MASARYK UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION

VICTIMS vs. KILLERS IN THE BRITISH PRESS

Naming Strategies in Murder Reports

Renata Jančaříková

Brno 2018

MASARYK UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION

VICTIMS vs. KILLERS IN THE BRITISH PRESS

Naming Strategies in Murder Reports

Renata Jančaříková

Brno 2018

Spisy Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy university svazek 167

Faculty of Education Work 167

Reviewers: prof. PhDr. Gabriela Mišščíková, CSc.,
Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky, Filozofická fakulta, Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre

Mgr. Renáta Tomášková,
Dr., Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky,
Filozofická fakulta, Ostravská univerzita

ISBN 978-80-210-8948-8
ISBN 978-80-210-6993-0 (paperback)
https://doi.org/10.5817/CZ.MUNI.M210-8948-2018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations *6*
List of Figures *7*
List of Tables *8*

1 INTRODUCTION **11**

2 APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE **13**
2.1 Critical linguistics 13
2.2 Critical discourse analysis 14
2.3 Register and genre 15
2.4 Text and discourse 17

3 NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE **19**
3.1 Communicative purpose of news reports as texts 19
3.2 Objectivity vs. evaluation and opinion 20
3.3 News values 21
3.4 Crime news 24
3.5 Audience 26
3.5.1 Real vs. implied audience 26
3.5.2 Spectacle/observer theory 27
3.5.3 Present approach 27

4 BROADSHEETS AND TABLOIDS **31**
4.1 Introduction 31
4.2 Representational sources 32
4.3 Tabloidization 33
4.4 British newspapers 34
4.4.1 Readership diversification 35
4.4.2 Circulation 38
4.4.3 Circulation vs. readership 40

5 REPRESENTATION OF PEOPLE IN NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE **41**
5.1 Representational choices 41
5.2 Reference 42
5.2.1 Naming 42
5.2.2 Referential and predicational strategies 43

6 CONTEXT AND MEANING INTERPRETATION **47**
6.1 The role of context 47
6.2 Types of context 48
6.3 Cognitive processes in meaning interpretation 48

7 NOUN PHRASE **51**
7.1 The noun phrase structure 51

7.2 Modern approaches to the complex noun phrase structure 51
7.2.1 Halliday (1985) vs. Quirk et al. (1985)....52
7.2.2 Huddleston and Pullum (2002) 54
7.2.3 Biber et al. (LGSWE) (1999)....57
7.3 The noun phrase in the newspaper register....58
7.3.1 Noun phrases as identified in the news corpus of the LGSWE 58
7.3.2 Ni (2003)....59
7.3.3 Jucker (1992)....60

8 MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY....63
8.1 Corpus compilation criteria 63
8.2 Events in the corpus....65
8.3 Size of the corpus....66
8.4 Newspapers in the corpus 67
8.5 Methods 67

9 ANALYSIS....69
9.1 Headlines 70
9.1.1 Headlines in Subset A (Events 1-5)....70
9.1.1.1 Mention of the victim and killer and its realization 71
9.1.1.2 Complexity of NPs in Subset A headlines 73
9.1.1.3 Sub-headlines in Subset A....78
9.1.2 Headlines in Subset B (Events 6-10) 80
9.1.2.1 Mention of the victim and killer and its realization 82
9.1.2.2 Complexity of NPs in Subset B headlines 84
9.1.2.3 Sub-headlines in Subset B....87
9.2 The lead....89
9.2.1 The lead in Subset A....90
9.2.1.1 Mention of the victim and killer and its realization 90
9.2.1.2 Complexity of NPs in the lead (Subset A) 91
9.2.2 The lead in Subset B 93
9.2.2.1 Mention of the victim and killer and its realization 93
9.2.2.2 Complexity of NPs in the lead (Subset B) 94
9.3 The body copy 98
9.3.1 The body copy in Subset A....100
9.3.1.1 Simple and Complex NPs (victims and killers) 100
9.3.1.2 Reference to victims....102
9.3.1.3 Reference to killers 111
9.3.1.4 Appositive noun phrases in Subset A 119
9.3.2 The body copy in Subset B 120
9.3.2.1 Simple and Complex NPs (victims and killers) 120
9.3.2.2 Reference to victims....122
9.3.2.3 Reference to killers 132
9.3.2.4 Appositive noun phrases in Subset B 142

