University of Huddersfield Repository

Tabbert, Ulrike

Crime through a corpus: The linguistic construction of offenders, victims and crimes in the German and UK press

Original Citation

Tabbert, Ulrike (2013) Crime through a corpus: The linguistic construction of offenders, victims and crimes in the German and UK press. Doctoral thesis, University of Huddersfield.

This version is available at http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/18078/

Crime through a corpus:

The linguistic construction of offenders, victims and crimes in the German and UK press

Ulrike Tabbert

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February 2013
The University of Huddersfield

To my mother and grandmother and to my father with love

Abstract

In this thesis I analyse and compare the linguistic construction of offenders, victims and crimes in the British and German press. I have collected a corpus of British and German newspaper articles reporting on crime and criminal trials and carried out a corpus linguistic analysis of this data using the software package *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott, 2004). Reports on crime do not construct a neutral representation of offenders. By employing the tools offered by Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010a) and combining them with Corpus Linguistics I identify the linguistic features used to pre-convict offenders and to invoke a feeling of insecurity and fear in the public. The negative associations assigned to crime are transferred to the offenders and thus construct them as being evil and label them as deviant (Becker, 1966: 31). The linguistic construction of the victim ultimately impacts on the construction of offenders because the two are placed at opposite ends of a morality scale. It is through language that such ideologically motivated representations of offenders are constructed and reinforced. The image of the evil-perpetrating monster constructed in the media as part of societal discourse on crime is based on ideologies which my research aims to reveal. I argue that the underlying ideologies for the construction of offenders, victims and crimes in the British and German press are comparable and that the linguistic triggers for these in the texts are similar. I found no distinction between the persona of the offender and his or her crime because offenders only gain a celebrity-like status following the crime they have committed. This fascination with crime in the media has roots in the 'backstage nature of crime' (Surette, 2009: 240) which satisfies the voyeuristic desire of the audience.

Acknowledgements

_____

Crime through a corpus:
The linguistic construction of offenders, victims and crimes in the German and UK press

Ulrike Tabbert

Table of Contents

_____

List of Figures

_____

List of Tables

_____

Chapter 1: Introduction

_____

Language is one of the

most important areas of

knowledge that human beings

posses

(Fowler, 1996: 39)

1.1 Crime as a social phenomenon

Violent crime is a social drama (Cottle, 2008) which reveals the offender's biography and is often based on his or her early childhood experiences (Miller, 1983: 241). The details and scenarios of the most serious crimes committed by widely known offenders like Fred and Rosemary West (UK), Jürgen Bartsch (Germany) or Josef Fritzl (Austria) allow us to draw conclusions about their individual stories. And even minor crimes often indicate biographical roots. Kurtz and Hunter (2004) state that the biography of serial killers 'reveals an appalling history of abuse' (2004: 3) which leads them to the conclusion that these perpetrators are in fact victims of their own childhood traumas. In accordance with Miller (1983) I therefore argue that it is worth aspiring to see the tragedy of offenders without mitigating their dangerousness or the nature of their crimes (1983: 234). Nevertheless, in this thesis I take the argument a step further by stating that a differentiated view on offenders also depends on a sociological perspective on crime and in particular, the social causes that encourage people to commit crimes.

Such a differentiated view on offenders requires us to be able to separate the person of the offender from their crimes but this is undermined by the celebrity-like status (Gregoriou, 2011: 4, 23) given to offenders precisely because of the crimes they have committed. They join the ranks of the famous (Gregoriou, 2011: 4) which is made possible to a large extent through the media 'that use crime as entertainment and as a commodity to be consumed and enjoyed by the public' (Mayr, 2012: 261). Such a celebrity-like status of offenders has its roots in the interest the public takes in their crimes based on the ambiguity between

'repulsion and attraction, condemnation and admiration' (Gregoriou, 2011: 4). It is only because offenders have committed crimes and have thus shown their deviance that the public is interested in them, and this leads to an equating of offenders with their crimes. Book titles like *Monster* (A. Hall, 2008), describing the crimes of Austrian Josef Fritzl, or *Teufel in Menschengestalt (Devil incarnate)* (Kompisch & Otto, 2006) on German serial killers bear witness to this process. This static view of offenders as inherently criminal hinders our perception of them as humans with an individual biography which could shed light on the question of why they became criminals. The constructed monstrosity of offenders in the press and their celebrity-like status might even lead to the phenomenon of criminals collapsing back into an ordinary person (Schmid, 2005) once the public interest in their crimes vanishes.

Discourse on crime and offenders in newspaper reports does not mirror reality but has only ties to the actual event. The mediated picture of crime in the news is based on the handling of crime through authoritative institutions such as police and/or court. Although there is a difference between the picture constructed in the media and the actual dealing with crimes performed by authorities like police or court, the public seldom perceives this because they mainly gain their knowledge on crime from the media. As Gregoriou (2011) notes 'the media offer a translation of reality into simplified stereotypes' (2011: 13). Dealing with crime as, for example, in a criminal trial is a social ritual (Cottle, 2008: 110) which mirrors the norms and taboos of a society and has a function of upholding power in society (Durkheim, 1938: 67). Nevertheless, such a criminal trial is not mirrored directly in the press but instead is constructed indirectly through the news. Fairclough (1995b) observes an increasing blurring of the boundaries 'between information and entertainment, fact and fiction, documentary and drama' in the media (1995b: 174).

Crime news is prime news (Greer, 2003: 44) because it allows glimpses into other people's private lives (Jewkes, 2009: XVI) and serves as a 'daily moral workout' (Jewkes, 2009: VII). The latter means that through repeated encounters with crime news readers 'work out individual perspectives on moral questions of a quite general yet eminently personal

relevance' (Peelo, 2009: 143). The backstage character of crime is increased by its seriousness (Surette, 2009: 240) which in turn enhances the entertainment value. The consequence is that it is mainly serious crimes that are reported on most often in newspaper articles on crimes as we will see in chapter 7. In this context, Jewkes (2009) talks about '[t]he public's obsession with criminality, policing and forensic investigation' which is mainly about 'presence, status, dominance and daring' (2009: VI). News reports on crime in the media 'can affect policy-making, not to mention the running of the legal system itself' (O'Hara, 2012: 247). This notion indicates that news reports on crimes reinforce (often naturalised) ideologies on crime in society. These ideologies provide the ground for maintaining the current criminal justice system with its retributional stance. Thus a self-perpetuating circle is created with ideologies influencing the public stance on crime which is mirrored in the news and influences the responses to crime decided upon and executed by authorities. This circle does not allow any kind of development by excluding change but instead reinforces existing values and thus ideologies. On these grounds there is no need for a humanised offender with a disaggregated identity but instead a one-dimensional and even dehumanised picture of an offender suffices for the public's craving for more shocking and horrific crime news.

However, a humanised view on offenders is an inevitable prerequisite for alternative responses to crime such as Restorative Justice. Although the sustainability and effectiveness of Restorative Justice and in particular victim-offender mediation have been acknowledged (Wright, 2010), the number of cases where these methods are used still remain limited. I argue that this is partly due to the fact that societal discourse on crime does not provide the ground for a humanised and differentiated view on offenders taking into account their biography but instead constructs a one-dimensional, deviant outsider (Becker, 1966). The problem of crime is cloaked 'in the language of responsibility, censure and blame' (Loader & Sparks, 2011: 104). The notion of an evil, perpetrating monster constructed in the media as part of societal discourse on crime is based on ideologies which it is the aim of this thesis to uncover. I argue that these ideologies can be identified in newspaper reports on crime and can be demonstrated linguistically. The overall research question answered in this thesis is:

RQ) How in society are offenders, victims and crimes constructed linguistically in news reports on crime in the German and UK press?

Because this overall research question is too broad to be answered in just a few sentences, I divided it into sub-questions whose answers contribute to the answer of the overall research question. These sub-questions are:

A) What linguistic features are used to construct offenders, victims and crimes?

B) What are the covert ideologies in the discourse on offenders, victims and crimes?

C) What are the similarities and differences in the construction of offenders, victims and crimes between the German and the UK press?

I ask these questions for offenders, victims and crimes in both the German and UK press and therefore I divided the research questions further into:

1) offenders

2) victims

3) crimes

and finally,

German press

British Press.

These research questions determine the methods I used in order to provide an answer to the overall research question of how offenders, victims and crimes are constructed linguistically in newspaper reports on crime which will be outlined in chapter 5. I am aware that my research questions exclude answers to different questions, as for example how the discourse on an offender in one particular case changes over time from the discovery of the crime to the offender's conviction or acquittal. Although this question might also lead to the discovery of interesting results, my focus is to gain more generalised assertions about the

contemporary press coverage of crime and its underlying ideologies which are not limited to one particular case study.

Knowing about the power of the media as well as working for a prosecution office in Germany piqued my interest in discovering a way to expose the hidden ideologies about offenders and their crimes in media reports. This together with my interest in language (because working in the legal field is very much language-centred) gave me the idea to linguistically analyse news reports on crime. I argue that offenders are not separated from their crimes but instead are reduced to them as a result of the offenders' celebrity-like status (Schmid, 2005). For example, no newspaper would have been interested in the life of Josef Fritzl from Austria if it was not for the crimes he committed. Fritzl's crimes will be part of the analysis in this thesis. Josef Fritzl is just one example of an initially publicly unknown person who became the focus of news reports on crime because of his crimes and thus gained notoriety. His textual construction and, more generally, the construction of offenders in the press are interdependent with the construction of victims because victims and offenders are placed in opposition to each other on each end of a morality scale. The more innocent and thus 'ideal' the victim is in tending towards one end of the morality scale, the more 'ideal' (or extreme) becomes the offender on the other end (Christie, 1986). It is a contrastive picture of black and white in terms of morality issues. I take the argument a step further by stating that the interest in victims of crime is based on the interest in offenders because the construction of victims in crime reports ultimately serves the construction of the respective offenders. This view on offenders and victims, which is ideological, can be demonstrated linguistically in newspaper texts. The aim of this thesis is to uncover these hidden ideologies and to show what linguistic features are used in the texts of newspaper articles on crime to trigger these ideologies.

1.2 The fascination of language

The importance of language has been acknowledged by Fairclough (2001b) stating that '[l]anguage is [...] important enough to merit the attention of all citizens, [...] nobody who

has an interest in modern society, and certainly nobody who has an interest in relationships of power in modern society, can afford to ignore language' (2001b: 2, 3). It is not only linguists that have acknowledged the global and crucial importance of human language. In psychology, for example, human language is regarded as 'one of the most significant cognitive achievements of the human species' (Lahey, 1992: 221).

Different disciplines have different understandings of what language actually is. This thesis takes a linguistic approach to the study of newspaper articles on crime and therefore the term *language* has to be defined how it is understood and used in this thesis.

The nature of human language was defined by Hockett's sixteen design features of language (Hockett, 1960; Hockett & Altmann, 1968) which attempt to explain how human language differs from animal communicative systems.

Three different approaches have been developed within linguistics to answer the question of what language actually is:

- The American philosopher Willard Van Orman Quine 'defines language entirely in terms of social interaction' (Chapman, 2006: 8). This concept of <u>language as a type of behaviour</u> revives Bloomfield's earlier concept of language being the speech that people produce (Chapman, 2006: 29).
- Chomsky introduced the concept of <u>language as a state of mind</u> (Chapman, 2006: 40ff) with language not being 'restricted to any practical communicative function' (Chomsky, 1966: 29). Instead, Chomsky regards language as 'an instrument of free thought and self-expression' (Chomsky, 1966: 29).
- The third approach to defining language is the notion of <u>language as communication</u>. This idea can be traced back to the philosopher John Locke who in 1690 'defined language as a means of representing ideas' (Chapman, 2006: 54) with the main purpose of language being 'to communicate ideas among people' (Chapman, 2006: 54).

For this thesis, I regard language both as a state of mind and as a means of communication. Language in newspaper articles on crime expresses ideas surrounding

crime and serves to communicate them in society. The formulation and expression of ideas is only possible because of the creative and arbitrary aspects of language (Atkinson et al., 1982) which are based on the notion of language being a unique type of knowledge (Chapman, 2006: 39). I will return to the definition of language in chapter 3.

Language serves many different functions. According to Halliday we distinguish between the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunction of language (Halliday, 1985), as I will outline in section 3.2. Notwithstanding of the metafunctions of language, there are also macro-functions of language which are for example the emotive or directive or referential function (Cook, 1989: 25, 26). The referential function refers to the fact that humans perceive abstract as well as tangible things or objects by giving them names. Jäger (2001) notes that 'we as people are evidently capable of allocating meanings to 'things', in other words of giving reality a meaning' (2001: 42). The inverse of the argument is that 'the principal purpose of language is to create meaning' (Jensen, 2012: 31). By naming things and thereby giving them meaning we 'make them into things' because a thing to which no meaning is allocated is not a thing, it is 'nondescript [...], invisible or even non-existent' (Jäger, 2001: 42). Following from this, we can see that the definition of what kind of behaviour is regarded as deviant and thus criminal is enabled through language. This happens in two steps: first, a certain type of behaviour is given a name and in a second step this type of behaviour is described as deviant and thus criminal. Thus, language allows to express and communicate ideas about a particular type of behaviour and to label it as criminal. For example, when a husband beats his wife, his behaviour can be labelled either as a violation of the law or as a law-conforming execution of marital rights. This depends on the pre-existing norms and values (and ultimately ideologies) predominant in a society which are expressed and communicated through language. Labelling the aforementioned domestic violence as a crime and reporting on it in the news reinforces existing values of gender equality and personal integrity and demonstrates an ideological stance towards this type of behaviour.

Language creates meaning through 'two types of pattern' (Sinclair, 2004: 164) which are identified as grammar (or syntax or structure including morphology) and lexis. Michael Halliday (1971) demonstrated in his analysis of William Golding's *The Inheritors* the existence of a link between form and meaning. Halliday also provided evidence for the fact that 'all linguistic usage encodes representations of the world' (Stubbs, 1996: 130). The possibility of tracing ideologies related to crime in the language of newspaper articles on crime (=texts, for a more detailed definition of *text* see chapter 3) is based on the notion that language use has an 'element of choice' to it (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010). Chomsky (1966) states that language provides 'finite means but infinite possibilities of expression' (1966: 29). The choice of one way of expressing the same thing over others is at the core of my argument that language carries ideologies which are evoked by the text. This principle of linguistic choice is one of the core principles of Stylistics (Ohmann, 1970a: 264) which I will introduce in greater detail in chapter 3.

In order to understand how ideologies are evoked by a text, in addition to the choice element it is also the reader who brings his or her world knowledge to the text. Therefore we have to take two things into account:

1) Readers construct meaning

2) Textual features trigger meaning (Semino, 1997: 125).

These two elements together allow meaning and thus ideologies to arise from the text. This thesis aims at detecting the statistically most significant linguistic features in newspaper articles on crime which trigger ideologies on crime. My linguistic perspective on crime is not detached from criminological theories but instead aims to take these theories into account and ultimately verifies some of them by means of linguistics.

Criminology regards itself to be on an 'enduring mission to explain offending and discover what works to prevent or reduce it' (Loader & Sparks, 2011: 84). So far, three approaches have been developed which aim at explaining the phenomenon of crime:

- the scientific positivist approach

- the psychological approach

- the sociological approach.

The scientific positivist approach to crime has its roots in the work of Cesare Lombroso (2006; Lombroso & Ferrero, 2004) and the idea of using medical and anthropological science (e.g. genetics or brain size/ structure) to explain why people become deviant.

The psychological approach to crime provides insight into the psyche of criminals and explains their crimes through psychological theories, see for example (Kurtz & Hunter, 2004). Here, linguistic research can contribute to and provide additional insight. For example, Timor and Weiss (2008) and Guo (2012) demonstrate how a linguistic analysis of prisoner's discourse allows us to draw conclusions about their psyche and thus can contribute to the psychological approach within criminology. As another example, Benneworth (2007) analysed police interviews with suspects of paedophilia and states that 'there is a distinctive paedophile discourse of minimisation and denial' (2007: 46) which clashes with (the) police officer's norms and values. Her research contributes to the further development of interrogation techniques with this particular group of suspects by outlining ways to overcome the suspect's denial of wrongdoing and downplay of the seriousness of the crime.

The sociological approach to crime studies sees crime as a social phenomenon, the relevant theories of which will be outlined in detail in chapter 2. I will show in this thesis that the linguistic approach I take adds further insight to the sociological approach to crime and supports some of its theories, namely those which are predominant in society. This is based on the fact that newspaper reports on crime are part of societal discourse on crime and thus mirror and simultaneously perpetuate salient ideologies on crime in society. I will argue that only those criminological frameworks and their underlying ideologies which take a retributionist stance to crime can be found in newspaper reports on crime in my corpus. This emphasises that the ground for alternative crime responses like Restorative Justice has not been prepared yet although theoretical frameworks already exist in the relevant literature.

1.3 The structure of this thesis

In order to build my argument and to answer the research question RQ, I will start by outlining the relevant criminological theories on crime, offenders and victims as developed within the sociological approach to criminology in chapter 2. The knowledge of these frameworks helps to explain the linguistic findings and to refer to ideologies on a scientific basis. This enables me to link my findings with criminology in chapters 6 and 7 and to demonstrate how linguistics can contribute to the sociological approach to crime.

In chapter 3 I will turn to linguistics and introduce critical language studies and the concepts of Critical Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010a). I will demonstrate why I chose Critical Stylistics (CS) as my preferred method of analysis and why CS is not just another approach to CDA but instead a further development of both, CDA and Critical Linguistics. Critical Stylistics provides a systematic linguistic toolkit borrowing from Stylistics and takes an unbiased stance towards texts in contrast to CDA which claims to be left-wing (Fairclough, 1992a: 92). This allows the researcher to detect ideologies in texts without a pre-formulated outcome in mind and thus increases the rigour and replicability of the analysis.

In order to draw conclusions from a larger amount of data (i.e. newspaper articles on crime) than the small number of articles which could be analysed manually, I chose to combine the tools offered by CS with Corpus Linguistics which is the computer-assisted analysis of language. This combination enables me to draw my conclusions from a broad basis of newspaper articles on crime although I am aware that it will only be a snapshot in time because the data stem from a limited time period.

In chapter 4 I will explain in detail what Corpus Linguistics is and how it can be used to focus on the statistically most significant parts of the data although the conclusions of the subsequent, more detailed CS analysis will be meaningful for the entire data-set.

In chapter 5 I will introduce the method I used and how I conducted the analysis. This chapter comprises the data collection, namely which newspaper articles I chose for the analysis, and how I conducted the analysis in order to answer the research question RQ. The chosen articles from German and British newspapers were combined to form the German

and the English newspaper corpus respectively which I then analysed using the software package *WordSmith Tools* (Scott, 2004). I will show an adapted way of identifying keywords which include all statistically significant offender- or victim-naming nouns in the corpus. These keywords not only include nouns which are obviously offender- or victim-related like *murderer* or *victim*. My keywords also cover those nouns which cannot be identified as victim- or offender-related at first glance like *man* or *son*. In chapter 5 I will also outline how I developed a method which can be applied equally to the English and the German newspaper corpus despite the differences between the two languages. The analysis of the linguistic construction of crimes in each corpus follows along the same lines although crime-naming nouns or verbs can be identified more easily because of their obvious crime-relation in terms of semantics, for example *offence* or *stabbed*. I will outline how I combined the tools offered by Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics and indicate where I made subjective choices (for example, when choosing cut-off points) which secures the replicability of my analysis.

The results of my analysis will be outlined in chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 6 presents the results of the analysis of the English Newspaper Corpus (ENC) and answers the question of how offenders and victims are constructed linguistically in the ENC. I will uncover the underlying ideologies and link the findings with criminological theories outlined in chapter 2 because these criminological theories are based on ideological perceptions of offenders, victims and crimes. Each linguistic feature I identified to be statistically significant in the construction of offenders and victims in the ENC will be explained by drawing on an example from the corpus. These examples are limited to single sentences where the target word occurs in. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to show how ideologies are triggered in one particular lengthier piece of newspaper text.

Chapter 7 then presents the findings from the analysis of the German Newspaper Corpus (GNC) and answers the question of how victims and offenders are constructed linguistically in the GNC. Additionally, in this chapter I will outline the differences in the construction of victims and offenders in the English and the German newspaper corpus and thus provide the answer to the sub-question RQ C. In the remainder of chapter 7 I will

present the results of the analysis of the construction of crimes in the ENC and GNC and thus provide the answer to sub-questions RQ A and B, namely the linguistic features used to construct crimes and the underlying ideologies in the British and German press. I will link the findings from my linguistic analysis to criminological frameworks and thus demonstrate what ideologies are hegemonic in discourse on crime in the ENC and GNC.

In the concluding chapter 8 I will bring the answers to all sub-research-questions together and thus answer the overall research question RQ. I will point out the original contributions this thesis makes and indicate the limitations of my project. I argue in favour of the necessity of a change in discourse on offenders and crimes because it is language that determines society's stance on crime.

This thesis not only argues for the necessity of an inter-disciplinary approach to crime studies and demonstrates the contribution linguistics can make to criminology, it also shows the advantages of combining different methods of language analysis, namely Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics which enhances the replicability of the analysis. I have also tested a new way of extracting keywords naming offenders and victims in newspaper articles on crime which allows for inclusion of those offender- or victim-naming nouns which cannot be clearly identified at first sight. And I will demonstrate how Critical Stylistics following a Corpus Linguistic method ensures the replicability and rigour of the analysis and allows for the hidden ideologies to reveal themselves without the researcher bringing a pre-conceived outcome to the analysis. The overwhelming similarities between the construction of offenders, victims and crimes in the German and British press indicate that a retributional stance on crime is not a matter of one particular country and its societal discourse on crime but can be witnessed cross-culturally in Western Europe. Despite the obvious advantages of Restorative Justice and the efforts made in the UK and Germany to encourage victim-offender-mediation, one of the reasons for the still low rates of practice thereof lies in the discourse on crime in society. Following from the notion that language is a conduit for our thoughts, I argue that the ground for Restorative Justice has not been fully prepared yet. It is not only up to legislation and executive forces in society to aspire a change in crime

response methods but also to the media to support this change accordingly and ultimately to society. A change of societal discourses on crime can only be achieved through changes in language. This thesis proves again the importance of language and argues for an increased societal effort to understand the importance of language in societal discourse on crime.

Chapter 2: Crime, crime theories and the media

_____

> *There are few better*
> *measures of the concern a*
> *society has for its individual*
> *members and its own well being*
> *than the way it handles criminals.*
>
> *(R. Clark, 1967)*

2.1 Introduction

After introducing the topic of my thesis and presenting my key arguments, this chapter provides background detail from the fields of criminology and media studies. It begins with a brief introduction to criminology and outlines theoretical frameworks developed within this subject to explain the societal phenomenon of crime. I focus on the sociological approach within criminology acknowledging that other approaches exist, namely the scientific positivist approach and the psychological approach to crime. The criminological theories developed against this background inform societal discourse on crime, offenders and victims and are simultaneously influenced by this discourse. At the same time, the knowledge of these theories facilitates the exposure of hidden ideologies because criminological theories are informed by and based on ideologies, even when they claim not to be (Loader & Sparks, 2011: 83ff). In order to understand media and hence societal discourse on crime and to uncover its underlying ideologies, it is important to bear these theories in mind alongside theories of news production (Carrabine et al., 2009: 406ff).

In the second part of this chapter I will turn to the field of media studies and attempt an explanation of the fascination of crime and finally conclude by introducing the criteria of newsworthiness that determine which news gets reported on and which not. These criminological and media theories provide the background impetus for the mainly linguistic research I carry out, aiming at detecting the hidden ideologies in newspaper discourse on crime. This chapter provides a brief overview of the literature on criminology and media studies that underlies the linguistic analysis which makes up the bulk of this thesis.

2.2 Crime and crime theories

Crime can be defined as 'an act of rule-breaking' (Hayward & Young, 2007: 111) or 'a violation of a written code or the law' (Crowther, 2007: 19). These rules or codes are created by society. Acts that break these socially constructed norms are regarded as deviant which leads to the conclusion that the concept of deviance itself is created by society (Becker, 1966: 3-8). Not all deviant behaviour is crime but every crime is deviant social behaviour although crime is as diverse as white collar crime, shop lifting, drunken driving or murder. Newburn (2007) states that crime is an 'indicator[…] of the nature of our society' because of the type of behaviour that 'we legislate against – and call crime' (2007: 171). Deviance as the umbrella term can be defined as 'nonconformity to a given norm […] that is accepted by the majority of society' (Giddens et al., 2003: 181). Against the general opinion that deviance and hence crime has to be prevented from occurring (see, for example, (Giddens, et al., 2003: 180)), Émile Durkheim argued otherwise. For him, crimes are offences 'against collective feelings or sentiments' (Newburn, 2007: 170) and reflect social conventions. Because these social conventions are not universal and vary between societies, he understood crime as a 'violation of a moral code', the '*conscience collective* of society' (Newburn, 2007: 170). He was the first who stated that crime should be considered as 'a factor in public health, an integral part of all societies' (Durkheim, 1938: 67), quoted in (Newburn, 2007: 171). Durkheim pointed out the importance of deviance for society by stating that it has an adaptive function as well as a function of maintaining boundaries (Giddens, et al., 2003: 186). The first refers to the 'innovative force' of deviance through the introduction of new ideas and challenges into society which are initially regarded as being deviant (Giddens, et al., 2003: 186). The latter refers to the proscription of certain forms of behaviour by punishment as a collective response which creates group solidarity and reinforces legal and moral rules (Giddens, et al., 2003: 186; Newburn, 2007: 171). Crime can also be considered to be a sensor for the state of society and thus has a social function. The punishment of crime reinforces people's sense of what law-abiding behavior is and reassures them at the same time that the state takes

measures against wrongdoing which creates confidence in the system and is a vital component in the maintenance of power.

2.2.1 Offender theories

Offenders are not inherently different from non-offenders but it is through 'the process of defining someone as […] delinquent' (Newburn, 2007: 213) that these persons become different from the law-abiding community. Offenders have violated the law and have been labelled as criminals once the law-breaking has been discovered. Within the subject of criminology, different theories have been developed to explain why people become deviant to extent of their behaviour being regarded as crime. These theories are important because they shed light on different ideological perspectives on offenders, some of which we will re-encounter later in the linguistic analysis of the linguistic construction of offenders in newspaper articles on crime.

- Subcultural Theory states that 'the motivation behind criminal behaviour [is] essentially similar to the motivation behind conforming behaviour [which is] the desire to satisfy the expectations of significant others in a membership or reference group' (Braithwaite, 1989: 21). This theory is based on sociological research stating that persons who associate with criminals or are attached to delinquent peers 'are more likely to engage in crime themselves' (Braithwaite, 1989: 21). For example, Albert Cohen (1955), a member of the Chicago School of sociology and later criminology (Newburn, 2007: 188ff), found a distinctive (sub)culture among working class youth in slum areas which emerged as a response to their perceived lack of economic and social opportunity within society.

- Control Theory is based on the notion that '[h]uman beings will seek the rewards of crime unless they are held in check, or are somehow controlled' (Braithwaite, 1989: 27), implying that it is in the human nature to commit crime.

- Opportunity Theory (Natarajan, 2011) sees opportunity as the fundamental feature in committing a crime. Delinquency is a result of the desire to achieve a cultural goal by illegitimate means because the institutionalised means are 'blocked' whereas the illegitimate

means are 'open' (Braithwaite, 1989: 32). This theory bears in mind a person from an underprivileged background with insufficient education pursuing the supposed cultural goal of wealth. Because this person is unlikely to achieve this goal by means of a well-paid job or a considerable inheritance, he or she turns to illegitimate means.

Opportunity theory and its assumption, that criminal behaviour is inherent and it is only down to the right opportunity that someone commits a crime, can be linked to the already mentioned scientific positivist approach (see chapter 1). By using genetics and physiological features to explain delinquency, the scientific positivist approach takes a reductionist view on offenders by stating that personal characteristics are deterministic for crime. By linking the approaches, we have a predisposed offender waiting for the right opportunity to commit a crime. Additionally, it emphasises the distinction between the criminal and the non-criminal.

Closely related to opportunity theory is crime science which is the 'application of the methods of science to crime and disorder' (Laycock, 2001: 4). This scientific approach to crime provides 'cooling devices' (Loader & Sparks, 2011: 83), which are supposed to 'de-dramatize crime and criminals and to prioritize the search for practical techniques that will reduce crime's impact upon everyday life' (Loader & Sparks, 2011: 102). This approach is based on Rational Choice Theory (Clarke, 1980) presuming that offenders make rational decisions weighing the costs against the benefits of a crime (Walklate, 2007b: 42). Crime is viewed as a triangle which consists of a motivated offender, a suitable target and an absence of a capable guardian (Routine Activity Theory, (Felson, 1987; Walklate, 2007b: 44)), which provides three options to take measures against crime: The offender can be demotivated by making the target less attractive and by introducing a suitable guardian. To give an example, a supermarket can be made less attractive for potential burglars if it is brightly illuminated at night, the money has been taken out of the shop with a visible sign stating this and a guard duty or a suitable barrier is introduced which makes it more difficult to enter the shop unnoticed. This framework plays down the social element of crime and is less interested in why an offender is motivated to commit a crime except from the circumstances at the time of

the crime. Thereby it is focused on crime 'management' (Walklate, 2007b: 42). Crime science accords with the neo-liberal view of crime and a rational choice offender. In the subsequent result chapters of this thesis I will return to opportunity theory and demonstrate that the underlying ideologies have been manifested in societal discourse on crime.

- <u>Learning Theory</u> states that '[c]riminal behavior is learned according to the principles of operant conditioning' (Burgess & Akers, 1966: 137). This theory, in contrast to Control Theory, denies the inheritance of criminal behaviour intrinsic to humans.

- <u>Conflict Theory</u> is based on Marxist ideas and states that 'individuals actively choose to engage in deviant behavior in response to the inequalities of the capitalist system' (Giddens, et al., 2003: 189). This framework thereby opposes the idea of innate criminal behavior and regards the law as a tool 'used by the powerful to maintain their own privileged positions' which becomes increasingly more important as the gap between the ruling and the working class widens (Giddens, et al., 2003: 189).

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

2.2.1.1 Offenders and Labelling Theory

Whatever causes people to commit crime, it is through 'the responses of people to particular kinds of behaviour' that deviant behaviour is labelled as crime (Becker, 1966: 18), which presupposes that crime has to be perceived as such by society (Becker, 1966: 20). This Labelling Theory was first introduced by Tannenbaum (1938) and refined by Becker (1966). It notes that 'one need only commit a single criminal offence' to be labelled as criminal (Becker, 1966: 33). "[D]eviance is *not* a quality of the act the person commits, but

rather a consequence of the application […] of rules and sanctions' to an offender by others (Becker, 1966: 9). This leads to the question of who is entitled to attach the label, which is ultimately a question of power. The media play an important part in the process of labelling as we will see later. Newspaper reports on crime ensure that the label sticks.

The status of deviance is a 'master status' trait which sticks with the offender throughout his or her life (Becker, 1966: 33). Master and 'auxiliary' or 'subordinate' status traits, introduced by Hughes (1945), 'distinguish those who belong from those who do not' (Becker, 1966: 32). These sociological terms define a person's status in society. A master status is a primary identifying characteristic of a person, such as race or ethnicity, sex, sexual orientation, physical ability, age, economic standing, religion or spirituality, and education[1]. It can be either ascribed or achieved and dominates subordinate statuses in most or all situations. Being labelled as criminal becomes such a master status trait (Becker, 1966: 8). Labelling is thereby 'person- rather than offense-centered' (Braithwaite, 1989: 4) in contrast to the view put forward by Foucault (1977) who suggests judging the crime instead of the criminal. Foucault's concept of power (1977), stating that power permeates different layers of society and thus derives from multiple sources, intertwines with Becker's Labelling Theory because the power to label someone as being criminal and thus deviant is distributed through the layers of society and stems from different sources within society. The overarching link between these two concepts is how social relations are often defined in terms of power and control. Becker and Foucault are both interested in how power is exercises, either by one group applying and maintaining the label of deviancy on another (Becker, 1966) or other groups ascribing power based on knowledge (Foucault, 1977).

The development of a 'stable pattern of deviant behavior' begins with 'the experience of being caught and publicly labelled as deviant' (Becker, 1966: 31). The underlying notion is that an offender is different from other people because he or she 'dared' to break an important social rule and is most likely to break other important rules as well (Becker, 1966: 34). This prognosis is self-fulfilling because the aforementioned master status trait prevents

---

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

offenders from reintegration and starts a vicious circle of re-offending and perpetuated labelling. The importance of Labelling Theory will be shown in the results chapters of this thesis because newspaper articles on crime mirror and sustain labels applied to offenders and often initiate labelling.

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

- The liberal-permissive tradition, based on Labelling Theory, calls for 'tolerance and understanding'. It pleads 'to see the deviant as more sinned against than sinning' as well as committing crime as a 'part of growing up' (Braithwaite, 1989: 8). At the same time it pleads for 'radical non-intervention' (Braithwaite, 1989: 8) of both the professionals as well as the community and thereby opposes the neo-classical as well as the utilitarian tradition which rely on professionals to deal with offenders.

- The utilitarian tradition is based on the assumption that 'scientific control of crime is possible if criminal justice professionals impose the right penalties on the right people for the right crimes, or if therapeutic professionals apply appropriate rehabilitative techniques' (Braithwaite, 1989: 6). This strategy aims to reduce crime through the work of professionals based on scientific knowledge which conversely means that society is discharged from any duty.

- The neo-classical tradition is also in favour of professional dealing with offenders and thereby explicitly takes a stand against any community involvement. It states that '[c]ommunity justice is unpredictable, inconsistent, and unjust' and leads to 'excessive oppression' or 'excessive leniency by do-gooders' (Braithwaite, 1989: 7).

All three traditions argue against the necessity as well as the chances of community involvement in the handling of crime. Recent criminology has seen a tendency towards the resurrection of the very same community commitment which aims towards a sustainable way of handling crime and a reduction in crime figures in the long run (Cornwell et al., 2013;

Wright, 2008b). Braithwaite (1989) introduced reintegrative shaming theory based on the notion that 'repute in the eyes of close acquaintances matters more to people than the opinions or actions of criminal justice officials' (Braithwaite, 1989: 69). This theory emphasizes the importance of shaming imposed as a sanction by the criminal justice system to reintegrate the offender into society by strengthening the moral bond between him or her and the community. Braithwaite thereby brings community involvement back into focus by taking into account the advantage of a 'freely chosen compliance' in the person of the offender versus coercion which goes along with the punitive system (Braithwaite, 1989: 10). The different theories on offenders outlined above are based on and reveal different ideological viewpoints which determine our view on offenders and some of which are to be found in societal discourse on offenders as, for example, in relevant newspaper articles. This sections aims to introduce these different ideologies to facilitate their detection in the analysed data.

2.2.2 Victims and Victimology

To fully grasp the recent tendencies and underlying ideologies it is important to include the victim of crime in our consideration, because 'there is no such thing as victimless crime' (Garland, 2001: 181). I argue, that a crime can in fact be victimless (Williams, 2005: 35) in case of, for example, under-age sex where both participants are under the legal age of consent or cultivating drugs for one's own use or driving without insurance where no accident occurs[2].. But none of these victimless crimes are part of my collection of newspaper articles in this thesis.

Offenders and victims are constructed as counterparts, because their interests 'are assumed to be diametrically opposed' in a 'zero sum game' (Garland, 2001: 180). A comprehensive definition of victimhood can be found on the webpage of the United Nations:

---

[2] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victimless_crime

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

(United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Commission resolution 1999/33).

Four major academic theories have been developed within victimology, a sub-section of criminology, which aim at identifying victims, explaining the impact the crime and the criminal trial have on them as well as exploring whether there is a schema for falling victim. These theories provide the background for understanding societal and media discourses on victims:

- <u>Positivist Victimology</u> (also called conservative or conventional victimology (Mawby & Walklate, 1994: 9)) is the most influential framework and aims at 'the identification of factors which contribute to a non-random pattern of victimization' (Miers, 1989: 3). It focuses primarily on 'street crime' (Mawby & Walklate, 1994: 9) and offers an explanation for crime statistics but neglects other types of crime such as corporate crime or crime which occurs 'behind closed doors' (Mawby & Walklate, 1994: 9). The concept of the 'ideal victim' (Christie, 1986) fits into this framework. It enumerates the characteristics of individuals 'who – when hit by crime – most readily are given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim' (Christie, 1986: 18) although these people are not 'in the greatest danger of being victimized' (Christie, 1986: 18). The 'ideal victim' is weak, sick, old or very young, was carrying out a respectable project at the time of crime or shortly before, had no personal relationship with the offender and could not possibly be blamed for being attacked (Christie, 1986: 19), it is the 'Little Red Riding Hood fairy tale victim' (Walklate, 2007a: 28). 'Ideal victims need – and create – ideal offenders' (Christie, 1986: 25) by contrasting the morally 'white victim' against the morally 'black offender' (Christie, 1986: 26).

- Radical Victimology takes the stand to include all victims and 'all aspects of victimisation' which includes 'the role of the state alongside the law in producing victimization' (Walklate, 2007a: 37) and is mainly focused on victims of police force, war, the correctional system, state violence and oppression of any sort (Quinney, 1972: 315). This broader view on victims goes beyond the definition of victims according to Positivist Criminology.

- Critical Victimology challenges 'the use of the term 'victim'' (Walklate, 2007a: 50) as well as the presumption that victims can be differentiated 'from others, whether in terms of their personal or their behavioural characteristics' (Walklate, 2007a: 51) and thereby questions the notion of the 'ideal victim' (Christie, 1986). This theory engages with the 'the idea of the victim as being structurally neutral' (Walklate, 2007a: 52). Critical Victimology focuses on the construction of victims through policy and legislation and thus one of its main fields of interest is the recent tendency of constructing victims as 'consumers of the justice system' (Jefferson & Shapland, 1990: 12; Mawby & Walklate, 1994: 20; Rock, 2004), which besides victims fulfilling obligations has led to distinct 'procedural rights' for them (Hoyle & Zedner, 2007: 474; Reeves & Dunn, 2010), as well as a 'phenomenal rise of Victim Support' (Mawby & Walklate, 1994: 20).

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

In this context the rise of cultural victimology has to be mentioned which is 'a scattered field of loosely connected approaches' (Mythen, 2007: 467). This recent tendency

regards culture as being 'at the heart of the process of victimisation' (Mythen, 2007: 466), 'viewing both crime and the agencies of control as cultural products – as creative constructs' (Hayward & Young, 2004: 259) see also (Hayward & Young, 2007). Work using this approach is interested in the power of the media and its creation of 'symbolic identities for sufferers of crime' (Mythen, 2007: 468). Mythen warns that the aspect of culture can be just 'one facet of a holistic victimology' (2007: 479). This approach, although sociologically based, resembles the notion of the linguistic construction of entities as applied by Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2007, 2010a). The latter will be introduced in detail in the following chapter 3.

A crucial aspect for this thesis is the distinction between 'deserving and undeserving victims' in terms of victimhood status (Stanko, 2000: 153) or the 'hierarchy of victimisation' (Walklate, 2007a: 28). At the bottom of this hierarchy are the homeless, the drug addict or the street prostitute whereas at the top 'might be the elderly female' (Walklate, 2007a: 28). This distinction stems from the notion that '[v]ictim status is something that has to been achieved […] through to being socially and/or in policy terms […] recognized as a victim' (Walklate, 2007a: 28). This notion reiterates Christie's (1986) distinction between the ideal and the non-ideal victim (1986: 22). Undeserving or non-ideal victims are to be found at the bottom of the hierarchy pyramid and will not easily be given the status of a victim of crime. This classification of victims of crime has an impact on the construction of the respective offenders because, as Christie (1986: 25) states: '[t]he more ideal a victim is, the more ideal becomes the offender'. At the same time this distinction leads to a mitigation of the seriousness of some crime and eventually to a graduation of the severity of the same crime depending who the victim is. Similarly, Mythen notes that offenders 'are increasingly situated by and through their relationship with the victim' (2007: 465). This approach supports my argument that the construction of victims serves the construction of the respective offenders as I will demonstrate in the results chapters and that our interest in victims is ultimately based on our interest in the offender.

A different dimension of victimisation is the distinction between first and secondary victimisation (Walklate, 2007a: 29). This theory is based on the question of who causes harm

to the victim. 'Primary victimization refers to the direct impact that a crime has on the victim' (Walklate, 2007a: 73) whereas secondary vicitimisation 'refers to the situation in which victims feel so poorly treated by the criminal justice system that the experience was akin to being victimized all over again' (Newburn, 2007: 359). Although this distinction is an important aspect of victimization, the United Nations' definition of victimhood (see above) does not include this facet of victimisation.

2.3 Recent tendencies and Restorative Justice

The second half of last century saw a shift of focus away from the offender, bringing the victim into 'the centre of policy concerns' (Walklate, 2007a: 52) which led to a ''rediscovery' of the crime victim' (Mawby & Walklate, 1994: 22). The victim is now perceived as 'a key player in the criminal justice process' who reports crime, provides evidence and acts as a witness in court (Hoyle & Zedner, 2007: 473) as opposed to its former construction merely as the 'triggerer-off' (Christie, 1977: 3). Christie (1977) states that the traditional criminal trial took the conflict away from the parties (offender and victim) and turned it into 'the property of lawyers' (1977: 4). The victim was (and still is) represented by the state whereby he or she is 'pushed completely out of the arena' (Christie, 1977: 3). This reduced 'the victim to a nonentity and the offender to a thing' (Christie, 1977: 5), they became degraded to role players who are 'more easily exchanged than persons' (Christie, 1977: 5). The recent tendency to construct victims as consumers of the criminal justice system has to be seen in this context.

To perceive crime as a conflict between offender and victim, hence them being the parties of this conflict (Christie, 1977: 1) has prepared the ground for Restorative Justice, an 'umbrella term for a variety of theories and practices which share the aim of repairing a wide range of harm' (Hoyle & Zedner, 2007: 482). It emerged out of a frustration 'with conventional criminal justice practice' (Hoyle & Zedner, 2007: 482) and was developed by practitioners reviving the concept of family conferences in New Zealand (Walklate, 2007a: 122). This development has to be seen in connection with Braithwaite's (1989) theory of reintegrative

shaming (see section 2.2.1.1 above) because both stress the importance as well as the opportunities of community involvement (Wright, 2008a: 266). According to Wright (2010), '[r]estorative justice sees it [crime] as a violation of people or relationships; it involves victims, offenders and the community in an effort to put things right, focusing on what the victim needs and the offender owes' (2010: 18). Critical appraisal of Restorative Justice states that 'victims are used as a means to diversion and crime reduction, not as ends in themselves' and that the 'penal character' is missing by not taking 'sufficient account of the offender's culpability' (Hoyle & Zedner, 2007: 486). Restorative Justice thus questions the role of the professionals and promotes civic renewal. However, Restorative Justice represents a 'countertrend' (Hoyle & Zedner, 2007: 487) to the traditional criminal trial and prepares the ground for societal reintegration of offenders and sustainable crime prevention. Despite the advantages of Restorative Justice, its wide acceptance is still missing. This is partly due to the predominance of the retributional system in societal discourse on crime as I will show through my analysis. A change in discourse on crime is a necessary prerequisite for a broader acceptance of Restorative Justice in society and ultimately, the development of a 'restaurative Gesellschaft' (restorative society) (Wright, 2012: 33).

