17	4
272	19		putin	19	0	0
274	19	secretary		0	0	19
288	18	detectives		0	0	18
297	18	teacher		16	2	0
299	17		ched	17	0	0
300	17	chief		0	0	17
307	17		henderson	1	16	0
311	17		lugovoi	17	0	0
313	17	offenders		17	0	0
317	17		samantha	0	17	0
318	17	son		0	14	3
325	16		kovtun	16	0	0
327	16	members		0	2	14
328	16	mr		6	7	3
337	16	survivors		0	15	1
345	15	director		0	0	15
346	15		emmerson	0	0	15
361	14	assistant		6	1	7
380	14		regan	14	0	0
388	14		zalkalns	14	0	0
396	13	commissioner		2	0	11
398	13	daughter		0	10	3
403	13	groups		3	3	7
404	13	investors		0	13	0
406	13		matthews	13	0	0
408	13	officer		3	1	9
415	13		tomaszewski	13	0	0
417	13		watson	13	0	0
418	13	witnesses		0	0	13

Rank	Frequency	Noun	Proper noun	Offender related	Victim related	Other
419	12		ahmed	6	6	0
423	12	chair		0	0	12
425	12	defendants		12	0	0
431	12	father		1	7	4
4333	12	gang		11	0	1
437	12		hayman	12	0	0
440	12	husband		1	10	1
445	12		jennings	12	0	0
446	12		maguire	0	12	0
450	12	parents		1	7	4
455	12	team		0	0	12
470	11	client		11	0	0
474	11		cornick	11	0	0
483	11		josie	0	11	0
484	11		kerner	11	0	0
493	11		parsons	11	0	0
495	11	pupil		0	10	1
499	11		salmon	11	0	0
509	11		singh	0	11	0
514	11	veterans		0	0	11
525	10	boy		4	5	1
536	10	group		4	1	5
538	10		ian	9	0	1
543	10		mark	0	3	7
547	10		neil	0	3	7
548	10	pair		7 (+3)	(3)	0

Glossary

aboutness	the main topic of a corpus, indicated by those content words which occur unusually often in the corpus under scrutiny (target corpus) in comparison to some norm (reference corpus) (Scott 2002:44, 2004, 2015)
anaphoric	anaphoric (opposite: cataphoric) references are a means of text cohesion, referring back to something mentioned before (Jeffries 1998:258). For example, in a sentence like 'Jack likes her, he sent her flowers', 'he' in the second clause is a an anaphoric reference back to 'Jack' in the first
apposition	a sequence of units (usually noun phrases) with identical reference and grammatical function (Wales 2001:27), for example, 'a <u>suspect, Yishai Shlissel</u>, who' in Example 4.1
boulomaic	boulomaic modality refers to desirability (Simpson 1993:48)
cataphoric	see anaphoric, 'points forward in the text' (Jeffries 1998:258)
chi-square	is a formula for calculating statistical significance and thus testing a statistical hypothesis (as is LL ratio)
coherence	'concerns the appropriateness of a given text […] in its communicative context' (Nørgaard et al. 2010:53f)
cohesion	'refers to the way sentences combine into text by means of text-internal ties' realised by conjunction, ellipsis, substitution, reference (which are grammatical), repetition, synonymy, collocation (which are lexical) (Nørgaard et al. 2010:54)

collocation	'when a word regularly appears near another word, and the relationship is statistically significant in some way then such co-occurrences are referred to as <u>collocates</u> and the phenomena of certain words frequently occurring next to or near each other is <u>collocation</u>' (Baker 2006:95f)
conjunction	used to connect words or structures, for example, 'and', 'when', 'either… or'
connotation	in a semantic understanding: 'all kinds of associations words may evoke' (Wales 2001:78) As understood in this book: the meaning attached to a word by virtue of its usage (Jeffries 2006:229) the part of a word's meaning which relates to its use, rather than its referent (Jeffries 1998:259)
contrastive stress	is used to emphasise as in the following headline: 'Nicola Sturgeon to push for ANOTHER Scottish independence vote' (*The Sun*, 12.06.2016); by using all capitals for the adjective 'ANOTHER', the previous vote on Scotland's independence is contrasted against a possible new one
corpus	'a large, systematic collection of texts stored on computer' (Biber et al. 2002:3)
Corpus Linguistics	'the study of language based on examples of real life language use' (McEnery and Wilson 1996:1), 'utilizes bodies of electronically encoded text, implementing a more quantitative methodology, for example by using frequency information about occurrences of particular linguistic phenomena' (Baker 2006:1f)
Critical Discourse Analysis	'a social movement of sociopolitically committed discourse analysts' (Van Dijk 2011:621), aims to 'show up […] connections between language, power and ideology' (Fairclough 1989)
Critical Stylistics	a framework for textual analysis, comprises ten textual–conceptual functions of texts, introduced by Jeffries (2010a)
deixis, deictic	deixis, with 'deictic' as an adjective, refers to 'all those features of language which orientate […] our utterances in the context of proximity of space […] and time' (Wales 2001:99)
denotation	the part of a word's meaning which deals with reference rather than use (Jeffries 1998:259); for example, the word 'cat' denotes a feline, hairy, sometimes purring animal
deontic	deontic modality refers to the 'speaker's attitude to the degree of obligation attaching to the performance of certain actions' varying from permission to requirement (Simpson 1993:47)