10 CONCLUSIONS....145

REFERENCES.....**154**
GLOSSARY OF TERMS.....**160**
APPENDICES.....**163**
RESUMÉ.....**171**
INDEX.....**172**

List of Abbreviations

ABC	Audit Bureau of Circulations
CDA	Critical discourse analysis
CGEL	A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language
CN	Common noun
CNP	Complex noun phrase
DT	Daily Telegraph
DM	Daily Mirror
FN	Full name
G	Guardian
GN	Given name
LGSWE	Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English
NMA	Newspaper marketing agency
NP	Noun phrase
NRS	National Readership Survey
PN	Proper noun
S	Surname
SNP	Simple noun phrase

List of Figures

Figure 1: Experiential structure of the NP (Halliday 1985)
Figure 2: Noun phrase structure (Quirk et al. 1985)
Figure 3: Noun phrase structure (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 332)
Figure 4: Basic order of elements in the NP (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 452)
Figure 5: Major components of the noun-head phrase (Biber et al. 1999: 574)
Figure 6: Major components of the pronoun-head phrase (Biber et al. 1999: 574)
Figure 7: Prehead elements in the NP structure (Ni 2003:164)
Figure 8: Prehead elements in the NP structure (Halliday 1985: 159)

List of Tables

4.1 Social class of British Newspaper Readerships
4.2 Social grade system according to NRS
4.3 Voting by Newspaper Readership (1992-2010)
4.4 Circulation of major British national dailies
4.5 Circulation and Readership of the newspapers under investigation
7.1 Noun phrase structure in the British daily newspapers (Jucker 1992: 115)
8.1 Events in the corpus
8.2 Size of the corpus in words
9.1 Reference to the victims in the broadsheets (Subset A headlines)
9.2 Reference to the victims in the tabloids (Subset A headlines)
9.3 Reference to the killers in the broadsheets (Subset A headlines)
9.4 Reference to the killers in the tabloids (Subset A headlines)
9.5 Sub-headlines in Subset A
9.6 Reference to victims and killers in Subset B headlines
9.7 Reference to the victims in the broadsheets (Subset B headlines)
9.8 Reference to the victims in the tabloids (Subset B headlines)
9.9 Reference to the killers in the broadsheets (Subset B headlines)
9.10 Reference to the killers in the tabloids (Subset B headlines)
9.11 Sub-headlines in Subset B
9.12 Number of simple and complex NPs referring to the victims (Subset A)
9.13 Number of simple and complex NPs referring to the killers (Subset A)
9.14 Modification of NPs referring to the killers (Subset A)
9.15 Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the victims (Subset B)
9.16 Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the killers (Subset B)
9.17 Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the victims (Subset A)
9.18 Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the killers (Subset A)
9.19 Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the victims with pronouns excluded (Subset A)
9.20 Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the killers with pronouns excluded (Subset A)
9.21 Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset A)
9.22 Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Guardian* (Subset A)
9.23 Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset A)
9.24 Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Sun* (Subset A)
9.25 Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset A)
9.26 Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Guardian* (Subset A)
9.27 Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset A)
9.28 Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Sun* (Subset A)
9.29 Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset A)
9.30 Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Guardian* (Subset A)
9.31 Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset A)
9.32 Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Sun* (Subset A)
9.33 Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset A)
9.34 Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Guardian* (Subset A)
9.35 Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset A)
9.36 Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Sun* (Subset A)
9.37 Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset A)

9.38 Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Guardian* (Subset A)
9.39 Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset A)
9.40 Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Sun* (Subset A)
9.41 Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset A)
9.42 Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Guardian* (Subset A)
9.43 Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset A)
9.44 Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Sun* (Subset A)
9.45 First mention of the killer in the body copy (Subset A)
9.46 NP+NP sequences in Subset A
9.47 Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the victims (Subset B)
9.48 Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the killers (Subset B)
9.49 Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the victims with pronouns excluded (Subset B)
9.50 Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the killers with pronouns excluded (Subset B)
9.51 Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset B)
9.52 Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Guardian* (Subset B)
9.53 Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset B)
9.54 Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Sun* (Subset B)
9.55 Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset B)
9.56 Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Guardian* (Subset B)
9.57 Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset B)
9.58 Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Sun* (Subset B)
9.59 Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset B)
9.60 Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Guardian* (Subset B)
9.61 Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset B)
9.62 Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Sun* (Subset B)
9.63 Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset B)
9.64 Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Guardian* (Subset B)
9.65 Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset B)
9.66 Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Sun* (Subset B)
9.67 Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset B)
9.68 Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Guardian* (Subset B)
9.69 Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset B)
9.70 Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Sun* (Subset B)
9.71 Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset B)
9.72 Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Guardian* (Subset B)
9.73 Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset B)
9.74 Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Sun* (Subset B)
9.75 First mention of the killer in the body copy (Subset B)
9.76 NP+NP sequences in Subset B

1 INTRODUCTION

This book presents the results of my research into the language of newspapers with focus on the means of expressing a positive and negative status of the core participants. In order to determine how both information and evaluation may be communicated to the reader I chose to explore the noun phrases referring to victims and killers in reports on trials and verdicts in the British press.