2.4 Risk and fear of crime

Another aspect to be mentioned when talking about the social construction of crime, offenders and victims is the concept of risk and fear of crime. Risk refers to the objectifiable likelihood of falling victim to crime whereas fear denotes the personal perception of the very same likelihood. Risk is regarded as 'a particular quality of modernity itself' (M. Brown & Pratt, 2000: 2) as well as 'a core characteristic of all modern liberal and capitalist societies' (O'Malley, 2000: 17), see also (O'Malley, 2010). '[S]ome sociologists go as far as to regard it as a central organizing principle of late modern societies' (Levi et al., 2007: 692). Beck notes a 'transition from class to risk society' (Beck, 1992: 49). Whereas class societies are 'related to the ideal of *equality*', risk societies pursue the ideal of safety and nourish the 'utopia' that everyone should be spared from harm (Beck, 1992: 49). To achieve this goal, risk has to be

tamed and be brought under control (M. Brown & Pratt, 2000: 2). Beck (1992: 19ff) states that risk is not evenly distributed in society. Instead, society is divided by the different degrees to which people are able to spare themselves from harm (Beck, 1992: 19ff). The development of risk factors which set out to define 'what kinds of people are most likely to commit violent offences' is an attempt to control this risk (Levi, et al., 2007: 703ff). The same can be witnessed regarding the development of risk factors of victimisation (Hoyle & Zedner, 2007: 465). Both emanate from criminological theories about victims and offenders, as outlined above, and can be seen as a consequence of this craving for predictability. Walklate even notes a shift from 'crime prevention policy' to 'victimization prevention policy' (2007a: 8). Although '[t]he risk of becoming a victim of crime remains at a historic low, […] yet interestingly, three quarters of the general public still believe that the national crime rate is rising' (Walklate, 2007a: 12), see also (Pfeiffer et al., 2005). The concomitant 'fear of crime has become a highly emotive political reference point' (Walklate, 2007a: 7). Offenders, especially prisoners, are 'narrowly constructed within a discourse of fear and dangerousness' as 'a social threat' (Mason, 2006: 254). The 'concept of risk has become something of a touchstone' (M. Brown, 2000: 93) in relation to (dangerous) offenders. Because the media 'exaggerate the extent of violent crime' (Newburn, 2007: 88) they concomitantly 'create conditions for the support of the penal system' (Mason, 2006: 252) as a means to keep the risk of crime under control. This 'renaissance of dangerousness and its invocation of predatory monsters and demons help[s] to unite the public at large against a common enemy' (M. Brown & Pratt, 2000: 5) which eventually leads to social exclusion and a manifestation of the label offender. Reiner in his comprehensive study of the media representation of crime states that because the media 'exaggerate the threat of crime' they 'promote policing and punishment as the antidote' (Reiner, 2007). Thus, they provide indispensable means to maintain power and to support the structures of power (e.g. the police). With these thoughts I conclude this overview of crime theories and turn to media studies.

2.5 The fascination of crime

Crime fascinates. The reason for this phenomenon can be best explained with an interdisciplinary approach at the intersection of linguistics, media studies, criminology and psychology. Crime stories satisfy the voyeuristic desire of the audience (Jewkes, 2004b: 23) with some offenders joining the ranks of the famous (Gregoriou, 2011: 4). Because of the inherent 'backstage nature of crime' where 'most crime is private, secretive and hidden, surreptitiously committed and studiously concealed', its 'entertainment value' is enhanced because it allows the audience 'voyeuristic glimpses of rare and bizarre acts' (Surette, 2009: 240) into 'other people's private lives' (Jewkes, 2009: XVI). Crime news evoke 'contradictory feelings of repulsion and attraction, condemnation and admiration' (Gregoriou, 2011: 4) and their 'collective, ritual elements' (Jewkes, 2009: VII) as well as their highlighting of the moral dilemmas of other people provide the basis for the 'apparently voracious public appetite for crime news' (Jewkes, 2009: VII). Crime news are 'prime news' (Greer, 2003: 44) and serve as a 'daily moral workout' for the audience (Jewkes, 2009: VII). Garland (2001: 158) states that '[w]ithout a grounded, routine, collective experience of crime, it is unlikely that crime news and drama would attract such large audiences or sell so much advertising space'. The media institutionalise the experience of crime by surrounding us with images of crime (Garland, 2001: 158). The stories, also called 'press narratives' (Greer, 2003: 59), perpetuate stereotypes of crime, criminals and victims while the sensationalism of the reported crimes is enhanced concurrently. A vicious circle is established through the presentation of crime which manufactures panic which in turn promotes the fascination of crime and ultimately evokes the need for greater response which has an impact on the legal system. The responses to crime decided upon and executed by authorities reassure people that the system works (Giddens, et al., 2003: 186). The 'alienating discourse' (Gregoriou, 2011: 3) about crime in media reports is an important definer 'of popular knowledge concerning crime' (Garland, 2001: 146) and forms 'much of the reality of crime and justice for much of the public' (Surette, 2009: 239). It thereby not only informs the public but also shapes the popular knowledge and attitude concerning crime (A. Hart, 1991: 8) and thus the societal discourse

about crime. This societal discourse and media reports on crime are interdependent and shape as well as mirror each other because 'not many people get first-hand information on crime and criminals and they therefore depend on media reports for information surrounding this issue' (Tabbert, 2012: 142). As Mythen (2007) states, the media 'play an increasingly central role in informing and cultivating people's everyday perceptions of crime, disorder and victimisation' (2007: 467). The overrepresentation of violent and sexual crimes in the media (Mason, 2006: 252), which have been resulted in a conviction, as well as the rarity of coverage of white collar, corporate or state crime (Jewkes, 2009: XVI), underlines the notion that 'the media is not a window on the world, but a prism subtly bending and distorting our picture of reality' (Jewkes, 2004b: 200). Surette (2009) notes that the 'media reality of the world […] is one of a trisected society composed of wolves, sheep and sheepdogs. In the mass entertainment media vision of society, evil and cunning predator criminal wolves create general mayhem and prey on weak, defenseless – and often stupid – victim sheep […], while good crime fighting hero sheepdogs […] intervene and protect the sheep in the name of retributive justice' (2009: 258).

In order to explain the construction of crime, offenders and victims through the media, the sociological model of symbolic interactionism can be used. This framework traces back to the work of Georg Herbert Mead, a philosopher at the University of Chicago (Giddens, et al., 2003: 16). Mead emphasised the importance of language 'in analyzing the social world' (Giddens, et al., 2003: 16). At the core of this framework is the notion of a symbol which '*stands for* something else' (Giddens, et al., 2003: 17). Language is a major example of symbols with words being symbols for real life objects they stand for. Symbolic interactionism states that '[v]irtually all interactions between individuals […] involve an exchange of symbols' (Giddens, et al., 2003: 17). This framework has parallels with the model of sign and signifier in Linguistics (see chapter 3) and explains how the media are able to construct crime, offenders and victims through triggering symbolic thoughts which are not limited to our own experience and are thus open to manipulation.

2.6 Moral panics

One example of 'the media's capacity to 'socially explode' risks' (Mythen, 2007: 471) and thus create moral panic is the mods and rockers panic which arose in the UK in the 1960s. This example serves to understand the power of the media as well as the divergence between reality and the media construction of a supposed to be reality. The term moral panics was coined by Young in his article about public concern about drug use in 1975 (Newburn, 2007: 95). Stanley Cohen in his influential work *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (2002) provided the first scientific analysis of a moral panic. He described the underlying events as follows:

> Easter 1964 was worse than usual. It was cold and wet, and in fact Easter Sunday was the coldest for eighty years. The shopkeepers and stall owners were irritated by the lack of business and the young people had their own boredom and irritation fanned by rumours of café owners and barmen refusing to serve some of them. A few groups started scuffling on the pavements and throwing stones at each other. The mods and rockers factions – a division initially based on clothing and lifestyles, later rigidified, but at that time not fully established – started separating out. Those on bikes and scooters roared up and down, windows were broken, some beach huts were wrecked and one boy fired a starting pistol in the air. The vast number of people crowding into the streets, the noise, everyone's general irritation and the actions of an unprepared and undermanned police force had the effect of making the two days unpleasant, oppressive and sometimes frightening.
>
> (S. Cohen, 1980: 29)

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

devil. Cohen (2002) identified seven 'clusters of social identity' which the objects of moral panic belong to (2002: VIII-XXI):

- Young, Working-class, Violent Males

- School Violence: Bullying and Shootouts

- Wrong Drugs; Used by Wrong People at Wrong Places

- Child Abuse, Satanic Rituals and Paedophile Registers

- Sex, Violence and Blaming the Media

- Welfare Cheats and Single Mothers

- Refugees and Asylum Seekers

He also answered the question why some news successfully initiate moral panic while others do not. Cohen (2002) argued that three factors are needed: a suitable enemy (from the list above), a suitable victim and a consensus that the event was not insulated or non-recurring but likely to happen again (2002: XI). He found that only extreme or especially dramatic cases ignite moral panics (2002: XII), that moral panics are disproportional and volatile (2002: XXVIII, XXIX) and occur from time to time (2002: 1). An important aspect in the creation of moral panic is 'the nature of information that is received about the behavior in question' (2002: 7). Newburn (2007: 95) lists five stages of a moral panic:

1. Something or someone is defined as a threat to values or interests.

2. This threat is depicted in an easily recognizable form by the media

3. There is a rapid build-up of public concern.

4. There is a response from authorities or opinion-makers.

5. The panic recedes or results in social changes.

Although the shortcomings of this concept of moral manic have been acknowledged (Waddington, 1986: 258), it can still serve to understand 'how morality, deviance and risk are perceived in late modern society' (Mayr & Machin, 2012: 22). Not all crime news is capable of initiating moral panic, only those crimes which fulfill the criteria listed above. However, bearing this concept in mind allows us to understand to what extent crime news has an

impact on society. In the following section I will turn to the criteria which determine

newsworthiness and I will show that news which successfully ignites moral panics always

fulfills these criteria (Jewkes, 2011: 85-95).

2.7 Criteria of newsworthiness

Criteria of newsworthiness explain why certain (crime) news gets reported in the

media while other crime reports do not pass the 'threshold of importance' (Jewkes, 2009:

VIII). These criteria are used as 'benchmarks to determine a story's newsworthiness' by

editors and journalists (Jewkes, 2004b: 37). Jewkes (2004b) states that 'if a story does not

contain at least some of the characteristics deemed newsworthy, it will not appear in the

news agenda' (2004b: 37). These criteria of newsworthiness are based on news values

which are 'value judgements that journalists and editors make about the public appeal of a

story and also whether it is in the public interest' to be reported which in turn are based on

the 'assumptions media professionals make about their audience' (Jewkes, 2004b: 37).

News values are not born out of a 'journalistic conspiracy', instead they are 'more subtle' and

rather due to 'commercial, legislative and technical pressures that characterize journalism'

(Jewkes, 2004b: 38). Jewkes (2004b) illustrates this by stating '[n]owhere in a newsroom will

you find a list pinned to the wall reminding reporters and editors what their 'angle' on a story

should be' (2004b: 38). Bell (1991) took the argument a step further by stating that news

stories are changed in their structure in order to foreground and enhance those criteria which

make the stories newsworthy. In my analysis I will point out the respective criteria on

occasion.

Criteria of newsworthiness were first systematically identified and categorized by

Galtung and Ruge (1973). Although their focus was not on crime news in particular, they

identified eleven criteria out of which I list the following four criteria (due to space constraints

I will explain in detail only the most significant criteria at the end of this section):

- unexpectedness,

- proximity (either regional or emotional),

- significant dramatic impact and

- negativity of the event

Chibnall's (1977), also quoted in Newburn (2007: 86), study of news values, which was the first to develop news values for crime based on the work of Galtung and Ruge (1973) , identified the following as additional criteria of newsworthiness:

- immediacy/recency (in term of the time between the event and the report)

- dramatisation

- personalisation (eliteness of the persons involved or eliteness of the story's sources)

- simplification (reducing the story to the core elements of good and bad)

- titillation (voyeurism)

- conventionalism (hegemonic ideology)

- structured access (experts, authority) and

- novelty of the story

His study 'remains the most influential study of news values relating to crime reporting' (Jewkes, 2004a: 216) although the criteria of newsworthiness have slightly changed over the past decades. Bell (1991: 156ff) enumerates the following additional news factors:

- consonance of the story with preconceptions,

- superlativeness,

- relevance,

- factivity

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

- risk (and/or violence),

- sex,

- spectacle and graphic imagery and

- children.

All criteria listed above are echoed and slightly changed in numerous studies (Bednarek, 2006; Bednarek & Caple, 2012; Conboy, 2006; Durant & Lambrou, 2009; Fairclough, 1995b; Fowler, 1991; Mayr & Machin, 2012). Out of the lists above, Jewkes (2004a: 217ff) extracted the six most salient criteria: risk, sex, proximity (in accordance with Greer, 2003: 43), violence, spectacle and graphic imagery (mainly on TV) as well as children. These criteria will be explained in the remainder of this chapter except spectacle and graphic imagery because the focus of my research is on the language in newspaper articles and it is beyond the scope of this thesis to include visual images.

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

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

newsworthiness criteria, which explains why local events get reported in the local press but seldom pass the threshold into the national or even international press.

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

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

Bednarek and Caple (2012) identified some linguistic devices used to adapt the news stories according to the criteria of newsworthiness (although their criteria of newsworthiness differ from Jewkes (2004a: 217ff)). Out of the long list of devices they collected I will only present three and illustrate each by drawing on an example from my data. These linguistic devices will be linked to the criteria of newsworthiness and I will show how they are applied to foreground those aspects of the story which relate to the criteria of newsworthiness:

- The use of evaluative language means to include 'linguistic expressions that realize opinion' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 46), e.g. *Evil Ali Majlat, 35* (The Sun, 03.04.2009). In this example the dangerousness of the offender is foregrounded (although not linguistically foregrounded since it does not deviate from standard language) which highlights the criterion of risk, namely stranger-danger because he can attack anybody.

- Intensification and quantification refers to linguistic devices which 'intensify number or amount' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 47), e.g. *more than 17,000 indecent images of children* (The Independent, 17.04.2009; The Guardian, 18.04.2009). Here the emphasis is on the

large number of pictures showing indecent images of children which highlights the criteria of sex and children.

- Comparison means that a story is compared to other, often similar events (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 47), e.g. *Rape accused aged EIGHT becomes <u>youngest person ever</u> quizzed by police for the crime* (Daily Mail, 11.03.2009). This sentence highlights again the newsworthiness criteria of sex and children by reference to the crime and the age of the offender.

I conclude from these examples that language and in particular the use of linguistic devices can manipulate a story according to the criteria of newsworthiness and thus foreground those aspects which evoke fascination. This ultimately leads to a construction of offenders and victims which mirrors and perpetuates societal discourse on crime and ultimately triggers and reinforces existing ideologies. The list of linguistic devices collected by Bednarek and Caple (2012) is more accurately described as a collection of device categories because they mix different linguistic features as long as these features achieve the same effect of foregrounding particular newsworthiness criteria in a text. The tools offered by Critical Stylistics (as will be outlined in the following chapter 3) provide a more linguistically systematic approach to the analysis of linguistic features and lead to similar conclusions as I will demonstrate in the result chapters.

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

of the criteria of newsworthiness as well as reveal how crime stories are adapted to these criteria by stressing those facets of the stories which coincide with these criteria.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has defined crime as 'any type of behavior that breaks a law' (Giddens, et al., 2003: 181) and showed the importance of crime for the functioning of any society. The different theories to explain why people commit crime were outlined along with the frameworks developed within victimology. Of central importance are Christie's (1986) concept of ideal victims creating ideal offenders as well as Becker's (1966) Labelling Theory which will be supported linguistically when analysing the data later on. Recent tendencies have seen a shift of focus towards the victim of crime who benefits from an increase of victim's rights and the possibility of participating in Restorative Justice processes. I argue that this enhanced interest in the victim of crime ultimately serves the construction of the respective offender and, on the other hands, constructs the victim as a consumer of the criminal justice system and not just the triggerer-off by increasing victim rights in the criminal justice process. The notion of risk society was introduced which explains the construction of offenders as 'a social threat' (Mason, 2006: 254). Finally, the fascination with crime as well as the criteria of newsworthiness concluded this chapter on criminology and media studies which provides the background knowledge to understand societal discourse on crime. These theories and their underlying ideologies will help to explain the linguistic findings which will be outlined later on in the result chapters 6 and 7 and will place them into a broader context taking into account not just linguistic theories but also sociological issues which comprise criminology as well as media studies because crime is first of all a societal phenomenon.

Chapter 3: Critical Language Studies and Critical Stylistics

_____

> *However, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that there is a level at which texts organize the world we experience, and that this is demonstrable in the words and structures of the texts themselves.*
>
> *(Jeffries, 2010a: 14)*

3.1 Introduction

This chapter turns to linguistics and in the first part introduces and defines the key terms *text, ideology, discourse* and *power.* This will be followed by outlining the developments as well as the frameworks of Critical Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis and finally, Critical Stylistics and their respective relationships. Because I will employ the tools of Critical Stylistics in this thesis, I will show why it was developed and why this framework is not just another approach to Critical Discourse Analysis but a further development of it.

3.2 Defining *text, ideology, discourse* and *power*

Returning to the definition of language outlined in chapter 1 and bearing in mind the overall research question, namely how offenders, victims and crime are constructed in the newspaper articles under scrutiny, I argue that the language in those articles represents a state of mind and is communication at the same time (Chapman, 2006: 29, 40ff, 54). In general and also in newspaper articles on crime, language is used as a 'vehicle for thought' (Chapman, 2006: 41) or can be considered to be 'the formative organ of thought' (Humboldt, 1836). Simultaneously, language allows the communication of this state of mind to the reader. Because of the absence of body language in written texts, only the written text communicates the message by using signs (mainly words) which are composed of signifiers

and signified (Saussure, 1986). This notion shows parallels with the sociological concept of symbolic interactionism (see chapter 2) and provides the gateway for manipulation.

Offenders, victims and crime are constructed through language in newspaper articles on crime. These newspaper articles do not provide a copy of reality but create a social reality of their own, namely the offenders and victims in these articles are not a mirror held up to reflect the real people but instead a construction with links to reality. Fowler (1981) notes 'because language is a systematic code and not just a random list of labels, it facilitates the storage and the transmission of concepts' (1981: 25). This notion of concept leads inevitably to the notion of language constructing social realities (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 161) by not merely reflecting reality but by constructing or reproducing our notion of reality and thus ideologies (Stubbs, 1996: 61), (Ehrlich, 2001: 36). This is closely related to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which states that language 'structures the way in which we perceive the world' (Jeffries, 2006: 200). Although this extreme form of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is contested among linguists, many accept the notion of a weaker relationship between language and reality stating that language does not completely structure the perception of the world but that language has an effect on 'our categorisation of the world' (Jeffries, 2006: 200). In line with this view, we might say that the construction of crime, victims and offenders in newspaper articles through language influences our worldview and thus our concept of crime and deviance. This understanding of language links with Halliday's three metafunctions of language (Halliday, 1985; Teo, 2000: 24). The ideational function of language focuses on 'how language represents the world' (Jeffries, 2010a: 6), the interpersonal function is concerned with 'how language mediates between people' (Jeffries, 2010a: 6) and finally, the textual metafunction of language is interested in how 'the text connects the different sides of the relevant topic and coordinates them' (Timor & Weiss, 2008: 114). I take an interest in the ideational and textual function of language in order to answer my overarching research question because the linguistic construction of offenders, victims and crimes represents a worldview. To analyse how this is achieved through newspaper texts is key to answering my research questions.

3.2.1 The concept of *text*

In this and the following sections I define some key terms and show how I use them in the context of this thesis. I will start with the term *text* here and will deal with *ideology*, *discourse* and *power* in the following sections. Because I linguistically analyse newspaper articles on crime in this thesis, I see it as a necessity to clarify the terminology I use and to explain why I regard these newspaper articles as texts and thus as a part of societal discourse on crime.

A basic definition for *text* is provided by Cook (1989) who sees texts as '[s]tretches of language treated only formally' (1989: 14). He thereby refers to 'formal features' like 'the black marks which form writing on the page' or 'the speech sounds picked up by our ears' (Cook, 1989: 14). His definition of *text* comprises written and spoken language but excludes any context. Fairclough (1992a: 4) states that text refers 'to any product whether written or spoken'. This definition takes a broad view on texts and comprises 'written texts, spoken interaction, the multimedia texts of television and the Internet' (Fairclough, 2005: 916). Fairclough (2005) sees texts as 'linguistic/semiotic elements of social events' and emphasises that texts should be 'analytically isolable' (2005: 916). Fairclough (2005), in contrast to Cook (1989), includes context in the definition of *text,* which provides the grounds to link the term to *discourse* as we will see later. In addition, Stubbs (1996) stresses the fact that texts should occur naturally and in collecting these instances of language use the researcher is assigned to only an observational or passive role (1996: 4). In opposition, Chomsky (1965) used invented examples to make his point and was not interested in instances of real language use (1965: 3) for which he rightly was extensively criticised. The length of texts is unimportant as sometimes a single word, as for example STOP on a traffic sign, can also be subsumed under the term *text*.

Texts are isolable, naturally occurring and either written or spoken language in Fairclough's broadest sense (comprising also multimedia texts of television or the internet), which are part of social events. Therefore, I regard the newspaper articles I collected for this

thesis as *texts* because they are examples of real life language use which fit into Fairclough's broad definition of *text* although they are limited to written texts. They are isolable and occurred naturally. In collecting these articles I took an observational role meaning that the texts are not influenced or written by me. Each article can be regarded as being part of a social process, namely the construction of crime and deviance, which connects the definition of *text* to the definition of *discourse* (see section 3.2.3 below).

Texts and thus newspaper articles on crime (the terms are used interchangeably in this thesis) consist of sentences, which consist of clauses, consisting of phrases, consisting of words and finally of morphemes, the 'smallest unit of meaning' in language (Jeffries, 2006: 5, 71), see also (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011: 24). Meaning is projected by texts through

(a) textual features (semantics, pragmatics and grammatical structure) which trigger meaning and

(b) the reader who constructs meaning by bringing his or her world knowledge to the text (Semino, 1997: 125).

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

3.2.2 The concept of *ideology*

Language and text are intertwined with *ideology* because language is 'the primary instrument through which ideology is transmitted, enacted and reproduced' (Teo, 2000: 11). Texts carry ideologies and ideologies are triggered in the text. Ideology is defined in a relativist sense as a collectively shared, 'coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or

values' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 8). It can be regarded as a 'mental framework' (Izadi &

Saghaye-Biria, 2007: 140) which is 'communicated, reproduced, constructed and negotiated

using language' (Jeffries, 2010a: 5). The critical definition of ideology sees ideologies as

'significations/constructions of reality […] which are built into various dimensions of the

forms/meanings of discursive practices' (Fairclough, 1992a: 87). This critical understanding

of ideology is based on Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony and sees ideology as

'meaning in the service of power' (Fairclough, 1995a: 14). This leads to the notion that

'language is not neutral, but a highly constructive mediator' (Fowler, 1991: 1). Consequently,

'no text is free from ideology' (Julian, 2011: 767), see also (Simpson, 1993: 7). Ideology

cannot be 'read off' a text (Fairclough, 1995a: 71) but, as Jeffries and Walker (2012) state,

'ideology is frequently identifiable through textual analysis' (2012: 214). In order to answer

the question of how offenders, victims and crimes are constructed in newspaper articles, we

need to bear in mind that the newspaper articles under scrutiny are carriers of ideologies

about offenders, victims and crimes and the path towards detecting those ideologies starts

on the textual level and requires the linguistic analysis of the texts. Recalling the

criminological theories outlined in chapter 2 which are based on ideology and provide

explanations for the societal phenomenon of crime as well as regarding the fact that

newspaper articles on crime are carrier of ideologies, I expect the uncovered hidden

ideologies on crime in the texts and to link them with criminological frameworks. The

knowledge of criminological theories facilitates the explanation of the hidden ideologies found

in the texts.

3.2.3 The concept of *discourse*

Chapman, summarising De Saussure' work, explains that, according to him, 'a word

did not stand for an actual thing in the world [...] [r]ather it stood for a concept' (Chapman,

2006: 96). This notion of concept is the first stage in approaching a definition of *discourse*.

The term *discourse* can be defined in different ways (Weiss & Wodak, 2003: 13). A basic

definition provided by Cook (1989) regards *discourse* as 'stretches of language perceived to

be meaningful, unified, and purposive' (1989: 156). By this definition, a sentence would constitute *discourse* but does not fully encapsulate the meaning of *discourse* as it is used within CDA and Critical Stylistics which I will explain shortly. In cultural or literary studies *discourse* is defined as 'the kind of language used in relation to a particular topic or in a particular setting' (Jeffries, 2010a: 7) which can only be one aspect of a *discourse* definition in linguistics emphasising the dynamic of *discourse*. The notion of *discourse* in the Foucauldian sense refers to knowledge and exchange in reference to a topic, e.g. the discourse of feminism or deviance. *Discourse* can also be defined as the (scientific) knowledge about a particular topic, e.g. the discourse on HIV or religion. In Linguistics, two main approaches to the definition of *discourse* have been developed. The structuralist definition based on Chomsky's notion of language being a mental phenomenon regards *discourse* as a particular unit of language above the sentence or above the clause (Schiffrin, 1994: 20, 21, 23) whereas Halliday's functional approach based on the notion of language being primarily a societal phenomenon defines *discourse* as a particular focus on language use (Schiffrin, 1994: 20, 21), see also (Blommaert, 2005: 2). Fairclough (1992a) refers to *discourse* as a three-dimensional concept consisting of 'a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice' (1992a: 4). Fairclough's definition of discourse thereby allows me to adopt both discourse definitions, the formalist and the functionalist, because Fairclough gives credit to the structural aspects of language use as well as to the social aspect of 'language in use' (G. Brown & Yule, 1983) which are not mutually exclusive. The functional aspect of discourse also incorporates the notion of discourse being a dynamic phenomenon, in line with the prevalent view within the social sciences.

Whereas the term *text* focuses on words and sentences and their meaning, the term *discourse* refers to the broader view and focuses on language regardless of the boundaries of sentences (Carter et al., 2008: 141). *Discourse* is both socially constitutive and also socially conditioned (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258) and thereby 'not only a container and carrier of ideologies but [...] also a social action on its own' (Khosravinik, 2009: 478). Van Dijk

employs the metaphor of an iceberg when referring to *discourse*. He states that 'only the most relevant information is actually expressed as meaning' (2003: 92) whereas the majority of information is hidden. This metaphor is at the core of the answer to the research question. In order provide the answer to how offenders, victims and crime are constructed in newspaper articles it is necessary to dive into the water and study the entire iceberg in order to reveal the hidden ideologies in the discourse on deviance.

I now proceed by setting the terms *language, text, ideology* and *discourse* in relation to each other and show how they interact to make clearer the way in which I use them in this thesis.

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

morphemes are used to build words which build phrases and then clauses, sentences and ultimately *texts* (see section 3.2.1 above), I want to extend this hierarchy by including *discourse*. In relation to *discourse*, phrases or clauses or sentences can also be referred to as utterances (Jeffries, 2006: 5) which consist of words and morphemes. Utterances constitute *texts* (Jeffries, 2006: 5) and *texts* constitute *discourse* (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011: 24, 25). This hierarchy of linguistic levels is shown in figure 3.1:

discourse

text

sentence

clause   **utterance**

phrase

word

morpheme
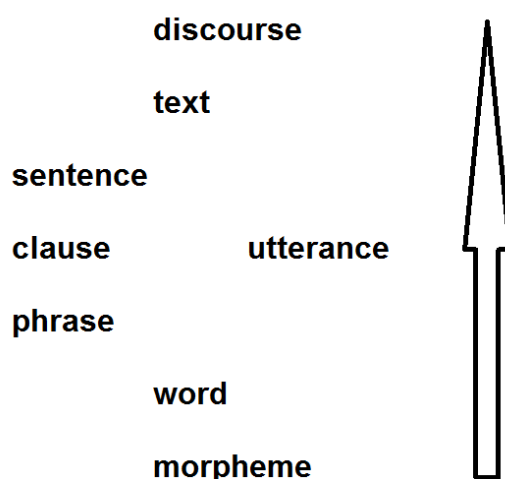
Figure 3.1: The hierarchy of linguistic levels

By including discourse into this model it becomes clear what it means to search for triggers for ideologies on the textual level. Ideologies related to crime are contained in discourse on crime and evoked by the text. Consequently, to identify these ideologies it is necessary to search for them on the textual level by analysing words and utterances and the grammatical structure of the text.

3.2.4 The concept of *power*

Next, I want to bring the concept of *power* into focus, understood by Althusser (1971) to be a discursive phenomenon. When I talk of power I mean discoursal power as compared to, for example, physical power or institutional power. Simpson and Mayr (2010) state that 'power comes from the privileged access to social resources such as education, knowledge

and wealth' which eventually enables dominant groups to exert 'domination, coercion and control of subordinate groups' (2010: 2). The ideologies of these dominant groups are reproduced in the media (Jeffries, 2010a: 7), e.g. in newspaper articles on crime. Their continued reassertion eventually leads to the naturalisation of ideologies (Jeffries, 2010a: 7). Naturalised ideologies are perceived as common sense among the members of the same community (Fairclough, 1995b; Fowler, 1991) with an 'inverse relationship between the extent to which an ideology is naturalized in a particular community or society, and the extent to which it is consciously 'used' by a text producer' (Jeffries, 2010a: 9). Because naturalised ideologies are understood on an unconscious level, people might not be consciously aware of them. This means that naturalised discourse on deviance has already shaped our conception of and our attitudes towards offenders, victims and crime. The perpetuation of this naturalised discourse carrying naturalised ideologies enables us on the one hand to understand newspaper articles on crime without the need for much explanation but on the other hand it takes a lot of effort to change this discourse and thus the underlying ideologies. Establishing naturalised ideologies in hegemonic discourse is an important means for manipulation used by the powerful (Fairclough, 1992a: 87; 2001b). Simpson (1993) notes that 'naturalization takes place to the extent that people are often no longer aware of the hierarchies and systems which shape their social interaction' (1993: 6) and Fairclough (2001b) states that power is exercised either through coercion or consent and that '[i]deology is the key mechanism of rule by consent' (2001b: 28). Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony sees power not realised through coercion but routine which is enabled through establishing a common sense based on naturalised ideologies. Mayr and Machin (2012) note that 'consent is achieved largely through the institutions of civil society, one of which is the media' (2012: 10). This notion regards the media as an institution and thus combines discoursal power with institutional power in relation to the media. Recalling Durkheim's (1938) notion of crime being of essential use for every society because it ensures people's trust in the system which is a cornerstone in the upholding of power, we get an idea of the

crucial importance of establishing naturalised ideologies in relation to crime and deviance on the one hand and detecting them in the media on the other.

Fairclough (1992c) further states that '[p]eople cannot be effective citizens in a democratic society if their education cuts them off from critical consciousness of key elements within their physical or social environment' (1992c: 6). This eventually turns the focus on manipulation, which is 'cognitively speaking […] nothing special: it makes use of very general properties of discourse processing' (Van Dijk, 2006: 366). What makes manipulation dangerous is 'the exercise of a form of illegitimate influence by means of discourse' which is the abuse of power and ultimately domination (Van Dijk, 2006: 360). Van Dijk (2006) states that 'the boundary between (illegitimate) manipulation and (legitimate) persuasion is fuzzy, and context dependent' (2006: 361). Manipulation exercised through 'symbolic elites in politics, the media, education, scholarship, the bureaucracy, as well as in business enterprises' touches 'upon the very social, legal and philosophical foundations of a just or democratic society' (Van Dijk, 2006: 363, 364). Recalling Foucault's notion that power permeates through different layers of society (see chapter 2), one aspect of the analysis of the newspaper articles has to be on identifying the primary sources providing information in those articles. This is because these 'primary news sources' (Jewkes, 2009: XVII) become primary definers of discourse on crime and deviance exercise power and contribute to the shape and uphold of naturalised discourse on this topic.

After these more general considerations and the outlining of the key-terms *text, ideology, discourse* and *power* I will proceed to introducing linguistic frameworks and methods which aim to detect these hidden and often naturalised ideologies in discourse and briefly outline their historical development.

3.3 Critical language studies

In this and the following sections I will introduce critical language studies and the development of Critical Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Stylistics. This

explains why I chose the framework of Critical Stylistics for conducting my analysis, what reasons led to the development of Critical Stylistics and what analytical tools it provides.

Within Linguistics, which can be defined as the scientific study of human language, critical language studies as an 'orientation towards language' instead of 'a branch of language study' has been established which 'highlights how language conventions and language practices are invested with power relations and ideological processes which people are often unaware of' (Fairclough, 1992c: 7). I use the term critical language studies as an umbrella term and in its broadest meaning. The roots of this critical approach to language studies trace back to Russian Formalism (Van Dijk, 1988: 18) and its key scholars Roman Jacobson, Victor Shklovskii and Boris Eixenbaum among others, whose work dates back to the time of the Russian Revolution (Van Dijk, 1988: 18). In parallel, after the death of the already mentioned Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, his book *Cours de linguistique générale* (Course in General Linguistics) (1986) was published in 1916 which laid the foundation for a systematic approach to language. Later on, the work of social science and especially philosophy (Michel Foucault, Jürgen Habermas, Karl Marx and Pierre Bourdieu among others) has been influential for the further development of critical language studies (Chilton, 2011: 771). Mazid points out that '[t]he adjective "critical" is associated with the Frankfurt school of philosophy, and it means both "self-reflexive" and "socio-historically situated"' (2007: 352).

The French philosopher Michel Foucault contributed significantly to 'the popularization of the concept of 'discourse' and […] discourse analysis as a method can partly be attributed to that influence' (Fairclough, 1992a: 37). As mentioned above, the term discourse in the Foucauldian sense has a slightly different meaning compared to the way I use it in this thesis in accordance with the structuralist and functionalist approaches referring to meaning above the level of the sentence and 'language in use' (G. Brown & Yule, 1983). But because of the influence of Foucault on critical language studies I mention his key notions here. Foucault states '[t]he character of power in modern societies is tied to problems of managing populations' (quoted in (Fairclough, 1992a: 50)). He presumes a dualism

between power and knowledge and explains that power is developed on the basis of knowledge and power is exercised 'in the process of gathering knowledge' (quoted in (Fairclough, 1992a: 50)). This notion regards discourse and language as being centrally important in modern societies (Fairclough, 1992a: 50) because language becomes the primary instrument through which ideology is transmitted, enacted and reproduced (Teo, 2000: 11). Foucault's 'theory of power […] examines the micromechanics of the operation of power at the individual level and its operation on the body' (Stygall, 2001: 329). This assertion has relevance for my text analysis because it indicates that power can be traced on the micro-level which is the textual level and thus supports my conviction to conduct a linguistic analysis of newspaper articles on crime because the hidden ideologies on crime which I aim to detect are triggered there. Foucault contributed to the philosophical basis for Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis which I will proceed to introduce.

3.3.1 Critical Linguistics

In the 1970s a group at the University of East Anglia which included the linguists Fowler, Kress and Hodge approached the study of language by marrying 'a method of linguistic text analysis with a social theory of the functioning of language in political and ideological processes' (Fairclough, 1992a: 26) and by drawing on the functionalist approach associated with Halliday (see above), (Kress & Hodge, 1979). Their work built the foundation of 'Critical Linguistics': the term was coined in their most influential book *Language and Control* (Fowler et al., 1979: 185). Fowler states: 'critical linguistics simply means an enquiry into the relations between signs, meanings and the social and historical conditions which govern the semiotic structure of discourse, using a particular kind of linguistic analysis' (Fowler, 1991: 5). He provided a list of analytical tools which on the foundation of his experience are 'quite often involved in the construction of representations, in signifying beliefs and values when writers are reporting or commenting on the world' (Fowler, 1991: 89). This list comprises 'transitivity, syntactic transformations, in particular the agentless passive, lexical structure, modality and speech acts' (Jeffries, 2007: 12). Fowler himself

admits that he does not claim this list to be complete (Fowler, 1991: 89) but it is to be seen as an important step towards the development of an 'agreed set of analytical tools' (Jeffries, 2010a: 12) for Critical language studies. In opposition, van Leeuwen is skeptical of the development of an agreed set of analytical tools for Critical language studies. He states that 'many relevant instances of agency might be overlooked' once the analysis 'ties itself in too closely to specific linguistic operations or categories' (Van Leeuwen, 1996b: 33). His critique points to the fact that the tools of Critical Linguistics (as well as critical language studies in general) stem from linguistics and there has not been developed a general theory of language within critical language studies so far (Jeffries, 2007: 13). Nevertheless, the advantages of a developed set of analytical tools are obvious. It makes every analysis rigorous and replicable which should be the aim of every piece of research. Another point of critique is the list of linguistic tools itself in connection with Halliday's metafunctions of language (see above) which Critical Linguistics sees itself to be based on. Fowler introduces modality and speech acts as being interpersonal elements (Jeffries, 2010a: 13) which leads to the suggestion that the other tools in the list are to be seen as ideational aspects of language, although Fowler does not say so explicitly (Jeffries, 2010a: 13). This notion is reiterated by Fairclough who appraises Critical Linguistics' view of a text as 'simultaneously representing the world (ideational function) and enacting social relations and identities (interpersonal function)' (Fairclough, 1995b: 25). In contrast, Jeffries sees 'all of the tools of analysis [...] as primarily ideational in conception, even those which, like modality, are seen in Halliday's approaches as being interpersonal' (Jeffries, 2010a: 13). She concludes that 'Fowler's suggested list of tools [...] feels lacking in comprehensive coverage of linguistic features' (Jeffries, 2010a: 13). Therefore Jeffries took the matter further and developed the framework of Critical Stylistics as we will see later on.

Despite the serious critique, Critical Linguistics 'goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of *how* and *why* particular discourses are produced' (Teo, 2000: 11) and offers a framework for 'analysis of what is in texts, but also for analysis of what is

absent or omitted from texts' by highlighting 'the potential ideological significance of opting for agentless passive constructions and thereby excluding other constructions in which agents are explicitly present' (Fairclough, 1992b: 212). It thereby states that 'there are always different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random, accidental alternatives' (Fowler, 1991: 4) (which is the basic premise of Stylistics as well as we will see later) and thus reiterating the notion that texts always contain ideology. Fowler's example of the employment of the method of Critical Linguistics in order to analyse media discourse in his book *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (1991: 5) is an example of the valuable contribution of Critical Linguistics to the detection of hidden ideologies in texts. Critical Linguistics undertakes a first step towards the development of an agreed set of analytical tools which was further developed in Critical Stylistics as we will see later on. Critical Linguistics also provided a method for Critical Discourse Analysis which can be regarded rather as a social movement than a method but uses the method provided by Critical Linguistics.

3.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has its roots in Critical Linguistics (Teo, 2000: 11) as well as in classical Rhetoric, Textlinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics (Weiss & Wodak, 2003: 11). Wodak and Meyer even note that the terms Critical Linguistics and CDA are 'used interchangably' (2009: 1). Jeffries states that 'CDA began as a left-wing reaction to the hands-off objectivity of early linguistics, when there was clearly so much wrong with the world that was based in texts, and so much information about manipulation and political dishonesty that could be revealed by a few judicious uses of some fairly accessible tools of analysis' (2007: 195). Its emergence can be pinpointed timewise to the late 60's and early 70's (Van Dijk, 1988: 17), hence it developed in parallel with Critical Linguistics. Van Dijk notes that 'CDA itself is *not* a method of research, but a social movement of socio-politically committed discourse analysts using many different methods of analysis' (2011: 621). Consequently, 'there is no single 'tradition' of CDA, and certainly no

agreed set of analytical tools that 'should' be used in this practice' (Jeffries, 2007: 12), see also (Weiss & Wodak, 2003: 6, 12). Although Weiss and Wodak (2003) praise this missing analytical tool-kit as giving CDA its own 'dynamics' (2003: 6), this is exactly the point why I decided against using one of the approaches to CDA (see below) for my analysis. An example of a Critical Discourse Analysis is Ehrlich's (1999; Ehrlich & King, 1996) study of negotiating meaning in a tribunal at a US university where a male student was accused of raping two female students. Ehrlich (1999) states that 'the events begin to get constructed as the result of choices the women made' (1999: 245) but fails to outline how exactly she reached this conclusion and if this conclusion is only valid for the examples she gave from the tribunal transcript or representative of the whole data. Teo (2000) analysed the Australian newspaper coverage of crimes committed by the 5T, 'a gang of young Vietnamese drug-dealers' (2000: 10). He draws his conclusions form transitivity analysis, the analysis of thematic and lexical cohesive patterns (2000: 39) and the analysis of quotations (2000: 40). His analysis shows a subjective choice of analytical tools which always bears the danger of proving desired results instead of gaining objective ones. When conducting a linguistic text analysis it is important to observe the scientific principles of rigorousness, replicability and objectivity. This ensures that the researcher does not manipulate the analysis according to the desired results but ensures the falsifiability of the analysis. Although I am aware of the fact that subjectivity cannot be fully excluded in CDA, it is even more necessary to openly state what subjective choices were made as Jeffries and Walker (2012) have demonstrated. Otherwise, linguistic text analysis might be in danger to be deteriorated to a debased method not taken seriously anymore. Although CDA lacks a systematic linguistic toolkit, certain systems 'are more favoured by CDA researchers than others, and these almost always include nominalisation, transitivity, modality' (Jeffries, 2007: 12) 'and to some extent the creation of semantic presupposition' (Jeffries, 2007: 11). It can easily be seen that CDA seizes the analytical tools provided by Critical Linguistics (without providing its own comprehensive list of analytical tools either) and shares the same focus on 'relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality' (Van Dijk, 1993: 249), quoted in

(Mayr, 2008: 8), see also (Fowler & Kress, 1979: 186) but it is 'socially and politically committed' (Khosravinik, 2009: 478) and thus 'addresses broader social issues' by drawing on 'social and philosophical theor[ies]' (Mayr, 2008: 9). This proves that CDA is not neutral in its political agenda because it is a 'social movement of socio-politically committed discourse analysts' (Van Dijk, 2011). A core concern of CDA is to explain 'how discourse (re)produces and maintains [the] relations of dominance and inequality' (Mayr, 2008: 8) grounded in the belief that 'language is not powerful on its own -it gains power by the use powerful people make of it' (Weiss & Wodak, 2003: 14). Wodak (2001) lists three concepts indispensable in all CDA: ' the concept of power, the concept of history and the concept of ideology' (2001: 3). Further, she echoes the agreement between CDA practitioners that 'the complex interrelations between discourse and society cannot be analysed adequately unless linguistic and sociological approaches are combined' (Weiss & Wodak, 2003: 7)**.** CDA sees language as a social practice, 'both reflecting and producing ideologies in society' (Baker et al., 2008: 280). In summary, CDA has been defined as 'a tool for deconstructing the ideologies of the mass media and other elite groups and for identifying and defining social, economic, and historical power relations between dominant and subordinate groups' (Henry & Tator, 2002: 72), quoted in (Izadi & Saghaye-Biria, 2007: 141). But it has to be noticed that the lack of a clear method and the view of some CDA practioners that CDA is a social movement (Van Dijk, 2011: 621) more than anything, suggests that it cannot be seen as a tool.

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

3.3.2.1 The Marxist approach

In the following sections I will outline some selected approaches to CDA. I will start with Norman Fairclough and his 'Marxist perspective' (Mayr, 2008: 9) and follow this with van

Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, Wodak's discourse-historical approach and van Leeuwen's socio-semantic approach, followed by a few minor contributions to CDA which cannot be regarded to be entirely new approaches but which emphasise particular elements when doing CDA. This overview sets out to introduce the already existing frameworks in order to clarify why they are unsuitable to answer my research questions and to prepare the ground for the introduction of Critical Stylistics, the framework I will use for my analysis.

Fairclough developed a 'three-dimensional' approach to any instance of discourse which he simultaneously sees as being 'a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice' (Fairclough, 1992a: 4). The text dimension is tied to language analysis of texts, the discursive practice dimension 'specifies the nature of the processes of text production and interpretation' (Fairclough, 1992a: 4) and finally, the social practice dimension relates to 'the institutional and organizational circumstances of the discursive event and how that shapes the nature of the discursive practice' (Fairclough, 1992a: 4). Fairclough distinguishes three dimensions or stages of CDA which are description, interpretation and explanation (Fairclough, 2001b: 21, 22). He also stresses the importance of intertextuality or context by stating that texts 'are inherently intertextual, constituted by elements of other texts' (1992a: 102). This notion traces back to Bakhtin who points out that texts 'are shaped by prior texts that they are 'responding' to, and by subsequent texts that they 'anticipate'' (quoted in (Fairclough, 1992a: 101)). Fairclough aims 'to identify how relations of domination and inequalities, which arise from neo-capitalist societies, are produced and reproduced in discourse' (Mayr, 2008: 9). His approach is related to Marxism because he is interested in 'the exercise of power in modern society' (Fairclough, 2001b: 2), in 'discursive change in relation to social and cultural change' (Fairclough, 1992a: 10) and how 'societies sustain their social structures and social relations over time' (Fairclough, 1992a: 5). He brings 'together linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse and language' (Fairclough, 1992a: 62).

The shortcomings of Fairclough's approach can be summarised as a lack of rigour and replicability, as Widdowson (1996) has pointed out in detail (see section 3.3.2.6 below). Widdowson states that 'interpretation in support of belief takes precedence over analysis in support of theory' (Widdowson, 1995a: 159) which applies not only to Fairclough's approach. Subjective choices which text(s) to analyse according to 'the interests of the analyst' (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 207) precede the analysis and illustrate the point of critique that CDA and also Fairclough's approach are too selective. It bears the danger of bias and that the 'linguistic analysis may therefore become a mere supplement to what the analyst has decided a priory about the text' (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 213; Simpson & Mayr, 2010).