discourse	understood as a particular unit of language above the sentence or above the clause (Schiffrin 1994:20ff), it is considered as constitutive for the 'reproduction of social inequalitites and dominant ideologies' (Jeffries 2010a:7), for a discussion of the term see (Tabbert 2015:29f)
distal	distant, remote from time or place of speaking/writing or the person who speaks or writes
ellipsis	'grammatical omission' (Wales 2001:121) Example: A: Can I come over? B: No, you can't (come over). ('come over' is omitted)
epistemic	epistemic modality refers to the 'speaker's confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of a proposition' (Simpson 1993:48)
flouting	flouting cooperation maxims leads to implicatures
ideology	in this book, the term is understood as the attachment of values to the constructed text world following a judgmental process (Jeffries 2015b) and is therefore defined as a further development of a relativist definition of the term
illocution	locution means the actual words uttered, illocution refers to the force or intention behind those words and perlocution is the effect on the hearer/reader (Thomas 1995:49)
implicature	(conversational) implicatures arise from flouting cooperation maxims and thus by not observing the cooperation principles, they vanish once the sentence is negated
keyness, being key	a word is key in a corpus (a keyword) if it occurs statistically more often in the target corpus than in the reference corpus
lemma	is the citation form of a word or the headword under which it would be listed in a dictionary; for example, 'say', 'said', 'says' or 'saying' are forms of the same lexeme (set of all forms of a lemma) with 'say' being the lemma
lexeme	set of all forms of a lemma
locution	locution means the actual words uttered, illocution refers to the force or intention behind those words and perlocution is the effect on the hearer/reader (Thomas 1995:49)
log-likelihood ratio (LL ratio)	is a formula for calculating statistical significance and thus testing a statistical hypothesis (as is chi-square)
meronymy	follows from a part-whole relation of meaning (Wales 2001:247), describes a semantic relationship denoting part or membership (e.g. 'toe' is a meronym of 'foot')
metonymy	'a referent is substituted by something with which it is closely associated', for example, 'the press' represent newspapers (and other news media) by close association (Nørgaard et al. 2010:109), the relationship between 'press' and 'newspaper' is figurative (instead of semantic, see meronymy), synecdoche is a sub-class of metonomy, for example, 'No. 10' denotes the building on Downing Street Number 10 and is thus a synecdoche for the (British) Prime Minister

modal choice	the use of modalised expressions (e.g. should, certainly), reveals the speaker's/writer's attitude towards an assertion, see Sect. 6.1 on modality
morpheme	'smallest unit of meaning' (Jeffries 1998:260), we distinguish free and bound morphemes, free morphemes can stand alone, for example, 'cat' or 'no', whereas bound ones cannot, for example, 'un-'
morphosyntactic	linguistic units that have both morphological and syntactic properties, for example, 'no' is a morpheme (the smallest unit of meaning) and has a syntactic property (how it can be grouped together with other words in a meaningful sense)
naturalisation	something appears to be natural and becomes 'common sense' (Fairclough 1992:87); ideologies are naturalised when 'an ideological position is presented as if it were simply part of the natural order of things' (Simpson and Mayr 2010:56)
negative keyword	are those words that occur more often in the reference corpus than in the target corpus and are thus underrepresented in the target corpus; they are usually presented at the end of a keyword list
nominal, nominal referent	nominals are nouns including proper nouns, nominal groups are noun phrases (Wales 2001:272), a nominal referent is usually a noun
paradigmatic	the relationship between items which can replace each other in particular 'slots' (Jeffries 1998:261)
perlocution	locution means the actual words uttered, illocution refers to the force or intention behind those words and perlocution is the effect on the hearer/reader (Thomas 1995:49)
point of view	a presentation of events seen through the eyes of someone else (McIntyre 2006:1)
predicator	a major constituent for a sentence other than the subject, realised by a verb (or verb phrase) with or without a following object and adverbial, sometimes predicator refers to the verb only (Wales 2001:315)
presupposition	are assumptions built into a text, we distinguish existential and logical presuppositions. Existential ones (triggered by 'the', for example) presuppose the existence of an entity. Logical presuppositions (e.g. 'lost his key' means he had his key before he lost it) can be inferred through (logical) deduction; Levinson (1983:181ff) provides a list of presupposition triggers

proximal	already mentioned, familiar, near to the time or place of speaking/writing or to the speaker/writer
reference corpus	a corpus that is 'representative of a particular language variety' (Baker 2006:30), the chosen reference corpus provides a norm with which the target corpus is compared
semantic	relates to (word)meaning
simile	entities are explicitly compared, for example, 'my love is like a rose' (Nørgaard et al. 2010:107)
style	a 'motivated choice from the set of language or register conventions or other social, political, cultural and contextual parameters' (Nørgaard et al. 2010:156), no text is free of style
synecdoche	see metonomy
synonymy	'equivalence of meaning between words' (Jeffries 1998:263) which is in fact mostly only partial, for example, the adjectives 'attractive' and 'stunning'
syntagmatic	the relationship between linguistic units, such as sounds or words, which are combined in a linear sequence to make larger units (Jeffries 1998:263)
syntax	the way words, phrases and clauses are ordered and formally grouped (Wales 2001:383)
target corpus	the corpus that is examined or analysed
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' (Tabbert 2015:28), following from this definition, newspaper articles are referred to as texts in this book
text world	refers to mental representation of discourse people build in their minds when they communicate or read texts (Gavins 2007:10; Werth 1999), for more information see Sect. 2.1
token	is the total number of words in a corpus
transitive	(mono)transitive verbs require one object, ditransitive verbs require two and intransitive verbs do not require any object
type	the number of different words in a corpus
verb voice	a property of verbs, verbs can be used in active or passive form
verbatim	the original words, quoting word for word
verbiage	what is said

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