The study is based on a corpus comprising crime reports taken from four different English national dailies. The material was compiled over the period of five years, from 2006 to 2010. The four newspapers represented in the corpus are British national dailies, two broadsheets (the *Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph*) and two tabloids (the *Sun* and the *Daily Mirror)*.The analysis is directed at both 'form' and 'content' of noun phrases – it is firstly concerned with the complexity of noun phrases referring to the victims and killers and secondly, with their informative and evaluative content. The main aim is to determine the proportion of simple and complex noun phrases referring to the core participants, to map tendencies in the use of proper name variants in reference to victims and killers, and to compare what referential strategies the two types of newspaper represented in the corpus employ to communicate the identity and social status of victims and killers to the reader. It is, therefore, a sociolinguistic study which explores the role and importance of language in transmitting information interwoven with opinions, attitudes and evaluation of social reality.

One of the premises of this research is that language is of social character and has an enormous social potential. The principal motive for taking and reading a newspaper is undoubtedly to obtain information on current events and topical issues. Evidently, the same information can be presented in at least several ways and thus also with a different effect on the reader. In the modern world, media in general have acquired an exclusive position since they not only provide information but in many ways may also influence people's thinking and public opinion. They may assign different degrees of importance to particular events and issues, and enhance and promote certain moral standards and values that are generally considered acceptable or desirable within a particular community or culture, not to mention the power of media when various political issues are concerned. As Richardson (2007) stresses:

> Journalism has social effects: through its power to shape issue agendas and public discourse, it can reinforce beliefs; it can shape people's opinions not only of the world but also of their **place** and **role** in the world; or, if not shape your opinions on a particular matter, it can at the very least influence **what** you have opinions on; in sum, it can help shape social reality by shaping our **views** of social reality.
>
> (Richardson 2007: 13)

The newspaper reader should therefore realize that together with information he or she is also often presented with views and attitudes that are, in my opinion, naturally interwoven into news, since news is not presented to readers by some neutral authority but by people – journalists, whose work is influenced considerably by editors and owners of the press and many other factors, whether financial, technical or social. Journalists themselves might have strong objections to this view of their work and claim that their principal mission is to report

on events objectively and without bias (cf. Fowler 1991). Considering this statement, it is crucial to ask whether it is possible at all to provide a really objective account of events and whether, when reading a newspaper, we are presented with facts only. Another question is whether facts, i.e. what happened to whom, are inseparable from a certain point of view that can be traced between the lines, in the language used and in the type and amount of information selected by a newspaper to be conveyed to the reader.

A newspaper article is often not a product of a single journalist but rather a number of people who further modify it in many aspects as it goes through the process of editing, shortening and proofreading. The final product, a newspaper report, thus results from a number of choices which are also, at least partly, governed by the type of audience that a particular newspaper is targeted at. The critical reader is well aware of the fact that "newspapers are not simply vehicles for delivering information" (Reah 2002: 50). Therefore, an analysis of newspaper discourse needs to be concerned not only with *what* is said but also *how* and *why*. As Fowler (1991) maintains, language is "a highly constructive mediator" and as such can "shape, rather than mirror, the world" (ibid.: 1). Fowler advocates the view that via language newspapers mediate rather than describe the reality as language is one of the most powerful tools that journalists employ in order to attract and sustain the reader's attention and also to promote certain views and values apart from providing information.

News reporting is fundamentally concerned with people and events. Therefore, when participants are central to the report, the issue of identity (including social identity) and status is of crucial importance. As Richardson (2007) states, "the way that people are named in news discourse can have significant impact on the way in which they are viewed" (ibid.: 49). Undoubtedly, every person may be described in a number of ways, each of which will draw the reader's attention to a particular feature or characteristic of the person which in the given context seems more relevant (or rather is chosen by the producers as more relevant) than other features. In Richardson's words, "we all simultaneously possess a range of identities, roles and characteristics that could be used to describe us equally accurately but not with the same meaning" (ibid.: 49).