3.3.2.2 The socio-cognitive approach

Teun A. van Dijk developed the socio-cognitive approach to CDA 'which theorizes the relationship between social systems and social cognition' (Mayr, 2008: 9). He identifies social cognition as bridging the gap between the micro level (where communication takes place) and the macro level (where the power is to be found) (Van Dijk, 2010: 354). Van Dijk (2011) states that 'the relations between discourse and society always need the sociocognitive interface of actual language users' (2011: 617). He defines ''[s]ocial cognition' [...] as the system of mental structures and operations that are acquired, used or changed in social contexts by social actors and shared by the members of social groups, organizations and cultures' (Van Dijk, 2003: 89). Further, he declares his approach to be 'essentially interdisciplinary, combining linguistic, discourse analytical, psychological, and sociological analysis of news discourse and news processes' (1988: 15). His main interest lies in the analysis of media texts and he suggests a three-part analysis of those texts comprising 'the description of argumentative structures; the explication of presupposed (tacit) assumptions, norms and values; and an analysis of style and rhetorical features' (Van Dijk, 1988: 126). He thereby alters Fairclough's stages of CDA (description, interpretation, explanation) by putting more emphasis on the rhetorical features as well as norms and values. Although he uses many different features of language methods taken from text and conversation analysis like

metaphors, topoi (from rhetorics), intonation and coherence, he, too, chooses his analytical

tools subjectively without providing a systematic tool-kit which would make his analysis

replicable and more objective, see, for example, his analysis of extracts from a speech by

former Prime Minister Tony Blair (Van Dijk, 2006). What is worth mentioning here, because it

explains how exclusion works in texts, is van Dijk's ideological square with the dichotomy of

'Us (good, innocent)' and 'Them (evil, guilty)' (Van Dijk, 2006: 370). This model links to the

criminology of the 'other' (O'Malley, 2000: 28), (see chapter 2), namely an evil offender who

could not be us. This model serves to explain how good/bad things are de/emphasized to

create the oppositional picture of Us/Them (Mazid, 2007: 353). Van Dijk's ideological square

can furthermore be linked to Christie's (1986) notion of ideal victims (= Us) creating ideal

offenders (=Them) on both ends of a morality scale (see chapter 2). We will return to this in

the result chapters.

Further, van Dijk specifies 'how exactly the 'news values' that have been identified as

shaping news coverage influence the way particular reports are produced' as well as how

journalists transform texts they receive from news sources into a form 'in which news reports

are memorized' and what long-term effects these news reports 'have on perception, cognition

and action' (Fairclough, 1995b: 30). This notion is seized by Bednarek and Caple (2012) who

state that news stories are adapted to the criteria of newsworthiness using linguistic devices

which foreground these aspects of the story.

Although Fairclough's and van Dijk's approaches are both regarded to be text-

centered and linguistic (Jensen, 2012: 31), Fairclough identifies the shortcomings of van

Dijk's approach as being the lack of attention to the interpersonal function of language as

well as the lack of intertextual analysis of texts and finally, 'a one-sided emphasis to news-

making practices as stable structures which contribute to the reproduction of relations of

domination and racist ideologies' (Fairclough, 1995b: 30).

3.3.2.3. The discourse-historical approach

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

Wodak identifies the major strengths of her approach being 'its interdisciplinary orientation' as well as 'the historical analysis' (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 119, 120). In my opinion, these issues have already been covered by Fairclough who explicitly addresses the importance of integrating intertextuality (1992a: 84, 101ff) into any Critical Discourse Analysis and thus the consideration of the (historical) context of the text under scrutiny, as well as by van Dijk whose work is on the forefront of interdisciplinary, see (2003: 85ff), (2009: 62ff).

Another German-speaking linguists who works on Critical Discourse Analysis is Siegfried Jäger at the Duisburger Institut für Sprach- und Sozialforschung (Duisburg Institute for Language and Social Research) (DISS). Jäger regards discourse as a 'flow of "knowledge"- and/or the whole of stored societal knowledge – throughout all time' (Jäger, 2001: 35). His work focuses on racist, anti-Semitic and nationalist parts of discourse which he aims to identify and thus raise awareness of (Jäger, 2004: 236ff). His analysis, as demonstrated in (Jäger, 2004: 329ff), shows Jäger's perspective on discourse which might

be seen in context with Germany's history. But his analysis fails to show a replicable method which allows other researchers to attempt to falsify his work when using the same texts and the same method of analysis.

3.3.2.4. The socio-semantic approach

The fourth approach to be mentioned here is [Theo] van Leeuwen's socio-semantic approach which is based on the notion 'that discourses are recontextualizations of social practices' (Van Leeuwen, 2009: 148). He states that instead of linguistic operations or categories one should start from socio-semantic categories for discourse analysis and link these socio-semantic categories with their linguistic realisation (Van Leeuwen, 1996b: 32, 33). Van Leeuwen offers an inventory of the ways we can classify 'social actors' (Van Leeuwen, 1996a) and the ideological effects these may have. Echoing Khosravinik (2009: 483) I see this approach as incorporated within Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach because of the social aspects these two perspectives on CDA share. But social aspects have already been stressed by Fairclough and van Dijk in their approaches to CDA because discourse is anchored in society and thus societal and ultimately social aspects have to be taken into account. In summary, the four aforementioned approaches to CDA, some of which are only perspectives on CDA, all stress the importance of linguistic analysis at the text level although they do little if any systematic and replicable textual analysis in their work themselves. This is one key argument why I chose Critical Stylistics as the method for my analysis because it provides a systematic set of analytical tools which reveal the ideologies in the texts without pre-determining the result, as I will outline below. But before doing so, I will introduce some Critical Discourse Analysis with distinctive perspectives on CDA and how they have influenced my project.

3.3.2.5. The cultural, the multimodal and the cognitive approach

In this section, some work using CDA will be mentioned briefly although I am aware of the fact that this survey can only provide a cursory overview of the extensive variety of work

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

Because I analyse two newspaper corpora which consist of German and English newspaper articles on crime, I automatically deal with the question of culture and what influence this can have on my analysis. Although Germany and the UK are both part of the European Union and are often referred to as western societies, the differences come to light not only regarding topics like the stance towards the European Union or the Euro currency, but also with an eye to the legal system and, of course, the language. Shi-xu (2005) aims to include the concept 'of culture' in CDA. He states 'that individual languages constrain different worldviews and therefore represent the world slightly differently' (2005: 14). Although he deals with extremely different languages (English and Chinese), he has a point here when stating that different languages have an impact on the respective representation of the world. Shi-xu (2005) observes a hegemony of Western (Anglo-American) academic work in CDA and states that '[i]t is now a standard expectation that Western, but not non-Western, intellectual traditions are referenced' (2005: 48). He further comments that the data for 'mainstream discourse studies [...] come from Western European and American societies' (2005: 48, 49). Other research has also stressed the aspect of culture to be included in CDA. For example, Zhang et al. (2011) illuminate the meaning of 'critical' in Western and Chinese tradition and the problems which might occur when CDA crosses 'cultural, social and political boundaries' (2011: 95). Fairclough has already incorporated the concept of culture into his approach to CDA and states that 'cultures exist as languages' (2003: 18). With regard to my project, this necessitates being aware that culture as well as ideologies are mirrored in texts and that differences in the language, for example the different use of determiners in English

and German, might be indicative of cultural issues. The following example from the German newspaper corpus collected for this thesis illustrates this point:

Example 3.1:

Die Polizei nimmt das Inzest-Monster fest – Josef Fritzl gesteht.

(Police arrest the incest-monster – Josef Fritzl confesses.)

(Bild, 20.03.2009)

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

Also in this slot of cultural issues fits the notion of 'nationalism and the hegemony of homogeneity' which is at the core of Bishop and Jaworski's (2003) analysis of the British press coverage of the football game between Germany and England during European Football Championships in 2000 (2003: 243). They employ the ideological square introduced by van Dijk (see above) to explain the construction of 'nation as a homogeneous collective' and the dichotomy of *us* versus *them* (Bishop & Jaworski, 2003: 243)*.* De Cillia et al. (1999) examine the 'discursive construction of national identities' (1999: 149) and show that the discourse-historical approach (see above) to CDA also includes cultural issues. The focus on the intercultural aspect of discourse will be an issue for my thesis because of the comparison between the construction of offenders, victims and crime in the German and UK press where I will take on board the work regarding this issue as outlined here.

When designing my project I decided to ignore any visual images in my data since these are difficult to analyse using the tools of Corpus Linguistics (see chapter 4). But I am aware that the analysis of visual images accompanying a text reveals additional insight into the construction of news. This multimodal approach is not suitable for the computer-assisted language analysis using *WordSmith Tools* which I employ, although Smith and McEnery

(1998) have demonstrated a way of constructing a multimedia corpus. The advantages of a multimodal approach have been illustrated by Kress and van Leeuwen (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001), Machin and Mayr (Machin, 2007; Machin & Mayr, 2012) and Bednarek and Caple (2012) who all attempt to provide a systematic multimodal approach. Abousnnouga and Machin (2008: 115ff) also employ a multimodal approach to CDA when looking at war monuments in Britain in order to understand 'visual signs through association' (2008: 123). Tabbert in her review states '[t]he authors bridge these monuments, and their glorification of the brutal and squalid practice of war, with the current hegemonic discourse of war' (2010: 225). As already mentioned, although it is beyond the scope of my analysis to include visual images, I acknowledge that these examples have made an important contribution to the analysis of visual images in the media.

Hart (2011a, 2011b) argues for the integration of the insights of Evolutionary Psychology and Cognitive Linguistics into CDA and thus echoes Chilton's (2005) and Wodak's (2006) argument for considering cognitive approaches to language study when doing CDA. Hart's plead for the integration of Cognitive Linguistics into CDA (which comprises conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003) among others) is different from van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA (see section 3.3.2.2), because Cognitive Linguistics is engaged with the question of how readers process and understand texts whereas the socio-cognitive approach to CDA emphasises the social aspect of cognition. Hart argues that 'Cognitive Lingusitics is not a feature of his [van Dijk's] approach' (C. Hart, 2011a: 270). I take this opportunity to state that my focus is less on the readers of the newspaper articles on crime and how they perceive and understand the texts although I acknowledge that I am the reader of the texts I analyse. Therefore I will leave aside cognitive approaches to the understanding of texts. My focus is instead on the text itself and the construction of offenders, victims and crimes within the text and how this mirrors the worldview on this issue by conveying hidden ideologies.

3.3.2.6. Critical views on CDA

Next, I will turn to critical views on CDA and start with Widdowson's critique of CDA (Widdowson, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1998), in particular of Fairclough's Marxist approach. Widdowson has a background in Stylistics. He states that 'no study of language is neutral' (1996: 69) and demonstrates his view by analysing a text from a pregnancy booklet after which he concludes: '[w]e [Fairclough and Widdowson] came to the same text with different motives, assumptions, beliefs, values and so read our different discourses into it' (1996: 68). He criticises 'CDA for theoretical eclecticism' as well as 'for a lack of methodological rigour and openness' (Jeffries, 2000: 3). In particular, Widdowson argues that in CDA pragmatics is reduced to semantics (Blommaert, 2005: 32). Stylistics in contrast offers a systematic model of (mainly literary) text analysis as will be outlined in the following section. Jeffries states that the sociological direction CDA took towards 'a more socially engaged linguistic practice' led to a neglect of debate about 'the details of analytical techniques' (2007: 195). This argument is at the core of Widdowson's critique, too. And indeed, 'there is still not even a provisionally agreed set of tools or procedures for practising CDA' (Jeffries, 2007: 196) which aids and abets a biased approach to texts with a predetermined result in mind. This point of critique is echoed by Schegloff (1999a), (1999b) who 'accuses CDA of being partial or biased' (Jeffries, 2000: 6). Blommaert (2001) also notes that '[p]ower relations are often predefined and then confirmed by features of discourse' (2001: 15) which leads to proof of pre-defined assumptions on power abuse and eventually to biased research. This might also be seen in context with the choice of data analysed by CDA researchers. Stubbs (1997) argues 'that CDA's methods of data collection and text analysis are inexplicit, that the data are often restricted to text fragments, and that it is conceptually circular, in so far as its own interpretations of texts are as historically bound as anyone else's, and that it is a disguised form of political correctness' (1997: 102). This argument is seized by Chilton (2011) who points out the lack of 'contestable values' (2011: 769) in CDA and argues for considering 'moral philosophy and discourse ethics' (2011: 775). He states 'that if CDA is going global [...], then CDA cannot escape the making explicit and the justifying of the moral ground on

which its critical stance rests' (2011: 779). Zhang et al. (2011) argue for a more critical self-awareness of CDA by stating 'that criticism of the self is the complementary counterpart of the ability to criticize others' (2011: 104). This has to be seen in context with CDA's pride of its critical stance.

Blommaert (2005) states that in addition to 'the linguistic bias in CDA' (2005: 34), it is also 'its closure to particular kinds of societies' (2005: 35) as well as 'to a particular time frame' (2005: 37) which causes problems for CDA. Blommaert's critique can be better understood against his background in African studies and sociolinguistics (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011: 110) and brings the concept of culture back into focus as outlined above. Billig (2000) calls for 'continual intellectual revolution' (2000: 292) and warns of 'the risk of institutionalized orthodoxy developing in CDA' (Chilton, 2011: 770).

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

In summary, the lack of an agreed set of analytical tools bears the danger of a biased approach to texts with a prefabricated result in mind picking those bits of the text or the analytical tools which proof the assumption. Therefore it is essential to all Critical Discourse Analysis to disclose the underlying principles it is based on (Jeffries, 2000: 6) in order to be transparent (Fischer-Starke, 2009: 494) and thus reduce the researcher's bias as far as possible, although I am aware of the fact that subjectivity cannot fully be excluded. Therefore it is important to be transparent about it and to state openly which subjective choices have been made. The second point of critique is CDA's limitation to 'small-scale analysis' (Baker, et al., 2008: 283) because CDA conducts a qualitative analysis of texts which is time-consuming in particular with large scale analysis done manually. The first point of critique is met by Critical Stylistics providing a comprehensive set of tools and the second point by combining CDA with computational methods of language analysis as we will see shortly. This

section set out to clarify why the existing frameworks of CDA are insufficient for answering my research questions and it is because of the outlined points of critique which I subscribe to that I turn to the method of Critical Stylistics in order to avoid these points of critique for my analysis.

3.3.3 Critical Stylistics

Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010a) builds on Widdowson's critique, among others, of CDA (see above) and provides a set of analytical tools. The term 'Critical Stylistics' was coined by Jeffries (2007) when she set out to explore (i) the hegemonic discourses on the female body in society and (ii) whether feminist ideologies have successfully been incorporated into these hegemonic discourses. As mentioned above, Fairclough distinguishes three dimensions or stages of CDA which are description, interpretation and explanation (2001b: 21, 22). Jeffries (2010a) states that the main focus of many CDA scholars is on the third stage by 'explaining how texts fit into the socio-political landscape in which they are produced or read' (2010a: 11). Chilton goes further by remarking 'that there are distinguished CDA scholars who simply think that linguistics is not relevant to CDA at all' (2011: 770). In contrast, Jeffries is interested in the first two stages and takes a strongly language oriented stance which is based on the conviction 'that language has some typical form-function relations' (2010a: 37). Jeffries' starting point is the list of analytical tools provided by Critical Linguistics (see above) taking into account its lack of 'comprehensive coverage of linguistic features' (2010a: 13). She states that Simpson's (1993) models of modality, transitivity and pragmatic analysis offer a more satisfying methodology when aiming at detecting ideological structures in text analysis (Jeffries, 2010a). Critical Stylistics 'tries to assemble the main general functions that a text has in representing reality' which is based on the fact that 'there is a level at which texts organize the world we experience, and that this is demonstrable in the words and structures of the texts themselves' (Jeffries, 2010a: 14). Jeffries (2010a) notes that 'language is essentially a finely balanced combination of rules and broken rules, where the fact that there is no one-to-one form-function

relationship is the key to many of the most useful and life-enhancing aspects of language, such as the writing of poetry and the use of metaphor in daily life, as well as of the more negative aspects, such as lying and manipulation' (2010a: 44).

Critical Stylistics incorporates some of the tools of Stylistics and therefore I briefly want to introduce Stylistics and its approach to language study. Stylistics as a sub-discipline of Linguistics 'is concerned with the systematic analysis of style in language and how this can vary according to such factors as, for example, genre, context, historical period and author' (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010: 1). Stylistics is focused on the analysis of predominantly literary and to an increasing extent also non-literary texts and 'uses models of language, analytical techniques and methodologies from linguistics to facilitate the study of style in its widest sense' (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010: 1). The main concept in Stylistics is foregrounding that 'derive[s] from defamiliarisation' (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010: 30) and some of the methods to analyse foregrounding come from pragmatics which 'is more about what is implicit in language than what is explicit' (Jeffries, 2010a: 93). Recent developments in Stylistics focus on cognitive aspects of text comprehension, which I will leave aside as outlined above.

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

Critical Stylistics can be seen as bridging the gap between CDA and Stylistics by seizing and further developing the Critical Linguistics approach to text analysis. The main

achievement of Critical Stylistics is the provision of a more comprehensive and systematic set of analytical tools. It can therefore be regarded as another approach to CDA and can be grouped under Critical Language Studies, because both CDA and Critical Stylistics aim at revealing ideologies and power relations in discourse. In addition, Critical Stylistics can be regarded not merely being an approach to CDA but also a further development of CDA. Whereas CDA has a politically motivated view of power relations and focuses on the question of who has the power to determine hegemonic discourses by having access to knowledge and the media (as a means of text production), Critical Stylistics is based on text analysis aiming at revealing power relations by working on the textual level. Although Critical Stylistics is highly politically engaged, see for example (Jeffries & Walker, 2012), it is not linked to one particular political outlook. It is interested in revealing and uncovering hidden ideologies in texts and thus in discourse. Critical Stylistics provides a set of analytical tools which, when followed along, will reveal the ideologies hidden in the text without the need for subjectively looking for them in order to verify preconceived assumptions.

3.3.3.1 The methods of Critical Stylistics

After classifying Critical Stylistics I continue by explaining the tools Jeffries provides in her two books on this subject (2007, 2010a). She groups the tools into 10 conceptual categories so that the reader has 'an idea of the kind of information' each category addresses (2010a: 15). Because these conceptual categories have slightly changed in Jeffries' two books on Critical Stylistics (2007, 2010a), I follow her most recent book (2010a) with reference to the respective chapters there:

Conceptual category /Textual function	List of analytical tools / Formal realisation
Naming and Describing (chapter 2)	The choice of a noun to indicate a referent; nominalisation; the construction of noun phrases with

	modifiers (in pre- and post-positions) to further determine the nature of the referent
Representing Actions/Events/States (chapter 3)	The choice of a verb, transitivity (Simpson, 1993)
Equating and Contrasting (chapter 4)	Antonymy, equivalence (parallel structure) and opposition (Jeffries, 2010b)
Exemplifying and Enumerating (chapter 5)	Three-part lists (implies completeness, without being comprehensive (Jeffries, 2010a: 73)) and four-part lists to indicate hyponymous and meronymous sense relation, apposition
Prioritising (chapter 6)	Relates to sentence structure: three ways in which the English language may prioritize elements of its structure: exploiting the information structure (clefting), the transformational possibilities (active/passive voice) or the subordination possibilities
Implying and Assuming (chapter 7)	Relates to Pragmatics: existential and logical presupposition, implicature according to the co-operative model of interaction by Grice (maxims of quality, quantity, relation, manner) (Grice, 1975, 1978; Thomas, 1995: 56ff)
Negating (chapter 8)	The creation of unrealized worlds (Nahajec, 2009)
Hypothesising (chapter 9)	Modality (Simpson, 1993)
Presenting other's speech and thoughts (chapter 10)	Speech and Thought Presentation (Semino & Short, 2004; Short, 1996)
Representing time. space and society (chapter 11)	Deixis, Text World Theory (Werth, 1999), Possible Worlds Theory (Ryan, 1991), choice of verb tense,

	metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003)

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

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

3.3.3.1.1 Naming and describing

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

Example 3.2:

<u>*The two accused brothers, who cannot be named for legal reasons,*</u> *each face the same four charges.*

(Yorkshire Post, 15.04.2009)

The underlined section is a noun phrase with the head noun *brothers*. This head noun names two offenders by referring to their family relation. The choice of nouns naming the offenders already contributes to their construction as offenders (Erwin-Tripp, 1969; Richardson, 2007: 49). Clark (1992) examined naming choices for women who fell victim to sexual violence. She identified naming patterns for victims and offenders in *The Sun* which 'clearly reflect a patriarchal viewpoint because women are categorized in terms of possible sexual encounters with men, rather than as autonomous individuals' (1992: 223). Clark's research underpins the importance of naming choices in the construction of victims and offenders.

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

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

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

Another point to be made regarding this conceptual category is nominalisation which turns a process into a state by a morphological process (Jeffries, 2010a: 25). The effect is to 'package up' ideological content '*in the head noun itself*' (Jeffries, 2010a: 25). The following example illustrates this:

Example 3.3:

Police wait to question boys about horror attack

(Yorkshire Post, 08.04.2009)

The word *attack* is an example of nominalisation which turns the process of committing a crime (the verb *to attack)* into a nominal (the noun *attack)* which leaves any questions about the process outside, including those of who attacked whom. In this case, the

head noun *attack* is premodified by another noun *horror* which assesses the crime and enhances the deviance.

3.3.3.1.2 Representing Actions/Events/States – Transitivity analysis and verb voice

For clarification concerning this conceptual category (Jeffries, 2010a: 37ff), there are two concepts of transitivity. The first concept stems from traditional grammar stating that verbs are either transitive (or ditransitive) or intransitive which is the distinction between verbs that require an object (or two) and those that do not (Greenbaum & Nelson, 2009: 15ff). The second concept of transitivity developed by Halliday (1985) and further developed by Simpson (1993) is 'much less exclusively based on structure' (Jeffries, 2010a: 39) but 'assigns lexical verbs to a number of different categories, according to the kind of process or state they appear to be describing' (Jeffries, 2010a: 40). When I talk about transitivity I always refer to the second concept.

Simpson (1993) groups processes into different categories 'according to whether they represent actions, speech, states of mind or simply states of being' (1993: 88). When analysing the data, the category I encountered most often was Material Action Intention as a material process. An example of Material Action Intention can be found in the following sentence beside other transitivity choices:

Example 3.4:

A man strangled his wife to death after she called out the name of another man while they were having sexual intercourse, a court heard.

(Daily Telegraph, 18.02.2009)

In this sentence, the first clause (*A man strangled his wife to death*) is an example of Material Action Intention with *A man* being the actor, *strangled to death* the process and *his wife* the goal (Simpson, 1993: 89). If this clause was re-arranged into a passive form, the components of actor, process and goal would remain the same. The second clause (*she called out the name of another man*) is an example of a verbalisation process, a process of saying (Simpson, 1993: 90). Here, s*he* is the sayer, *called out* the process and *the name of*

another man the verbiage. An example of a mental process, in this case of perception, is the last clause (*a court heard*) with *a court* being the senser and *heard* the process (Simpson, 1993: 91). An example of a relational process is the following sentence:

Example 3.5:

Taxi rapist John Worboys may be free in just eight years

(Daily Mirror, 22.04.2009)

This sentence contains a relational process circumstantial with *Taxi rapist John Worboys* as the carrier and *may be free in just eight years* as the attribute (Simpson, 1993: 92).

When talking about verb choices, I regard verb voice as equally important. Jeffries groups this analytical tool into the category of Prioritising (see table 3.1 above) and only briefly talks about it in the category of Representing Actions/Events/States, whereas I regard it as belonging to the category of Representing Actions/Events/States in the context of this thesis. Although verb voice contributes to foregrounding, because of a dominance of Material Action Intention in my data, I see verb voice in connection with the representation of actions, as the following example will show, and will talk about it here. As we have seen in example 3.4, the first clause (*A man strangled his wife to death*) contains Material Action Intention with the offender (*man*) being the actor and the victim (*wife*) the goal. The verb voice is active which foregrounds the offender because he is mentioned first. In case of re-arranging this clause into a passive form it would read:

Example 3.6:

A woman was strangled to death by her husband.

Apart from the adaptation of the nominal referents (*wife* to *woman* and *man* to *husband*) in order to keep the relation between victim and offender, the transformation to passive verb voice leads to a foregrounding of the victim who remains the goal of the Material Action Intention. In my data, I often found an omission of the actor which even enhances the foregrounding of the goal. This omission of agency leads to the construction of 'non-agency' (Ehrlich, 2001: 4) when mitigating agency as, for example, in cases of sexual

offence. In her book, Ehrlich (2001) demonstrates how the combination of transitivity choices and verb voice obscures or even eliminates agency. This point is supported by Henley et al. (2002) and shows why I talk about verb voice in connection with transitivity analysis in this thesis, because this facilitates the explanation of foregrounding with this specific data. Henley et al. (1995) found 'that semantics – in this case, verb topic – do seem to influence syntax – in this case, verb voice' (1995: 69). Although the authors do not talk explicitly about transitivity, their statement underpins my argument for a connection between verb voice and transitivity choice. They also state 'that verb voice [...] influence[s] perceptions of violence and its effects' (1995: 65), in particular because passive voice 'is used to hide agency' (1995: 69).

3.3.3.1.3 Equating and contrasting

In this section I will talk about the construction of oppositional meaning. Opposition can, for example, be triggered by antonymous sense relation, syntactic trigger (Jeffries, 2010b) and also negation. Opposition puts two events, states or existences into contrast to each other; negation opposes non-events against events, non-states against states or non existence against existence and thereby constructs 'unrealized worlds' (Nahajec, 2009: 109). The following sentence provides an example of opposition:

Example 3.7:

One boy's family is grieving the loss of his life, and today the defendant, himself a boy, will start spending his life in prison.

(Daily Telegraph, 21.02.2009)

This sentence opposes the victim and his family with the offender by using a parallelism. Although victim and offender are both named as *boys*, the victim is constructed as being missed and mourned for by his family whereas the offender, who is still alive in contrast to the victim, faces a life in solitude.

Through the construction of opposites two things can be put into an oppositional relationship to each other and thus 'presume complementarity' (Jeffries, 2010b: 14).

Opposition is at the core of constructing victims and offenders following from Christie's (1986) notion that ideal victims need and create ideal offenders. Both are constructed at opposite ends of a morality scale with the morally black offender and the morally white victim. This opposition between victims and offenders also links with van Dijk's "structural opposition" or his concept of the 'ideological square' (Van Dijk, 2006: 370).

3.3.3.1.4 Implying and Assuming

This category relates to pragmatics, which is concerned with implicated meaning in language (Jeffries, 2010a: 93), and deals with existential and logical presupposition and implicature.

An existential presupposition presupposes the existence of an entity. For example, in sentence 3.2 above the existence of *brothers* and *charges* is presupposed in each case by the definite determiner *the*. Jeffries (2010a) states that 'existential presuppositions may be powerful […] but they may also be innocent in ideological terms'. What is generally characteristic of presuppositions is that they 'are preserved in negative sentences or statements' (Levinson, 1983: 177).

A logical presupposition can only be inferred through logic. Levinson (1983) provided a list of presupposition triggers (Levinson, 1983: 181ff) and the following example contains one of those triggers.

Example 3.8:

"Furthermore, the defendant has disturbingly expressed a view that he has nothing to lose by further exploiting young girls in this way because his fate is sealed."

(Independent, 17.04.2009)

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

This sentence also provides an example of a conversational implicature. Implicatures 'are recognizable as cases where the text flouts or violates the Gricean maxims' (Jeffries, 2010a: 99). Grice (1975, 1978) introduced the notion that for efficient language use people follow four co-operative principles: the maxim of quality, quantity, relation and manner. These principles demand to make your contribution truthful (quality), informative (quantity), relevant (relation) and specific (manner) (1975: 47). In example 3.8, the implicature is that the defendant will keep on committing crimes (exploiting young girls) and that he therefore imposes a threat and has to be hindered from continuing. This conversational implicature is probably generated via a flout of the maxim of quantity in the original speech of the defendant. This implicature vanishes when the sentence is negated which reads:

Example 3.9:

"Furthermore, the defendant has (disturbingly) expressed a view that he has something to lose [when] further exploiting young girls in this way (because his fate is sealed)."

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

Another type of implicature is the conventional implicature (Grice, 1975, 1978). These can be 'intuitively grasped' (Grice, 1975: 50) and 'are not derived from superordinate pragmatic principles like the maxims, but are simply attached by convention to particular lexical items or expressions' (Levinson, 1983: 127). A conventional implicature can be compared to a pragmatic presupposition. A pragmatic presupposition is not encoded in the semantics of a word but in the conventions of its use (Simpson, 1993: 127ff). I want to acknowledge that there is a difference between the two, namely that a pragmatic presupposition in Simpson's understanding (Simpson, 1993: 157) is a broader concept and covers both, the concept of pragmatic presupposition as introduced by Levinson (1983) as well as the concept of conventional implicature as introduced by Grice (1978). Jeffries uses the terms interchangeably (Jeffries, 2010b: 3), which will be followed in this thesis for reasons of practicability. Examples will be provided and explained in the result chapters. The

use of implicatures and presuppositions has a potential 'for impacting on the reader/hearer because [of] the relatively 'hidden' nature of these types of meaning' (Jeffries, 2010a: 102).

3.3.3.1.5 Hypothesising - Modality

The model of modality as advanced by Simpson (1993: 46ff) explains the expressed certainty or uncertainty in relation to propositions. Simpson distinguishes three modal systems which are epistemic, deontic and boulomaic modality and refer to confidence, obligation and desirability respectively. Modality is triggered through different features in the texts, for example modal auxiliaries, lexical verbs, modal adverbs or adjectives and conditional structures (Jeffries, 2010a: 118). Beside the fact that the majority of analysed sentences in my data are categorical (do not contain any modality), I found a considerable number of sentences containing epistemic modality like the following:

Example 3.10:

But son Damien, 30, said: "He could have been killed or blinded."

(The Sun, 20.02.2009)

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

3.3.3.1.6 Presenting other's speech and thoughts

Opinion can be conveyed through the way that we present other people's utterances. Leech and Short (1981) introduced a systematic model of speech and thought presentation which was later updated (Semino & Short, 2004; Short, 2007, 2012). Presenting other people's verbiage is 'a very manipulative way of implanting other people's views in the reader' (Tabbert, 2012: 141). This is particularly the case with quoting authorities which assigns the verbiage a high rate of presumed truthfulness. Also, it opens the gate for

manipulation because the less faithful the quotation is compared to the original utterance, the bigger the potential for 'slanting or misrepresentation' (Jeffries, 2010a: 133). Leech and Short's model distinguishes between Direct Speech (DS), Indirect Speech (IS), Free Indirect Speech (FIS), Narrator's report of Speech Act (NRSA) and Narrator's presentation of Voice (NV) in descending order of faithfulness. The following sentence and its modifications illustrate this:

Example 3.11:

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

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

Example 3.12, Indirect Speech:

She said that Laura had been a student there for five years and two months.

Example 3.13, Free Indirect Speech:

Laura had been a student there for five years and two months.

Example 3.14, Narrator's report of Speech Act:

She confirmed that Laura was a student there.

Example 3.15, Narrator's presentation of Voice:

She talked about Laura.

These examples illustrate the potential for manipulation in presenting other people's verbiage. Not only the locution but also the illocutionary force of the verbiage gets lost the less faithful the speech presentation is. In my data, I found a salience of Direct and Indirect Speech as will be outlined in the results chapters. Quoting other people's utterances with a supposedly high rate of faithfulness allows the writer to hide behind other people's utterances or allows the writer to enhance the accuracy of reporting, instead of presenting them as his or her own. Also, these quotes can be taken out of context and thus manipulate the reader in

the desired way. Because it takes some effort for the reader to get hold of the original utterance and not many are willing to make these efforts, the presentation of other people's utterances has a great potential for manipulation.

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

3.4 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has defined the basic terms *language, text, ideology, discourse* and *power* and explained their relation to each other. I have briefly outlined the historical development of Linguistics and the underlying concepts which stem from language philosophy, and how these impact on my project. In sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2. I have summarised the frameworks of Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, their developments and weaknesses and showed their relation to each other. Finally, the qualitative methods of Critical Stylistics, which I pursue in my thesis, were introduced in section 3.3.3 and I argued that Critical Stylistics is not only a new approach to CDA but a further development of it. I outlined the tools offered by Critical Stylistics and illustrated those which I repeatedly encountered in my data by drawing on examples from the data. This chapter provides the theoretical ground for conducting the analysis and outlines the arguments for my decision to employ the method of Critical Stylistics.

Chapter 4: Corpus Linguistics

_____

The study of language is moving

into a new era in which the exploitation of

modern computers will be at the centre of

progress. […] In all of this my plea is to

trust the text.

(Sinclair, 2004: 23)

4.1 Introduction

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

4.2 Different approaches to Corpus Linguistics

Corpus Linguistics can be defined as 'the study of language based on examples of 'real life' language use' (McEnery & Wilson, 1996: 1) which employs computational methods of analysis and large quantities of data[3]. Corpus Linguistics (CL) takes a statistical approach

---

[3] In order to show the background of Corpus Linguistics and the former understanding of the terms *concordance* and *keyword,* which are now at the core of Corpus Linguistics, it is necessary to look at their origins historically. The notion of concordances has its roots in the compilation of concordances of the Christian Bible where every word from the Bible is listed alphabetically along with all its occurrences in the book. The aim of this work-intensive endeavour was to prove the belief in the divine origin of the Bible instead of it being a collection of different religious texts from a variety of human sources. The first known concordance of the Bible, the *Concordantiae Morales*, is associated with Anthony of Padua (1195-1231) (McCarthy & O'Keeffe, 2010: 3) and was followed by countless other concordances through the centuries. Although such concordances were not compiled using computational methods, the term concordance is used similarly to our current understanding where concordance lines show all occurrences of a target word in their respective context (Baker, 2006: 71).

to texts by using frequency information about the occurrence of words or word phrases in texts and combines these statistical methods with functional interpretations (Biber et al., 1998; McEnery et al., 2006). But CL is not purely about statistical analysis, sometimes it is simply about identifying patterns such as n-grams (uninterrupted strings of n words (Fischer-Starke, 2009: 508)). The aim of a corpus analysis is to uncover linguistic patterns that show how language is used and, depending on the research question, to make assertions about language use in relation to discourse. Corpus Linguistics is based on statistical methods as well as on linguistic theories and, as with linguistics generally, on methodological principles of rigour, transparency and replicability (Fischer-Starke, 2009: 494). I wish to point out the difference between these methodological issues, which are a set of principles followed within a discipline, and the methods themselves, which determine the practical conduct of an analysis. Stylistics, Critical Stylistics, Corpus Linguistics and theoretically also Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are based on these methodological principles of rigour, transparency, replicability and objectivity. I distinguish these methodological principles, which are the foundation for the analysis in this thesis, from the methods I use when conducting the analysis, namely the methods provided by Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics.

We can differentiate between three approaches to Corpus Linguistics, namely the corpus-assisted, the corpus-driven and the corpus-based approach. These approaches are not entirely discrete so a project may employ more than one approach, for example a corpus-based approach together with a corpus-driven approach (see (Stubbs, 2005) as an example).

The corpus-assisted approach in general uses large reference corpora to gain objective assertions about the general use of particular words or linguistic structures to complement the analysis otherwise conducted by using different methods than Corpus Linguistics. For example, in Stylistics sometimes large reference corpora are used 'to validate (or invalidate) the stylistician's intuition about the stylistic effects of particular linguistic structures' (McIntyre, 2013), see also (O'Halloran, 2007). An illustration of this

approach is Jeffries and McIntyre's analyse of Roger McGough's poem 'Vinegar' (1979) where the authors searched for collocates of the word *priest* in the British National Corpus (BNC) and found that the meaning of the word *priest* in context brings to mind sexual frustration, thus offering objective evidence for a particular interpretation of the poem (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010: 184, 185).

Apart from this approach, where corpora assist the analyst in validating his or her hypothesis about, for example, stylistic effects, two main traditions within Corpus Linguistics have evolved which regard Corpus Linguistics either to be a method or, on the other hand, a theory and thus a sub-discipline of Linguistics. The latter 'corpus-as-theory' (Hardie & McEnery, 2010: 386) tradition emerged at the University of Birmingham and has its roots in the work of John Rupert Firth; therefore it is called the neo-Firthian tradition. The key figure of this tradition is John Sinclair (1991, 1997, 2003, 2004); other known scholars such as Carter (2007), Hoey (2005, 2007), Louw (1993), Teubert (2005) and Tognini-Bonelli (2001) work within this strand. They regard their analyses as being corpus-driven, grounded in the belief that 'there is no role in corpus linguistics for theories of language, or explanations of linguistic phenomena, that do not emerge from the study of corpus data' (Hardie & McEnery, 2010: 386). The term *corpus-driven* (in contrast to *corpus-based*) was coined by Tognini-Bonelli (2001) and stands for a 'bottom-up' analysis bringing no preconceived premises to the analysis and bases its theories entirely on corpus data (Gries, 2010: 328). It is within this tradition that the already mentioned COBUILD project can be placed, and its successor the Bank of English corpus.

On the other hand, the methodologist or 'corpus-as-method' (Hardie & McEnery, 2010: 386) approach initially emerged at University College London and spread to Lancaster University as well as the Universities of Oslo and Bergen. Scholars working within this tradition include Biber (2009; Biber, et al., 1998), Leech (2011), McEnery (2009; McEnery, et al., 2006), Quirk (1960; Quirk et al., 1985), Rissanen (2012), Hoffmann (2005) and Svartvik (1996). Their work is been regarded as corpus-based because it is grounded in the belief that the techniques of Corpus Linguistics 'can be applied in different fields of language study,

and within different theoretical frameworks' (Hardie & McEnery, 2010: 386). Consequently, corpus-based linguists approach the corpus 'with moderate corpus-external premises, with the aim of testing and improving such theories, and often use corpus annotations' (Gries, 2010: 328). Corpora designed within this tradition include the FLOB corpus (see below), the London-Lund corpus and the British National Corpus (BNC). The research described in this thesis can be placed within this tradition and is to be regarded as corpus-based. This assertion is based on the design of analysis which I pursue in this thesis. The results gained through corpus linguistic analysis provide the starting point for a critical stylistic analysis aiming at detecting the underlying patterns used to construct discourse on offenders, victims and crime in news reports. Biber et al. (1998) formulate the underlying characteristics of a corpus-based analysis as being empirical, using corpora as the basis for analysis, employing computer software and making 'qualitative, functional interpretations of quantitative patterns' (1998: 4, 5). This general summary of methods in Corpus-Linguistics, which is shared by those corpus linguists who follow the corpus-as-theory approach, will be outlined in detail in the following sections.

The differences between corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches to Corpus Linguistics have been bridged on many occasions. For example, Louw's concept of semantic prosody, which is based on Sinclair's notion of collocation, has been adopted by Baker (2006). He alone (Baker, 2006) and together with his co-author (Baker & McEnery, 2005) transferred this concept of collocation to CDA and the analysis of discourse on refugees and asylum seekers (Hardie & McEnery, 2010: 389). Hardie and McEnery state that 'there is substantial overlap, not only of practice, but also increasingly of conceptual apparatus, between the two traditions' (Hardie & McEnery, 2010: 389). They further note that the divisive concept of 'corpus-as-theory' diminishes 'in impact over time' (Hardie & McEnery, 2010: 390). Hardie and McEnery further claim that certain discoveries, like pattern grammar, are bringing cognitive and corpus theories closer together and thus the distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches is only an artificial one (Hardie & McEnery, 2010: 390).

4.3 Different types of corpora

A corpus can be defined as 'a large, systematic collection of texts stored on computer' (Biber et al., 2002: 3). Those texts contain natural language (Biber, et al., 1998: 12) instead of invented examples of language use as Chomsky focused on (Chomsky, 1965: 3). The difference between a corpus and text archives or databases is that the latter are 'a text repository, often huge and opportunistically collected, and normally not structured' (Kennedy, 1998: 4) whereas a corpus is 'a systematic, planned and structured compilation of text' (Kennedy, 1998: 4). Mautner argues for the usefulness of the web being a 'vast storehouse of textual data' in flux (2005: 821) for corpus building. I agree with this view of the web being a text archive which can be used as a source to build corpora but it is not a corpus in itself because it lacks principled collection methods. Biber has worked extensively on sampling principles for corpus building (Biber, 1993; Biber, et al., 1998), which are important to consider when one wants to achieve representativeness of a corpus in terms of general language use. Representativeness concerning general language use depends according to Biber on the extent to which it includes the range of linguistic distributions in the population (Biber, 1993: 243). Those corpora provide useful insight when the focus is on detecting patterns concerning grammatical issues, the use of particular words or on using it as a reference corpus, as we will see later. In addition to matters of representativeness, the size of the corpus is crucial for those kinds of analysis. If, for example, the analyst wishes to make assertions about the use of a particular word and its use in context, the corpus should represent a big enough sample of texts to cover as many instances of that particular word as possible (Biber, et al., 1998: 30). The less frequent the search term, the bigger the corpus should be. Corpora which are built according to those sampling principles are useful for a top-down approach to analysis because they are representative of general language use.

Apart from those representative corpora in terms of general language use, corpora can also be compiled for the purpose of answering particular questions about language or to

study specific aspects of language (Baker, 2006: 26; Jeffries & Walker, 2012). Those corpora are specialised corpora where the focus of analysis is, for example, on the construction of refugees and asylum seekers (Baker & McEnery, 2005) or Islam (Baker, 2010; Gabrielatos et al., 2012) in newspaper articles. Those specialised corpora are designed differently with the focus being less on their representativeness concerning general language use but rather on what those corpora are determined to represent (Biber, et al., 1998: 246). This bottom-up approach does not require very large corpora compiled according to Biber's sampling methods for general language use, but rather a sample of texts which is suitable to answer the research question. To illustrate this, a large and generally representative corpus cannot be used to answer questions about the construction of refugees and asylum seekers in newspaper articles because it is not representative of discourse surrounding this issue. It contains not enough instances of language use on this topic and is thus inappropriate to answer the research question. Also, a big enough and generally representative corpus would not contain enough examples of language use on, for example, refugees and asylum seekers to answer the research question because it is not representative of discourse on asylum seekers and refugees. Additionally, the larger corpora are rather constrained historically and to answer a particular research question, it is important that a corpus covers a particular time period (as in (Jeffries & Walker, 2012)). Therefore I argue that representativeness is a core issue both for corpora designed to answer questions about general language use as well as for specialised corpora. Representativeness in corpus design depends on the chosen top-down or bottom-up approach and thus on the research question(s) which determine the sampling principles for the corpus the analyst wishes to use or build. In this respect, the size of specialised corpora is of subordinate importance and again depends on the research question(s). If, for example, the analyst wishes to analyse discourse on refugees and asylum seekers in newspapers from a particular time period, the corpus size is automatically limited by the number of texts published within this time period. For building specialised corpora 'the quality or content of the data takes equal or more precedence over issues of quantity' (Baker, 2006: 29). In order to answer the research

question, I collected a corpus of newspaper articles on crime from the German and UK press respectively as specialised corpora which are representative of discourse on crime, offenders and victims.[4]

4.4 Reference corpora

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

A number of large corpora have been compiled and can be used as reference corpora (as well as being the target for analysis themselves), and are available from the Oxford Text Archive in the United Kingdom and from the Institut für Deutsche Sprache (IDS) in Mannheim/Germany (Institute for German Language), for example. An overview of the diversity of available corpora can be gained from Svartvik (1996) or for German corpora from Lemnitzer and Zinsmeister (2010). One of those corpora is the FLOB corpus which is the Freiburg-Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English and consists of written British English (texts from newspapers, books and periodicals) used in 1991. The FLOB corpus contains approximately one million words and is a specialised corpus, built to very specific requirements in terms of balance. It was compiled on the basis of its predecessor, the LOB corpus, which is the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen corpus of written British English in the 1960's which was built to mirror the Brown Corpus of written American English from the same time period, see (Baker, 2009). All three corpora share the same sampling principles; for a detailed outline see Francis & Kucera (1979). These sampling methods were endorsed by

---

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

Biber for being systematic and provided the starting point for his work on corpus compilation (1993: 243, 244)**.**

A reference corpus is usually large and represents a particular language variety (Baker, 2006: 30), as for example the FLOB corpus, although the choice of the reference corpus can also be guided by different considerations. Culpeper (2002, 2009), for example, investigates keyness in the different character-talk of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. He focuses on the six major characters in the play and compares the talk of each character in turn against a reference corpus which contains the speeches of the remaining five characters. The reference corpus he uses is therefore not large (the language variety it represents is limited to the language of the respectively remaining five characters' speeches in the tragedy) but the language in the reference corpus as well as in the target corpus stem from the same time period. Walker (2010) uses a similar approach in his analysis of Julian Barnes' novel *Talking It Over* and compares the words of one of the three main narrators against a reference corpus which consists of the words of the remaining eight narrators. Walker (2010) points out that this method produces small data sources for analysis which produce small frequency numbers and can be problematic for statistical significance tests (log-likelihood ratio, chi-square) (2010: 369, 370) as I will outline in detail in the methodology chapter. According to Culpeper's analysis (2009), three aspects of the choice of a reference corpus matter: size, content and date. Culpeper (2009), Walker (2010) and also McIntyre (2010) each chose a reference corpus which was closely related to their target corpora in terms of content and date and thus follow Scott and Tribble (2006) who state that the reference corpus 'should be an appropriate sample of the language which the text we are studying (the "node-text") is written in' (2006: 58). Culpeper (2009) notes 'that the choice of the reference corpus will affect whether you acquire keyword results that are all relevant to the particular aspect of the text(s) you are researching' (2009: 35). He states that he found a different set of keywords through his analysis in comparison to Scott and Tribble (2006) who compared the same play against a reference corpus containing all of Shakespeare's plays

(2006: 59). Fischer-Starke (2009) argues along the same line. She analyses keyness in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* and compares the novel against two different reference corpora, namely (i) Austen's five remaining novels and (ii) '30 novels by various authors, published between 1740 and 1859' (2009: 496, 497). Fischer-Starke states that 'the compilation of the reference corpora used in a keyword analysis influences its results' (2009: 499) and argues that the choice of a reference corpus 'should be determined both by its size and content' (2009: 500). She also takes the date of the reference corpus into account by choosing a reference corpus dating from the same time period. Thereby she challenges earlier assertions about the size and the content of a reference corpus. Referring to size, Xiao and McEnery (2005), who compare the keywords gained through using the British National Corpus and the FLOB-corpus as reference corpora, conclude that 'the size of the reference corpus is not very important in making a keyword list' (2005: 69, 70). Concerning content, Scott and Tribble (2006) state in the conclusion of their above mentioned analysis of *Romeo and Juliet* 'that while the choice of reference corpus is important, above a certain size, the procedure throws up a robust core of KWs [keywords] whichever the reference corpus used' (2006: 64). In their underlying analysis Scott and Tribble compare the keywords gained through using all of Shakespeare's plays as a reference corpus with the keywords gained by Culpeper (2002) in his earlier publication on the analysis of the play using the talk of the five respectively remaining characters as a reference corpus.

These arguments raise three questions which have been argued about:

(1) does the size of the reference corpus matter?

(2) does the content of the reference corpus matter? and

(3) does the date of the reference corpus matter?

Scott (2009) tested keyness by choosing a seemingly unsuitable reference corpus and states 'that keywords identified even by an obviously absurd RC [reference corpus] can be plausible indicators of aboutness' (2009: 91). His analysis not only questions size and content of a reference corpus but also date, namely whether texts from a different time period than the target corpus can provide an acceptable reference corpus (2009: 81).

According to Scott (2009), size, content and date of a reference corpus have undoubtedly an impact on keywords but there is no evidence that seemingly unsuitable reference corpora provide a keyword list which is useless or absurd. He states the 'using an inappropriate RC [reference corpus] may generate a lot of unwanted keywords' (Scott, 2009: 87) but the keywords in general can still be useful. He further states that 'there is no clear and obvious threshold below which poor keyword results can be expected' (Scott, 2009: 86). What we can conclude from Scott's work is that a corpus which matches the target corpus in terms of content and date and is not too small to carry out statistical significance tests (log-likelihood ratio or chi-square) is desirable although not necessary for analysing keyness. The analysis of keyness provides robust results independent of the reference corpus chosen.

4.5 The software package *WordSmith Tools*

In order to use corpora for analysis, software packages are required to analyse the data. Different software packages have been developed for this purpose, for example, *WordSmith Tools* (Scott, 2004)*, WMatrix* (Rayson, 2008) and *AntConc* (Anthony, 2012). For my analysis, I use *WordSmith Tools* because it is capable of handling both, the German and the English newspaper corpora (compared to *WMatrix*) and offers a broader toolkit in comparison to *AntConc*. The usefulness of *WordSmith Tools* when working with English and German corpora has been illustrated by Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) who analysed the representation of feminism in the British and German press. Another example is the work of Johnson et al. (Johnson et al., 2003; Johnson & Suhr, 2003) in their analysis of political correctness in the German and British press.

In this section, I will give an overview of the toolkit provided by *WordSmith Tools (*see also Scott's website: http://lexically.net/wordsmith/index.html). This is important in order to understand the research which has been done using this software package and which has informed the conduct of my project.

Once the target corpus has been compiled, it can be uploaded into *WordSmith* after it has been converted into the required format (.txt-file) using notepad.[5] When the corpus has been uploaded, *WordSmith* automatically provides basic statistical information about the corpus (e.g. the number of sentences, paragraphs, one/two/three etc. letter words) and calculates the type/token ratio (TTR) which is 'the number of types [the number of original words] divided by the number of tokens [the total number of words] expressed as a percentage' (Baker, 2006: 52). TTR indicates the variety of words used in a corpus (e.g. if the same words are repeated often) and thus allows conclusions about the diversity of language used in the corpus. This statistical information can be used to provide evidence for foregrounding theory in Corpus Stylistics. For example, this tool was used in an analysis on the opening sequences of different novels (Stubbs, 2005: 15). Stubbs (1996) talks of lexical density in this context which he defines as the 'relative proportion of lexical to grammatical words' (1996: 71). *WordSmith* calculates a standardised TTR based on splitting the corpus into concurrent parts of 2000 words each, calculating the TTR of each of those parts and finally calculating the average TTR. The thus gained TTR allows a better comparison between different corpora (Baker, 2006: 52).

4.5.1 Wordlist/frequency list

A wordlist or frequency list catalogues all the words in the corpus according to their frequency, starting with the most frequent words which are usually grammatical words (Baker, 2006: 47). Such a wordlist also shows the frequency figure as well as the percentage of a word in the corpus (Baker, 2006: 51) and can be sorted either according to frequency or alphabetically (Kennedy, 1998: 245, 247). The different uses for a wordlist have been listed by Scott on his webpage[6]. Wordlists are, according to Stubbs (2005), 'one essential starting point for a systematic textual analysis' (2005: 11). A wordlist can to a certain extent reveal ideology in the corpus because the choice of words or the preference for some words

---

[5] A way to include meta data about the corpus, for example distinguishing headlines, publication dates and authors, is offered by adding mark ups using Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML) (Baker, 2006: 39). Although SGML has been largely superseded by XML nowadays, it is still being used.
[6] http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version6/HTML/?wordlist_overview.htm

expresses ideology based on the fact that 'language is not random' (Baker, 2006: 49). Baker (2006) illustrates this point by using the example of naming a male baby either as a *baby boy* or as a *fetus*, the latter being a medical term whereas the first constructs helplessness (2006: 48). For more details about the use of a wordlist see

http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version6/HTML/?wordlist_overview.htm, on Scott's *WordSmith* website.

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

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

4.5.2 Dispersion plots

The analysis of dispersion or distribution of words in a corpus by using the dispersion plot tool allows conclusions about whether a particular word or keyword accumulates only in one part of the corpus or whether it is evenly dispersed over the corpus. This is especially relevant if the corpus under scrutiny consists of different texts (and thus of different files) where a word might be significant only for one text but not for the entire corpus (Baker, 2006: 59ff). The dispersion plot tool can also be used to determine which keywords may be useful to look at qualitatively. I have used the dispersion plot tool in my analysis when determining which words naming offenders or victims are significant for the entire corpus. An example of the dispersion of the noun *boy* in the English Newspaper Corpus is shown in figure 4.1:

N	ile	Words	Hits	r 1,000	persion	Plot
1	txt	654	6	9,17	0,553	
2	txt	594	1	1,68	-0,069	
3	txt	847	13	15,35	0,697	
4	txt	710	4	5,63	0,429	
5	txt	700	2	2,86	0,300	
6	txt	438	2	4,57	0,300	
7	txt	321	1	3,12	-0,069	
8	txt	741	1	1,35	-0,069	
9	txt	264	1	3,79	-0,069	
10	txt	403	1	2,48	-0,069	
11	txt	554	2	3,61	0,300	
12	txt	701	3	4,28	0,478	
13	txt	545	6	11,01	0,300	
14	txt	301	3	9,97	0,250	
15	txt	507	1	1,97	-0,069	
16	txt	709	2	2,82	-0,069	
17	txt	1.063	1	0,94	-0,069	
18	txt	287	1	3,48	-0,069	
19	txt	570	1	1,75	-0,069	
20	txt	712	1	1,40	-0,069	
21	txt	310	1	3,23	-0,069	
22	txt	190	1	5,26	-0,069	
23	txt	439	1	2,28	-0,069	
24	txt	720	1	1,39	-0,069	
25	txt	611	4	6,55	-0,069	
26	txt	604	8	13,25	0,505	
27	txt	461	1	2,17	-0,069	
28	txt	540	2	3,70	0,300	
29	txt	506	6	11,86	0,553	
30	txt	271	4	14,76	0,429	
31	txt	610	1	1,64	-0,069	
32	txt	530	2	3,77	0,300	

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

In figure 4.1 we can see that the noun *boy* occurs in 32 .txt-files (one .txt-file contains one newspaper article) and how that noun is dispersed in each newspaper text it occurs in.

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

Culpeper also employs dispersion plots in his analysis of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (2009) where he focuses on the keywords in Romeo's and Juliet's talks and found that e.g. *love* as one of the keywords in Romeo's talk cumulates in two scenes whereas Juliet's keywords are evenly dispersed (2009: 40, 41). Unfortunately, he only uses this as additional information and does not take the issue any further. However, we can distinguish between the immediate statistical result provided by this tool and the indirect use to which it can be put by the analyst, as demonstrated in Stubbs' analysis. I will return to this topic in section 4.5.5 on keywords.

4.5.3 Clusters

Another tool that *WordSmith Tools* provides is a list of clusters (also known as *n-grams* or *lexical bundles)*. Scott notes, that '[c]lusters are words which are found repeatedly together in each others' company, in sequence'[7]. The analyst can determine the number *n* and thus derives the most frequent clusters consisting of *n* words (e.g. groups of three or four words). This allows us to analyse the context in which some words are used repeatedly (Baker, 2006: 56ff). Examples thereof are Mahlberg (2007) and her analysis of n-grams in a

---

[7] http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version5/HTML/index.html?single_words.htm

corpus of texts by Charles Dickens as well as Wilson (2012) who analysed trigrams in a German corpus on shoe and foot fetish fantasies and related his findings to depth psychology.

Coming back to the example of *boy* in the ENC, *WordSmith Tools* provide the following clusters for this noun, which in this case consist of three words which mainly refer to the boy's age:

Cluster	Freq.	Length
THE OLDER BOY	9	3
YEAR OLD BOY	9	3
A BOY AGED	7	3
EACH BOY IS	6	3
16 YEAR OLD	5	3

Figure 4.2: Clusters of the noun *boy* in the ENC

Mahlberg (2007) in her analysis of a corpus of Charles Dickens' texts illustrates the analytical value of clusters. She focuses on 5-word-clusters and takes into account their dispersion in the corpus which leads her to include those clusters which only occur on one of Dickens' texts. This is rather unusual because other studies test frequency as well as widespread distribution of clusters in the corpus in order to identify significance (see for example (Stubbs, 2005)). Mahlberg uses *WordSmith* to identify key-clusters which are gained in a similar way as keywords (see below) and groups the positive key clusters into five groups which she invented regarding the content of the clusters. Her reference corpus consists of literature from the nineteenth century and is thus closely related to her target corpus in terms of content and date and is bigger than her target corpus. She found that key clusters are more frequent in the Dickens corpus than in the reference corpus and proved the functions of clusters in texts.

4.5.4 Concordances, collocates, colligates, connotations and semantic prosody

A different way of examining the context of words is provided by the concordance list tool which shows 'all of the examples of a search term in the context that it appears in' (Baker & McEnery, 2005: 202) and is also referred to as key word in context (KWIC) (Baker, 2006: 71). Concordance lines can be gained for every word in the corpus listed either in the frequency list or in the keyword list and provide the starting point for the subsequent qualitative analysis as already mentioned. They allow assertions about collocates of the target word (Baker, 2006: 95ff) which is based on the notion that 'the choice of one word conditions the choice of the next' and reveal the semantic meaning of a word (Sinclair, 2004: 19). Concordance lines also reveal colligates of the target word which is the typical grammatical patterning of words.

According to Scott, collocates 'are the words which occur in the neighbourhood of your search word'[8]. Collocates are indicative of semantic preference which is 'the relation, not between individual words, but between a lemma or word-form and a set of semantically related words' (Stubbs, 2001: 65) and semantic prosody (or discourse prosody) of the target word which is 'a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates' (Louw, 1993: 157), see Baker (2006: 87). Sinclair (2004) notes, that collocation also operates in other languages, for example German (2004: 19). And Stubbs (2001) argues 'that collocation is the fundamental organizing principle of language in use' (2001: 60). An example thereof is Cotterill's (2001, 2003) analysis of collocation in the transcript of the O.J. Simpson trial in the US. She compares the discourse of the prosecution with that of the defence and shows how both 'construct a framework into which the witnesses and physical evidence [are] placed as the trial progresses' (2001: 294). She links the concept of collocation with that of semantic prosody by stating that the prosecuting and defending lawyers in their opening statements 'map out the 'semantic environment' - to use Sinclair's (1991) term - of the crime, the victim and the alleged criminal' (2001: 294).

Further, Stubbs (2005) points out that 'collocations create connotations' (2005: 14) which are the ideas, emotions or qualities a particular word associates with. The notion of

---

[8] http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version5/HTML/index.html?collocation_basics.htm

connotation is at least closely related to the notion of semantic prosody if both are not even the same. Acknowledging Hunston's (2007) criticism of the concept of semantic prosody, I argue that 'the aura of meaning' of a word (Louw, 1993: 157) is not restricted to positive or negative attitudinal meaning but comprises more and different facets of the meaning of a word as has been shown, for example, by Cotterill (2001, 2003). I therefore support Louw's definition of semantic prosody and will use the term in this thesis according to Louw's definition.

A concordance list provides the starting point for a qualitative analysis and illustrates best how quantitative and qualitative analysis interlock and how a computationally gained list can be used to extract 'patterns of language use' (Baker, 2006: 77). Most corpus linguistic research starts from a keyword list in combination with concordances of those keywords, see (Sinclair, 1997, 2003).

An example of analysing concordance lines is again Baker and McEnery's paper (2005) on the construction of refugees and asylum seekers in newspaper reports. They analyse the concordance lines for the words *refugee(s)* in a newspaper corpus and state that refugees are most commonly described by the use of pre-modifying quantification which suggests an underlying concern about the growing numbers of refugees (Baker & McEnery, 2005: 203). Another pattern the authors identify by analysing the verb forms in those concordance lines is 'a range of evaluative responses' which construct this group of people as collectively suffering (Baker & McEnery, 2005: 204). The authors use the BNC to find collocates for the identified verb phrases in a generally representative corpus and thus argue that refugees are constructed 'as a 'natural disaster' like a flood' (Baker & McEnery, 2005: 204). The rigorousness of this qualitative analysis on the grounds of concordance lines would have profited from mentioning the exact numbers or percentages of how often these pre-modifiers or verb phrases are used and if the identified patterns are statistically significant or occur only occasionally.

Rasinger (2010) uses collocation of key lemmas in his analysis of the construction of migrants in newspaper reports in connection with an increase in crime figures. He found

strong collocations between *migrant/immigrant* and *influx* and thus supports Baker and McEnery's (2005) findings on water-based metaphors in the construction of refugees, which he also identifies in his analysis on migrants (Rasinger, 2010: 1025f). He states that the lemma *influx* 'is characterized by a strongly negative semantic prosody' (2010: 1026) which he verifies through a corpus-assisted approach, namely by analysing the collocations of *influx* in the newspaper section of the BNC (2010: 1027). Rasinger thus demonstrates a combination of a corpus-based and a corpus-assisted approach and he gives exact figures of how often he found the significant collocates.

Johnson and Suhr (2003) in their paper on *Politische Korrektheit* (political correctness) in the German Newspaper *Die Welt* use *WordSmith* to analyse a German newspaper corpus. Building on the grounds of their earlier article (Suhr & Johnson, 2003) they compiled a corpus of articles from the conservative newspaper *Die Welt* and found that the 'adherents of 'political correctness' are being constructed as an outgroup which insists on subjecting the rest of the population to an ongoing process of moral blackmail *via a vis* the recent German past' (2003: 64). Regarding their method, the authors extract those sentences which contain PC-related terms and analyse collocations of these terms although they do not give the exact wordspan they were looking at or any statistical figures which objectively prove their results. Still, their work is worth mentioning here because it demonstrates that *WordSmith* can be used to analyse a language other than English.

In relation to crime, O'Keeffe and Breen (2007) used *WordSmith Tools* to analyse the press coverage on child abuse in the Irish press. They identified stance markers like lexical markers of stance or stance adverbials and analysed the collocates of these words. Thus, they were able to prove attitudinal stance in the analysed articles and found a difference between the construction of these crimes committed in an institution, namely the Irish Christian Brothers, compared to family homes (O'Keeffe & Breen, 2007: 235).

4.5.5 Keywords

Finally, *WordSmith* offers the keyword list tool which provides a comparison between the wordlists of two corpora (i.e. the target corpus and the reference corpus) and catalogues the words which 'occur statistically more often in wordlist A when compared with wordlist B and vice versa' (Baker, 2006: 125). Negative keywords appear less often in the target corpus than in the reference corpus and can also be used to make assertions about the text. Keyness according to Culpeper (2009) 'is a matter of being statistically unusual relative to some norm' (2009: 34). Baker (2006) notes that a keyword list 'gives a measure of *saliency*, whereas a simple word list only provides *frequency*' (2006: 125). He warns that 'a keyword analysis will focus only on lexical differences, not lexical similarities' and advises to be cautious 'when generalizing beyond the lexical level' (Baker, 2004: 349) because of the danger of overemphasising the differences. In this context, Baker (2011) coined the term *lockword* which he defines as a word 'which may change in its meaning or context of usage when we compare a set of diachronic corpora together, yet appears to be relatively static in terms of frequency' (2011: 66). Following from this definition, lockwords are only important in diachronic studies which is not the nature of my analysis. Some words will be key simply because they do not occur at all in the reference corpus (e.g. proper nouns), some will indicate style and some will indicate aboutness. Aboutness refers to the content of a corpus (Scott, 2002: 44) because the most frequent content words indicate the predominant topic(s) in the corpus.

A problem with keyword lists has been pointed out by Baker (2004) who states that if a corpus consists of different files, a keyword might not be key in the majority of those files. This problem links with the afore-mentioned dispersion plot. Baker suggests it is therefore necessary to 'ascertain how many files they [keywords] occur in and to present or take into account this information in addition to the frequency count' (Baker, 2004: 351). This adds additional objectivity to the analysis and I will return to this topic later in the methodology section.

Taking into account the different sizes of the corpora to be compared, *WordSmith* uses statistical methods (either the chi-square or the log-likelihood ratio test) to determine

keyness. These tests calculate the 'unusualness of keyword[s]' and allow assertions about the strength of significance (Culpeper, 2009: 36). Therefore *WordSmith* assigns a p-value between 0 and 1 to each word indicating 'the amount of confidence that we have that a word is key due to chance alone' (Baker, 2006: 125). In statistical hypothesis testing, the p-value is the probability of obtaining a test statistic at least as extreme as the one that was actually observed, assuming that the null hypothesis is true[9], (see also (Rüger, 2002: 35) or (Fahrmeier et al., 2007: 419))**.** The smaller the p-value the higher is the probability of the word being key. These statistical significance tests require a certain size of data as Walker (2010: 369) points out. This will be discussed in detail in the methodology chapter because log-likelihood ratio tests have been carried out at various points of my analysis as they allow the objective comparison of different sizes of corpora and thus identify significance which cannot be gained through the comparison of percentage figures or through adapting the sizes of the corpora used for analysis.

Baker (2010) in his analysis of the construction of Islam in British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers demonstrates a comparative keyword analysis. He compares the keyword lists from his broadsheet corpus with the one from the tabloid corpus and found strong connections between Islam and terrorism in both corpora. This analysis is very basic in terms of method except for the new topic but provides a good insight into how a keyword analysis can be carried out.

Fischer-Starke (2009), (2010) in her analysis of Jane Austen's novel *Pride and Prejudice* using *WordSmith* demonstrates the analysis of concordance lines of keywords by focusing on collocations and colligations of the novel's keywords and she found patterns with 'mental concepts and emotions, expressions of uncertainty' and communication as well as 'negatively connotated words and their colligation with grammatical negations' (2009: 517). This enabled her to explain 'the novel's functional view of daughters' who 'create social networks through marriage' (2009: 518). The concepts she identified are based on intuitively chosen semantic fields (2009: 496) from which she chooses one (family relationships) for her

---

[9] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/P-value

analysis without explaining the reasons for this choice. This highlights the importance of transparency as one of the methodological principles on which Corpus Linguistics, and in this case Corpus Stylistics, are based. In the course of an analysis subjective choices are sometimes inevitable but the analyst has to be explicit about them.

Differing from Fischer-Starke's arbitrary categories, Culpeper (2009) in his analysis of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* groups the keywords into categories which he chooses in accordance with Halliday's metafunctions of language (ideational keywords, textual keywords, interpersonal keywords) (2009: 39). He thereby provides a systematic approach to grouping keywords which is clearly an advantage. He then continues to analyse semantic categories (or fields) automatically gained through the software package *WMatrix* (Rayson, 2008). The categories developed for *WMatrix*, e.g. food, clothes and personal belongings, living creatures generally, are not in accordance with Halliday's metafunction categories which leads to the conclusion that there are different ways of grouping keywords and the analyst has to be explicit about the reasons for a particular choice.

Walker (2010) uses a similar method in his analysis of Julian Barnes' novel *Talking It Over* and demonstrates the systematic and objective approach to semantic categories by using the software package *WMatrix* (Rayson, 2008) which 'is able to extend the notion of 'keyness' to grammatical categories (known as key POS (part of speech)) and semantic domains (known as key concepts)' (2010: 369). Although Walker (2010) encounters problems with the not sufficiently detailed categories provided by UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS) and argues for an expansion of those categories (2010: 386), he shows that there is a way of objectively gaining semantic categories. This software package is only able to analyse English language data and is thus not suitable for a comparative analysis of English and German texts.

Mahlberg and McIntyre (2011) in their analysis of Ian Fleming's novel *Casino Royale* combine a keyword analysis with an analysis of key semantic domains (as Culpeper (2009) did before) and state that the analysis of both allows the analyst to work on 'different levels of textual detail' (Mahlberg & McIntyre, 2011: 223). Whereas a keyword analysis focuses on a

smaller amount of words and is thus more detailed, the analysis of key semantic domains deals with 'a greater number of words that may not even show in a keyword analysis' and thus allows an analysis 'on a less detailed level' (Mahlberg & McIntyre, 2011: 223). Here again I want to point out that only *WMatrix* allows this kind of analysis and requires English texts since the semantic annotation system currently only works in English.

4.6 Advantages and dangers of Corpus Linguistics

From this brief overview of the variety of work using Corpus Linguistic methods it becomes obvious that any computational method can only provide the starting point for an obligatory subsequent qualitative analysis of the findings gained through computer software packages. McIntyre states that '[f]requency, keyness, n-grams and collocation are perhaps the most commonly used analytical tools within Corpus Stylistics' (McIntyre, 2013).

Although Corpus Linguistics allows the researcher to focus on objectively selected parts of the corpus under scrutiny, the following quantitative analysis using the tools provided by either Critical Discourse Analysis, Stylistics, Critical Stylistics or other frameworks, is unable to fully eliminate the researcher's bias and secondly, the outcome still largely depends on the researcher's abilities in detecting the patterns which provide the answers to the initial research questions. As Baker states, the researcher should be aware of the fact that dealing with corpora means 'dealing with decontextualized data' (2006: 25) and thus suggests to familiarise oneself with the corpus. Buchanan points out the advantage of combining 'the depth of qualitative research with the breadth of quantitative research' (1992: 118) but warns that 'quantitative methods constantly threaten to overwhelm the use of qualitative data' (1992: 133). Seizing this reservation, McIntyre and Walker (2010) state that 'quantitative analysis guides qualitative analysis, which might guide further quantitative analysis' (2010: 522) and show how to combine both on a balanced level. It is an illusion that the analyst only has to press a few buttons and the computer spits out a ready-made result. And this is why researchers using Corpus Linguistic tools need to be transparent about their methods (Jeffries, 2000) and should be aware of the still existing danger of interpreting the

data with a pre-conceived outcome in mind (Baker, 2006: 10ff). As much as Corpus Linguistics can contribute to the reduction of bias to a certain extent (Mautner, 2009a: 123), the demand that every analysis should be rigorous, replicable and retrievable remains an issue when working with computational methods. When applying Corpus Linguistics one should be aware of its limitations and weaknesses and therefore avoid 'burdening it with overly ambitious expectations' (Mautner, 2009b: 45).

Although the advantages of Corpus Linguistics are manifold, Maxwell (2010) adds an additional point for consideration, looking at Corpus Linguistics from a different angle. He states that not one language has been comprehensively described by linguists (2010: 379) because there is no corpus big enough to cover every instance of language use. His argument neglects the fact that building such a corpus is illusory and that such a corpus is not needed. Instead, as McEnery and Wilson (1996: 77ff) as well as Biber (1993) state, a corpus should be representative and provide systematic sampling methods.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have defined the key terms used in Corpus Linguistics and introduced the software package *WordSmith Tools* and its analytical options as well as the FLOB corpus as a reference corpus. I have differentiated the corpus-based approach I will be pursuing in this thesis from the other two approaches to Corpus Linguistics and have introduced selected work within this field which has informed the nature of my project. I have further outlined the advantages and assets a corpus linguistic approach brings to Critical Discourse Analysis by making it replicable and rigorous, but at the same time I have indicated limitations and warned of being overly enthusiastic about the possibilities of Corpus Linguistics. Although the broad access to computational language analysis became possible only through the rapid development of personal computer technology in recent years, Corpus Linguistics has fast become popular. The already broad variety of work within Corpus Linguistics is evidence for the usefulness and success of this method. Even in a small scale corpus of the type I compiled for this thesis, a manual and only qualitative analysis of the

data would overstretch the resources. The corpus-based approach helps to detect the statistically significant parts of the data and allows focusing on them in the qualitative part of the analysis following up. It thus helps to reduce the researcher's bias although it does not fully eliminate it. In the following chapter I outline the methods I used to conduct my analysis which is build on the grounds of this chapter.

Chapter 5: Methodology

_____

Die Sprache ist das

bildende Organ des Gedanken.

(Language is the

formative organ of thought.)

(Humboldt, 1836)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the methods I used in order to answer the overall research question of how in society victims, offenders and crimes are constructed linguistically in newspaper articles on crime in the British and German press. As I have already mentioned in chapter 4, the analysis I carried out is based on the methodological principles of replicability, rigour, transparency and retrievability as any linguistic analysis should be. At the heart of this chapter is my developed method of extracting keywords in a specialised corpus without the keyword list tool provided by *WordSmith Tools* (Scott, 2004). A case can be made for an increased objectivity of the results by combining Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010a), the latter being a particular way of developing CDA (Jeffries, 2007: 196). This combination and the discovered method to extract keywords in a specialised corpus guarantee a high level of objectivity and make it possible to postpone the unavoidable subjective interpretation of the findings until a very late stage in the analysis.

I begin with outlining how Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics can be combined. This will be followed by how I collected the data and how I conducted the Corpus Linguistic analysis. This will be preceded by a detailed introduction to the methods I used for the qualitative part of my analysis using the tools offered by Critical Stylistics. I will briefly outline challenges I met when manually analysing two different languages with the same analytical tools and when and how log-likelihood ratio made a fruitful contribution to determine statistical significance.

5.2 Combining Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics

In order to carry out the analysis and to answer my research question, I approached the data by employing the tools of Corpus Linguistics and combining them with Critical Stylistics. As I have outlined in chapter 2, Critical Stylistics is a further development of CDA because it provides a systematic toolkit of linguistic analysis which allows for the results to emerge from the analysis in contrast to using some subjectively chosen linguistic tools to prove pre-conceived results (Blommaert, 2005: 32).

Corpus Linguistics employs 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). CDA interprets language in terms of its use in the creation and reproduction of ideologies (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). By using the objective approach of Corpus Linguistics, it is possible to limit the subsequent Critical Discourse Analysis to the statistically most significant parts of the data and thus to reduce the researcher's bias in deciding what to focus on, thereby reducing the subjectivity that CDA is often accused of (see (Widdowson, 1995a), among others).

In this section I will outline how CDA and Corpus Linguistics have been combined in the literature so far and point out where the potential for improvement can be located. As Baker notes, the combination of CDA and Corpus Linguistics seems to benefit from and strengthen 'the theoretical basis of both' (Baker, et al., 2008: 297) and allows an unbiased statistical approach to CDA (Baker, 2006: 10). The motivation for combining CDA principles and Corpus Linguistic methods is to achieve as much substance and objectivity as possible in detecting patterns of language use. In order to be able to analyse a broader range of texts, Corpus Linguistics offers the tools to handle large quantities of data and thus provides a reasonable way to detect patterns across a large body of texts. A manual Critical Discourse Analysis of a randomly chosen extract from a corpus or of only a small set of linguistic devices in a corpus does not reveal the overall linguistic patterns in the corpus. A clearer and more reliable picture of these patterns is gained through Corpus Linguistics.

This has been demonstrated, for example, by Baker and McEnery (2005) in their analysis of refugees and asylum seekers in the press using the software package

WordSmith. They create concordance lines of these search terms (*refugees* and *asylum seekers*) and identify collocational patterns within this limited span. Thus they are able to identify 'widespread patterns of naturally occurring language […] which may be over-looked by a small-scale analysis' (2005: 198). Although their analysis is limited to collocations of the search terms, they are able to identify metaphors used in order to construct refugees and asylum seekers as a threat and a natural disaster. But they do not mention the fact that other lexical items or units can also name refugees and asylum seekers and thus limit their findings to the occurrences of only these two search terms.

Rasinger (2010) similarly uses Corpus Linguistics to examine hegemonic discourse**S** in newspaper reports from the Cambridge Evening News on Lithuanian migrants and their supposed contribution to the increase in the regional crime figures. For this he also combines Corpus Linguistics with CDA. His target corpus consists of 33,790 tokens (Rasinger, 2010: 1023). Although his analysis is threefold (he focuses on headlines first and proceeds with analysing collocations in the entire corpus and finally examines quotations from authorities), I want to comment on his search for collocations in the entire corpus. He focuses on just *immigrant/s* and *migrant/s* as search terms. He finds an extensive use of water-related metaphors used to anonymise immigrants by constructing them as 'an unidentifiable collective mass with no individuals' (2010: 1028). Employing van Dijk's concept of the 'ideological square' (see chapter 2) he confirms earlier work (Baker, 2006), (Wodak, 2000) by stating that '[m]igration and migrants are portrayed as a threat the 'natives' need protection from' (Rasinger, 2010: 1028). Because Rasinger focuses on just two nouns naming migrants/immigrants, he neglects any other reference to this group of people, which will be different in my own analysis.

Baker (2012)**,** in a paper on the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British press**,** critically states that he checked whether he was 'cherry-picking' just a few examples which underpin his point (2012: 252). He notes that because he had looked at all occurrences of the target word in the corpus, his results are representative for the entire corpus. He critically notes that he did not look at 'every possible word which referenced

extremism' (Baker, 2012: 252), e.g. pronouns or other lexical items, and states that only later he found that these words were relatively rare (Baker, 2012: 252). He thereby has failed to provide a systematic search for lexical items or units which name Muslims without using the word or without the term *Muslim* occurring in direct proximity to the node.

In order to be sure that I have captured all the references to victims, offenders and crimes, I realised that I needed to identify lexical items in addition to the core terms (victim, offender, crime) which may be used to refer to the same individuals and actions. In order to gain a representative picture of the corpus I have to extract keywords which are significant for the corpus in terms of naming offenders, victims and crimes instead of bringing preconceived search terms to the analysis as Baker (2012) and Rasinger (2010) did. The way of extracting those keywords has to be objective and replicable in order to avoid bias. The keyword list tool offered by *WordSmith* cannot be used here because it only identifies significance in comparison to a reference corpus (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 55) and not within the target corpus itself. The newspaper corpora I compiled in order to answer the research question are specifically designed to be representative of discourse on offenders, victims and crimes and a comparison with a reference corpus would only mirror this. This is because keywords extracted through the keyword list tool relate to aboutness (Scott, 2002: 44) or to style (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 63). In order to answer the overall research question, assertions concerning the aboutness or the style/genre of the newspaper articles I collected are not rewarding. Also, an analysis of semantic categories as offered by *WMatrix* and demonstrated by Culpeper (2009) or Walker (2010) is not able to answer the research question because of the nature of the collected texts which I would expect not to show many different semantic categories beside the fact that WMatrix is not capable of handling German data. These considerations indicate the necessity of finding a new way of identifying keywords within a specialised corpus as will be outlined in the following sections.

Another point to be made about the combination of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics, is that there are many examples of combining Corpus Linguistics with CDA (see chapter 3) but only one with Critical Stylistics so far (Jeffries & Walker, 2012). I refer back to

chapter 3 where I outlined the shortcomings of CDA in comparison to Critical Stylistics, in particular its lack of objectivity, replicability and rigour, which I want to expand on here. CDA is unsuitable to answer my research questions because I aim at objectively extracting the predominant linguistic features used to construct offenders, victims and crimes instead of bringing a pre-conceived result to the analysis. Although I am interested in whether criminological frameworks which are built on ideological perceptions of offenders, victims and crimes can be identified through the analysis, it would be wrong to impose these frameworks on the texts and look for linguistic features which prove them. The unavoidable subjective interpretation of the findings later on can be assisted by using criminological theories and should be postponed until a very late stage of the analysis. Because Critical Stylistics provides a comprehensive and systematic list of analytical tools and thus a method to explain and further analyse the results gained through Corpus Linguistics, it is a way to reduce the researcher's bias. This explains why Critical Stylistics is the most suitable method to answer my research questions, in particular in combination with Corpus Linguistics. The combination of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics allows the researcher to gain an objective picture of how offenders, victims and crimes are linguistically constructed and the unavoidable interpretation of the findings including the theories developed by Criminology is postponed to a very late stage of the analysis. It also allows the researcher to limit the manual analysis of the data to a significant and thus representative sample of the corpus instead of manually analysing the entire corpus. Although the framework offered by Critical Stylistics is not based on using computational methods, it allows a systematic search for linguistic devices in the data by its checklist nature, e.g. do we find descriptive adjectives premodifying a target head noun: yes or no? The resulting figure indicates if, for example, descriptive adjectives premodifying head nouns are a linguistic feature which is used significantly often in the construction of offenders (or victims, or crimes; in the ENC or GNC). It provides the basis for the following interpretation of the findings which is based on these objectively gained results.

5.3 Data collection

In order to answer the research question, I chose a corpus-based approach and compiled two specialised corpora which are representative of discourse on crime in English and German news reports. These corpora contain newspaper articles reporting on crime which I collected over a period of three months in 2009 at a very early stage of this project. One corpus contains all the articles from the German press, called the German Newspaper Corpus (GNC), and the other from the UK press, the English Newspaper Corpus (ENC). I chose to extract the articles from daily, mainly national newspapers and to cover broadsheets, tabloids and, to a small extent, also regional newspapers. This allowed me to get a broad variety of crime reports and does not limit the findings to one particular newspaper or style of writing. For reasons of convenience I extracted the articles from the online websites of the chosen newspapers and thereby used the web as a text archive to compile both corpora. Because I collected the articles manually by visiting the websites of the chosen newspapers on a daily basis during the sampling period (three month from February to April 2009), the online editions were easier to access compared to hardcopies.

5.3.1 Newspapers

For the compilation of the ENC I chose the following newspapers: *Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, The Sun* as tabloids, *The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, The Independent, The Times* as broadsheet newspapers and the *Yorkshire Post* as a regional newspaper from West Yorkshire. Thereby this sample covers an almost equal share of broadsheets and tabloids. It contains one regional paper which I chose to take from the town of Huddersfield where my university is. And it also covers a wide range of political views those papers represent with *The Times* being representative of a right wing political view and *The Guardian* known for its left wing stance (Johnson, et al., 2003: 31).

The newspapers included in the GNC are the following: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ), *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *die tageszeitung* (TAZ), *Die Welt* as broadsheets, *BILD* as tabloid, and *Der Tagesspiegel* and the *Schweriner Volkszeitung* (SVZ) as regional newspapers from Berlin, the capital, and from Schwerin, my

hometown. There is a similar distinction between left-wing and right-wing newspapers in Germany in terms of their political view compared to the British press (Bell, 1991: 109). Eilders (2002) sorts the German newspapers according to their political views from right wing to left wing: *Die Welt, FAZ, Süddeutsche, Frankfurter Rundschau, Tageszeitung* (2002: 29). The German national papers are mainly broadsheets and because there is no broad variety of national daily tabloids, my choice was limited to the *BILD* (Van Dijk, 1985: 83), (Conboy, 2006: 14).

The following table gives an overview of the newspapers chosen for both corpora:

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

Table 5.1: Newspapers included in the ENC and the GNC

5.3.2 Selection criteria

The criteria I used for choosing the articles were that they had to report on crime with either the victim or the offender or both included in the article. Therefore I included articles with a yet to be identified victim and an unknown offender, e.g. the 'body part victim'-case (The Independent, 07.04.2009), or with the offender being acquitted, e.g. the Sean Hodgson case (The Times, 18.03.2009). Articles from different stages of the criminal proceedings, namely from the investigation or the court trial stage, were included. I limited the collection of

articles in the ENC concerning crimes which occurred in the UK to those committed in

England and Wales as these regions' legal system differs from those of Scotland and

Northern Ireland[10]. Reports on crime which happened outside the UK were included in both

corpora like the reports on the Josef Fritzl case in Austria (The Sun, 09.03.2009; BILD,

16.03.2009).

5.3.3 Constructing comparable corpora

The overall aim of constructing the ENC and the GNC was comparability. Johnson

and Suhr (2003: 53) state a noticeable difference between the German and British press

landscape. This is partly due to the popularity of regional newspapers in Germany whereas

in Britain people mainly read national newspapers (Johnson & Suhr, 2003: 53). Therefore it

is impossible to build a genuinely parallel corpus of German newspapers in comparison to

the ENC (Johnson, et al., 2003: 31). The aim of building the GNC was therefore to choose a

representative sample of newspapers from the German press landscape limited to daily and

mainly nationwide papers rather than aiming at mirroring the ENC. I chose eight papers,

mainly national ones, for each of the two corpora (see table 5.1). Because reading regional

newspapers is more popular in Germany (Johnson & Suhr, 2003: 53), I decided to include

two regional papers in the GNC. The choice of tabloids was limited to the BILD. Taking

political views into account, I covered the range of papers in this regard as well.

The two corpora I compiled were unequal in size. The German corpus contained

more articles and thus more tokens. In order to make both corpora comparable in size, I

chose to cut down the number of articles included in the GNC. This, I initially thought, would

allow for the direct comparison of the results. In order to achieve equal size of both corpora

(ENC and GNC), I deleted articles which occurred twice in the corpus because they were

published in different papers or I deleted some articles reporting on cases which were

already covered by other articles. I aimed at keeping a broad variety of different crimes in the

---

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

corpus in order to secure an overall picture of how offenders, victims and crimes are constructed linguistically. This way I gained two corpora which are nearly equal in size. The ENC consists of 75,072 tokens (total number of words) and includes 143 articles, the GNC consists of 75,408 tokens and includes 146 articles and is thus still slightly bigger (by 336 tokens). I adjusted the articles to the required format of the computer software (.txt-files) using notepad (Baker, 2006: 32). The corpus is marked up for meta-data (e.g. author, date, headline), thus the headlines remain part of the corpus and are included into the overall statistical calculations.

5.4 Differences in the languages

One of the challenges I met in regard to answering the research question was the difference between English and German. I had to decide whether it was possible not only to use the same software package but also the same analytical categories for both languages.

Slobin (1997), who worked on child language acquisition and thus compared different languages, distinguishes satellite-framed languages in opposition to verb-framed languages. This distinction refers to motion description with the manner of this motion being either encoded in the verb participle or in an optional separate verbal element (Slobin, 1997: 16, 17). He states that English and German both belong to the group of satellite-framed languages (Slobin, 1997: 26) and that the two languages in general are closely related (Slobin, 1994: 19), (Kortmann, 2005: 161). This can be observed when comparing the grammar of both languages and their historical development, which is the field of Contrastive Linguistics (Kortmann, 2005: 156ff), (Biber, et al., 2002), (Greenbaum & Nelson, 2009), (Helbig & Buscha, 2001). Kortmann (2005) notes that both languages have 'quite a number of structural features […] in common' and they 'share a number of morphological and syntactic properties' (2005: 161). But the differences are not to be neglected as they will have an impact on the results of this analysis. Therefore I want to outline some of them to illustrate this point.

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

Example 5.1:

Der Teller wurde zum Tisch getragen.

(The plate was carried to the table.)

Slobin (1994) states that the use of relative clauses in English and German is comparable in frequency (1994: 44). The German language does not have a verb form like present continuous and anchors narrative mainly in the present tense (Bamberg, 1994: 194). The simple past is bit by bit being replaced by the present perfect (Bamberg, 1994: 192) and therefore simple present and present perfect are the most frequently used verb tenses (Bamberg, 1994: 237).

Example 5.2:

Und dann habe ich mich umgedreht.

And then I have turned around [present perfect]. (instead of: And then I turned around [simple past].)*

Despite these differences, which are only listed as examples, the close relation between the two languages, which is mainly due to their historical development and shared roots, makes it possible to use the same analytical criteria and makes the frequency results comparable with the language differences in mind. Some of these differences between the two languages can be gained from statistical calculations *WordSmith* provides as will be outlined in the following two sub-sections.

5.4.1 Type/token ratio

The first significant difference between both newspaper corpora (ENC and GNC) is their number of types (distinct words). The ENC has 7,034 types whereas the GNC has 10,960 types. This relates directly to the type-token ratio (TTR) of both corpora which compares the number of running words (tokens) in a text to the number of different words (types). The TTR is 10 for the ENC and 15 for the GNC. The larger a corpus gets, the number of distinct words in the corpus shrinks due to the fact that the vocabulary of every language is limited. The longer the text gets, the less new words are newly introduced but instead only repeated (Stubbs, 2001: 134). Therefore *WordSmith* also determines a standardized TTR by calculating the TTR of the first 2.000 words in the text, then of the second 2.000 words and so on and finally working out the mean. The standardized TTR is a better measure of comparison between corpora than just taking the overall TTR where high frequency grammatical words like the determiner 'the' are repeated often and diminish the TTR (Baker, 2006: 52). The significant difference between the TTR of my newspaper corpora (ENC: 10, GNC: 15) may suggest that the GNC is lexically more complex than the ENC because it contains more different words. This result is mirrored by the result of the standardised TTR of 49.25 for the GNC and 41.76 for the ENC. Turning to the reference corpora, it becomes more obvious why the standardised TTR is of more value than the overall TTR when comparing corpora of different sizes. The reference corpus I used for the ENC is FLOB (the Freiburg-Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English; for details see chapter 4). It has 1.465.670 tokens whereas the German reference corpus PAROLE (for a detailed description of this corpus see below) has 22.806.602 tokens and is therefore roughly 20 times larger than the English reference corpus. The standardized TTR of the English reference corpus FLOB is 39.03 compared to the standardized TTR of the German reference corpus PAROLE which is 49.85. This may indicate that the lexical variety in the PAROLE corpus is more complex than in the FLOB corpus. Considering the standardized TTR in the ENC and the GNC, I note that the lexical variety of the language in the GNC is the same as in the PAROLE corpus which means that it requires the same amount of different vocabulary to understand the German newspaper articles on crime as it takes to understand "average

German" whereas the vocabulary required to understand the British newspaper articles on crime is less broad than the "average" British text.

5.5 Reference corpora

I used reference corpora when analysing the data although not in the way outlined in chapter 4, where a reference corpus and its wordlist are used by the respective software package to automatically create a keyword list. Instead, I used the reference corpora only once in order to determine one of the cut-off points for the manual extraction of keywords. The exact method will be outlined in the following sections.

The reference corpus I used for the ENC was the FLOB corpus (see chapter 4) which represents a broader language variety than the newspaper articles in the ENC. The reference corpus I used for the GNC is the PAROLE corpus edited by Wolfgang Teubert, which consists of written texts of the modern German language subdivided into four domains: books, newspapers, periodicals and miscellaneous. The corpus was created in 2003 and has a size of approximately 23 million words. The corpus is freely available for non-commercial use at the Oxford Text Archive[11]. Teubert acknowledges that there are problems with this corpus[12], nevertheless I decided to use the PAROLE corpus as the German reference corpus. Although I am aware of the availability of German corpora as reference corpora at the Institut für Deutsche Sprache (Institut for German Language) in Mannheim which might follow the above outlined sampling principles for corpus building (see chapter 4), those corpora can only be accessed using a web-based interface and thus cannot be uploaded into *WordSmith*. Also, a pre-chosen statistical significance calculator using t-score statistics is provided there and the results cannot be compared directly with the log-likelihood ratio calculator results provided by *WordSmith*. Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) faced exactly these problems in their study on feminism in the British and German press which handicapped the comparison of results from the German and the British press. The decision

---

[11] http://ota.ahds.ac.uk/headers/2467.xml
[12] In his email to me from 25th March 2010 Teubert advised me not to use this corpus as a reference corpus because '[i]t was compiled on the cheap; nobody remembers what's in it'.

to use the PAROLE corpus as a reference corpus was also made against the background that the two reference corpora (FLOB and PAROLE) both contain written language only and consist in parts of newspaper articles. Regarding Scott´s (2009) study about unsuitable reference corpora and his conclusion 'that keywords identified even by an obviously absurd RC [reference corpus] can be plausible indicators of aboutness, which reinforces the conclusion that keyword analysis is robust' (2009: 91) makes even the PAROLE corpus, which was not compiled in line with Biber's representative criteria (1993), a useful reference corpus.

5.6 Analysing the data

I approached the data by carrying out a corpus linguistic analysis using the software package *WordSmith Tools* (Scott, 2004). This software package is able to handle both corpora, the ENC and the GNC, as demonstrated by Johnson and Suhr (2003), as it is not limited to the English language. I had to weigh up the limited features of *WordSmith* to other software packages against the fact that *WordSmith* can handle both languages. The latter gives a level playing field for the subsequent comparison of the results which enhances the justifiability of the results. Because it is of importance to analyse both corpora in exactly the same way in order to gain comparable results, I chose exactly the same method for each of the analyses of the German offenders, the English offenders, the German victims and the English victims. Although I followed this method also for the German and English crime cases, I want to mention that I partly used a different path for identifying those keywords as I will outline when necessary.

In order to identify the linguistic patterns for offenders, victims and crimes both in the GNC and in the ENC, I extracted the most significant words and the respective sentences as will be outlined in this section. Those words provided the basis for the subsequent detailed analysis of sentences taken from my corpora. Through this method I objectively constructed my own keyword list which is a new way of gaining keywords without using the keyword list tool provided by *WordSmith*. The necessity for discovering this new way of identifying

keywords was initiated by taking into account that a keyword-list gained through *WordSmith* would only turn up the crime related words which are expected to be key in a specialised corpus on crime. In order to avoid gaining a keyword-list which only indicates the already known aboutness of the specialised crime corpora, I chose different cut-off points to extract those words which are key in naming offenders, victims and crimes in the ENC and GNC respectively. Because the method was always the same for offenders, victims and crimes in the ENC and the GNC, I will introduce it by referring mainly to offenders in the ENC.

5.6.1 Wordlist

First, I created a wordlist from the ENC, which lists all the words in each corpus sorted according to their frequency, examined the list manually and extracted all those nouns that could possibly refer to offenders, victims and crimes, e.g. *brother, friends.* These nouns carry ideological significance because they refer to, for example, social or family value by choosing one naming option over another. To give an example, the noun *brother* belongs to the semantic field of family relation and places the thus named person into a family system which has an impact on the person's construction. I have grouped all offender- and victim-naming nouns into categories, the pictures will be shown in the result chapters 6 and 7.

I excluded all personal and possessive pronouns from the wordlist, e.g. *his, she*, as well as all proper nouns, e.g. *Worboys, Fritzl*, because these relate to structure or aboutness, while the articles in the corpus report on many different criminal cases, not just one particular offender. Proper nouns are only ideological regarding the form of addressing (Erwin-Tripp, 1969), for example the difference between naming the offender as Mr Fritzl or Josef Fritzl, but not in relation to the person which is in this case the person of the offender. And pronouns are grammatical words which carry no ideological meaning in themselves but repeat a reference and are used anaphorically. Although I could have analysed the context of those words, it would have exceeded the scope of this project.

In order to keep the analysis manageable, I chose to set the limit at word number 901 in the wordlists which has a frequency of 11 total occurrences in the ENC and of 9

occurrences in the GNC (see for example (Stubbs, 2005: 11) for subjectively chosen limits). I chose this limit subjectively because I wanted to include as many high-frequency words as possible into the analysis and at the same time focus only on those which occur reasonably frequently. Therefore I decided that a word, which occurs only 11 or 9 times in a corpus of roughly 75,000 tokens, is of subordinate importance in terms of interpretative significance. Although this limit was chosen subjectively (as all the other limits as well), the choice was not made to include some words and not others but instead against the background of frequency considerations without regard to particular words or content considerations.

5.6.2 Collocation and concordances

Next, I created concordance lines of every word extracted as above and examined these lists manually, using the function *source text* provided by *WordSmith*. A concordance line shows the word under examination in its context and therefore highlights whether the word names an offender, a victim or a crime.

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

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

5.6.3 Constructing a specialised keyword list

In order to identify those words which are key in the ENC or GNC, I created a specialised keyword-list which I extracted manually through setting four more limit points. This method allowed me to further reduce the number of words and keep the size of the analysis manageable and focused on the statistically most significant words. Because I followed this method for the words naming offenders and victims both in the ENC and in the GNC, I will explain the exact procedure by drawing on the example of extracting the most significant words naming offenders in the ENC.

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

Through setting these four limits I found a new way of creating keywords, which, of course, involves subjective choices but not regarding the content of the articles but only frequency considerations. The keywords are thus based on lexical statistical significance.

5.6.4 Extracting the most significant sentences

Leaving out all sentences that occur twice in the corpus and counting those sentences that combine two of the words listed above in one noun phrase as only one sentence, e.g. *year-old man* or *member of the gang*, I had 607 sentences which I analysed using the tools offered by Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010a). Through defining these cut-off points, I reduced the 49 words naming offenders in the ENC to the following 23 nouns, although *year-old* is used as a noun as well as an adjective. The words are listed in order of frequency, the number in brackets indicating the number of sentences the 'offender-naming' word is used in: *man* (87 sentences), *gang* (85), *year-old* (46), *boy* (43), *brother* (43), *killer* (38), *driver* (36), *defendant* (34), *father* (30), *member* (29), *mother* (27), *suspect* (25), *officer* (23), *attacker* (22), *rapist* (22), *husband* (21), *girl* (19), *couple* (16), *cab* (14), *offender* (13), *teenager* (13), *chef* (9), *student* (7). The following table shows the words and the number of sentences they occur in which I extracted for offenders and victims from the GNC and ENC. The words are sorted according to the number of sentences they occur in after eliminating all repetitions of the same sentence. The total number of sentences to be analysed manually is given at the bottom of the table:

	ENC				GNC			
	offenders	Number of sentences NOS	victims	NOS	offenders	NOS	victims	NOS
1	gang	77	victim	130	Angeklagte/r/n accused	218	Frau/en/Ehefrau woman/wife	116
2	man	73	child	113	jährig/e/en year-old	189	Kind/er/es/ern child/children	109
3	boy	43	woman	108	Mann/es, Ehemann/Männ	161	jährige/r/n year-old	90

					er/n man/husband			
4	brother	42	year-old	89	Täter/n/in/s offender/s	78	Opfer/s victim/s	70
5	defendant	31	girl	75	Vater/s, Familienvater/s father/family father	64	Mädchen/s girl	53
6	killer	31	boy	70	Mutter mother	56	Leiche corpse	37
7	father	30	man	66	Frau/en/Ehefrau woman/women/ wife	55	Schwester sister	36
8	driver	29	body	52	Familie/Familien -vater father/family father	49	Tochter daughter	36
9	year-old	29	daughter	37	Eltern parents	44	Familie family	28
10	mother	25	son	35	Verdächtige/r/n, Tatverdächtige/ n/r suspect	36	Mann/Ehemann man/husband	27
11	suspect	24	wife	24	Mörder/s murderer	29	Eltern parents	21
12	rapist	22	teenager	19	Bruder/s brother	23	Baby baby	18
13	attacker	21	friend	15	Jugendliche/n adolescent	21	Mutter mother	16
14	husband	20	Student	12	Mandant/en client	17	Junge/n boy	14
15	officer	19	couple	7	Freund friend	16	Schüler/in pupil	13
16	girl	16	dad	5	Sohn/es son	11	Toten deceased	13
17	couple	16					Polizisten police officer	11
18	cab	14					Sohn son	10
19	offender	13						
20	teenager	12						
21	chef	8						
22	student	7						
23	member	5						
	total	**607**		**857**		**1067**		**718**

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

I took into account the different cases a word can have in German and therefore

included all the versions of the lemma that occurred in the wordlist up to the cut-off point at

word number 901. At this stage again we see that it is impossible to achieve exactly the

same number of sentences and again it is log-likelihood ratio calculation which allows comparing different amounts of data as we will see later on in the qualitative part of the analysis.

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

	ENC crime	NOS	GNC crime	NOS
1	murder	182	Mord murder	73
2	attack	70	Fall case	57
3	rape	62	Verbrechen felony	56
4	crime	51	getötet murdered	52
5	died	41	Mordes murder	49
6	killed	40	Amoklauf killing spree	28
7	assault	32	Totschlags manslaughter	28
8	killing	32	töten murder	20
9	attacked	31	Ehrenmord honour killing	19
10	raped	30	verletzt injured	18
11	death	27	Erpressung blackmail	17
12	crimes	25	versucht/e/er/en	16

			attempted	
13	offence	25	Inzest incest	16
14	attacks	21	geplant planned	15
15	stabbed	20	Taten offences	14
16	kill	18	Tötung killing	13
17	shot	17	Unterlassen neglect	6
18	driving	15	Misshandlung abuse	4
19	causing	11		
20	involved	9		
21	drug	6		
22	committed	3		
23	gun	3		
24	attempted	2		
total		773		501

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

The thus gained sentences provided the starting point for the qualitative analysis using the tools offered by Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010a).

5.7 Critical Stylistics

Through the method outlined above I extracted 4523 sentences for victims, offenders and crimes from both corpora which I analysed manually. This was the first step within the qualitative part of the analysis because Corpus Linguistic tools could not be used any more beyond this point. Other than *WMatrix* which offers a qualitative analysis of English data by grouping words into categories, *WordSmith* does not offer this tool and, as mentioned earlier, I was unable to use *WMatrix* because I also had the GNC to analyse in the same way.

The 4523 sentences for the qualitative analysis were objectively gained because they contain the most significant words statistically, and sometimes even more than just one of those words. These sentences provided the starting point for the consecutive analysis along the lines of Critical Stylistics. Through the combination of the outlined Corpus Linguistic tools and, in particular, the specialised keyword list with the tools offered by Critical Stylistics, the point for the analyst to make subjective choices based on content considerations is

postponed until a very late stage in the analysis. I will only reach this point when presenting and interpreting the results in the following chapters. Using the framework of Critical Stylistics allows the picture of how offenders, victims and crimes are constructed linguistically to emerge out of the water like a sunken ship. This puts the analyst into a comfortable position of observation rather than manipulation through subjective choices because a maximum degree of objectivity and replicability is ensured. Jeffries (2007, 2010a), who coined the term Critical Stylistics (see chapter 3), developed her analytical framework in order to allow for an objective and rigorous analysis of texts, although she did not include Corpus Linguistic tools. She grouped a very broad variety of analytical tools into conceptual categories which then allow a systematic interpretation of the findings, as we will see later. For an overview of the tools and their conceptual categories see table 3.1.

Following Jeffries' list of analytical tools and for reasons of practicality I created four tables (and a fifth table for the analysis of crime-related sentences) in order to help analysing the sentences in a systematic way (see table A1 in the appendix). This allowed me to be rigorous in my analysis and to total the results in order to carry out significance tests later on. I looked mainly at the noun phrases of the identified keywords and their immediate surroundings in the respective sentences. If, for example, the node occurred in the first clause of the sentence under scrutiny, I did not analyse the second clause in detail but focused on the target word and its immediate surroundings in the first clause. I focused on counting sentences as opposed to occurrences and phrases because the figure I was interested in was the percentage which will not change when counting occurrences. Table A1 in the appendix gives an overview of the linguistic devices I analysed in each of the 4523 sentences. This table was not intended to mirror Jeffries' conceptual categories (2010a), but instead illustrates practicalities.

The additional table for analysing the crime-related sentences covered the following additional categories: I looked at whether the crime-related word was a noun, a nominalisation or a verb. I counted how many target words in the sentence under scrutiny referred to crimes, offenders or victims and analysed whether the target word occurred

together with other target words for offenders, victims or crimes and finally, whether the

target word referred to a person, a crime or other (e.g. sex attack victim). This was necessary

because the crime-related words are not only nouns but also verbs and therefore I had to

add additional categories to cover the specifics here as well.

The use of the tools offered by Critical Stylistics was illustrated in chapter 3 where I

introduced those devices which I frequently encountered in the data and explained by

drawing on examples from the corpus.

5.8 Determining statistical significance by using log-likelihood ratio

After the manual analysis of the 4523 sentences the results had to be compared and

the statistically most significant results had to be extracted. Therefore I used log-likelihood

ratio calculation again, this time I compared, for example, the instances of descriptive

adjectives premodifying a target head noun in the offender-related sentences in the ENC with

the victim-related sentences in the GNC and gained a log-likelihood ratio figure by using the

log-likelihood ratio formula inserted into *EXCEL*. I compared the findings for each of the

analytical categories listed in table A1 (and the additional table for crimes) with the same

category for each of the remaining five groups of sentences (ENC-offenders, ENC-victims,

ENC-crimes, GNC-offenders, GNC-victims, GNC-crimes) and thus gained log-likelihood ratio

figures which indicate statistical significance. At this stage I want to outline the log-likelihood

ratio method and what problem I encountered when using it in the analysis. I want to remind

the reader that I used log-likelihood ratio calculation at different stages of the analysis, first

for one of the cut-off points (see section 5.6.3.) and later to compare the results of the

qualitative analysis (table A1).

5.8.1 Log-likelihood ratio

A way of determining statistical significance and thus testing a linguistic hypothesis is

provided either by the statistical test of log-likelihood ratio or chi-square (McEnery, et al.,

2006: 55). Using log-likelihood ratio and chi-square in Corpus Linguistics is based on the

work of Dunning (1993), Oakes (1998), Kilgarriff (2001) and Rayson et al. (Rayson et al.,

2004; Rayson & Garside, 2000). It follows from the necessity of comparing, for example, the

number of occurrences of one target word in two corpora of different size.

The four numbers –

    1.) number of occurrences of target word in corpus 1 (a)

    2.) number of occurrences of target word in corpus 2 (b)

    3.) number of non-occurrences of target word in corpus 1 (c)

    4.) number of non-occurrences of target word in corpus 2 (d)

    – are fitted into a 4-cell-table (see table 5.5). According to McEnery et al. (2006) '[t]he

chi-square test compares the difference between the observed values (e.g. the actual

frequencies extracted from corpora) and the expected values (e.g. the frequencies that one

would expect if no factor other than chance were affecting the frequencies') (2006: 55). The

log-likelihood ratio test compares the differences between the logarithms of likelihood-

functions based on expected and observed values. The greater this difference is, the less

likely it is due to chance (McEnery, et al., 2006: 55). Both tests share the notion that the

expected values are calculated in regard to a maximum plausibility of the observed values.

The test statistic of chi-square is based on the frequency of a target word in the sample with

binomial distribution for a homogeneity test with 4-cell-tables (see table 5.5 below), (Rüger,

2002: 202, 222ff). A binomial distribution is based on the notion of two conditions, either the

word occurs in the sample or not. If the difference between the observed value and the

expected value is greater than the expected value or if the expected value in any section of

the 4-cell-table is less than 5, one should use chi-square calculation only in combination with

a continuity or Yates correction (Claus & Ebner, 1983: 260). Log-likelihood ratio presupposes

a distribution which in my case is based on the product of two binomial distributions for the 4-

cell-table and is even applicable in case the observed values in the 4-cell-table and the

difference between them and the expected values is small (Woolf, 1957: 398). McEnery et al.

(2006: 56) and Walker (2010: 364) note that log-likelihood ratio calculation requires a big enough corpus in order to be used, which is not true. In relation to chi-square calculation it can be overcome by the Yates-correction (Kilgarriff, 2001: 100) and is of no importance with log-likelihood ratio test even if the corpus is small (Woolf, 1957: 398). McEnery et al. (2006) state that they prefer log-likelihood ratio calculation in their book (2006: 55), for which the reason becomes obvious from the above mentioned differences between the two tests. Although I prefer log-likelihood ratio for this thesis, I made use of the chi-square test in terms of its expected close proximity to the log-likelihood ratio results which validates the log-likelihood ratio results. One can see the chi-square-test in regard to the 4-cell-table as a test of homogeneity. The log-likelihood quotient value and the chi-square value in this thesis were calculated according to the formula presented by Rayson et al. (2004: 3, 4). The formula to calculate the log-likelihood quotient follows from the formula for the log-likelihood quotient with the respective likelihood functions for binomial distribution (Dunning, 1993: 64ff).

Another figure has to be taken into account which is the probability value or p value. This figure indicates the statistical significance of a difference. The closer the p value is to 0 (zero), the higher the statistical significance and the more it contradicts homogeneity. I set a p value of 0.001 for the calculation of log-likelihood ratio and chi-square in EXCEL. This p value is not part of the log-likelihood ratio or chi-square calculation formula but simply allows one to interpret the results in terms of the value of statistical significance: namely with a p value of 0.001 any log-likelihood ratio or chi-square figure greater than 10.83 indicates statistical significance with 99.9 % confidence. Using these statistical calculations allows us to compare different sizes of corpora because 'these tests automatically compare frequencies proportionally' (McEnery, et al., 2006: 56).

At first, I used the manual online log-likelihood ratio calculator provided by Lancaster University (http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html). The problem here is, that the formula used is incomplete: LL=2*((a*log(a/e1))+ (b*log (b/e2))). This can be observed from the following table 5.4 when one keeps in mind the expected close proximity of log-likelihood ratio and chi-square results because of their asymptotic features (Wilks, 1962: 262, 410).

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

Table 5.4: A comparison of the different log-likelihood ratio figures (calculated with the complete formula in the first column and the incomplete formula in the last column) as well as chi-square (middle column)

The assertion, that the log-likelihood ratio formula provided by Lancaster University on the above mentioned webpage is incomplete, is based on the fact that log-likelihood ratio calculation for two binomial distributions requires 4 terms instead of 2 for its calculation. This is based on the following scheme (Kilgarriff, 2001: 99):

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

Table 5.5: 4-cell table or contingency table

This scheme shows that four terms always are needed to calculate log-likelihood ratio for two binomial distributions (the four terms are 1.-4. from the list above). For example, if I analysed 607 sentences for offenders and found in 116 of them a descriptive adjective premodifying the target noun and I analysed 857 sentences for victims and found in only 257 sentences a descriptive adjective premodifying the target noun, the table would look as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Beobachtete Werte

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

Berechnen Zurücksetzen

Signifikanz-Werte

Signifikanz-Werte für *'Suchwort'*:		
Chi-Quadrat: χ² =	22.14	ohne Yates-Korrektur
Chi-Quadrat: χ² =	21.58	mit Yates-Korrektur
Log-Likelihood: LL =	22.66	

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

The results provided here indicate a high statistical significance of the difference between offender- and victim-related sentences in regard to descriptive adjectives as premodifiers of the head noun as well as a close proximity of the results gained through chi-square and log-likelihood ratio. With a p value of 0.001, any result higher than 10.83 indicates statistical significance and the higher the figure the higher the statistical significance of the difference.

These significance figures provide the basis for the following interpretation of the results which prepares the ground for answering the research questions. I will proceed with the results and their interpretation in the following chapters.

5.8.2 Calculating a confidence interval

In this section, I want to demonstrate another tool of probability calculation which allows statistical assertions about the tendency in a universal sample not just in the analysed sample. This tool allows the possibility calculating a confidence interval within which the unknown percentage of a universal sample lies (Claus & Ebner, 1983: 161, 172-176). Wilks (1962) states that this interval 'is an observable random interval such that the probability is' in my case 0.99 (99% certainty) which includes the percentage value of the universal set (1962: 282). The method might be of interest because the percentage of, for example, active voice in the analysed 773 crime-referring sentences in the ENC might vary from the figure when analysing another sample of 773 sentences taken from newspaper articles from a different time period which is not included in the ENC. The following example demonstrates how to calculate the confidence interval:

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

sigma = root ((p*q)/n) = root ((86.93*13.07)/773)=1.2

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

p +/- 2.58 * sigma=86.93 +/- 2.58 * 1.2= 86.93 - 3.10, 86.93 + 3.10=83.83, 90.03

The formula provides the result that in 99% of the variety of different samples of 773 sentences the percentage of active voice in a universal set will be within a span of 83.83 % and 90.03 %. This calculation allows me to put additional weight on the result of the percentage analysis, namely that, for example, active voice is prevalent in the ENC because the span of percentage in the universal set will be roughly the same. Despite this effect, I forego using this formula for all percentage figures bearing in mind that the percentage results already reveal insight into the construction of offenders, victims and crimes in both

corpora. I want to point out that this tool can only be used if the sample size n is bigger than

9/((p/100)*(q/100)) which is the case with all sample sizes in the ENC and GNC.

5.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I introduced the method I used in order to answer the research question. In sections 5.3 to 5.6 I outlined the corpus linguistic tools I applied and from section 5.7 onwards I introduced the tools offered by Critical Linguistics, which is a further development of CDA. I outlined a new way of identifying key-words in a specialised corpus, namely identifying keywords through their lexical significance. These keywords determine which sentences from the corpus I analysed manually using the tools offered by Critical Stylistics. This method allows postponing the unavoidable subjective interpretation of the findings to a very late stage of the analysis and thus enhances the objectivity and replicability of the analysis. I argue for the possibility of analysing German and English sentences using the same analytical tools due to the close relation between these languages. I showed how log-likelihood ratio calculation determines statistical significance and assists in the identification of keywords. And I introduced a method to determine confidence intervals. The combination of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics is a new method followed in this thesis which provides even more objectivity of the results than the mere combination of Corpus Linguistics and CDA. In the following chapters I will outline the results I gained and interpret the findings by bringing together Linguistic and Criminological analysis.

Chapter 6: The linguistic construction of offenders and victims in the British Press

_____

> *Die Grenzen meiner*
>
> *Sprache bedeuten die Grenzen*
>
> *meiner Welt.*
>
> *(The limits of my*
>
> *language mean the limits of my*
>
> *world.)*
>
> *(Wittgenstein, 2003: 86)*

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the results of analysing 607 offender-related sentences and 857 victim-related sentences in the ENC. It is worth restating my research question for this part of the analysis which is: how are offenders and victims linguistically constructed in news reports on crime in the British Press? This question, which is limited to offenders and victims as well as to the British press in this chapter, was subdivided into the following two questions which will be answered in this chapter in relation to the British press:

      A) What linguistic features are used to construct offenders and victims?

      B) What are the covert ideologies in the discourse on offenders and victims?

This chapter provides the answer to this part of the overall research question and its sub-questions A and B. I will start by presenting my analysis of the offender-related sentences and follow this with the victim-related sentences.

Regarding offenders, I argue that they are not separated from their crimes but instead reduced to their criminal offending role and thus placed outside society. The negative associations of crime are transferred to the offender. Thereby not only the criminal act but the entire person of the offender is constructed as being distant from society. It is language that constructs offenders and thereby creates and reinforces ideologies. This is based on cultural stereotypes, societal discourse (that is, dynamic, communicative interaction between speakers and hearers in society, involving the generation and transfer of ideologies), and

individual lexical priming. The latter means that vocabulary becomes loaded with meaning dependent on the context in which we repeatedly encounter it (Hoey, 2005). I will show how language is used to construct offenders negatively and to perpetuate labeling.

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

I will present the major linguistic devices used to construct offenders and victims which I chose according to their frequency focussing on the most frequent ones. In section 6.10 I will present the significant differences in the construction of victims and offenders in the British press which are based on log-likelihood ratio calculations. I will illustrate the analytical insight gained from applying the tools offered by Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010a) and each significant linguistic device will be illustrated by examples from the ENC. This shows how it functions in context and contributes to the construction of victims and thus automatically of the respective offenders. Thereby it will become clear that seldom one device alone achieves the desired effect but different linguistic features interlock and only their interplay constructs victims and offenders.

6.2 Offenders - Naming and Equating

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

As I have already mentioned in chapter 5, the following nouns are lexically significant references to offenders in the ENC. I want to clarify that *year-old* is used as a noun or as an adjective in the ENC and both variants are included here:

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

The 23 nominal references listed above can be grouped as shown in figure 6.1. The choice of categories is inductive as, for example, Mahlberg (2007) has used inductive categorisation as well:
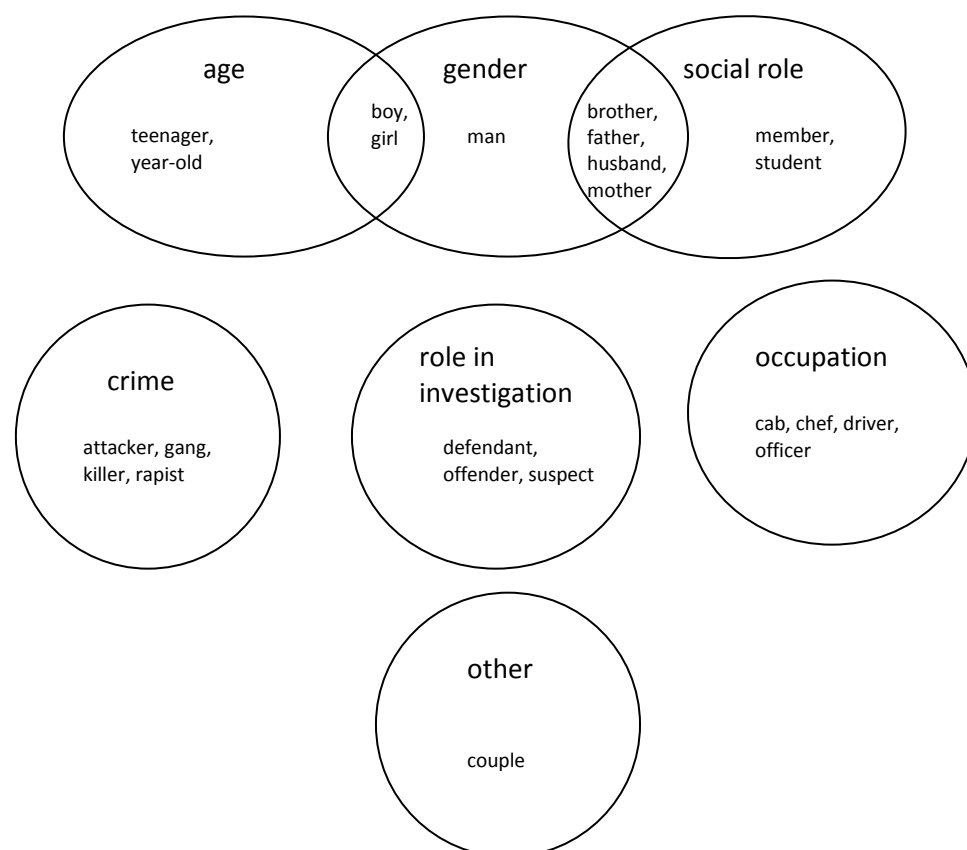
Figure 6.1: Grouping the 23 offender-referring nouns in the ENC into categories

The majority of references to offenders relate to their gender or their social role. Offenders are also named by addressing their role in the criminal proceedings as well as by equating them with their crime through defining them by what they did. Each naming noun reduces the person to one role out of many. This correlates with the fairytale of Little Red Riding Hood which I have mentioned in connection with ideal victims (Christie, 1986) in chapter 2. All the information we get about the offending wolf is that he is mean, big and black in contrast to the victim, Little Red Riding Hood, who has got family and visits her bedridden grandmother. In this fairytale as well as in newspaper articles on crime, the offender is constructed one-dimensionally and reduced to his offending role (akin to what Forster (1927) terms 'flat' characters in literature). The offender is constructed in binary opposition to the victim. The use of binary opposites in the construction of meaning and values was the focus of Derrida's (1967, 2005) concept of deconstruction. His aim was to overturn these opposites not by surpassing them but by analysing and criticising them (Derrida, 1967, 2005). The linguistic analysis in this thesis provides a way to identify the opposition in the construction of victims and offenders and allows the analyst to take a critical stance to it (see, for example, (Davies, 2012; Jeffries, 2010b)).

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

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

Example 6.1:

He says he did this believing he would be a suspect because he was black.

(The Times, 04.04.09)

In this sentence, the four subjects *he*, which all refer to the offender, are in two cases followed by a subject complement: *a suspect* and *black,* which describe and thereby construct the offender as he was assuming he was under suspicion of a criminal offence because of his black skin colour.

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

Example 6.2:

Black cab rapist John Worboys: Profile of 'Jekyll and Hyde' character

(The Daily Telegraph, 13.03.09)

This headline contains two target words, *cab* and *rapist*. The extended noun phrase *Black cab rapist John Worboys* makes it possible to 'package up' (Jeffries, 2010a: 19) the information that John Worboys is a *rapist* as well as a *black cab* driver which the reader is unlikely to question and rather takes for granted. The combination of the unanchored and packaged up noun phrase containing the target words *cab* and *rapist* and the use of the extended noun phrase *Profile of 'Jekyll and Hyde'* inclusive of the post-modifying prepositional phrase *of 'Jekyll and Hyde'*, equates the offender to the fictional and psychopathic character of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. This equation refers to crime as innate behaviour and to deviance by birth.

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

Example 6.3:

Notorious Gooch Gang smashed as leaders jailed

(The Times, 07.04.09)

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

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

Example 6.4:

None of the alleged attackers was more than 18 at the time.

(Daily Mail, 21.04.09; also in *The Times, 21.04.09)*

In this case, the offenders are under suspicion and only further investigation and a court trial can determine whether their guilt can be proven. The adjectival use of *alleged* is negligible for the reader because in the subject phrase (see underlined segment) the information is hidden as a premodifier of the noun *attackers* and hence remains unquestioned by the reader. This information is backgrounded against the foregrounded attackers' age in the subject complement phrase *more than 18* which takes the focus away from the fact that the offenders have not been sentenced yet and are therefore still to be regarded as innocent.

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

Example 6.5:

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

(The Times, 07.04.09)

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

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

Example 6.6:

Dougal, a qualified advanced driver, was travelling so fast he had effectively become a passenger in his own car, and had surrendered "to physics", an expert witness told the jury.

(The Times, 08.04.09; also in The Independent, 08.04.09))

PC John Dougal, a police officer who ran over and fatally injured a schoolgirl by speeding with his patrol car in pursuit of a suspect, is constructed by the employment of an

apposition as *a qualified advanced driver*. This description, even if it is objective, is likely to be unquestioned although it is opposed to the fact that he was no longer in control of his car due to the speed he drove at. This implicates, via the Gricean maxim of quantity (Grice, 1975) that, because of his driving abilities, he should have been able to judge the situation correctly and thereby prevent the accident.

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

Example 6.7:

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

In this case, the offender Josef Fritzl is equated to his crime and is thereby reduced to it. This naming option does not focus on his role in the criminal trial (e.g. *defendant*) or his gender (e.g. *man*) but instead merely on the crime he committed. This negative impact gets enhanced by the premodifying noun *incest* which makes him even more abominable. The impact of this naming choice is further enhanced by the connotations of the words *harrowing ordeal suffered* which are each used when referring to extreme crime.

6.3 Offenders - Contrasting

Another means of constructing offenders is through the employment of contrasts, either by creating opposition or by negation. I regard negation as a sub-category of opposition beside other sub-categories of opposition as antonymous sense relation, syntactic

trigger etc. (Jeffries, 2010a). Opposition puts two events, states or existences into contrast to each other, negation opposes non-events against events, non-states against states or non-existence against existence and thereby constructs 'unrealized worlds' (Nahajec, 2009: 109). 'Opposites are [...] one of the most important of the linguistic-cognitive structures by which we characterize and organize our world, and thus also our world-view' (Jeffries, 2010b: 26). The analysis of the corpus shows that 93 sentences (out of 607, 15.32 %) contain opposition and 62 sentences (10.21 %) negation.

Example 6.8:

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

This sentence refers to a rape which happened in 1997. Because the offender fled after his first arrest and disappeared for many years, he was only convicted in 2009. The sentence contrasts the offender's refusal to 'pay for his crime' in the past against the enduring effect of the crime for the victim. The syntactic trigger for opposition in this sentence is the conjunction *whilst*. The choice of verb tense (past tense in the first clause (*avoided*) and present perfect in the second (*has stayed*)) underlines the oppositional meaning: the offender's one-time avoidance to pay for the crime versus the enduring effect of the crime for the victim. Out of the context in the article it becomes clear that paying for his crime means a court conducting a criminal trial with a guilty verdict and a sentence in the end. This implicates that the offender must take responsibility for his crime and him avoiding being brought to justice is not tolerated. This constructs the offender as being cowardly and too weak to take responsibility for his offence, in contrast to the victim who could not avoid the crime and its consequences and is still affected by them.

Example 6.9:

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

This sentence shows an opposition at the intra-clause level in comparison to example 6.8 where the opposition is to be found at the inter-clause level. In example 6.9, offender and victim are constructed in opposition to each other, the offender through a noun phrase in a subject position and the victim through a noun phrase in an object position. The naming choices for the offender (pre-modifying adjective *married*, his first and surname as the head noun and his age as a postmodifying adjective phrase) provide a contrast to the victim who is named as *girl* together with the pre-modifying adjective *sixth-form* indicating her age. These naming choices construct the offender as a grown-up man whereas the victim is an under-aged and innocent child.

6.4 Offenders - Presenting processes and states

In the majority of sentences, I found active voice verbs (444 sentences out of 607, 73.14 %), whereas in just 196 sentences passive voice is used (32.28 %). The overlap of 33 sentences is due to sentences which contain active and passive voice verbs in their different clauses. I also analysed transitivity, using the model developed by Simpson (1993) from Halliday's work (1985) and the findings thereof completed the picture of verb choices in my corpus. In the majority of sentences, Material Action Intention (456 sentences out of 607, 75.12%) is employed with the node as the actor in 231 sentences or the node as the goal in 229 sentences. Material Action Intention (MAI) can be defined as an animate actor actively 'doing' an action to a goal (Simpson, 1993: 89). In 129 sentences (21.25 %) the actor is omitted. This is illustrated in example 6.3 where there is no actor. Even though the majority of sentences contain active voice, the shares of the node being the actor or the goal are nearly equal in size. In the majority of sentences, either the offender's intentional actions, mainly the crime or his or her behaviour in court, are described, or what happened to the offender during the investigation or the criminal trial. Henley et al (1995: 60) found that 'news media often report violence against women [...] in passive-verb format', meaning that the women are the subjects of clauses about the crime done to them and thereby the goal of the

crime. This foregrounds the women and not the agents acting upon them and influences the 'perceptions of violence and its effects' as well as hiding agency (Henley, et al., 1995: 65).

Example 6.10:

A TEENAGE girl who stabbed a woman in a jealous rage was jailed for nine years yesterday.

(The Sun, 20.02.09)

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

6.5 Offenders - Presenting opinions

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

Example 6.11:

Ieuan Morris, prosecuting, said: "The defendant is a predatory paedophile and sexual pervert who secretly engaged in two known acts of sexual penetration with a pre-

pubescent girl who was either asleep or for some reason not conscious, at night, in

the isolation of his static caravan in Mid Wales. …"

(The Independent, 17.04.09)

This sentence constructs the offender as being evil and taking advantage of an under-aged and unconscious girl in a remote area. He is equated to his crime by being named as a *predatory paedophile and sexual pervert* and thereby ostracised from society. This judgement is given weight by being officially uttered by a prosecutor, an authoritative person who has a vested interest in creating such a construction. This is a very manipulative way of implanting other people's views upon the reader because in this context the reader assumes that the prosecutor is likely to have insight and know all the facts, and his statement is therefore not to be questioned. Also, the use of Direct Speech in contrast to other options (for example Indirect Speech), constructs the notion that this utterance is faithful to the original utterance which, of course, is unlikely to be checked by most readers; it would take some effort to obtain the transcript of the trial. Not only the illocutionary force behind the utterance but also the locution are presented and this creates the illusion of faithfulness. Direct Speech in combination with quoting an official person construct this utterance as a given fact rather than an opinion which can be contested.

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

Example 6.12:

Judge Langstaff said that Joyce possessed "considerable personal charm",

organisational ability and business skills, but also had "murderous intent" and was a

"deeply controlling man ... I accept undoubtedly you are a leader of men".

(The Times, 08.04.09)

In this example, DS, marked by inverted commas and embedded in the IS, both present the judge's opinion of the offender. Here again an authoritative person, a judge, is quoted which assigns the judgement a high value. The reader is unable to assess if this

blend of the judge's words and their reformulation still contain the original illocutionary force, which is the underlying intention of the speaker. At the same time, it allows the writer to merge those parts of the locution which serve the intended construction of the offender and leave others out. Thereby the writer is able to hide his own opinion by purporting to quote other people. The offender Joyce is constructed as possessing certain positive character features (*considerable personal charm, organisational ability, business skills*), but these combined with his negative character features *murderous intent* and him being a *deeply controlling man* turn him into a calculating and dangerous perpetrator able to lead a gang of criminals who he uses for his criminal purposes. His being a negative leading figure is underpinned by the final phrase *I accept undoubtedly you are a leader of men* which implicates that a *leader of men* with a *murderous intent* and the need to control others cannot be positively associated.

In this context, I looked at the sources quoted in the ENC and found, that official sources, namely the police (50 sentences out of 607, 8.23 %), the prosecutor or the prosecution office (28 sentences, 4.61 %) and the judge or the court (27 sentences, 4.45 %) are quoted most often. This supports the notion of criminal justice institutions being primary definers of deviance (S. Hall, et al., 1978: 58) as well as primary news sources (Jewkes, 2009: XVII). The information given by authoritative persons or 'experts in the field' (Mayr & Machin, 2012: 13) contributes to their supposed truthfulness beyond any doubt. In 43 sentences (7.08 %) unknown sources are quoted who mostly spoke in court during the trial which assigns their verbiage an official colour. An interesting aspect is that offenders are quoted in 32 sentences (5.27 %) and thus more often than prosecutors or judges, whereas victims' utterances are quoted in 17 sentences (2.80 %) only, see example 6.8. An example of a quotation from an offender is the following sentence:

Example 6.13:

Elisabeth's harrowing evidence of her imprisonment and rape, combined with her bravery in turning up to witness his humiliation, stripped away the arrogance and left a broken old man who finally acknowledged guilt and expressed remorse.

154

This sentence, referring to the Fritzl-case in Austria (see also example 6.7), constructs the offender by using different linguistic devices including speech presentation. It is worth looking at the interplay of those devices as well as the dependency of the offender's construction from the construction of the victim instead of analysing speech presentation only. What catches the eye first is the employment of an oppositional structure between the victim and the offender as well as utilising a cause-impact relation. Elisabeth Fritzl, the victim, is mentioned first and thereby foregrounded. She is referred to by her first name, even though she is 42-year-old when her ordeal ended and the court trial happened. This evokes a personal relationship between the reader and the victim and provides a constrast to the naming choice for the offender. Josef Fritzl is named by using the nominal reference *man*. This not only provides a gap between the reader and the offender but also between the victim and the offender. Although victim and offender share the same family name, it is only used in reference to the offender to broaden the gap between father and daughter. The victim is constructed in one extended noun phrase with the head nouns *evidence* and *bravery*, the latter is positively connoted by its literal meaning, the first gets positive connotations assigned to it by the use of the evaluative adjective harrowing. Through the use of nominalisation those characteristics are presented as an irrevocable fact. Possessive (*her*) is used to ascribes character features to the victim which construct Elisabeth Fritzl as a heroine.

The offences Elisabeth Fritzl endured are presented by nominalisations of the offensive acts (*imprisonment, rape, humiliation*) which allows to perceive them as facts instead of processes and leaves them unquestioned because they are 'packaged up' in the extended noun phrase (Jeffries, 2010a). A distinction is made between the offences through the employment of possessive pronouns (<u>*her*</u> *imprisonment and rape* versus <u>*his*</u> *humiliation*) which emphasises an allocation. Although the crimes were committed by the offender and can all be allocated to Fritzl, the possessive pronoun *her* brings the victim into focus at the receiving end of the deed. When looking at the transitivity structures in this sentence, it is

salient that the victim is portrayed performing material actions intentionally (*turning up, left*) in contrast to the verbalisation processes observed with the offender (*acknowledged, expressed*). His verbiage is not quoted directly or indirectly but instead presented as narrator's report of Speech Act, a category which is less faithful (Jeffries, 2010a: 132). These verbalisations of acknowledging his guilt are also to be seen in contrast to the nominalisations of the offences he committed before (*imprisonment, rape, humiliation*) as well as his negatively connoted character feature arrogance and thereby witnesses a change happening to the offender and in a broader sense the victory of the victim over the offender with the help of a criminal trial.

6.6 The linguistic construction of offenders in the ENC – a summary

The 'central fact about deviance' is that it 'is created by society' and being labeled as deviant becomes a master status trait which sticks to the offender throughout his or her life (Becker, 1966: 8). People mainly get labeled as deviant through their conviction but also through the way society views them. The latter largely depends on crime reports in the news because not many people get first-hand information on crime and criminals and therefore depend on media reports for information surrounding this issue. This study names and illustrates the statistically most significant linguistic devices used to construct the offenders in my corpus. Adjectives and a combination of nouns in noun phrases 'package up' (Jeffries, 2010a: 19) information about the offender which remains unquestioned. The same effect is achieved by nominalisation and apposition. Direct Speech and Indirect Speech are used to transport subjective assessments about the offender, mainly quoting authoritative persons who sometimes make those subjective assessments. The offenders are also constructed by contrasting them against the victim, which arouses a dichotomous picture of the innocent and pitiable victim versus an evil and despicable offender. The linguistic devices work together to construct an image of the offender which places him or her outside society and labels him or her (and not only the offence) as deviant. I found verification through this analysis that offenders are equalised with their crimes. This contributes to the current societal tendency of

turning away from the notion of rehabilitating the offenders, improving their self-esteem and developing 'insight' into their behavior patterns, as opposed to imposing 'restrictions' on them (Garland, 2001: 176). Being aware of how meaning is constructed textually helps us uncover these ideologies and to take a different view of offenders: as the human beings they still are.

After having presented the results of the analysis of the 607 offender-related sentences in the ENC, the following sections turn to victims in the ENC and I will present my findings of the analysis of 857 victim-related sentences.

6.7 Victims - Naming and Equating

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

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

Out of these 16 nouns the following seven have already been identified to be lexically significant for naming offenders, too (see section 6.2):

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

This shows that although the naming choices for victims and offenders differ as expected, there is an overlap of nouns which are used to name both offenders and victims. The identified 16 lexically significant nominal references for victims can be grouped as shown in figure 6.2:
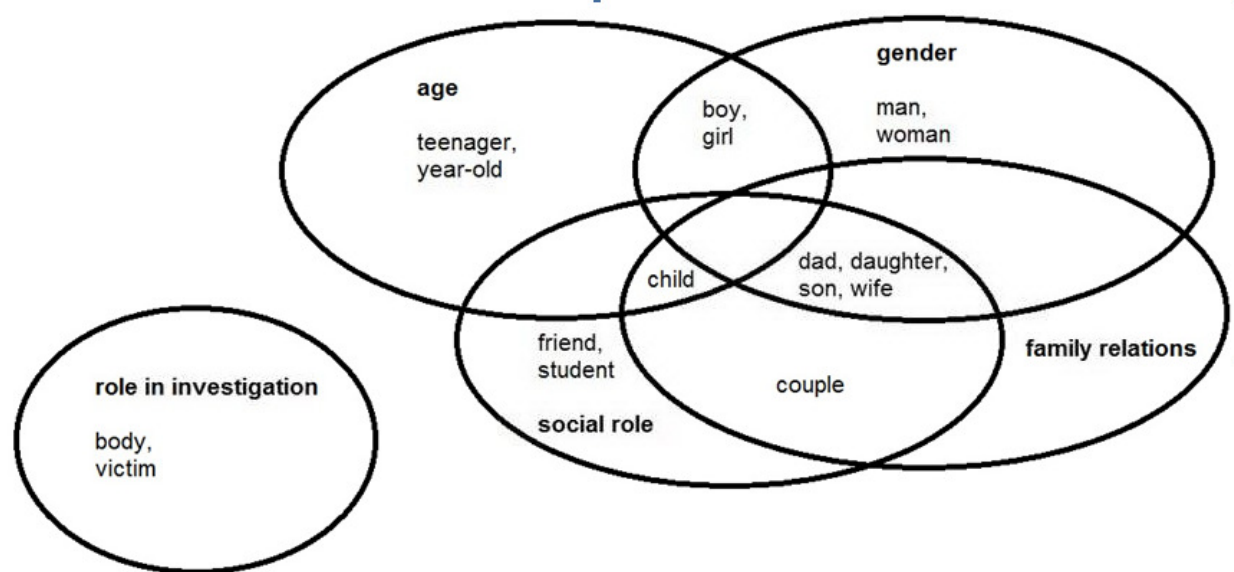
Figure 6.2: Grouping the 16 victim-referring nouns in the ENC into categories

Comparing figure 6.2 with figure 6.1 depicting the grouping of the 23 offender-referring words in the ENC, it can be observed that victim-naming nouns can be grouped into more different categories than offender naming nouns. This suggests that victim-referring words trigger more lexical fields at the same time than the nouns used to name offenders. The majority of victim-referring nouns foreground the victim's age, gender, social role or family relations. By foregrounding the victim's relations to other people as in the categories *social role* and *family relations*, these naming choices construct the victim as being part of a social system (e.g. a family). This is in line with the broader definition of victimhood provided by the United Nations (see chapter 2) and includes those people who are indirectly affected by what happened to the victim because of their closeness to the victim. The effect is that the impact of the crime gets enhanced by more people being affected by it. On the other hand, a victim who is constructed as being loved and cared for by others evokes empathy and concern because it must be a "good person".

The victim-related nouns mainly construct the victim as being either female or neutral in terms of gender (681 sentences out of 857, 79.46 %), only *boy, man, son* and *dad* refer directly to a male victim (176 sentences out of 857, 20.54 %). Taking into account that *boy* constructs an immature victim, I conclude that the majority of names for victims contribute to

the construction of a physically weak and vulnerable victim in accordance with the characteristics of an ideal victim (Christie, 1986). Also, victims are often defined by their connection to another person rather than by reference to their own character. Bearing in mind that the naming choice emphasises only one aspect of the many facets of the personality of the victim, I agree with Gregoriou (2011: 34) who states that those facets are deliberately foregrounded in order to evoke empathy.

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

Example 6.14:

The diary also shows how evil Fritzl taunted his cellar children with photographs he took of their siblings in the garden or at a swimming pool.

(The Sun, 09.03.2009)

Example 6.14 refers to the Fritzl case in Austria where Josef Fritzl imprisoned his daughter Elisabeth Fritzl for 24 years and fathered seven children with her through repeated rape (A. Hall, 2008), see also examples 6.7 and 6.13. In this sentence, the victims (*children*) get tortured twice, first by being imprisoned in a cellar and second by being shown pictures of their siblings enjoying their life in freedom which they are deprived of. The grammatical number of victims in this sentence is plural (*children*). Victim-naming nouns are in 267 sentences (31.16 %) in plural number and in 635 sentences (74.10 %) in singular number. The victims in this sentence are presented as objects in a subordinate clause which constructs them as being the passive recipients of Fritzl's cruelty. In this example we have two premodifiers *his* (possessive) and *cellar* (target together with another noun). The use of premodifiers is found frequently in the construction of victims in the ENC. I found the determiner *the* in 316 sentences (out of 857 sentences, 36.87 %), descriptive adjectives in

257 sentences (29.99 %), the node occurring together with other nouns in 215 sentences (25.09 %) and possessives in 179 sentences (20.89 %). Especially the use of possessives is of importance because it constructs a relationship between the victim and the offender, even if merely because of the crime. In example 6.14 the possessive pronoun *his* emphasises the fact that Fritzl is not only the kidnapper of the children but also their biological father.

The following example illustrates the use of premodifiers:

Example 6.15:

"He stalked a small, physically vulnerable boy and engaged his victim in a complete charade, calculated and designed to engineer circumstances whereby he could attack his prey when alone and away from other people."

(Daily Mail, 25.03.2009)

In example 6.15, presenting the verbiage of a prosecutor, the victim is mentioned three times, using the nouns *boy, victim* and *prey,* all in an object position. A development in the construction of the victim in the course of this sentence can be observed from a vulnerable immature victim towards being a predator's prey. This is achieved through the use of different linguistic devices. In the beginning of the sentence, the employment of the indefinite article *(a)* and the use of descriptive (*small*) and evaluative (*physically vulnerable*) adjectives constructs a weak and innocent victim which evokes a caring attitude. The noun *victim* combined with the possessive pronoun *his* later on shows a development in the relationship between offender and victim by allocating the victim to the offender which signals possession. This intermediate stage in the construction of the victim provides the ground for the further change in the construction of the victim and is still part of the main clause. The third time the victim is mentioned repeats the possessive pronoun *his* and uses the conceptual metaphor VIOLENT CRIME IS HUNTING (see (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003) for an overview of cognitive metaphor theory) not only by the choice of the nominal reference *prey* but also by the verb choice *attack* as well as the prepositional phrase *when alone and away from other people* functioning as an adverbial. The source domain, a hunting scene, is used to conceptualise the target domain, violent crime, by relating these two. Violent crime is

explained and understood 'in terms of another' (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 5), namely a hunt. This time the victim is part of a subordinate clause which contributes to the construction of a pitiable victim which evokes sympathy.

Taking into account Christie's (1986) notion of the interdependency of the construction of victim and offender, the construction of the victim is only one side of the coin. In this example, the outlined development in the construction of a pitiable victim effects the construction of the offender as a powerful predatory animal chasing an innocent child who is alone and at his mercy. Also, the hunting metaphor correlates with Opportunity theory (see chapter 2) and a rational choice offender because the offender created a convenient opportunity for his attack and weighed the costs against the benefits of the crime. The triangle of crime, namely a motivated offender, a suitable target and the absence of a capable guardian, is constructed linguistically in this sentence.

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

Example 6.16:

Detective Chief Inspector Michael Hanlon – who described the case as "one of the most horrific" he had dealt with – said the victim was killed with a large knife driven into his back, piercing his body cavity and causing a fatal wound.

(Daily Mirror, 15.04.2009)

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

section and shows how naming choices and transitivity interlock in the construction of a victim.

6.8 Victims - Presenting processes and states

The majority of sentences can be categorised as Material Action Intention (673 sentences out of 857, 78.53 %). An example of this was the above mentioned sentence (example 6.15). This finding echoes the result of the transitivity analysis of the offender-related sentences (see section 6.4) and interlocks with the already mentioned result that the victim is mainly found in an object position (see section 6.7). And I also found relational processes in 294 sentences (34.31 %). This category of transitivity 'expresses processes of *being*' (Simpson, 1993: 91), and includes a carrier and an attribute. The following example illustrates this:

Example 6.17:

Doctors initially said the older boy, who suffered a life threatening head injury, was critical.

(Daily Mirror, 08.04.2009)

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

When analysing the verb tenses, I found simple past in the majority of sentences (706 sentences, 82.38 %), followed by simple present in 190 sentences (22.17 %) and past

perfect in 79 sentences (9.22 %). Example 6.17 above illustrates the use of simple past anchoring the event in the past.

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

Example 6.18:

He claims 48-year-old Mrs Chenery-Wickens staged her own disappearance to escape worries she had surrounding her finances and work, Lewes Crown Court heard.

(Daily Mail, 23.02.2009)

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

6.9 Victims - Presenting opinions

In examples 6.15 and 6.16 we find speech presentation that quotes a prosecutor and a police officer. In the analysis of the victim-related sentences I found Direct Speech in 288 sentences (26.60 %) and Indirect Speech in 160 sentences (18.67 %) as the most frequent types of speech presentation when analysing all categories of speech presentation (see section 3.3.3.1.6). Referring back to section 6.5 in this chapter, I conclude that Direct and Indirect Speech are more often used in victim-related sentences than in offender-related sentences (DS: 16.96 %, IS: 17.79 %). The following sentence demonstrates the power of this device in the construction of a victim:

Example 6.19:

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

This sentence contains Direct Speech taken from a letter written by the offender. In the course of the investigation several diary entries and notes written by the offender were seized (Yorkshire Post, 14.02.2009). Therefore it can be concluded that the choice of this particular sentence over others to be presented in this newspaper article is already manipulative. The offender labels himself as a paedophile (Becker, 1966) which shows his internalisation and therefore the naturalisation of the labelling process. But although through labelling he positions himself at one of the lowest levels in society, he aims at distinguishing himself from other paedophiles by claiming superiority and pride. His verbiage contradicts expectations that an offender should be sorry and show guilt and remorse. His statement *and I love it* distances him even further from the law-abiding society by implying a passion and therefore a voluntary element instead of an obsessive which is often used in an attempt to mitigate guilt. The phrase *One of his previous victims* presupposes that this four-year-old girl is not his first victim and that he committed more than two offences, namely a) the crime against the four-year-old girl and b) the current crime which initiated this newspaper article. Direct Writing in this sentence is used to construct a morally despicable offender who shows

no remorse by using the offender's own verbiage. The use of Direct Speech compared to less faithful forms of presenting the offender's verbiage (see section 3.3.3.1.6) preserves the locution and illocution of the utterance and thus creates the impression that the offender speaks up for himself without changing his words. This leaves the reader to judge the offender by his own verbiage which is far more powerful than the use of another form or speech presentation which the reader might question for its faithfulness. This construction of the offender has an impact on the construction of the victim in this sentence. The victim is foregrounded by being mentioned first. She is constructed as the embodiment of innocence by referring to her young age using a subject and subject complement structure. But the major linguistic device which constructs her in terms of being morally innocent is the employment of the already mentioned Direct Speech and the thus achieved contrast between her and the morally despicable offender. This example underpins Christie's notion (1986) of the interdependency of the construction of victim and offender in terms of their idealisation. It also illustrates the stereotyping of offenders which 'is the idea that social stereotypes exaggerate and homogenise traits held to be characteristic of particular categories and serve as blanket generalisations for all individuals assigned to such categories' (Pickering, 2001: 10). This stereotyping allows the suppression of any consideration of the offender's motive but instead provides the ground for a 'moral workout' (Jewkes, 2009: VII).

When analysing the sources quoted in the victim-related sentences in the ENC, I found that here again the police (97 sentences out of 857), the prosecutor/prosecution office (47 sentences) and the judge/court (43 sentences) together are the primary definers in the construction of victims with a share of together 21.82 %. The second most often quoted group with a share of together 10.62 % are the victims themselves (34 sentences, 3.97 %) and the victim's relatives/friends (57 sentences, 6.65 %) which often substitute the victim's voice, for example in murder cases. When comparing this result with offender-referring sentences, I conclude that victims are more often quoted in sentences which relate to themselves than to offenders. The third most frequent source quoted in victim-related

sentences are offenders (60 sentences, 7.00 %) who thereby occur more often here than in offender-related sentences (5.27%, see section 6.5). Unknown sources heard in court are quoted in 57 sentences (6.65%).

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

Example 6.20:

Miss Lawrence's father, Peter Lawrence, who was at the news conference, said he understood why the police were now treating his daughter's disappearance as murder but said he believed she was still alive.

(Independent, 24.04.2009)

This sentence refers to a police investigation after 35-year-old chef Claudia Lawrence from Heworth, York went missing on 18.03.2009 (Independent, 01.04.2009). The case is still unsolved and the victim has not yet been found[13]. The victim's father, a lawyer, is quoted in Indirect Speech. This choice of category is a stylistic choice which is still close to the original verbiage in terms of faithfulness (see section 3.3.3.1.6). The illocutionary force of the victim's father's utterance would change considerably if the sentence was transferred to Narrator's presentation of voice as I have done in the following sentence:

Example 6.21:

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

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

---

[13] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Disappearance_of_Claudia_Lawrence

However, the change in the police investigation from a missing person case to a murder investigation makes Claudia Lawrence's father realise that the police have given up hope to find his daughter alive although he is not convinced. The father's concern for his daughter's wellbeing and whereabouts is constructed through the employment of epistemic modality, using the lexical verb *believed*. I found epistemic modality in 143 sentences (16.69 %), using lexical verbs in 69 sentences (8.05 %). The father's realisation that his daughter might be dead, constructs a family disaster and ordeal which implies strong family ties and a victim who is loved by her father (and family) and cared for. The contradiction between his realisation, that his daughter fell victim to a capital crime and his hope to find his daughter alive is constructed through opposition, using the conjunction *but* as a syntactic trigger. I found opposition in 216 sentences (25.20 %), mainly achieved through negation in 107 sentences (12.49 %) or syntactic triggers in 92 sentences (10.74 %). The use of these linguistic devices has an impact on the construction of the victim. By anchoring the victim firmly within a social system (family), the victim is idealised in Christie's terms (1986). Such a victim is worth caring for and to be loved because her family does.

6.10 Significant differences in the construction of victims and offenders in the British Press

Having outlined the major linguistic devices in the construction of offenders and victims respectively in the ENC, I want to proceed with the identified differences which I gained through log-likelihood ratio calculation (see chapter 5). The significant devices used to construct offenders and victims respectively were gained through the descending order of percentages of occurrences of the analysed tools whereas the significant differences were gained through log-likelihood ratio calculation. Although a log-likelihood ratio result above 10.83 already indicates significance, I focused on the highest significance values (up to a limit of log-likelihood ratio figure 20.00), because the higher the log-likelihood ratio figure, the more significant is the difference. The following table shows the results in descending order:

Structural device	Significance	Is the structural device	Example

	value (log- likelihood ratio)	used more often in victim- or offender-related sentences?	
other actor than target	169.62	Victim-related sentences	Examples 6.14, 6.15
target=actor	142.63	Offender-related sentences	Example 6.10
target=subject	122.65	Offender-related sentences	Example 6.5
target=object	79.33	Victim-related sentences	Examples 6.14, 6.15
Target= (part of the) adverbial	75.06	Victim-related sentences	Example 6.22
Relational processes	53.02	Victim-related sentences	Example 6.17
active voice	32.66	Victim-related sentences	Example 6.18
premodifying possessive adjective	28.71	Victim-related sentences	Example 6.14
metaphor	28.50	Offender-related sentences	Example 6.23
nominalisation	25.92	Offender-related sentences	Example 6.2
other premodifiers	25.59	Offender-related sentences	Example 6.2
No actor	25.04	Offender-related sentences	Example 6.3
premodifying descriptive adjectives	22.65	Victim-related sentences	Example 6.15
Opposition	21.89	Victim-related sentences	Example 6.19

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

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

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

Example 6.22:

A 50-year-old man has been arrested in connection with the murder of teenager Colette Aram 25 years ago, police said today.

(Independent, 08.04.2009)

The adverbial *in connection with the murder of teenager Colette Aram 25 years ago* provides information about <u>why</u> the offender has been arrested. Although the offender has just been arrested and not been sentenced yet, the crime is already referred to as murder. This anticipates the legal subsumption by the court where the offence could be classified as, for example, manslaughter, manslaughter through culpable negligence etc. (Ashworth, 1998: 194). Example 6.22 implies that the arrested 50-year-old man is Colette Aram's murderer unconcerned with evidential sufficiency (Ashworth, 1998: 180). This is achieved through the employment of a subject-predicator-adverbial (SPA) sentence structure, the use of nominalisation (*murder*) in the extended noun phrase *the murder of teenager Colette Aram 25 years ago* and the postmodification of the head noun *murder*. This allows the writer to 'package up' (Jeffries, 2010a) information the reader is unlikely to question (see also example 6.2).

The last example in this chapter illustrates the use of metaphors and contains two target nouns, one of the statistically significant names for an offender (*girl*) and one for a victim (*teenager*).

Example 6.23:

A 15-year-old girl lured a 'smitten' teenager to his brutal death in a honey trap

arranged by his love rival, a court heard today.

(Daily Mail, 21.04.2009)

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

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

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

The other metaphor in this sentence *love rival* constructs love as a competition or a battle. Although Shakilus did not stand a chance to win the girl's love in this situation and

Danny had lost interest in her, this metaphor evokes a picture of two men fighting for the love of the same girl. This shows the foregrounding of particular aspects of the case in accordance with the criteria of newsworthiness, namely a love story with Shakilus as the spurned victim and Danny and the girl as cold and evil offenders. Although this case shows immature and pathological behaviour on the side of the offenders which has nothing in common with love, the aspect of love is foregrounded by the employment of the LOVE IS A BATTLE metaphor.

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

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

6.11 Conclusion

This chapter has shed light on the construction of offenders and victims in the ENC. I illustrated how naming choices and noun phrases containing the target word construct a one-dimensional offender and a female or sexually neutral victim firmly anchored within a social

system (e.g. a family). Thereby the circle of people affected by the crime is enlarged, which enhances its impact. The importance of premodifiers in noun phrases, namely adjectives, has been demonstrated. A particular importance is attached to the use of possessives which allocate the victim to the respective offender and thus construct a relationship between them arising from the crime. In the majority of sentences the victim naming noun occurs in an object position. Taking into account the results of the transitivity analysis where the victim is mainly the goal, the victim is constructed as the passive recipient of the action, namely the crime. Even if the victim occurs in a subject position, then passive voice turns the victim into the goal of the sentence with the actor often omitted. In contrast, offenders are either the actor of a Material Action Intention or the goal in equal shares. The analysis has revealed that in cases where the offender is the goal, the sentence constructs what happens to the offender during the investigation or the criminal trial. The use of reported speech, mainly Direct and Indirect Speech, allows implanting other people's views upon the reader by keeping the illocutionary force and in case of Direct Speech also the locution of the utterance. This creates the illusion that the reader is directly spoken to which has an impact on the perlocution of the utterance. Here again the primary definers of the news are authoritative persons (police, judge, prosecutor) which assigns the verbiage a high value. Rather unexpectedly, direct quotes from offenders are the third most frequent source quoted in victim-related sentences. But example 6.19 showed that the offender's verbiage is deliberately chosen to construct an ideal victim (Christie, 1986).

The comparison of the devices used to construct victims and offenders revealed that the major difference is indeed the construction of the victim as the goal and the offender as the actor which is achieved through the function of the respective noun phrases in the sentence (subject, object) as well as transitivity structure and verb voice. This shows that the construction of victims and offenders is interdependent already on the sentence level. Christie's notion (1986) of '[i]deal victims need[ing] – and creat[ing] – ideal offenders' (1986: 25) is fundamental here leading to the foregrounding of certain aspects of the personality of the victim which construct a deserving and thus ideal victim in accordance with the criteria of

newsworthiness. The construction of such an ideal victim has inevitable consequences for the construction of the offender. A morally black and thus ideal offender is placed at the other end of the line wrongly presuming that a person is either good or bad. Here again it can be observed that the crime is not separated from the person of the offender but the two merge. This enables a picture of binary and canonical opposites *black* and *white* (Mayr & Machin, 2012: 18) where all the grey shades in between are eliminated. Also, this opposition has the effect, that the construction of the victim automatically has an impact on the offender (and the other way around) even if the offender is not mentioned in the sentence (see example 6.17). Because victims and offenders are constructed as canonical opposites, the missing part, for example the offender, is nevertheless always present. It seems as if the simplicity of fairytales in terms of good and bad characters is reiterated in newspaper reports on crime which become modern fairytales (Bell, 1991: 147). In news reports on crime it is casually overlooked that reality is much more complex than those news reports want us make to believe. This simplification prevents interpretation and evokes 'consensual conclusions' (Jewkes, 2004b: 44). Thus a social reality is constructed which serves manipulative purposes but has nothing in common with the real lives of offenders and victims. A person is responsible for his or her crime but should not be reduced to it. The same applies for victims whose lives will be affected by a crime but who should not be reduced to their victim status. These limitations in news reports on crime contribute to secondary victimisation (see chapter 2) and thus to the prolongation of the victim's suffering.

Chapter 7: The linguistic construction of offenders and victims in the German press

_____

> Mehrere Sprachen sind nicht
>
> ebensoviele Bezeichnungen einer Sache;
>
> es sind verschiedene Ansichten derselben
>
> (Different languages are not
>
> different names for a thing, they are
>
> different meanings for it)
>
> (Humboldt, [1812] 2002: 110)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the analysis of the 1067 offender-referring and the 718 victim-referring sentences in the GNC (German Newspaper Corpus) and thus explores the linguistic construction of offenders and victims in the German press, in particular the GNC. It further presents the analysis of the crime-related sentences in the third part, from section 7.17 onwards.

As in the previous chapter 6, I will start by explaining the most frequent tools used to construct offenders in terms of their percentage of occurrences. In section 7.7 I will compare the construction of offenders in the GNC with the ENC (see chapter 6) and outline the most significant differences revealed through log-likelihood ratio calculation. Each tool will be illustrated with an example from the GNC with an attached translation into English. It is important to bear in mind that German and English are not similar in the way how they represent offenders, victims and crimes although I tried to translate the sentences as close to the original as possible. Humboldt notes 'Mehrere Sprachen sind nicht ebensoviele Bezeichnungen einer Sache; es sind verschiedene Ansichten derselben' (Different languages are not different names for a thing, they are different meanings for it) (Humboldt, [1812] 2002: 110). Following this assertion, there is not only one possible translation for a sentence. My focus when translating the example sentences was to keep the grammatical

components of the sentence although this is often at the expense of idiomatic English. But it enables me to illustrate the points I want to make about the sentences.

For this chapter I analysed 1067 offender-referring sentences which is the highest number of sentences analysed for one category and shows that the most frequent offender-naming nouns are often repeated in offender-related sentences in the GNC.

In the second part of this chapter beginning with section 7.9, the results of analysing the 718 victim-related sentences will be presented and compared with the results for the offender-related sentences in the GNC as well as with the victim-referring sentences in the ENC. As in chapter 6, the most significant differences were determined by means of log-likelihood ratio calculation. I will show the importance of naming choices and the use of premodifiers, in particular possessives, in the construction of victims. Primary definers of news about victims are, beside official authorities, offenders whose verbiages contribute to the construction of victims. I will show that the construction of victims in the GNC shows many similarities with that of the victims in the ENC. The differences between offenders and victims in the GNC accord with those in the ENC. This underpins the close relatedness between the construction of victims and offenders in the GNC and ENC and indicates similar ideological concepts behind the construction of victims and offenders.

In the third part of this chapter starting with section 7.17 I will present the analysis of the crime-related sentences, both in the GNC and the ENC, which provides further evidence for the close relatedness between the construction of crime and criminals in the GNC and ENC. Because of this close resemblance, log-likelihood ratio analysis can reveal important additional insights as I will show. In this part, I combine the presentation of the results from the ENC and GNC and address the differences between them as they occur. The extraction of the crime-naming words, which are not only nouns but also verbs, follows a slightly altered method because all crime-naming words (nouns and verbs) were included in the analysis up to word number 500 in the wordlist.

7.2 Offenders - Naming and Equating

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

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

The identified 16 nominal references for offenders in the German press can be grouped into categories as shown in figure 7.1:
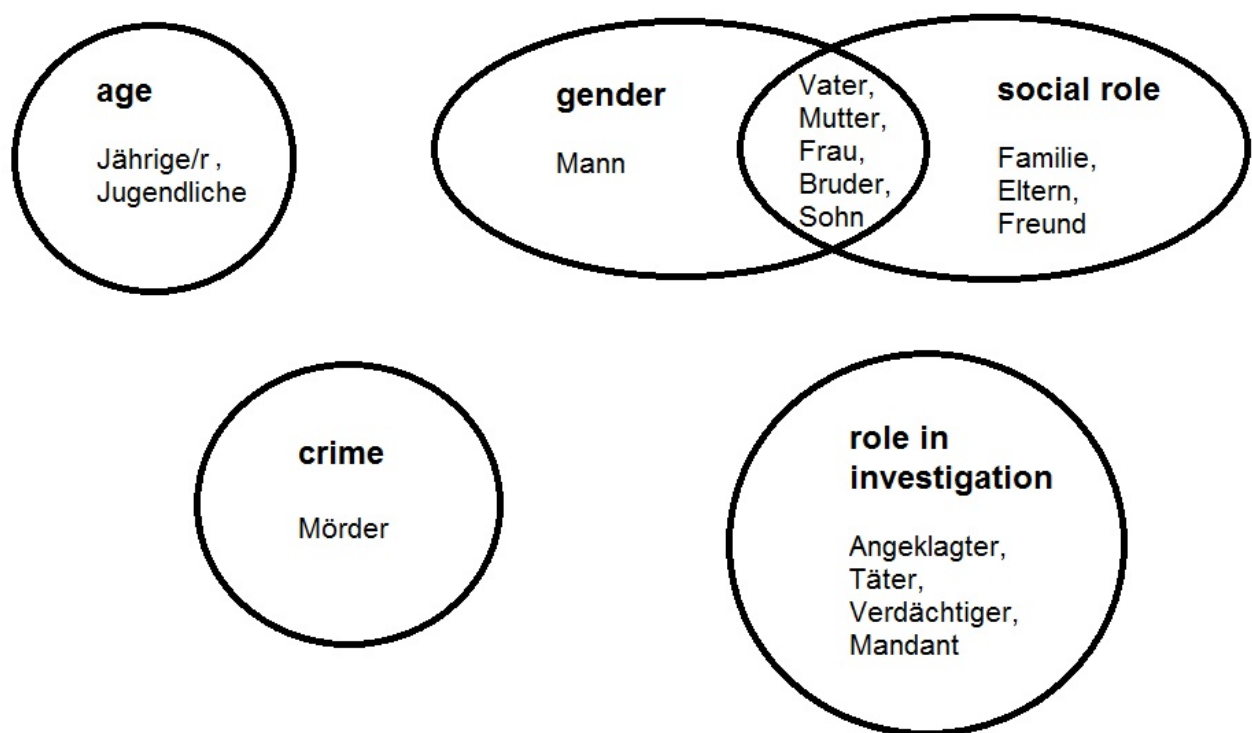
Figure 7.1: Grouping the 16 offender-referring nouns in the GNC into categories

For figure 7.1 I have used the same categories I used for depicting the offender-referring nouns in the ENC (see figure 6.1), omitting the categories *occupation* and *other*, because none of the significant offender-naming nouns in the GNC refers to the offender's occupation. This figure shows how similar the naming choices for offenders are in the ENC

and GNC. Here again, they refer to the offender's age, gender, social role or role in the investigation. Only four nouns fit into more than one category which shows, that the overlap of lexical fields triggered by offender-naming nouns is small.

In 764 sentences (out of 1067, 71.60 %) the target noun occurs in a subject position and in only 259 sentences (24.27 %) in an object position. The target nouns are premodified by descripitive adjectives, other nouns or a definite determiner. I found descriptive adjectives in 328 sentences (30.74 %), mainly possessive adjectives including possessive determiners in 296 sentences (27.74 %). The definite determiner *der/die (the)* premodifies the target noun in 759 sentences (71.13 %). And other nouns premodifying the target noun are used in 321 sentences (30.08 %). A table showing these figures in comparison to offenders and victims in the ENC can be found in the appendix, table A2. The following sentence illustrates the use of possessive determiners:

Example 7.1:

Grausames Geständnis im Fall Gülsüm S.: Ihr Bruder hat gestanden, seine Schwester auf einen abgelegenen Feldweg bei Rees (Nordrhein-Westfalen) gelockt und erschlagen zu haben.

(Grisly confession in the case of Gülsüm S.: Her brother has confessed that he lured his sister onto a remote cart track near Rees (North Rhine-Westphalia) and beat her to death.)

(Die Welt, 02.04.2009)

This sentence refers to the death of 20-year-old Kurd Gülsüm S. who was killed because of her westernised way of living. This case was subsumed under the term *Ehrenmord (honour killing)* (Die Welt, 02.04.2009). In this sentence, the offender *(Bruder/brother)* occurs in a subject position and is premodified by the possessive determiner *Ihr/Her*. This possessive relationship referring to the fact that victim and offender are siblings is mirrored in the possessive determiner *seine/his* premodifying the object *Schwester/sister*. Using possessives construct a relationship between offender and victim even if this only exists through the crime. This sentence also illustrates transitivity choice, namely Material

Action Intention with the offender being the actor. I will outline the results of transitivity analysis in the following section. The noun *confession* is an example of nominalisation which I found in 467 sentences (43.77 %). This noun summarises the process of admitting a crime and thus turns the process into a tangible entity which is existentially presupposed. The noun *confession* is premodified by the evaluative adjective *grisly*. Nominalisation in this sentence allows labelling the offender's confession and assessing it as *grisly*.

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

Example 7.2:

Das dortige Landgericht beweifelte in seinem Urteil am Donnerstag zwar, dass der Angriff tatsächlich Nothilfe war, wie der 35 Jahre alte Angeklagte behauptet hatte.

(Though the local district court in its judgment on Thursday doubted that the attack was actually help in need, as the 35-year-old defendant had claimed.)

(FAZ, 19.02.2009)

The target node *defendant* is premodified by the descriptive adjective *35-year-old*. This adjective constructs the offender in term of age.

7.3 Offenders- Presenting processes and states

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

Example 7.3:

Die Polizei fasste den Mann bei der Geldübergabe.

(The police caught the man at the handover of the money.)

(Süddeutsche, 27.02.2009)

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

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

Example 7.4:

Als der Morgen dämmerte, hatten die Mörder Appetit auf Spinat mit Ei.

(At dawn the murderers had an appetite for spinach and egg.)

(TAZ, 22.03.2009)

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

7.4 Offender - Presenting opinions

Processes of verbalisation are also frequently found in offender-related sentences (280 sentences, 26.24 %). Example 7.1 illustrates this by presenting the verbiage of the offender, where he confesses his deed, in Narrator's report of Speech Act (Leech & Short, 2007). When analysing the sources of speech presentation in the 1067 offender-related

sentences, the primary definers (Newburn, 2007: 99) of the news about offenders are the offenders themselves in 140 sentences (out of 1067, 13.12 %). They are quoted most often followed by prosecutors/prosecution office in 65 sentences (6.09 %), the police in 62 sentences (5.81 %) and the judge/court in 58 sentences (5.44 %). A defence lawyer is quoted in 45 sentences (4.22 %) and an expert witness in 29 sentences (2.72 %). The victim or his/her relatives are quoted in only 10 sentences (0.94 %). Offenders or defence lawyers, who speak on behalf of offenders, provide the majority of information and thus contribute extensively to the construction of offenders in the GNC. The second largest group is the verbiage of authorities, namely the prosecution, the police and the court.

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

Example 7.5:

Rechtsanwalt Gerhard Härdle fordert Freispruch für seinen Mandanten Ahmed H.; die Morde seien O. anzulasten, einem „skupellosen, kalten, gefühllosen Menschen", der schon im Irak gemordet, Schiiten und gar seine eigene Schwägerin umgebracht haben soll.

(Lawyer Gerhard Härdle is demanding an acquittal for his client Ahmed H.; claiming that the murders must be blamed on O., a "ruthless, cold, callous person", who is said to have already murdered in Iraq, killed Shiites and even his own sister-in-law.)

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13.02.2009)

Ahmed H. and Talib O. are both accused of having murdered three Georgian car-dealers. In court, they blame one another (Frankfurter Rundschau, 13.02.2009). The verbiage of the defence lawyer is a mixture of different categories of speech presentation, starting with Narrator's report of Speech Act (*Lawyer Gerhard Härdle is demanding an acquittel for his client Ahmed O.*), Free Indirect Speech (*claiming that the murders must be blamed on O.*), Direct Speech *("ruthless, cold, callous person")* and finally, Indirect Speech (*who is said to have already murdered in Iraq, killed Shiites and even his own sister-in-law*). The reader is unable to assess if this blend of the lawyer's words still contains the original

illocutionary force, which is the underlying intention of the speaker (Tabbert, 2012: 142). Quoting the defence lawyer, who speaks on behalf of the offender Ahmed H., assigns the assertion a high degree of trustworthiness because of the lawyer's role as part of the judicature in Germany. His verbiage provides the argument for why only Talib O. can be the murderer by quoting rumours about previous killings without providing a source for them. The use of evaluative adjectives in an apposition constructs Talib O. as a coldblooded killer which remains unquestioned by the reader because it is 'packaged up' (Jeffries, 2010a: 19) in an apposition as part of the noun phrase. In this sentence, a lot of different information are stuffed into an extended noun phrase which the reader is unable to question and takes them for granted which opens the gate for manipulation.

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

Example 7.6:

Den Verdächtigen, die inzwischen Anwälte haben, soll die Tat mit Hilfe von Indizien nachgewiesen werden.

(The suspects, who meanwhile have got lawyers, should allegedly be proved guilty of the offence by means of circumstantial evidence.)

(FAZ, 14.04.2009)

This example shows that the outcome of this case, which is at the stage of police investigation, is uncertain. The doubt is constructed through the use of epistemic modality (*should allegedly*) in combination with the assertion that the suspects have got lawyers now, meaning someone who has got legal knowledge and defends them, and that the evidence is (only) circumstantial. Following from this context, the use of the modal auxiliary *should* in this sentence is epistemic and not deontic because it expresses uncertainty concerning the offenders' conviction and not a desire (as in example 7.7). Furthermore, the modal auxiliary

should expresses a degree of uncertainty which is different from that of other modal auxiliaries like *will/shall* or *might*. In this example, the modal auxiliary *should* as well as the modal adverb *allegedly* express doubt and a lack of certainty which is also mirrored in the target noun. The offenders are named as *suspects* with a strong emphasis on the fact that their guilt has not been proved yet.

The following sentence shows the modal auxiliary *should* expressing a desire:

Example 7.7:

Für den Hauptangeklagten und seinen Bruder solle zudem die besondere Schwere der Schuld festgestellt werden, plädiert Staatsanwalt Johannes Kiers am Mittwoch in Stade.

(For the main defendant and his brother the particular severity of guilt should be ascertained, pleads public prosecutor Johannes Kiers in Stade on Wednesday.)

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12.03.2009)

Here, pleading to ascertain the particular severity of guilt expresses the prosecutor's plead and therefore his wish how the court should decide. In contrast to the previous example 7.6, which expresses uncertainty concerning the production of evidence, in example 7.7 the same modal auxiliary *should* is used to express a demand and therefore a desire.

7.5 Offenders - Assuming and implying

The use of implicatures and presuppositions allows the writer to convey subtle meanings which are difficult to detect because they are hidden (Jeffries, 2010a: 102). They are powerful tools to reinforce naturalised ideologies (Jeffries, 2010a: 92).

Implicatures arise when speakers or writers flout the Gricean maxims of conversational co-operation, namely quality, quantity, relation and manner (Grice, 1975), for details see section 3.3.3.1.4. I found implicatures in 357 sentences (33.46 %), often in combination with negation (150 sentences, 14.06 %). In order to identify implicatures, I analysed the extent to which the maxims were being observed (or not). This cannot always be detected from the sentence under scrutiny without its context, but sometimes there are

indicators in the sentences which allow for an in-depth analysis of the sentence in its context, for example negation. Because I analysed sentences taken out of context, I was only able to identify implicatures when they were indicated in the sentence. The following sentence is an example thereof:

Example 7.8:

Auch habe der 35-jährige nicht überrascht auf die Todesnachricht reagiert.

(Also the 35-year-old had not acted surprised when given notification of the death.)

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27.03.2009)

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

Example 7.9:

„Dem Angeklagten konnte nicht verborgen geblieben sein, dass das Kind total abgemagert ist." Auch habe der 35-Jährige nicht überrascht auf die Todesnachricht reagiert.

(„It could not have remained hidden from the offender that the child was totally emaciated." Also the 35-year-old had not acted surprised when given notification of the death.)

The newspaper article these sentences are taken from refers to the death of 14-month-old Jacqueline from Bromskirchen whose parents let her starve. Her 23-year-old mother and her 35-year-old father were sentenced for life for murder by omission (Frankfurter Rundschau, 27.03.2009). These sentences present the judge's verbiage when pronouncing the judgement in Direct (sentences 1) and Indirect (sentence 2) Speech. The judge explains why he sentenced the father for murder by omission and did not subsume the facts under a different law, e.g. manslaughter by omission. In particular, the judge argues the offender's intent. Knowing this context, the key to understanding fully what is implicated in this sentence is the meaning of 'surprise' which denotes a lack of information or knowledge. The negation *nicht/not* triggers a conventional implicature (Jeffries uses conventional implicature and pragmatic presupposition interchangeably (Jeffries, 2010b: 3)), namely that the judge refers to societal conventions presuming that the audience expects a surprised reaction when a father is notified of the death of his 14-month-old baby. This links to the background knowledge we have of the world where the infant mortality rate is very low and the death of a baby is rather unexpected or surprising. The pragmatic presupposition or conventional implicature in this case provides the ground for the conversational implicature (see section 3.3.3.1.4) as will be explained shortly. The difference between conversational and conventional implicatures is that the conventional implicature is always there regardless of the context whereas the conversational implicature varies according to the context. In this case, the conventions about the expected reaction when given an unexpected death notice and the exceptionality of infant mortality as being conveyed through the conventional implicature, remain unchanged even if the context changes (i.e. if the sentence would be negated). The propositional content, namely the offender's lack of surprise, and the conventional implicature that he should have been surprised provide the ground for the conversational implicature that the offender is an abhorrent person because of his lack of surprise. The latter, namely the conversational implicature, is dependent on the context and would change in a different context. The offender's non-surprise about the notification of

death implies that the father was aware of the critical condition his daughter was in and that she was close to death. And if the offender was aware of his daughter's condition, then he is guilty of not preventing her death which means he intended her to die, which is part of the conversational implicature. This makes him an accomplice in the death of the child. Therefore, his non-surprise conversationally implies his intent and therefore his guilt. This conversational implicature would change in a different context, for example if his child had had cancer and was sick to death. In this case, his non-surprise would not imply any guilt in her death. This sentence flouts the maxims

- of quantity, by not making the contribution as informative as required;

- of manner, by being indirect instead of straightforward; and

- of relation, because of all the things the offender has not done, this one was chosen.

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

7.6 Offenders - Contrasting

As I have stated elsewhere (Tabbert, 2012: 138), another means of constructing offenders is though the employment of contrasts, either by creating opposition or by a negation (Jeffries, 2010a). Opposition puts two events, states or existences into contrast to each other; negation opposes non-events against events, non-states against states or non-existence against existence and thereby constructs the 'unrealized world[]' (Nahajec, 2009: 109) discussed in the previous chapter. 'Opposites are [...] one of the most important of the linguistic-cognitive structures by which we characterize and organize our world, and thus also our world-view' (Jeffries, 2010b: 26, 27)**.** Analysing the 1067 offender-related sentences I

found opposition in 242 sentences (22.68 %) and negation in 150 sentences (14.06 %) (as an example of the latter see the previous example 7.9). The following sentence illustrates opposition triggered by the conjunction *but*.

Example 7.10:

"Wir hatten oft Streit, aber er war ein guter Vater", sagte die 34-jährige Frau.

("We often had arguments, but he was a good father", said the 34-year-old woman.)

(Tagesspiegel, 01.04.2009)

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

7.7 Comparing the construction of offenders in the ENC and the GNC

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

First, we have to bear in mind that the number of offender-related sentences analysed in the ENC (607 sentences) and the GNC (1067 sentences) differs considerably.

186

Although I identified 23 statistically significant target words naming offenders in the ENC and 16 in the GNC, the latter 16 words occur in more sentences (1067 sentences) than the 23 target words gained for the ENC (607 sentences). This means that although there are less different target words in the GNC, these words are used more often to name offenders. Before we turn to the differences, I want to point out that there are also similarities in the construction of offenders in the ENC and GNC as, for example, the subject position of offender-naming nouns, the use of premodifiers as well as transitivity choices (see sections 7.2 and 7.3 above). The following table lists the significant differences sorted according to log-likelihood ratio figures:

Structural device	Significance value (log-likelihood ratio)	Is the structural device used more often in the GNC or the ENC?	Example
determiner *the*	149.19	GNC	Examples 7.8, 7.9
circumstantial	123.25	GNC	Example 7.4
implicature	97.97	GNC	Examples 7.8, 7.9
verbalisation	93.25	GNC	Example 7.5
other actor than target	64.88	GNC	Example 7.3
target=goal	63.52	ENC	Example 6.10
passive voice	55.72	ENC	Example 6.10
active voice	52.29	GNC	Examples 7.1, 7.3
Free Indirect Speech	51.84	GNC	Example 7.5
no actor	49.77	ENC	Example 6.3
adverbial	45.96	GNC	Example 7.12
Relational processes, possessive	42.69	ENC	Example 7.3
present	38.49	GNC	Example 7.11
determiner *a*	38,38	ENC	Example 6.6
target=premodifyer	35.68	ENC	Example 6.2
coordinate sentence structure	33.92	ENC	Example 6.3
other premodifyers	32.46	ENC	Example 6.2
present perfect	30.19	ENC	Example 6.8
Deonic modality	29.58	GNC	Example 7.7
descriptive adjective as premodifier	27.77	GNC	Example 7.2
past perfect	26.26	GNC	Example 7.2
categorical (unmodalised)	23.53	ENC	Examples 6.3- 6.11
apposition	22.37	ENC	Example 6.6

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

A difference of high significance is the use of definite (*der, die/the*) and indefinite (*ein, eine/a*) articles as premodifying determiners in the offender-related noun phrases in both corpora. The definite article is used in 759 sentences (71.13 %) in the GNC and in 247 sentences (40.69 %) in the ENC. The indefinite article is used in 96 sentences (9.00 %) in the GNC and in 120 sentences (19.77 %) in the ENC. Although German also has a neuter form of a definite (*das/the*) and indefinite (*ein/a*) determiner, I will not discuss those forms because the 16 offender-naming nouns are either male or female (or in the plural form) and I have only analysed the use of definite and indefinite determiners in those noun phrases containing one of the 16 target words. On the surface, the use of definite and indefinite determiners seems to be comparable in both languages. Research on definiteness in both languages (Löbner, 1985, 2011; Pollex, 2008) reveals that there are different 'degrees of familiarity or 'language user closeness'' (Pollex, 2008: 39) to an entity in both languages which have an impact on the use of definite articles. The use of definite articles demands a higher degree of familiarity with the entity, in this case with the offender. Taking into account, that the definite article can also trigger an existential presupposition, as in the often referred to example <u>The</u> *king of France is wise* (Levinson, 1983: 170 ff), we might conclude that the degree of familiarity, even if only presupposed, is higher in the GNC, which might be due to cross-linguistic divergence. We also have to consider that the results are limited to the analysed number of sentences in the ENC and GNC and might differ when analysing the entire corpus. Returning to the wordlists of both corpora I found that the definite article *the* occurs 3.857 times in the ENC (tokens: 75.072, 5.14 %) and *der/die (the)* occur together 4900 times in the GNC (tokens: 75.408, 6.49 %). The indefinite article *a* occurs 2129 times in the ENC (2.84 %) and *ein/eine (a)* occur together 1084 times in the GNC (1.44 %). This disproves that the salience of definite articles in the GNC and indefinite in the ENC is caused by to the limited sample of sentences analysed from the ENC and GNC.

Another significant difference is the use of tenses, in particular present, present perfect and past perfect. The tenses used most often in the ENC are simple past (453

sentences, 74.63 %) and simple present (115 sentences, 18.95 %). In the GNC, the most frequently used tenses are Präteritum (simple past) in 394 sentences (65.04 %) and Präsens (simple present) in 350 sentences (32.80 %). This indicates that simple present and simple past are most frequently used in both languages. But the log-likelihood ratio test reveals that the differences in that respect between the two languages are significant. Simple present is used more often in the GNC (log-likelihood ratio 38.49), whereas simple past is more salient in the ENC (log-likelihood ratio 16.79). Also, past perfect (in German comparable to Plusquamperfekt) is more often used in the GNC (123 sentences, 11.53 %) than in the ENC (27 sentences, 4,45 %). This difference is significant, as the log-likelihood ratio figure of 26.26 reveals. In example 7.2 the use of the German Plusquamperfekt (comparable to past perfect) is illustrated.

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

Example 7.11:

Angeklagter beteuert seine Unschuld

(Defendant protests his innocence)

(FAZ, 19.02.2009)

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

Bamberg (1994) argues that in German the simple past (Präteritum) is in the process of being replaced by the present perfect (Perfect) (Bamberg, 1994: 192) and that simple present (Präsens) and present perfect (Perfect) are the most frequently used verb tenses (Bamberg, 1994: 237). This notion is only partly supported through my analysis which found only a few uses of the present perfect (Perfect) in the GNC. The German language has an equivalent to the English present perfect which is the German Perfect. It can have the same meaning as the English present perfect constructing a past event with present

consequences. The use of present perfect in both languages turns out to be significantly different (log-likelihood ratio 30.19) when comparing offender-related sentences in the ENC and the GNC. Present perfect is more often used in the ENC (46 sentences, 7.58 %) than in the GNC (21 sentences, 1.97 %). An illustration for the similar meaning of the English present perfect and the German Perfect is example 7.5 in this chapter. The fact that the suspects have got lawyers shows a past event (when the lawyers took on the case) which has consequences for the present (the suspects are legally represented by their lawyers now). Although Kortmann (2005) states that the German perfect in spontaneously spoken language 'is almost exclusively used as an (absolute) past tense' (Kortmann, 2005: 158), it can be observed in the GNC that there are a few occasions where the German perfect is used similar to the English present perfect.

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

Example 7.12:

In der Klinik war den Ärzten aufgefallen, dass sich zwei Nabelschnüre im Körper der Frau befanden – daraufhin wurde die Polizei informiert.

(In the hospital the doctors had noticed that there were two umbilical cords in the woman's body – thereupon the police were informed.)

(Die Welt, 27.03.2009)

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

In summary, the differences indicated by log-likelihood ratio figures show a higher number of statistically significant differences between the tools used to construct offenders in the ENC and GNC than the differences outlined in the previous chapter 6 between offenders and victims in the ENC. This underpins my argument that although the underlying ideologies

arising from the construction of offenders in the ENC and GNC are similar, this is achieved

through different linguistic devices due to the fact that English and German are two different

languages. The limit for presenting the most significant differences in tables 7.1 and 6.1 is a

log-likelihood ratio figure of 20.00. This limit was subjectively chosen in order to focus on the

statistically most significant differences. Within this span I have listed 23 differences between

offenders in the ENC and GNC in contrast to only 14 when comparing offenders and victims

in the ENC. This might be due to the fact that the differences within the same language are

not as manifold as between two different languages, although the mere comparison of

linguistic tools used to construct offenders in the ENC and GNC show numerous similarities.

7.8 The linguistic construction of offenders in the GNC – a summary

So far, I have presented the results for the analysis of the 1067 offender-referring

sentences from the GNC, limited to the 16 most significant offender-naming nouns and all

sentences they occur in. Grouping the 16 offender-naming nouns into categories (figure 7.1)

shows a comparable picture to the grouping of the 23 offender-referring nouns in the ENC

(figure 6.1). The tools used to construct offenders in the GNC are similar to those in the ENC

in terms of their percentage, namely the subject/object position, active and passive sentence

structure, verb voice and transitivity structures. This shows that both languages are used

similarly. Implicature analysis revealed that implicatures can sometimes be detected in the

sentence without the broader context by triggers like negation. But to understand the implied

meaning fully, the context has to be taken into account.

Log-likelihood ratio figures indicate the differences in the use of linguistic tools in both

languages. The use of definite and indefinite articles as well as tenses are the most

statistically significant ones. Despite the shared roots of English and German and a similar

use of some linguistic devices in both languages, the linguistic differences also indicate

ideological differences in the construction of offenders in both corpora. The frequent use of

definite determiners presupposes the existence of an offender and a familiarity even if he or

she is mentioned for the first time. This familiarity provides the ground for stereotyping where

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

In the second part of this chapter I will present the results of analysing the 718 victim-related sentences in the GNC and outline the differences in comparison to the offenders in the GNC and to the victims in the ENC. This will provide the answer to the question of how victims are linguistically constructed in the GNC.

7.9 Victims - Naming and Equating

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

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

Out of these 18 victim-naming nouns the following seven nouns have already been identified to be lexically significant for naming offenders in the GNC (see section 7.2):

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

As already mentioned in section 6.2 in reference to the ENC, although the naming choices for offenders and victims in the GNC differ, there is an overlap of nouns which name either an offender or a victim.

The identified 18 lexically significant nominal references for victims can be grouped as shown in figure 7.2:
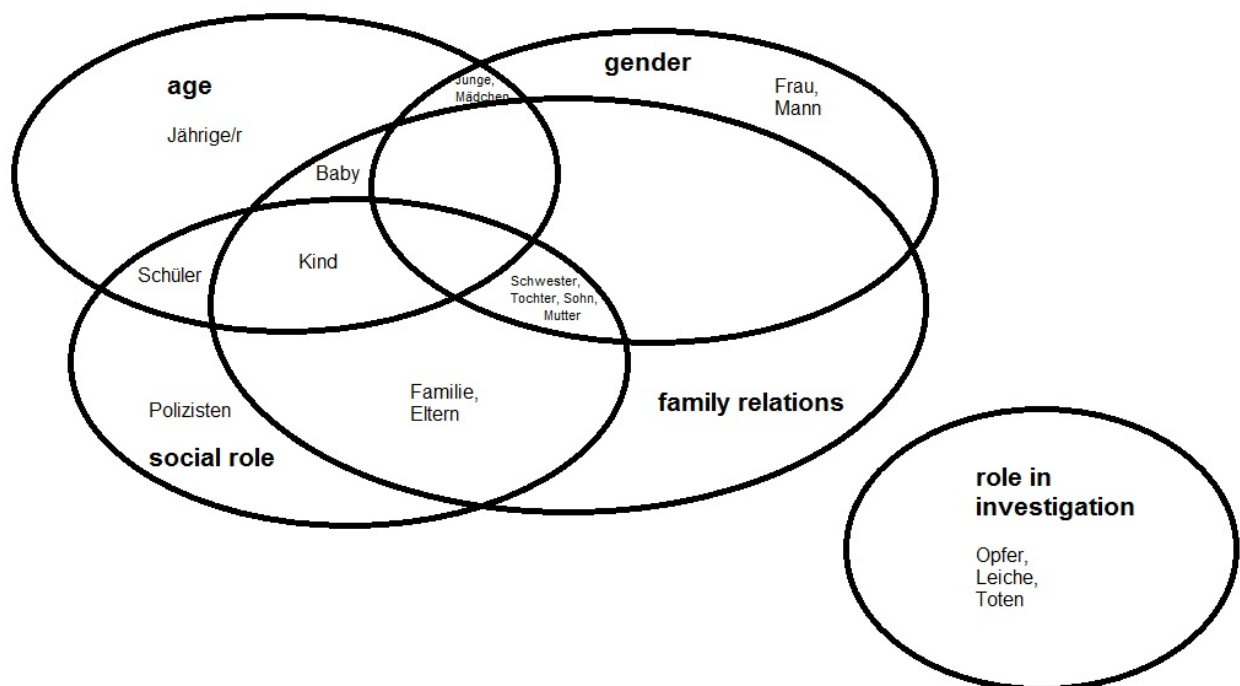
Figure 7.2: Grouping the 18 victim-referring nouns in the GNC into categories

For figure 7.2 I have used the same categories I have used for depicting the victim-referring nouns in the ENC (see figure 6.2). Figure 7.2 shows that the majority of victim-naming nouns refers to more than one category and thus triggers different lexical fields. The noun naming a victim already provides information about the victim, e.g. his or her age. By referring to the victim's social or family relations, the victim is anchored in a social system and any harm done to the victim automatically has an impact on that system and eventually on society. A large percentage of victim-naming nouns does not allow any conclusions about the victim's gender regardless of the fact that every noun has a grammatical gender in

German expressed through the associated premodifying article. The singular nouns *Kind (child), Opfer (victim), Leiche (body)*, and *Baby (baby)* as well as the plural nouns *Familie (family)* and *Eltern (parents)* occur in 283 sentences in total and do not name the victim's gender. The nouns *Frau (woman), Mädchen (girl), Schwester (sister), Tochter (daughter)* and *Mutter (mother)* occur in 257 sentences and construct a female victim. Only the nouns *Mann (man), Junge (boy)* and *Sohn (son)* refer to a male victim and occur in 51 sentences. We have to take into account that the nouns *Jährige/r (year-old), Schüler/in (male or female pupil), Toten (deceased)* and *Polizisten (police officer/s)* can either refer to a male or a female victim or to a plural number of victims depending on the German case. I conclude that the majority of victim-naming nouns construct a female or neutral victim in terms of gender foregrounding the victim's physical weakness, immaturity and vulnerability.

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

In 296 sentences (out of 718, 41.23 %) the victim occurs in a subject position and in 358 sentences (49.86 %) in an object position. Whereas it has been constant in the presentation of the results so far that victims are mainly found in an object position and offenders in a subject position, the percentage of victim-referring nouns in the GNC occurring in an object or a subject position is nearly equal in size. Victim-naming nouns are premodified by the definite article *der, die, das (the)* in 419 sentences (58.36 %), by descriptive adjectives in 219 sentences (30.50 %) including possessive adjectives, mainly possessive pronouns, in 210 sentences (29.25 %). They occur together with other nouns in

289 sentences (40.25 %). An illustration for the latter will be given in example 7.16 below and will be explained there.

Example 7.13:

1988 wird das erste Inzest-Baby im Verlies geboren.

(In 1988, the first incest-baby is born in prison.)

(Bild, 20.03.2009)

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

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

Example 7.14:

Immer wieder vergeht sich das Inzest-Monster an seiner Tochter.

(Repeatedly the incest-monster indecently assaults his daughter.)

(Bild 20.03.2009)

This sentence constructs a passive victim enduring repeated rape from her father. The use of the possessive pronoun *seiner/his* constructs a relationship of possession between offender and victim which, in this case, goes beyond the crime because the target word *Tochter/daughter* refers to the family relationship existing between them. The use of possessives allocates the victim to the offender even if only through the crime. It is worth noticing here that the noun *Monster/monster* has a grammatically neuter gender in German expressed through the definite article *das/the* in its neuter form. This strips away any human characteristics from the offender and constructs a victim passively enduring a crime from an inhuman entity. Although masculine and feminine gender in German do not necessarily equate to male and female gender in nouns, in the case of persons it mainly does and thus the use of a neuter form leads to dehumanisation in this case. A neuter offender in terms of gender provides a contrast to the rape-crime which is never sex-less and always power-

dominated. Using the term *Monster/monster* therefore foregrounds the inhumanness of the crime and the degrading of the victim. In this context, Greer talks about the 'shock-factor' (Greer, 2003: 56) which is typical for sex crimes.

Although victim-referring nouns mainly occur in subject and object positions, I found 200 sentences (27.86 %) where the victim-naming noun is part of an adverbial.

Example 7.15:

An dem Toten findet die Polizei zahllose schwere Verletzungen, auf seinem Körper liegt verbrannter Müll.

(On the deceased the police find numerous serious injuries, on his body lies burnt rubbish.)

(TAZ, 22.03.2009)

The adverbial *An dem Toten/on the deceased* describes the circumstances where the police find the injuries. This sentence refers to the same case as example 7.4 where two right wing extremists tortured and murdered a homeless, alcohol addicted man. The victim is foregrounded by being mentioned first. The offenders' attitude towards their victim is constructed through the employment of adverbials. The serious injuries on the body of the deceased could indicate him being tortured before his death which is verified when reading the entire article. Placing burnt rubbish on the victim's body equates a human life with something useless and valueless. The offenders' mentality about worthiness and unworthiness of human beings might cause moral outrage (Mayr & Machin, 2012: 18) and constructs empathy for the victim. The victim naming noun *Toten/deceased* is placed in an adverbial position and thereby becomes part of the circumstances instead of being the centre of focus as, for example, in an object or subject position. An example for the latter is the following sentence where the victim-naming *Mädchen/girl* is in an object position.

Example 7.16:

Werner M., 58, gelernter KFZ-Mechaniker und Fernsehtechniker, zuletzt tätig als Inhaber eines Ladens für Bootsbedarf in Kappeln an der Schlei, ist der Mann, der vor mehr als 27 Jahren am oberbayerischen Ammersee ein zehnjähriges Mädchen vom

Fahrrad gezerrt und in eine im Wald eingegrabene Kiste gesperrt haben soll, um von

den Eltern des Kindes zwei Millionen Mark Lösegeld zu erpressen.

(Werner M., 58, a trained car mechanic and television technician, who most recently

was the owner of a shop for boating supplies in Kappeln on the river Schlei, is the

man, who, more than 27 years ago by the upper Bavarian Lake Ammer, allegedly

dragged a 10-year-old girl off her bike and locked her in a box buried in a wood, in

order to extort two million marks ransom from the child's parents.)

(Süddeutsche, 19.02.2009)

In this sentence, the target word *jährige/year-old* occurs as a premodifying descriptive adjective of the head noun *Mädchen/girl* and the noun phrase *Eltern des Kindes/child's parents* also contains two target nouns in a possessive relation. The sentence also illustrates the use of subordinate sentence structure which I found in 296 sentences (41.23 %). It is an example for a mixture of coordinate and subordinate clauses and also for an apposition which is used rarely in the victim-related sentences in the GNC (17 sentences, 2.37 %). This sentence refers to the death of 10-year-old Ursula Herrmann following her kidnapping in 1981 and quotes the indictment from the prosecution (Süddeutsche, 19.02.2009). Although this sentence contains epistemic modality (I will come back to modality analysis in section 7.11 below), the charge sheet in the German criminal trial is always written in categorical style. This suggests that alterations have been made here in comparison to the original illocutionary force of the utterance. The use of modality takes into account the presumption of innocence at this stage of the criminal trial which fades into the background against the flood of information crammed into this single sentence. This overwhelming abundance of information allows the writer to hide some, for example the epistemic modal adverb *allegedly* which indicates doubt.

Another means of construction is the use of nominalisation in 223 sentences (32.45 %) which will be a topic when I discuss the construction of crimes from section 7.17 onwards. Because it is used frequently in sentences containing victim-naming nouns, I will briefly examine its impact.

Example 7.17:

Das Verbrechen an der Schülerin hatte bundesweit für großes Entsetzen gesorgt.

(The crime (felony) against the pupil had caused great revulsion nationwide.)

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13.02.2009)

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

7.10 Victims - Presenting processes and states

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

Example 7.18:

Als eine Freundin des Täters eingriff, zog dieser das Opfer an den Haaren aus dem PKW.

(When a (female) friend of the offender intervened, he dragged the victim by the hair out of the car.)

(Tagesspiegel, 03.03.2009)

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

Transitivity analysis also shows that here again (see section 7.3), circumstantial processes are used often (in 190 sentences, 26.46 %) to construct the passivity of the victim.

Example 7.19:

Als die Polizei zwei Tage später vom geständigen jüngsten Täter an den See geführt wurde, schwamm die Tonne noch immer an der Wasseroberfläche – und der Leiche hing der Würgedraht noch um den Hals.

(When the police were led to the lake two days later by the confessing youngest offender, the barrel was still floating on the surface – and the wire used for strangling was still hanging around the body's neck.)

(FAZ, 30.03.2009)

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

7.11 Victims - Presenting opinions

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

Example 7.20:

Der aus Osteuropa stammende Mann soll am 18. November zusammen mit einem Komplizen in dem zur Gemeinde Volkenschwand gehörenden Weiler Straß im Kreis

Kelheim einen querschnittsgelähmten 55-jährigen Mann und dessen 53-jährige Frau

ermordet haben.

(The Eastern European man is alleged to have murdered on 18th November together

with an accomplice a paraplegic 55-year-old man and his 53-year-old wife in the

municipality of Volkenschwand located Weiler Straß in the district of Kehlheim.

or

The man, of Eastern European origin, together with an accomplice, is alleged to have

murdered a paraplegic 55-year-old man and his 53-year-old wife on 18th November

in Weiler Straß in the Volkenschwand district, Kehlheim region.)

(Süddeutsche, 04.02.2009)

This sentence, which is also an example of the sometimes complex structure of German sentences (for which reason I offer two possible translations), expresses doubt about the offender's perpetration of the crime. According to the context in the article, the police hold a strong suspicion against the offender who has been arrested. This example of epistemic modality, which in the German sentence is expressed through the modal auxiliary *soll* and is best translated with the verb *alleged,* indicates doubt. This accords with the presumption of innocence which is valid for every suspect before a legally binding conviction. Because of the wealth of detail subsequently provided in this sentence, the construction of doubt is backgrounded and not the main effect of this sentence.

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

Example 7.21:

Laut Polizeivernehmung - der Angeklagte schweigt vor Gericht- hat Ahmad-Sobair O.

seine Schwester gefragt: "Gehst du auf den Strich?", worauf sie erwiderte: "Das geht

dich einen Scheißdreck an."

(According to the police interrogation - the defendant said nothing in court - Ahmad-

Sobair O. asked his sister: "Are you on the game?", to which she answered: "It's none

of your effing business.")

(TAZ, 05.02.2009)

This sentence contains a mixture of reported speech, quoting the police, the offender and the victim, and refers again to the honour killing of 16-year-old Afghan Morsal in Hamburg (see example 7.17). Her brother, the offender, suspected her to be a prostitute following rumours among his acquaintances. After confronting her, he stabbed her to death (TAZ, 05.02.2009). Both quotes in inverted commas (Direct Speech) were uttered by the offender in his police interrogation, including the victim's verbatim. The supposed victim's utterance, uttered by the victim shortly before her death, is quoted by the offender and then again quoted by the police. Because Morsal and her brother were alone at the time of her death, it is only through the offender that her last words were preserved if they are not regarded as a self preserving declaration from the offender. The offender's utterance constructs the victim as someone who uses colloquial language, does not explicitly deny the accusation of being a prostitute and shows little respect for her older brother. Direct Speech used in example 7.21 shows that the writer makes no attempt to mollify the quoted speech by backgrounding it in a more indirect category, for example Indirect Speech. Therefore not only the illocutionary force of the utterance but also the locution are preserved which allows the reader to draw conclusions about the scene and the relationship between the siblings.

7.12 Victims - Presenting time and space

The most frequently used tenses in the victim-related sentences in the GNC are simple past (Präteritum) and simple present (Präsens). Simple Past is used most often (505

sentences, 70.33 %), followed by simple present in 204 sentences (28.41 %). The use of simple past (Präteritum) is illustrated in example 7.18 above.

Another means to anchor the event in terms of time is through the use of deixis which is used in 377 sentences (52.51 %). Examples for the use of simple present (Präsens) are examples 7.13 and 7.14 above although the action has taken place in the past. The past is indicated through time deixis (*1988/In 1988*) in example 7.13 and the adverb *Immer wieder/Repeatedly* in example 7.14 which presupposes that one action has to end before the next begins. The use of present tense, although it is a feature of newspaper style (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 87, 88), also constructs a perpetuating effect of the crime onto the present which keeps the horror alive. Bednarek and Caple (2012) state that the present tense used in newspaper articles in general 'emphasises the recency and relevance of the event' (2012: 88). In connection with crime, as demonstrated in examples 7.13 and 7.14 it drags a past event into the present and allows the reader to live through the crime with the victim.

7.13 Victims - Assuming and implying

As in the offender-related sentences in the GNC, the use of implicatures is salient in the victim-related sentences, too (see section 7.4). I found implicatures in 231 sentences (32.17 %) and for illustration I will refer back to example 7.21 and the honour killing after Morsal's non-denial of her brother's accusation of being a prostitute. Her non-denial differs from the offender's expectations and therefore has an implied meaning, at least for him. Taking into account her young age and her family's moral concept, the suspicion of her being a prostitute is likely to have been scandalous. This caused the offender's expectation that she should hurry to deny such an accusation (conversational implicature by flouting the maxim of relation). When she does not act accordingly but instead replies that this is no concern of his, he understands that there is truth in the rumour (conversational implicature by flouting the maxims of quality and relation). Therefore the offender's quotation of the victim's last words is supposed to exculpate him or at least raise understanding for his deed. This conversational implicature can only be understood with the background knowledge taken into

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

7.14 Comparing the construction of victims and offenders in the GNC

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

Structural device	Significance value (log-likelihood ratio)	Is the structural device more often used in victim- or offender-related sentences in the GNC?	Example
target=actor	201.04	offender	Example 7.1
other actor than target	190.89	victims	Example 7.18
target=subject	164.86	offender	Example 7.1
target=goal	140.67	victims	Example 7.18
target=object	123.59	victims	Example 7.14
possessive	86.81	victims	Examples 7.14, 7.16
possessive adjective	83.93	victims	Examples 7.14, 7.21
adverbial	66.90	victims	Example 7.15
target=premodifyer	39.60	victims	Example 7.16
Narrator's report of speech act	33.19	offender	Chapter 8 Example 4
definite article as determiner	30.99	offender	Section 7.2 and Examples 7.2 and 7.3
singular	23.70	victims	Section 7.9 and Examples 7.13 – 7.15
nominalisation	22.53	offender	Example 7.1

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

The major differences which can be taken from the table above are the subject/object position of the target word and transitivity structures with the victim mainly being the goal and the offender the actor. Salient in the construction of victims is the use of possessives and the use of victim-referring nouns premodifying other nouns including other target nouns. Adverbials containing a victim-naming noun construct the circumstances of the crime and thus the offender and the victim. The majority of these differences are congruent with the differences in the construction of victim and offenders in the ENC and underpin the close relatedness of the two languages and the underlying ideological concepts. Examples for

each of the significant differences are given in the right column which illustrates the use of the respective tool in context.

7.15 Comparing the construction of victims in the GNC and ENC

In this section I will present the differences between the construction of victims in the GNC and ENC. The following table shows the significant differences sorted according to log-likelihood ratio figures, the limit is a log-likelihood ratio figure of 20.00.

Structural device	Significance value (log-likelihood ratio)	Is the structural device more often used in the GNC or ENC?	Example
implicature	75.99	GNC	Section 7.13 and Example 7.21
premodifyer, definite article the	72.91	GNC	Example 7.13
possessive	66.42	GNC	Example 7.14
subordinate sentence structure	64.71	ENC	Example 6.18
verb tense, present perfect	63.57	ENC	Example 6.22
Speech presentation, Direct Speech	55.54	ENC	Example 6.19
other actor than target	55.47	GNC	Example 7.18
target together with other nouns	41.26	GNC	Example 7.16
plural	37.69	ENC	Examples 6.14, 6.19
premodifyer, indefinite article *a*	33.03	ENC	Example 6.15
verb tense, simple past	31.17	ENC	Example 6.17
adverbial	29.19	GNC	Example 6.16
lexical verbs	28.29	ENC	Example 6.20
opposition, syntactic trigger	23.54	ENC	Example 6.20
premodifying preposition	22.41	ENC	Examples 6.19, 6.22
passive voice structure	20.95	ENC	Example 6.16
verbalisation	20.59	ENC	Example 6.18

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

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

The most significant difference is the use of implicatures in the GNC which is a very subtle way of constructing a victim as illustrated in section 7.13 above. The use of definite and indefinite articles as well as verb tenses have been explained in section 7.6 because these linguistic tools were also significant when comparing the construction of offenders in the GNC and ENC. Possessives are frequently used in the construction of victims in the GNC and assign the victim to the offender. Thus a relationship between the two is established expressing the power the offender has over the victim based on an imbalance in power at the time of the offence. The use of adverbials containing a victim-naming noun constructs the circumstances of the crime and degrades the victim to an object providing evidence for the course of the crime. This goes beyond the construction of an 'ideal victim' (Christie, 1986) who remains a human being with his or her feelings and hopes. Objectifying the victim deprives the victim of his or her human feelings and anxieties. The major primary definer in the construction of victims is the offender. In section 7.4 I have already mentioned that the offender is also the most often quoted source in the construction of himself or herself. But we have to bear in mind that the offender's verbiage is subjectively chosen to stereotype the offender and thus perpetuate labelling.

7.16 The linguistic construction of victims in the GNC – a summary

The second part of this chapter (from section 7.9 onwards) has presented the major linguistic tools used to construct victims in the GNC. Naming choices invoke more than just one lexical field and thus provide information about victims. It is notable that the majority of

victim-naming nouns in the GNC do not allow any conclusions to be drawn about the victim's actual gender which is achieved through the neuter gender in German. The overlap of naming choices for victims between the ENC and GNC is considerable. Victims are linguistically constructed through the employment of different tools. The use of premodifiers especially possessives constructs a relationship between victim and offender even if this is only evoked through the crime. Possessives assign a victim to an offender and thus construct a power imbalance between the two. In accordance with the findings in the ENC, victim-naming nouns are mainly found in object positions but also to a nearly equal percentage in subject positions. The passivity of the victim is achieved through transitivity structure and verb voice with the victim at the receiving end of the action. Primary definers of the news regarding the victim are offenders followed by authorities. The use of modality, in particular epistemic modality, expresses a degree of certainty or doubt which accords with the presumption of innocence for the offender. Although the crimes are regularly a past event at the time of the newspaper report, the event is often constructed through the use of simple present. It is through the employment of deixis that these events are nevertheless anchored in the past. Implicature analysis revealed the power of this commonly used linguistic feature which serves to enforce existing ideologies and assure the public that the system works (Giddens, et al., 2003: 186). Through the use of adverbials containing victim-naming nouns the victim becomes part of the circumstances of the crime and is thus deprived of his or her human characteristics. The comparative analysis showed more salient differences between the construction of offenders and victims in the GNC than in the crosslinguistic comparison. This again proves the close relatedness of the two languages and the underlying ideological concepts. Victims are idealised according to Christi's notion (1986) which is achieved in a similar way in both languages. The information provided about the victim foregrounds those aspects which accord with the stereotypes about victims, in particular their vulnerability and weakness. The perpetuated stereotyping allows the media to construct a victim with relatively few words (the space in a newspaper is limited) because the article is based on prior or common knowledge about crimes and victims which is retrieved through identical linguistic

tools and structures. To disrupt these stereotypes by foregrounding other aspects of the victim's personality requires lengthier articles and a change in the underlying ideological concepts. Such a change would have an impact on the construction of offenders, too. The construction of victims and offenders is interdependent and not only this but the construction of the victim ultimately serves the construction of the offender in which we are interested because of his or her deviance.

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

7.17 Crimes - Naming

The most frequently used nouns and verbs naming crimes in the ENC are the following, the numbers in brackets indicate the number of sentences they occur in:
murder (182), *attack* (70), *rape* (62), *crime* (51), *died* (41), *killed* (40), *killing* (32), *assault* (32), *attacked* (31), *raped* (30), *death* (27), *offence* (25), *crimes* (25), *attacks* (21), *stabbed* (20), *kill* (18), *shot* (17), *driving* (15), *causing* (11), *involved* (9), *drug* (6), *committed* (3), *gun* (3), *attempted* (2)

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

procedure for the crimes in the GNC and the following crime-naming words occur in the wordlist of the GNC up to cut-off point 500 in the wordlist:

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

These 18 crime-naming words from the GNC occur in 501 sentences in total and comprise nouns as well as verb forms. It is obvious from these two lists that the crimes most often reported on in both corpora are capital crimes, namely murder, homicide and sex crimes, also referred to as 'run-of-the-mill crimes' (Jeffries, 2010b: 125). Deviance, intrinsic to every crime, 'is the quintessential element of newsworthiness' (Reiner et al., 2003: 13). But not all crime news pass the threshold of being reported. Capital crimes, which fulfill the criteria of newsworthiness, in particular risk, sex and violence, shape crime news (Jewkes, 2004a). The often observed overrepresentation of violent crime in the news (Pfeiffer, et al., 2005) does not correlate with reality. According to the German Police Crime Statistics (Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik) of the year 2008, 694 out of 6,114,128 registered crimes in total were murders[14] with a percentage of 0.01 %. The British criminal statistics for the year 2008/09 show a similar picture: 648 out of 4,702,500 registered crimes in England and Wales were incidents of homicide[15] (0.01 %). Homicide in this statistic includes murder and manslaughter as well as suicide. There are no statistics available just for murder for England and Wales. But still, these figures show that only a tiny proportion of all crimes in reality are murder which is not mirrored by the type of crime that is reported on most often in the ENC and the GNC.

The crime-naming nouns in the ENC are mainly singular (467 sentences, 60.41 %), are premodified by the definite article *the* (164 sentences (21.22 %) and/or a preposition (349

---

[14] http://www.bka.de/pks/pks2008/index2.html
[15] http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs09/hosb1109chap3.pdf

sentences, 45.15 %) and occur together with other nouns in 200 sentences (25.87 %). The crime-naming noun is part of the adverbial (251 sentences, 32.47 %) and is postmodified by a prepositional phrase in 241 sentences (31.18 %). An example which contains all these tools refers to the case against American student Amanda Knox (and her alleged accomplice) in Italy who were accused of having murdered British exchange student Meredith Kercher in Perugia on 01.11.2007 (Russell et al., 2010):

Example 7.22:

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

(The Times, 04.04.2009)

The target word in this sentence is the singular noun *murder* which premodifies the head noun *weapon* in the adverbial *on the handle of the presumed murder weapon*. The noun *murder weapon* is premodified by the definite article *the* and the preposition *of.* The noun *murder weapon* is postmodified by the prepositional phrase *with Ms Kercher's DNA on the blade* following an apposition. This sentence was written in 2009, before Ms Knox's conviction in 2009 and eventually her acquittal in 2011[16]. It summarises the circumstantial evidence against her and her accomplice. Although the modal adjectives *alleged* and *presumed* as well as the modal adverb *allegedly* construct doubt, it is worth noticing here that the adjective *presumed* only expresses doubt about the function of the kitchen knife but not about whether the crime was actually murder. The combination of these modal words also suggests doubt about the credibility of the whole scenario being reported.

The crime-naming nouns in the GNC are also mainly singular (357 sentences, 71.26 %), are premodified by the definite article *der/die/das (the)* in 146 sentences (29.14 %) and/or a preposition (230 sentences, 45.91 %) and occur together with other nouns in 130

---

sentences (25.95 %). They are most often part of an adverbial phrase (185 sentences, 36.93 %) or a subject phrase (114 sentences, 22.75 %). These results match the findings in the ENC except that crime-naming nouns are also quite frequently part of the subject phrase. An example for the latter is the following sentence.

Example 7.23:

Der Fall wurde noch nicht aufgeklärt.

(The case has not been solved yet.)

(FAZ, 14.04.2009)

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

Log-likelihood ratio analysis of the data analysed with the tools listed in the first column of table A1 in the appendix reveals just one log-likelihood ratio figure above 20.00 which indicates that the difference in the use of 'other premodifiers' differs between the ENC and the GNC (log-likelihood ratio: 20.02). When looking at the absolute figures, we find that this difference is significant only because I found no 'other premodifiers' in the target-noun phrases in the ENC and 13 in the GNC (2.59 %). In other words, all other log-likelihood ratio figures underline the closeness of the results from the ENC and GNC.

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

In the ENC I found 334 sentences (43.21 %) with only one target word, followed by 244 sentences (31.57 %) with two target words (including offender-, victim- and crime-

naming words) and 135 sentences with three target words (17.46 %). In the GNC, 274

sentences contain just one target word (54.69 %), 150 sentences two target words (29.94 %)

and 55 sentences three target words (10.98 %). Only the percentages for those sentences

containing just one target word differ significantly (log-likelihood ratio 16.08) between both

corpora. This indicates that in the ENC the tendency is to find more than one target word in a

sentence, whereas in the majority of sentences in the GNC, I found just one target word. If

there is more than one target word in a sentence, the question arises as to what these refer

to. In the ENC, the other target words mainly name offenders in 587 sentences (75.94 %)

followed by victims in 469 sentences (60.67 %) and finally, other crimes in 254 sentences

(32.86 %). In the GNC, the other target words also name offenders, victims and crimes in the

same descending order bearing in mind that crime-naming nouns in the majority of

sentences occur alone.

7.18 Crimes - Presenting processes and states

The majority of sentences in the ENC contain active voice in 672 sentences (86.93

%). I found passive voice in 353 sentences (45.67 %) which means that some sentences

contain both, active and passive voice. In the GNC, 399 sentences (79.64 %) are written in

active voice and 104 sentences (20.76 %) in passive voice. The prevalence of active voice in

both corpora is obvious from the comparison of percentages. Log-likelihood ratio calculation

comparing active voice figures in both corpora additionally reveals that the difference,

although minor, is still significant because a log-likelihood ratio figure of 11.84 for active voice

is above 10.83. Regarding the log-likelihood ratio figure of 85.46 for passive voice, this

indicates an even higher significant difference between both corpora. Although the

percentage figures indicate a prevalence of passive voice in both corpora, log-likelihood ratio

additionally reveals that the tendency towards passive voice in the ENC is stronger than in

the GNC.

Transitivity analysis reveals further similarities between the ENC and the GNC.

Transitivity structures with the highest percentages in both corpora are Material Action

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

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

Example 7.24:

Loan shark jailed indefinitely for rape, blackmail and assault

(The Guardian, 20.03.2009)

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

Sentences in the ENC are often complex, using subordinate sentence structure. This is a major difference to the GNC. A log-likelihood ratio figure of 180.66 underpins this. An example of such a complex subordinate sentence structure is the following sentence:

Example 7.25:

"The incident will be assessed on a case-to-case basis to establish whether any

further involvement by the police is required, to see whether the incident needs to be

referred to other agencies, and to investigate whether the offence may have been

committed as a result of issues such as bullying or child neglect."

(Daily Mail, 11.03.2009)

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

7.19 Crimes - Presenting opinions

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

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

Example 7.26:

"David Bye hasn't woken up one day thinking, 'I want to rape a child', he has

fantasised about it and built up to it."

(The Independent, 17.04.2009)

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

Example 7.27:

She said: "Over a period of 12 years you developed an obsession with viewing images of pre-pubescent girls. That behaviour escalated to taking photographs yourself … then graduated to touching the children and actual rape and penetration."

(The Independent, 17.04.2009)

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

7.20 Crimes - Presenting time and space

As I have already stated before in this chapter and the previous one, actions and events are mainly constructed through simple present (Präsens) or simple past (Präteritum) in both corpora. In the ENC, I found 654 sentences (84.61 %) containing simple past followed by 171 sentences containing simple present (22.12 %). The major tense in the GNC is also simple past (Präteritum) which I found in 249 sentences (49.70 %) closely followed by simple present (Präsens) in 208 sentences (41.52 %). A comparison of the absolute figures already shows the significant differences between both corpora which are supported by log-likelihood ratio figures of 178.52 for simple past (Präteritum) and 54.01 for simple present (Präsens). These figures indicate that the major tense in the ENC is simple past whereas in the GNC both tenses are nearly equal in share. This accords with my earlier conclusion that in the GNC past events are constructed using present tense and anchored in the past by the employment of deixis. The use of deixis can be observed in both corpora quite frequently (61.71 % in the ENC and 54.89 % in the GNC) with no significant difference between the corpora (log-likelihood ratio 5.82).

7.21 The linguistic construction of crimes in the GNC and ENC – a summary

The third part of this chapter starting from section 7.17 has provided the results of the analysis of the sentences containing the most frequently used crime-naming words in both corpora. I showed how similar English and German are used judging from these samples of sentences. Crime naming nouns often occur together with offender-naming nouns, which construct a close proximity between the crime naming noun and the offender. But we have to bear in mind that in the GNC crime-words mainly occur alone in a sentence. The major differences between both corpora, indicated by log-likelihood ratio figures, are subordinate sentence structure, the use of simple past (Präteritum) and passive voice.

Crime is seen as a major problem by people in most Western societies (Mawby & Walklate, 1994: 23) and leads to the creation of fear. This fear of falling victim to a crime is unrelated to and much higher than the actual risk of becoming a victim of crime (Stanko, 2000: 152), (Mawby & Walklate, 1994: 23). The creation of a predatory monster, the so-

called 'stranger-danger' (Stanko, 2000: 152), and the fear of it help to 'unite the public at large against a common enemy' (M. Brown & Pratt, 2000: 5). The media including newspapers play an important role in nurturing this fear. Hence, the media go beyond their role of informing the public but also 'shape us' (A. Hart, 1991: 8). This is only possible because most people rely on the media for information around crime and justice and thus these reports 'form much of the reality […] for much of the public' (Surette, 2009: 239). On the other hand, the media induce and satisfy a 'voracious public appetite for crime news' (Jewkes, 2009: VI) because they allow a 'moral workout' (Peelo, 2009: 144). The latter means that through repeated encounters with crime news readers 'work out individual perspectives on moral questions of a quite general yet eminently personal relevance' (Peelo, 2009: 143). Naming choices and verbalization processes, among others, are linguistic tools which direct the reader's 'moral workout' (Peelo, 2009: 144). These stories allow us to 'work out individual perspectives on moral questions' (Peelo, 2009: 144) which are often already provided by the text. Because of the different possibilities of saying things, the choice of one option over others already contains ideology. The continuous interest in crime reports is guaranteed by the immanent 'backstage' and secret nature of crime (Surette, 2009: 240) which allows a glimpse into other people's lives. Crime news perpetuate stereotypes about victims and offenders and thus crime which are 'socially-constructed mental pigeon-hole[s] into which events and individuals can be sorted' in order to make sense of the world (Fowler, 1991: 17). It is not impossible to change discourses on crime but this requires a change of linguistic tools and stereotypes which can only happen if the underlying ideologies change.

7.22 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the results of the analysis of the offender-, victim- and crime- naming words in the GNC and has answered the question of how offenders, victims and crimes are constructed linguistically in newspaper reports on crime in the GNC. In sections 7.8, 7.16 and 7.21 I have summarised the respective results for offenders, victims and crimes. I have also compared the results with those from the ENC as well as compared

the construction of victims with that of offenders in the GNC. The underlying notion is that crime is worthy of condemnation, and so is the offender which reduces the offender to his or her crime. Offenders are constructed as one-dimensional entities reduced to their criminal offending role. Thus the draconian approach and the call for harsher sentences are supported which limits the oxygen for any kind of change. The interest in the victim ultimately serves the construction of the offender because victim and offender are constructed as canonical opposites and any construction of the victim automatically constructs the respective offender.

But it has to be mentioned that any change in newspaper reports on crime might bear a reputational risk for the newspaper as well as the risk of losing part of the readership and thus the market position. Also, more words are needed to report differently because in the traditional way of reporting schemas are triggered by fewer words because the readers are accustomed to this kind of reporting and the thus triggered schemas. However, to change the view on offenders needs more than a change in newspaper reports on crime but a societal change of thinking which will be mirrored in the news, as are the current ideologies on crime.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

> Der Mensch gebärdet sich, als
>
> sei er Bildner und Meister der Sprache,
>
> während sie doch die Herrin des
>
> Menschen bleibt.
>
> (Man acts as though he were the
>
> shaper and master of language, while in
>
> fact language remains the master of men.)
>
> (Heidegger, 1951, 2000)

8.1 The answer to the research question

This thesis has shown how offenders, victims and crimes are constructed linguistically in two corpora of newspaper articles on crime from the German and the British press. The overall research question, namely how in society are offenders, victims and crimes constructed linguistically in newspaper reports on crime from the German and British press, was answered via the application of a combination of critical stylistic and corpus linguistic approaches to my data. The linguistic analysis of these texts has shown that offenders are constructed in opposition to victims, which is mainly achieved through naming choices, the function of the offender- and victim-naming nouns as subjects or objects, through the pre-modification of these nouns, the use of transitivity choices, speech presentation and implicatures as well as presuppositions. Adjectives, a combination of nouns in noun phrases as well as nominalization and apposition 'package up' (Jeffries, 2010a: 19) information which remain unquestioned. Direct and indirect speech transport subjective assessments, mainly quoting authoritative persons whose judgements are regarded as insightful and truthful, and thus contribute to the construction of offenders as one-dimensional and with a criminal disposition which links with the understanding of offenders as expressed through opportunity theory. Interestingly, offenders and their legal representatives are also often quoted in offender-related sentences and thus their verbiage, although subjectively chosen by the media, contributes to their own construction. The construction of offenders in the British and

219

German press is realised through mainly the same linguistic features although log-likelihood ratio tests reveal that the differences between both languages are most significant in regard to the use of definite and indefinite articles, verb tenses and verb voice.

The linguistic features in victim-related sentences show that they are constructed as belonging to a family or other social group and that the crime does not only affect the victim but his or her social system as well. The use of premodifiers and in particular possessives constructs a relationship between the victim and the offender arising from the crime. Transitivity analysis shows that the victim is constructed as the passive recipient of the action conducted by the offender which is also the main difference between the construction of victims and offenders. This is achieved through the function of offender- and victim-related noun phrases as objects or subjects in the analysed sentences, through transitivity choices and verb voice. This linguistic opposition between offenders and victims serves their construction as 'ideal victims' and 'ideal offenders' (Christie, 1986) who are diametrically opposed to each other. Foregrounding certain aspects of the personalities of victims (turning them into deserving victims which are easily given the victimhood status) and offenders in accordance with the criteria of newsworthiness simplifies complex structures and allows us to reach 'consensual conclusions' (Jewkes, 2004b: 44). Concerning the linguistic construction of crime I found that crime-naming words (nouns or verbs) in the ENC frequently co-occur with offender-naming nouns in the same sentence which constructs proximity between the crime and the offender. The major differences in the construction of crime between the ENC and the GNC as revealed through log-likelihood ration tests are the use of subordinate sentence structure, simple past (Präteritum) and passive voice. For a more detailed summary of the findings and to avoid repetitions, I refer to sections 6.6, 6.10, 6.11, 7.8, 7.16, 7.21 and 7.22 which together provide a detailed answer to the research question.

8.2 Original contributions

The original contributions this thesis makes are manifold. First, the method used in this thesis, namely the combination of Critical Stylistics and Corpus Linguistics, is fairly new

and in this thesis is applied for the first time to the topic of real-life crime. Using the tools provided by Critical Stylistics and combining them with Corpus Linguistics allowed the linguistic features to reveal themselves. I regard Critical Stylistics as a further development of Critical Linguistics as well as Critical Discourse Analysis because it allows a more objective and less biased approach to the data which secures the rigour and replicability of the analysis. Also it is more systematic and more detailed than CDA or Critical Linguistics. The combination of the tools offered by Critical Stylistics and Corpus Linguistics provides a method to handle large amounts of data beyond the scope of a manual analysis. Also, it provides a way to identify the statistically significant parts of the corpus. Analysing those parts manually by using the tools of Critical Stylistics ensures their representativness for the entire corpus. I tested a new way of extracting keywords naming offenders and victims in newspaper reports on crime taking all naming options for victims and offenders in the corpus into account. Furthermore, I analysed a German and an English corpus, which were compiled taking into account the differences in the press landscape in Germany and the UK, using the same software package and thus provided the first crosslinguistic study of newspaper articles on crime from the German and British press.

Regarding Corpus Linguistics and in particular the statistical method of log-likelihood ratio calculation I proved that the log-likelihood ratio calculator provided by Lancaster University uses an incomplete formula and I used a different online calculator which uses the complete formula. Bearing in mind the statistical assertion that log-likelihood ratio and chi-square tests always gain comparative results, I used chi-square tests to verify my log-likelihood ratio calculations. Also, I introduced an additional statistical tool to calculate a confidence interval which allows statistical assertions about the expected tendency of the results in a universal sample.

Furthermore, this thesis has demonstrated the fruitfulness of an interdisciplinary approach to crime, namely one at the interface between linguistics, criminology and media studies. The methods used in this thesis provided some evidence for predominant criminological theories on crime, offenders and victims in society based on the notion that

newspaper reports on crime mirror (as well as perpetuate, shape and even create) societal discourses on crime. By objectively extracting the statistically significant linguistic devices used to construct offenders, victims and crimes, I provided evidence for some salient criminological theories in society. For example, I found evidence for Christie's (1986) notion of ideal victims and offenders, Becker's (1966) Labelling theory and Opportunity theory (Natarajan, 2011). But I also found that the ground for alternative concepts for responding to crime, such as Restorative Justice, have not been provided yet. On the contrary, the draconian and retributive approach to crime and criminals is predominant in newspaper reports.

In relation to media studies, I used the concept of foregrounding from Stylistics to prove how newspaper articles on crime are adapted to the criteria of newsworthiness by foregrounding those aspects of the story which fit these criteria. It follows from these criteria of newsworthiness that the interest in the victim ultimately serves the construction of the offender because victims and offenders are constructed as binary and canonical opposites at both ends of a morality scale. The criteria of newsworthiness serve to satisfy the voyeuristic desire of the audience to peep into other people's private lives. This superficial interest is satiated through the construction of a one-dimensional and evil offender, which triggers existing schemas and stereotypes. An interdisciplinary approach, which bears in mind the theoretical frameworks of criminology and media studies provides additional insight to understand and interpret the linguistic results of my analysis.

8.3 Critical thoughts and outlook

Beside the original contributions of this thesis, it is important to acknowledge that there are also some shortcomings.

Because of the direction of the research question, this thesis is not able to answer questions concerning the construction of one particular offender like Josef Fritzl or if and how his construction has changed over time from the discovery of the crime to his court trial. Also, my approach to the data is governed by consideration of statistical significance which

determines the presentation of the results. A detailed analysis of a lengthier piece of newspaper text in order to demonstrate how ideologies are triggered through various linguistic features in the same text and how these features interlock is beyond the scope of this thesis. It has to be left for further research complementing this thesis to give a more detailed picture of the complex construction of victim and offender and the underlying ideologies in the entire newspaper article from which, for example, sentence 6.13 is taken.

Also, the interpretation of the results and the links I made to criminological frameworks are subjective and therefore bear the danger of bias. But I have made clear what the objective figures are which I gained from the analysis and where the interpretation of the results started. And whenever I set limits, for example when presenting the significant differences in tables 6.1, 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 or when I extracted the keywords naming offenders and victims in the ENC and GNC, these choices were made subjectively. But in my opinion there is a difference between setting limits only regarding figures and setting limits aiming to include or exclude certain contents, for example words or examples. This is because the first is not concerned with content issues and is made for reasons of manageability of the analysis or the presentation of the results. Also, I have openly stated whenever I made such subjective choices and given the reasons. This shows that even when using tools provided by Critical Stylistics and Corpus Linguistics, subjective choices or interpretations have to be made at certain points and the only way to observe the methodological principles of rigour and replicability is to be explicit and open about these choices.

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

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

In summary, I have provided evidence for the contribution linguistics can make to criminology and in particular the sociological approach to crime as well as to media studies. My analysis provided objective figures which allow assertions about how offenders are constructed linguistically in the press, namely in the ENC and the GNC. If we wish to develop a more differentiated view on offenders aiming at their re-socialisation and integration, we need to change societal discourses on offenders by, for example, presenting a more holistic picture of offenders. Whether we succeed or not could later be verified through another analysis of newspaper articles on crime. Because these articles mirror how society views offenders and are a valueable indicator for society's attitude towards offenders and crime, their analysis provides insight whether alternative views on crime have reached the broad public.

Although my professional background taught me that it is sometimes challenging to empathise with offenders, my plea is to separate the crime from the offender and to overturn the binary opposition between offender and victim. Punishing the offender for the crime he or she has committed is necessary and unavoidable. This punishment can happen through sentencing in court or through restorative processes like victim-offender-mediation or by a combination of the two. But it is equally important to provide a perspective for the offender.

This could be reached through separating the crime from the offender. Such a separation signals society and the offender that although the crime is despicable and worthy of condemnation, the offender is not. Self-evidently, the offender has to take responsibility for the offence but he or she will also be given another chance to reintegrate. Offenders are not a different category of people, we have more in common than what separates us. My thesis has shown that such a differentiated view on offenders cannot be traced in newspaper articles on crime in my corpus, which might indicate that this attitude has not been internalised by the broad public. Language use can make a difference and is an indicator for society's stance towards crime and offenders. Society's view on offenders can be regarded as an indicator for its moral matureness. Being aware of the power of language is a first step towards the perception of offenders as human beings who have committed a crime and thus have remained behind their human potential.

References

_____

Abousnnouga, G., & Machin, D. (2008). Defence discourse I: the visual institutionalization of disocurses in war monuments. In A. Mayr (Ed.), *Language and Power: An Introduction to Institutional Discourse* (pp. 115-137). Londpn: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Abrahams, H. (2007). *Supporting Women after Domestic Violence: Loss, Trauma and Recovery*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Adolphs, S. (2006). *Introducing electronic text analysis: A practical guide for language and literary studies*. London: Routledge.

Althusser, L. (1971). *Lenin and Philosophy and other essays*. New York: Monthy Review Press.

Anthony, L. (2012). AntConc (ver. 3.3.1).

Ashworth, A. (1998). *The Criminal Process: An Evaluative Study* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Atkinson, M., Kilby, D., & Roca, I. (1982). *Foundations of general lingustics*. London: George Allen & Unwin (Publishers) Ltd.

Baker, P. (2004). Querying keywords: questions of difference, frequency, and sense in keyword analysis. *Journal of English Linguistics, 32*(4), 346-359.

Baker, P. (2006). *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. London: Continuum.

Baker, P. (2009). The BE06 corpus of British English and recent language change. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 14*(3), 312-337.

Baker, P. (2010). Representations of Islam in British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers 1999-2005. *Journal of Language and Politics, 9*(2), 310-338.

Baker, P. (2011). Times may change, but we will always have *Money*: diachronic variation in recent British English. *Journal of English Linguistics, 39*(1), 65-88.

Baker, P. (2012). Acceptable bias? Using corpus linguistics methods with critical discourse analysis. *Critical Discourse Studies, 9*(3), 247-256.

Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., Khosravinik, M., Krzyzanowski, M., McEnery, T., & Wodak, R. (2008). A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourse of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *Discourse Society, 19*, 273-306.

Baker, P., & McEnery, T. (2005). A corpus-based approach to discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in UN and newspaper texts. *Journal of Language and Politics, 4*(2), 197-226.

Bamberg, M. (1994). Development of linguistic forms: German. In R. A. Berman & D. I. Slobin (Eds.), *Relating Events in Narrative: A Crosslinguistic Development Study* (pp. 189-238). Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Assiciates, Inc., Publishers.

Barnett, B. (2006). Medea in the media: narrative and myth in newspaper coverage of women who kill their children. *Journalism, 7*(4), 411-432.

Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Becker, H. S. (1966). *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: The Free Press.

Bednarek, M. (2006). *Evaluation in Media Discourse: Analysis of a Newspaper Corpus*. London: Continuum.

Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2012). *News Discourse*. London: Continuum.

Bell, A. (1991). *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Benneworth, K. (2007). 'Just Good Friends': managing the clash of discourses in police interviews with paedophiles. In J. Cotterill (Ed.), *The Language of Sexual Crime* (pp. 42-61). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Biber, D. (1993). Representativeness in corpus design. *Literary and Linguistic Computing, 8*(4), 243-257.

Biber, D. (2009). A corpus-driven approach to formulaic language in English. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 14*(3), 275-311.

Biber, D., Conrad, S., & Leech, G. (2002). *Longman Student Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.

Biber, D., Conrad, S., & Reppen, R. (1998). *Corpus Linguistics: Investigating language structure and use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Billig, M. (2000). Towards a critique of the critical. *Discourse & Society, 11*(3), 291-292.

Bishop, H., & Jaworski, A. (2003). 'We Beat 'em': nationalism and the hegemony of homogeneity in the British press reportage of Germany versus England during Euro 2000. *Discourse & Society, 14*(3), 243-271.

Blommaert, J. (2001). Context is/as critique. *Critique of Anthropology, 21*(1), 13-32.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse. A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Braithwaite, J. (1989). *Crime, shame and reintegration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, G., & Yule, G. (1983). *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, M. (2000). Calculations of risk in contemporary penal practice. In M. Brown & J. Pratt (Eds.), *Dangerous Offenders: Punishment & Social Order* (pp. 93-108). London: Routledge.

Brown, M., & Pratt, J. (Eds.). (2000). *Dangerous Offenders: Punishment & Social Order*. London: Routledge.

Buchanan, D. R. (1992). An uneasy alliance: combining qualitative and quantitative research methods. *Health Education Quarterly, 19*(1), 117-135.

Burgess, R., & Akers, R. (1966). A differential association-reinforcement theory of criminal behavior. *Social Problems, 14*, 128-147.

Carrabine, E., Cox, P., Lee, M., Plummer, K., & South, N. (2009). *Criminology: A sociological introduction* (2nd ed.). Abingdon: Routledge.

Carter, R., Goddard, A., Reah, D., Sanger, K., & Swift, N. (2008). *Working with Texts: A core introduction to language analysis* (3rd ed.). Abingdon: Routledge.

Chapman, S. (2006). *Thinking About Language: Theories of English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chibnall, S. (1977). *Law and Order News*. London: Travistock.

Chilton, P. (2005). Missing links in mainstream CDA: modules, blends and the critical instinct. In R. Wodak & P. Chilton (Eds.), *A New Research Agenda in Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity* (pp. 19-52). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Chilton, P. (2011). Still something missing in CDA. *Discourse Studies, 13*(6), 769-781.

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. (1966). *Cartesian Linguistics*. New York: Harper & Row.

Christie, N. (1977). Conflicts as property. In E. McLaughlin, R. Fergusson, G. Hughes & L. Westermarland (Eds.), *Restorative Justice: Critical Issues* (pp. 37-51): SAGE Publications.

Christie, N. (1986). The ideal victim. In E. A. Fattah (Ed.), *From Crime Policy to Victim Policy* (pp. 17-30). Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

Cillia, R. d., Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (1999). The discursive construction of national identities. *Discourse & Society, 10*(2), 149-173.

Cillia, R. d., & Wodak, R. (2007). 'Katastrophe und Wiedergeburt'. Zur diskursiven Konstruktion gemeinsamer Geschichte im Osterreich des Jahres 2005. In A. Redder (Ed.), *Diskurse und Texte. Festschrift fur Konrad Ehlich zum 65. Geburtstag* (pp. 117-128). Tübingen: Stauffenberg Verlag.

Clark, K. (1992). The linguistics of blame: representations of women in *The Sun's* reporting of crimes of sexual violence. In M. Toolan (Ed.), *Language, Text and Context: Essays in stylistics* (pp. 208-226). London: Routledge.

Clark, R. (1967). *keynote address*. Paper presented at the American Correctional Association conference.

Clarke, R. V. G. (1980). "Situational" crime prevention: theory and practice. *British Journal of Criminology, 20*(2), 136-147.

Claus, G., & Ebner, H. (1983). *Grundlagen der Statistik* (7th ed.). Berlin: Volk und Wissen.

Cohen, A. K. (1955). *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*. Glencoe. IL: Free Press.

Cohen, S. (1980). *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Cohen, S. (2002). *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Conboy, M. (2006). *Tabloid Britain: Constructing a community through language*. London: Routledge.

Cook, G. (1989). *Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cornwell, D., Blad, J., & Wright, M. (Eds.). (2013). *Civilising Criminal Justice*. Hook: Waterside Press.

Cotterill, J. (2001). Domestic discord, rocky relationships: semantic prosodies in representations of marital violence in the O.J. Simpson trial. *Discourse & Society, 12*(3), 291-312.

Cotterill, J. (2003). *Language and Power in Court. A Linguistic Analysis of the O.J. Simpson Trial*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cottle, S. (2008). Social drama in a mediatized world: the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence. In G. S. John (Ed.), *Victor Turner and Contemporary Cultural Performance* (pp. 109-124): Berkhahn Books.

Crowther, C. (2007). *An Introduction to Criminology and Criminal Justice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Culpeper, J. (2002). Computers, language and characterisation: An analysis of six characters in Romeo and Juliet. In U. Melander-Marttala, C. Östman & M. Kytö (Eds.), *Conversation in Life and in Literature* (pp. 11-30). Uppsala: Universitetstryckeriet [Papers from the ASLA Symposium, Association Suedoise de Linguistique Appliquée (ASLA) 15].

Culpeper, J. (2009). Words, parts-of-speech and semantic categories in the character-talk of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet. International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 14*(1), 29-59.

Davies, M. (2012). *Opposition in News Discourse*. London: Bloomsbury.

Derrida, J. (1967, 2005). *Writing and Difference*. London: Routledge.

Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. P. (1992). *Women, violence and social change*. London: Routledge.

Dunning, T. (1993). Accurate methods for the statistics of surprise and coincidence. *Computational Linguistics, 19*(1), 61-74.

Durant, A., & Lambrou, M. (2009). *Language and Media: A resource book for students*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Durkheim, É. (1938). *The rules of sociological method* (8th ed., translated by Sarah A. Solovay and John H. Mueller, and edited by George E. G. Catlin. ed.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ehrlich, S. (1999). Communities of practice, gender and the representation of sexual assault. *Language in Society, 28*(2), 239-256.

Ehrlich, S. (2001). *Representing Rape. Language and sexual consent*. London: Routledge.

Ehrlich, S., & King, R. (1996). Consensual sex or sexual harassment: negotiating meaning. In V. L. Bergvall, J. M. Bing & A. F. Freed (Eds.), *Rethinking Language and Gender Research: Theory and Practice* (pp. 153-172). Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd.

Eilders, C. (2002). Conflict and consonance in media opinion: political positions of five German quality newspapers. *European Journal of Communication, 17*, 25-63.

Erwin-Tripp, S. M. (1969). Sociolinguistic rules of address. In J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics* (pp. 225 - 240). Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.

Fahrmeier, L., Künstler, R., Pigeot, I., & Tutz, G. (2007). *Statistik* (6th ed.). Berlin Heidelberg New York: Springer.

Fairclough, N. (1992a). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (1992b). Discourse and text: linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society, 3*(2), 193-217.

Fairclough, N. (1995a). *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. Essex: Longman Group

Fairclough, N. (1995b). *Media Discourse*. London: Hodder Education.

Fairclough, N. (2000). *New Labour, New Language?* London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2001a). The dialectics of discourse. In G. Cortese & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Textus* (Vol. 14 (2), pp. 231-242).

Fairclough, N. (2001b). *Language and Power. Second Edition*. Essex: Pearson Education.

Fairclough, N. (2003). 'Political Correctness': the politics of culture and language. *Discourse & Society, 14*(1), 17-28.

Fairclough, N. (2005). Peripheral vision: Discourse Analysis in organization studies: the case for critical realism. *Organization Studies, 26*(6), 915-939.

Fairclough, N. (Ed.). (1992c). *Critical Language Awareness*. Harlow: Longman Group UK Ltd.

Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. A. v. Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (Vol. 2, pp. 258-284). London: SAGE Publications.

Felson, M. (1987). Routine activities and crime presention in the developing metropolis. *Criminology, 25*(4), 911-932.

Fischer-Starke, B. (2009). Keywords and frequent phrases of Jane Austen´s *Pride and Prejudice*. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 14*(4), 492-523.

Fischer-Starke, B. (2010). *Corpus Linguistics in literary analysis: Jane Austen and her contemporaries*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Foster, E. M. (1927). *Aspects of the Novel*. London: Edward Arnold.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish*. London: Allen Lane.

Fowler, R. (1981). *Literature as Social Discourse: The Practice of Linguistic Criticism*. London: Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd.

Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.

Fowler, R. (1996). *Linguistic Criticism* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press

Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G., & Trew, T. (1979). *Language and control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Fowler, R., & Kress, G. (1979). Critical Linguistics. In R. Fowler, B. Hodge, G. Kress & T. Trew (Eds.), *Language and control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Francis, W. N., & Kucera, H. (1979). *Manual of information to accompany a standard sample of present-day edited American English, for use with digital computers* (original ed. 1964, revised 1971, revised and augmented 1979. ed.). Providence, R. I., U.S.A.: Department of Linguistics, Brown University.

Gabrielatos, C., & Baker, P. (2008). Fleeing, sneaking, flooding: a corpus analysis of discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, 1996-2005. *Journal of English Linguistics, 361*, 5-38.

Gabrielatos, C., McEnery, T., Diggle, P. J., & Baker, P. (2012). The peaks and troughs of corpus-based contextual analysis. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 17*(2), 151-175.

Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. (1973). Structuring and selecting the news. In S. Cohen & J. Young (Eds.), *The Manufacture of News: Deviance, Social Problems and the Mass Media*. London: Constable.

Garland, D. (2001). *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Giddens, A., Duneier, M., & Appelbaum, R. P. (2003). *Introduction to Sociology* (4th ed.). New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Greenbaum, S., & Nelson, G. (2009). *An Introduction to English Grammar* (3rd ed.). Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.

Greer, C. (2003). *Sex Crime and the Media: sex offending and the press in a divided society*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Gregoriou, C. (2011). *Language, Ideology and Identity in Serial Killer Narratives* London: Routledge.

Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts* (pp. 41-58). New York: Academic Press.

Grice, H. P. (1978). Further notes on logic and conversation. In P. Cole (Ed.), *Syntax and Semantics 9: Pragmatics* (pp. 113-127). New York: Academic Press.

Gries, S. T. (2010). Corpus linguistics and theoretical linguistics. A love-hate relationship? Not necessarily ... *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 15*(3), 327-343.

Guo, J.-y. (2012). 'Anyone in my shoes will end up like me': female inmates discourse of responsibility for crime. *Discourse & Society, 23*(1), 34-46.

Hall, A. (2008). *Monster*. London: Penguin Books Ltd.

Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., & Robers, B. (Eds.). (1978). *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1971). Linguistic function and literary style: an inquiry into the language of William Golding's *The Inheritors*. In S. Chatman (Ed.), *Literary Style: A Symposium* (pp. 330-368). London: Oxford University Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Hardie, A., & McEnery, T. (2010). On two traditions in corpus linguistics, and what they have in common. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 15*(3), 384-394.

Hart, A. (1991). *Understanding the Media: A practical guide*. London: Routledge.

Hart, C. (2011a). Force-interactive patterns in immigration discourse: a Cognitive Linguistic approach to CDA. *Discourse & Society, 22*(3), 269-286.

Hart, C. (2011b). Legitimizing assertions and the logico-rhetorical module: evidence and epistemic vigilance in media disocurse on immigration. *Discourse Studies, 13*(6), 751-769.

Hayward, K., & Young, J. (2004). Cultural Criminology: some notes on the script. *Theoretical Criminology, 8*(3), 259-273.

Hayward, K., & Young, J. (2007). Cultural Criminology. In M. Maguire, R. Morgan & R. Reiner (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (pp. 102-121). Oxford: Oxford University PRess.

Heidegger, M. (1951, 2000). Bauen, wohnen, denken. On *Bauen und Wohnen = Building and dwelling : Martin Heidegger's foundation of a phenomenology of architecture*. Münster: Waxmann.

Helbig, G., & Buscha, J. (2001). *Deutsche Grammatik: Ein Handbuch für den Ausländerunterricht*. Berlin und München: Langenscheidt.

Henley, N. M., Miller, M., & Beazley, J. A. (1995). Syntax, semantics and sexual violence: agency and the passive voice. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology 14*(1-2), 60-84.

Henley, N. M., Miller, M. D., Beazley, J. A., Nguyen, D. N., Kaminski, D., & Sanders, R. (2002). Frequency and specificity of referents to violence in news reports of anti-gay attacks. *Discourse & Society, 13*(1), 75-104.

Henry, F., & Tator, C. (2002). *Discourse of domination: racial bias in the Canadian English-language press*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Hockett, C. F. (1960). Logical considerations in the study of animal communication. In W. E. Lanyon & W. N. Tavolga (Eds.), *Animal sounds and communication* (pp. 392-430). Washington DC: American Institute of Biological Sciences.

Hockett, C. F., & Altmann, S. (1968). A note on design features. In T. A. Seboek (Ed.), *Animal communication, techniques of study and results of research* (pp. 61-72). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hoey, M. (2005). *Lexical Priming: A new theory of words and language*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hoey, M. (2007). Lexical priming and literary creativity. In M. Hoey, M. Mahlberg, M. Stubbs & W. Teubert (Eds.), *Text, Discourse and Corpora* (pp. 7-29). London: Continuum.

Hoffmann, S. (2005). *Grammaticalization and English complex prepositions: a corpus-based study*. London: Routledge.

Hoyle, C., & Zedner, L. (2007). Victims, victimization, and criminal justice. In M. Maguire, R. Morgan & R. Reiner (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (pp. 461-495). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hughes, E. C. (1945). Dilemmas and contradictions of status. *American Journal of Sociology, L*(March), 353-359.

Humboldt, W. v. (1836). *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluß auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts*. Berlin: Dümmlers Verlag.

Humboldt, W. v. ([1812] 2002). *Werke in fünf Bänden, Band V* (2nd ed.). Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Hunston, S. (2007). Semantic prosody revisited. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 12*(2), 249-268.

Izadi, F., & Saghaye-Biria, H. (2007). A Discourse Analysis of elite American newspaper editorials: the case of Iran's nuclear program. *Journal of Communication Inquiry, 31*(2), 140-165.

Jäger, S. (2001). Discourse and knowledge: theoretical and methodological aspects of a critical discourse and dispositive ananlysis. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications.

Jäger, S. (2004). *Kritische Diskursanalyse: Eine Einführung* (4th ed.). Münster: UNRAST-Verlag.

Jaworska, S., & Krishnamurthy, R. (2012). On the F word: a corpus-based analysis of the media representation of feminism in British and German press discourse, 1990-2009. *Language and Literature, 23*(4), 401-431.

Jefferson, T., & Shapland, J. (1990). *Criminal justice and the production of order and control: trends since 1980 in the UK*. Paper presented at the paper presented to GERN Seminar on the Production of Order and Control.

Jeffries, L. (2000). Don't throw out the baby with the bathwater: in defence of theoretical eclecticism in Stylistics. *PALA, Occasional Papers, No. 12*.

Jeffries, L. (2006). *Discovering Language: The Structure of Modern English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jeffries, L. (2007). *Textual construction of the female body: a critical discourse approach*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jeffries, L. (2010a). *Critical Stylistics. The Power of English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jeffries, L. (2010b). *Opposition in Discourse: The construction of Oppositional Meaning*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Jeffries, L., & McIntyre, D. (2010). *Stylistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jeffries, L., & Walker, B. (2012). Keywords in the press: a critical corpus-assisted analysis of ideology in the Blair years (1998-2007). *English Text Construction, 5*(2), 208-229.

Jensen, L. C. (2012). Norwegian petroleum extraction in Arctic waters to save the environment: introducing 'discourse co-optation' as a new analytical term. *Critical Discourse Studies, 9*(1), 29-38.

Jewkes, Y. (2004a). The Construction of Crime News. In C. Greer (Ed.), *Crime and Media: A Reader*. Abingdon: Routlege.

Jewkes, Y. (2004b). *Media and Crime*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Jewkes, Y. (2011). *Media & Crime* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Jewkes, Y. (Ed.). (2009). *Crime and Media* (Vol. 2). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Johnson, S., Culpeper, J., & Suhr, S. (2003). From 'Politically Correct Councillors' to 'Blairite Nonsense': discourses of 'Political Correctness' in three British newspapers. *Discourse & Society, 14*(1), 29-47.

Johnson, S., & Suhr, S. (2003). From 'Political Correctness' to 'Politische Korrektheit': discourses of 'PC' in the German newspaper *Die Welt*. *Discourse & Society, 14*(1), 49-68.

Julian, P. M. (2011). Appraising through someone else's words: the evaluative power of quotations in news reports. *Discourse Society, 22*(6), 766-780.

Kennedy, G. (1998). *An Introduction to Corpus Linguistics*. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.

Khosravinik, M. (2009). The representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in British newspapers during the Balkan conflict (1999) and the British general election (2005). *Discourse & Society, 20*(4), 477-498.

Kilgarriff, A. (2001). Comparing Corpora. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 6*(1), 97-133.

Kompisch, K., & Otto, F. (2006). *Teufel in Menschengestalt: Die Deutschen und ihre Serienmörder*. Leipzig: Bastei Lübbe.

Kortmann, B. (2005). *English Linguistics: Essentials, Anglistik, Amerikanistik*. Berlin: Cornelsen.

Kress, G., & Hodge, R. (1979). *Language as Ideology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Kress, G., & Van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading images: the grammar of visual desigh*. London: Routledge.

Kress, G., & Van Leeuwen, T. (2001). *Multimodal Discourse: the modes and media of contemporary communication*. London: Hodder Arnold.

Kurtz, D. C. J., & Hunter, R. D. (2004). *Dark Truths: Enter the twisted world of the serial killer*. London: Virgin Books Ltd.

Lahey, B. B. (1992). *Psychology: An Introduction*. Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Publishers.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (2003). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Laycock, G. (2001). Scientists or politicians - who has the answer to crime? , from www.jdi.ucl.ac.uk/downloads/publications/other_publications/inaugural_lecture/speech_text.pdf

Leech, G. (2011). The modals ARE declining: reply to Neil Millar's "Modal verbs in TIME: Frequency changes 1923-2006", *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 14:2 (2009), 191-220. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 16*(4), 547-564.

Leech, G., & Short, M. (1981). *Style in fiction*. London: Longman.

Leech, G., & Short, M. (2007). *Style in Fiction* (2nd ed.). London: Pearson Education.

Lemnitzer, L., & Zinsmeister, H. (2010). *Korpuslinguistik: Eine Einführung*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag GmbH & Co. KG.

Levi, M., Maguire, M., & Brookman, F. (2007). Violent crime. In M. Maguire, R. Morgan & R. Reiner (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (pp. 687-732). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Levinson, S. C. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Loader, I., & Sparks, R. (2011). *Public Criminology?* Abingdon: Routledge.

Löbner, S. (1985). Definites. *Journal of Semantics, 4*(4), 279-326.

Löbner, S. (2011). Concept Types and Determination. *Journal of Semantics, 28*(3), 279-333.

Lombroso, C. (2006). *Criminal Man*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Lombroso, C., & Ferrero, G. (2004). *Criminal women, the prostitute, and the normal woman*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Louw, B. (1993). Irony in the text or insincerity in the writer? The diagnostic potential of semantic prosodies. In M. Baker, G. Francis & E. Tognini-Bonelli (Eds.), *Text and Technology: In Honour of John Sinclair* (pp. 157-176). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Machin, D. (2007). *Introduction to Multimodality*. London: Arnold.

Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to do Critical Discourse Analysis: A multimodal introduction*. London: SAGE Publications.

Mahlberg, M. (2007). Clusters, key clusters and local textual functions in Dickens. *Corpora, 2*(1), 1-31.

Mahlberg, M., & McIntyre, D. (2011). A case for corpus stylistics: Ian Fleming's *Casino Royal*. *English Text Construction, 4*(2), 204-227.

Mason, P. (2006). Lies, distortion and what doesn't work: monitoring prison stories in the British media. *Crime, Media, Culture, 2*(3), 251-267.

Mautner, G. (2005). Time to get wired: using web-based corpora in Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse & Society, 6*(6), 809-828.

Mautner, G. (2009a). Checks and balances: how corpus linguistics can contribute to CDA. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 122-143). London: SAGE Publications.

Mautner, G. (2009b). Corpora and Critical Discourse Analysis. In P. Baker (Ed.), *Contemporary Corpus Linguistics* (pp. 32-46). London: Continuum.

Mawby, R. I., & Walklate, S. (1994). *Critical Victimology: international perspectives*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Maxwell, M. (2010). Limitations of corpora. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 15*(3), 379-383.

Mayr, A. (2008). *Language and Power: An Introduction to Institutional Discourse*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Mayr, A. (2012). *Chopper: From the Inside*: Discourses of the 'celebrity' criminal Mark Brandon Read. *Language and Literature, 21*(3), 260-273.

Mayr, A., & Machin, D. (2012). *The Language of Crime and Deviance: An Introduction to Critical Linguistic Analysis in Media and Popular Culture*. London: Continuum.

Mazid, B.-e. M. (2007). Presuppositions and strategic functions in Bush's 20/9/2001 speech: a Critical Discourse Analysis. *Journal of Language and Politics, 6*(3), 351-375.

McCarthy, M., & O'Keeffe, A. (2010). Historical perspective: what are corpora and how have they evolved? In A. O'Keeffe & M. McCarthy (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics* (pp. 3-13). Abingdon: Routledge.

McEnery, T. (2009). Keywords and moral panics: Mary Whitehouse and media censorship. In D. Archer (Ed.), *What´s in a Word-list? Investigating word frequency and keyword extraction* (pp. 93-124). Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

McEnery, T., & Wilson, A. (1996). *Corpus Linguistics. An Introduction* (2nd ed.). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

McEnery, T., Xiao, R., & Tono, Y. (2006). *Corpus-Based Language Studies. An advanced resource book*. Oxon: Routledge.

McGough, R. (1979). *Holiday on Death Row*. Cape.

McIntyre, D. (2010). Dialogue and characterization in Quentin Tarantino's *Reservoir Dogs*: a corpus stylistic analysis. In D. McIntyre & B. Busse (Eds.), *Language and Style* (pp. 162-182). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

McIntyre, D. (2013). Corpora and literature. In C. Chappelle (Ed.), *Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (pp. 1-6). Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

McIntyre, D., & Walker, B. (2010). How can corpora be used to explore the language of poetry and drama. In A. O'Keeffe & M. McCarthy (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics* (pp. 516-530). Abingdon: Routledge.

Miers, D. (1989). Positivist victimology: a critique. *International Review of Victimology, 1*(1), 3-22.

Millar, N. (2009). Modal verbs in TIME. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 14*(2), 191-220.

Miller, A. (1983). *Am Anfang war Erziehung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Verlag.

Mulderrig, J. (2011). The grammar of governance. *Critical Discourse Studies, 8*(1), 45-68.

Mulderrig, J. (2012). Manufacturing consent: a corpus-based critical discourse analysis of New Labour's educational governance. *Journal of Educational Philosophy and Theory, 43*(6), 562-578.

Mythen, G. (2007). Cultural Victimology: are we all victims now? In S. Walklate (Ed.), *Handbook of Victims and Victimology* (pp. 464-483). Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Nahajec, L. (2009). Negation and the creation of implicit meaning in poetry. *Language and Literature, 18*(2), 109-127.

Natarajan, M. (Ed.). (2011). *Crime Opportunity Theories*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Newburn, T. (2007). *Criminology*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

O'Halloran, K. (2007). Corpus-assisted literary evaluation. *Corpora, 2*(1), 33-63.

O'Hara, S. (2012). Monsters, playboys, virgins and whores: rape myths in the news media's coverage of sexual violence. *Language and Literature, 21*(3), 247-259.

O'Keefe, A., McCarthy, M. J., & Carter, R. A. (2007). *From corpus to classroom: language use and language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Keeffe, A., & Breen, M. J. (2007). At the hands of the brothers: a corpus-based lexico-grammatical analysis of stance in newspaper reporting of child sexual abuse cases. In J. Cotterill (Ed.), *The Language of Sexual Crime* (pp. 217-236). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

O'Malley, P. (2000). Risk societies and the government of crime. In M. Brown & J. Pratt (Eds.), *Dangerous Offenders: Punishment & Social Order* (pp. 17-33). London: Routledge.

O'Malley, P. (2010). *Crime and Risk*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Oakes, M. P. (1998). *Statistics for Corpus Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ohmann, R. (1970a). Generative grammars and the concept of literary style. In D. C. Freeman (Ed.), *Linguistics and Literary Style* (pp. 258-278). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Ohmann, R. (1970b). Modes of order. In D. C. Freman (Ed.), *Linguistics and Literary Style* (pp. 209-242). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Ohmann, R. (1981). Speech, literature and the space between. In D. C. Freeman (Ed.), *Essays in Modern Stylistics* (pp. 361-376). London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Partington, A. (2010). Modern diachronic corpus-assisted discourse studies (MD-CADS) on UK newspapers: an overview of the project. *Corpora, 5*(2), 83-108.

Peelo, M. (2009). Framing homicide narratives in newspapers: mediated witness and the construction of virtual victimhood. In Y. Jewkes (Ed.), *Crime and Media* (Vol. 2, pp. 143-157). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Pfeiffer, C., Windzio, M., & Kleimann, M. (2005). Media use and its impacts on crime perception, sentencing attitudes and crime policy. *European Journal of Criminology, 2*(3), 259-285.

Pickering, M. (2001). *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Pollex, N. (2008). *Definiteness Marking in English and German: A constrastive study.* Osnabrück, Osnabrück.

Quinney, R. (1972). Who is the victim? *Criminology, November*, 309-329.

Quirk, R. (1960). Towards a description of English Usage. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 40-61.

Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. Harlow: Longman.

Rasinger, S. M. (2010). 'Lithuanian migrants send crime rocketing': representation of 'new' migrants in regional print media. *Media, Culture & Society, 32*(6), 1021-1030.

Rayson, P. (2008). From key words to key semantic domains. *Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 13*(4), 519-549.

Rayson, P., Berridge, D., & Francis, B. (2004). *Extending the Cochran rule for the comparison of word frequencies between corpora.* Paper presented at the 7th International Conference on Statistical analysis of textual data (JADT 2004), Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium.

Rayson, P., & Garside, R. (2000). *Comparing corpora using frequency profiling*. Paper presented at the 38th annual meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL 2000).

Reeves, D. H., & Dunn, P. (2010). The status of crime victims and witnesses in the twenty-first century. In A. Bottoms & J. V. Roberts (Eds.), *Hearing the Victim: Adversarial justice, crime victims and the State* (pp. 46-71). Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Reiner, R. (2007). Media-made criminality: the representation of crime in the mass media. In M. Maguire, R. Morgan & R. Reiner (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reiner, R., Livingstone, S., & Allen, J. (2003). From law and order to lynch mobs: crime news since the Second World War. In P. Mason (Ed.), *Criminal Visions: Media representations of crime and justice* (pp. 13-32). Devon: Willan Publishing.

Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2009). The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 87-121). 2009: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Richardson, J. E. (2007). *Analysing newspapers: an approach from critical discourse analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rissanen, M. (2012). Corpora and the study of English historical syntax. In M. Kytö (Ed.), *English Corpus Linguistics: Crossing Paths* (pp. 197-220). Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Rock, P. (2004). *Constructing Victim's Rights: The Home Office, New Labour and Victims*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rüger, B. (2002). *Test- und Schätztheorie* (Vol. 2). München, Wien: R. Oldenbourg Verlag.

Russell, P., Johnson, G., & Garofano, L. (2010). *Darkness Descending: The Murder of Meredith Kercher*. London: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd.

Ryan, M. (1991). *Possible Worlds, Artificial Intelligence and Narrative Theory*. Bloomington and Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Saussure, F. d. (1986). *Course in General Linguistics*. Chicago: Open Court.

Schegloff, E. (1999a). Naivete vs sophistication or discipline vs self-indulgence: a rejoinder to Billig. *Discourse & Society, 10*(4), 577-578.

Schegloff, E. (1999b). Schegloff's texts as Billig's data: a critical reply. *Discourse & Society, 10*(4), 558-572.

Schiffrin, D. (1994). *Approaches to Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Schmid, D. (2005). *Natural Born Celebrities: Serial Killers in American Culture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Scott, M. (2002). Picturing the key words of a very large corpus and their lexical upshots or getting at the Guardian's view of the world. In B. Kettemann & G. Marko (Eds.), *Teaching and Learning by Doing Corpus Analysis* (pp. 43-50). Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V.

Scott, M. (2004). WordSmith Tools version 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scott, M. (2009). In search of a bad reference corpus. In D. Archer (Ed.), *What´s in a Word-list? Investigating word frequency and keyword extraction* (pp. 79-91). Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Scott, M., & Tribble, C. (2006). *Textual Patterns: Key words and corpus analysis in language education*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Semino, E. (1997). *Language and world creation in poems and other texts*. Harlow: Longman.

Semino, E., & Short, M. (2004). *Corpus stylistics: speech, writing and thought presentation in a corpus of English writing*. London: Routledge.

Shi-xu. (2005). *A Cultural Approach to Discourse*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Short, M. (1996). *Exploring the Language of Poems, Plays and Prose*. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Short, M. (2007). Thought presentation 25 years on. *Style, 41*(2), 227-257.

Short, M. (2012). Disocurse presentation and speech (and writing, but not thought) summary. *Language and Literature, 21*(1), 18-32.

Simpson, P. (1993). *Language, Ideology and Point of View*. London: Routledge.

Simpson, P., & Mayr, A. (2010). *Language and Power: A resource book for students*. London: Routlegde.

Sinclair, J. (1991). *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sinclair, J. (1997). Corpus evidence in language description. In A. Wichmann, S. Fligelstone, T. McEnery & G. Knowles (Eds.), *Teaching and Language Corpora*. Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited.

Sinclair, J. (2003). *Reading Concordances: An Introduction*. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.

Sinclair, J. (2004). *Trust the Text: Language, corpus and discourse*. London: Routledge.

Slobin, D. I. (1994). Crosslinguistic aspects of child language acquisition. In Jochi-Daigaku (Ed.), *Sophia linguistica working papers in linguistics* (Vol. 35, pp. 2-80). Tokyo: Tokyo Univ.

Slobin, D. I. (Ed.). (1997). *The crosslinguistic study of language acquisition: expanding the contexts* (Vol. 5). Mahawah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Smith, N., & McEnery, T. (1998). Issuse in transcribing a corpus of children's handwritten projects. *Literary and Linguistic Computing, 13*(4), 217-225.

Spitzmüller, J., & Warnke, I. H. (2011). *Diskurslinguistik: Eine Einführung in Theorien und Methoden der transtextuallen Sprachanalyse*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG.

Stanko, E. (2000). Naturalising danger: women, fear and personal safety. In M. Brown & J. Pratt (Eds.), *Dangerous Offenders: Punishment & Social Order* (pp. 147-163). London: Routledge.

Stubbs, M. (1996). *Text and Corpus Analysis. Computer-assisted Studies of Language and Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Stubbs, M. (1997). Whorf's children: critical comments on Critical Discours Analysis (CDA). In A. Ryan & A. Wray (Eds.), *Evolving Models of Language: Papers from the Annual Meeting of the British Association for Applied Linguistics held at the University of Wales, Swansea, September 1996* (pp. 100-116). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Stubbs, M. (2001). *Words and Phrases. Corpus Studies of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Stubbs, M. (2005). Conrad in the computer: examples of quantitative stylistic methods. *Language and Literature, 14*(1), 5-24.

Stygall, G. (2001). A different class of witnesses: experts in the courtroom. *Discourse Studies, 3*(3), 327-349.

Suhr, S., & Johnson, S. (2003). Re-visiting 'PC': introduction to special issue on 'political correctness'. *Discourse & Society, 14*(1), 5-16.

Surette, R. (1998). *Media, crime, and criminal justice: images and realities* (2nd ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth.

Surette, R. (2009). The entertainment media and the social construction of crime and justice. In Y. Jewkes (Ed.), *Crime and Media, Volume 2: Media Representations of Crime and Criminal Justice* (Vol. 2, pp. 239-268). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Svartvik, J. (1996). Corpora are becoming mainstream. In J. Thomas & M. Short (Eds.), *Using Corpora for Language Research* (pp. 3-13). Essex: Longman.

Tabbert, U. (2010). Review of *Language and Power: An Introduction to Institutional Discourse,* Edited by Andrea Mayr, 2008. London: Continuum. [book review]. *Language and Literature, 19*(2), 224-226.

Tabbert, U. (2012). Crime through a corpus: the linguistic construction of offenders in the British press. In C. Gregoriou (Ed.), *Constructing Crime: Discourse and Cultural Representations of Crime and 'Deviance'* (pp. 130-144). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tannenbaum, F. (1938). *Crime and the Community*. New York: Ginn and Co.

Teo, P. (2000). Racism in the news: a Critical Discourse Analysis of news reporting in two Australian newspapers. *Discourse & Society, 11*(1), 7-49.

Teubert, W. (2005). My version of corpus linguistics. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 10*(1), 1-13.

Thomas, J. (1995). *Meaning in Interaction: an Introduction to Pragmatics*. Essex: Pearson Education Ltd.

Tierney, J. (2010). *Criminology: Theory and Context* (3rd ed.). Harlow: Person Education Limited.

Timor, U., & Weiss, J. M. (2008). Sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic indications of behavior disorders: analysis of a prisoner's discourse. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 52*(1), 112-126.

Tognini-Bonelli, E. (2001). *Corpus Linguistics at Work*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1985). Structures of news in the press. In T. A. v. Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse and Communication* (pp. 69-93). Berlin: De Gruyter.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). *Elite Discourse and Rasicm*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2003). The discourse-knowledge interface. In G. Weiss & R. Wodak (Eds.), *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse & Society, 17*(3), 359-383.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2009). Critical discourse studies: a sociocognitive approach. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 62-86). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2010). Critical Discourse Analysis. In D. Schoffrin, D. Tannen & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 352-371). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2011). Discourse studies and hermeneutics. *Discourse Studies, 13*(5), 609-621.

Van Leeuwen, T. (1996a). The representation of social actors. In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard & M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 32-70). London: Routledge.

Van Leeuwen, T. (1996b). The representation of social actors. In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard & M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and Practices: Readings in Criticals Discourse Analysis* (pp. 32-70). London: Routledge.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2009). Discourse as the recontextualization of social practice: a guide. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 144-161). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Waddington, P. (1986). Mugging as a moral panic: a question of proportion. *British Journal of Sociology, 37*(2), 245-259.

Walker, B. (2010). Wmatrix, key concepts and the narrators in Julian Barnes's *Talking It Over*. In D. McIntyre & B. Busse (Eds.), *Language and Style: In Honour of Mick Short* (pp. 364-387). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Walklate, S. (2007a). *Imagining the Victim of Crime*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Walklate, S. (2007b). *Understanding criminology: Current theoretical debates* (3rd ed.). Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Walklate, S. (Ed.). (2007c). *Handbook of Victims and Victimology*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Weiss, G., & Wodak, R. (Eds.). (2003). *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Werth, P. (1999). *Text Worlds: Representing Conceptual Space in Discours*. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education.

Widdowson, H. (1995a). Discourse analysis: a critical view. *Language and Literature, 4*(3), 157-172.

Widdowson, H. (1995b). Review of Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*. *Applied Linguistics, 16*(4), 510-516.

Widdowson, H. (1996). Reply to Fairclough. Discourse and interpretation: Conjectures and refutations. *Language and Literature, 5*(1), 57-69.

Widdowson, H. (1998). The theory of practice of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Applied Linguistics, 19*(1), 136-151.

Wilks, S. S. (1962). *Mathematical Statistics*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Williams, B. (2005). *Victims of crime and community justice*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Wilson, A. (2012). Using corpora in depth psychology: a trigram-based analysis of a corpus of fetish fantasies. *Corpora, 7*(1), 69-90.

Wittgenstein, L. (2003). *Logisch-philosophische Abhandlung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.

Wodak, R. (2000). *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism*. London: Routledge.

Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA is about - a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Disocurse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Wodak, R. (2006). Mediation between discourse and society: assessing cognitive approaches in CDA. *Discourse Studies, 8*(1), 179-190.

Wodak, R. (2007). Turning the tables: anti-semitic discourse in post-war Austria. In T. A. v. Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies* (Vol. V, pp. 250-375). London: SAGE.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). Critical Discourse Analysis: history, agenda, theory and methodology. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Disocurse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Woolf, B. (1957). The log-likelihood ratio test (the G-test). *Annals of Human Genetics, 21*(4), 397-409.

Wright, M. (2008a). *Making Good: Prisons, Punishment and Beyond*. Hook: Waterside Press.

Wright, M. (2008b). *Restoring Respect for Justice* (2nd ed.). Hook: Waterside Press.

Wright, M. (2010). Towards a restorative society: a problem-solving response to harm. Retrieved from http://www.restorativejustice.org.uk/resource/towards_a_restorative_society_a_problemsolving_response_to_harm/

Wright, M. (2012). Gerechtigkeit (wieder)herstellen. *Infodienst: Rundbrief zum Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich*(44), 27-34.

Xiao, Z., & McEnery, T. (2005). Two approaches to genre analysis: three genres in modern American English. *Journal of English Linguistics, 33*(1), 62-82.

Zhang, H., Chilton, P., He, Y., & Jing, W. (2011). Critique across cultures: some questions for CDA. *Critical Discourse Studies, 8*(2), 95-107.

_____

Table A1

Table 1	Table 2	Table 3	Table 4
pre-modifier	active	**Modality**	apposition
ordinal number	passive	lexical verbs	parallel structure
cardinal number	Material Action Processes	modal adverbs	coordinate sentence structure
evaluative adjective	Material Action Intention	modal adjective	subordinate sentence structure
descriptive adjective	Material Action Supervention	conditional structure	**opposition**
determiner: a	Material Action Event	epistemic	antonymous sense relation
determiner: the	target=actor	deontic	syntactic trigger
demonstrative: proximal	target=goal	boulomaic	negation
demonstrative: distal	no actor	categorical (no modality)	enumeration (2,3,4 part list)
dossessive adjective	other actor than target	modal auxilliary	exemplifying
preposition	verbalisation	**presupposition**	**verb tense**
other premodifiers	Mental Cognition	existential	present
target noun	Reaction	logical	present continious
subject	Perception	**implicature**	present perfect
object	Cognition	Maxim of quality (truth)	past

subject complement	Relational processes	Maxim of quantity (information)	past continious
object complement	Possessive	Maxim of relation (relevance)	past perfect
adverbial	Circumstantial	Maxim of manner (clarity)	future
target word together with other nouns	Intensive	**Speech (and Thought) Presentation**	conditional
singular		Direct Speech	deixis
plural		Free Indirect Speech	metaphor
extended noun phrase with target word		Indirect Speech	nominalisation
possessive		Narrator's Report of Speech Act	comparison
post-modifier		Narrator's Report of Speech	
prepositional phrase			
subordinate clause			
target= pre-modifier			

Table A1: The analytical tools I used to analyse the sentences

Table A2

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

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