In accordance with the above mentioned views I endeavour to illustrate that the way that people are referred to in newspaper discourse accentuates a particular characteristic of the person and thus assigns a certain type of status to him/her in order to promote a particular view (or views) of the person in the reader's mind (not only as an individual but also a representative of a particular social group/stereotype).

Due to the extent of the corpus analysed, the present study cannot and does not attempt at providing a fully comprehensive overview of referential strategies employed in newspaper discourse, and it definitely is not an extensive study of the British press. Still I hope it will provide an insight into the means of expressing the participants' status in newspaper discourse and the motives for their choice in the given context and thus illustrate that language in newspapers is used not only as a means of transferring information but also as a means of shaping social reality.

2 APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE

This chapter presents arguments for critical approach to newspaper discourse and provides an overview of the key concepts as they are employed in the present study, namely 'register', 'genre', 'text' and 'discourse'.

2.1 Critical linguistics

Newspaper discourse is a kind of public discourse within which not only information but also views and attitudes are conveyed to the reader. In analysing how language mediates these views and attitudes it is crucial to study linguistic forms and content of texts not in themselves but in close relation to their use in a particular social and cultural context (Richardson 2007). Media language needs to be approached from a critical point of view as advocated by critical linguists, who are primarily concerned with the theory and practice of representation.

> Critical linguistics insists that all representation is mediated, moulded by the value-systems that are ingrained in the medium (the language in this case) used for representation; it challenges common sense by pointing out that something could have been represented some other way, with a very different significance. This is not, in fact, simply a question of 'distortion' or 'bias': there is not necessarily any true reality that can be unveiled by critical practice, there are simply relatively varying representations.
>
> (Fowler 1996: 4)

In accordance with the critical linguistics approach the present study argues that the form of representation of the participants of a particular event creates a certain picture of the participants, whose positive or negative status is enhanced by emphasizing a certain feature of their identity or a particular social status. Thus in different newspapers readers will inevitably encounter various forms of representation of the same people, although not necessarily very different.

Another important issue to consider is the role of the reader, who should not be seen as a mere recipient of the 'product' presented by a newspaper but rather as a 'productive consumer' (Fowler 1996: 7). In Fairclough's (1995b) view, analysis of media language consists primarily in 'textual analysis', but it should be complemented by other kinds of analysis, mainly analysis of 'production' and 'reception'. This work, being based on the view that newspapers create their readership, focuses mainly on the 'reception' process by exploring the choices of particular forms of representation of participants in crime news reports. Reading should be viewed as a dynamic process in which the reader actively participates although the process is rather internal in comparison with the interaction that a speaker goes through (Fowler 1996: 7). The reader perceives the information he/she is presented with in different ways depending on his/her background, previous experience, existing views and attitudes, or education as well as his/her previous experience with a particular genre and other texts. Reading thus becomes an activity via which the reader gains new experience or broadens the already existing experience, but also reinforces or reformulates his/her view of the society he/she lives in. Therefore, when analysing the language of newspapers, we have

to consider how a particular form of representation might be understood by readers; hence the need for critical linguistics.

The process of 'production' is dealt with in this work in rather general terms, mainly because a study of discourse practices of newspapers requires extensive knowledge of such practices – knowledge that a layman (i.e. not a journalist by profession) does not normally possess. A profound and critical insight into news production is thus best provided by a news discourse analyst who himself/herself is or was a journalist (e.g. Allan Bell). Moreover, newspapers may not always be willing to make all their practices 'accessible' to public. We may assume that the relatively low number of studies in news production can be attributed at least partly to the above mentioned reasons.

I realize that it would be highly beneficial if the present study was complemented by a survey among readers of particular papers in order to find out how they perceive a particular event and its participants. Due to the role that social and cultural context and experience with previous texts of a similar kind play in the reader's perception of the events reported on, such a survey, in my view, would have to be carried out among the English (not Czech) readers of the papers, which was not possible during the course of the present research. Therefore, the focus is mainly on the meaning potential of various forms of reference and the ways of naming people in newspaper discourse, with attention paid to the possible inferences that the reader may and/or is encouraged to draw during the process of reading. Thus, the results obtained in the present analysis should be viewed as tendencies rather than general norms.

2.2 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

'Critical Discourse Analysis' is concerned with determining and describing how social power is exercised in discourse, mainly with focus on "how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions" (van Dijk 1996: 84).

This study is not primarily concerned with uncovering how social power is exercised in the press, but I adhere to the view presented by van Dijk (1996) that it is one of the new tasks of CDA to study how manipulating "*mental models* of social events" may lead to the "formation of *preferred models* of specific situations ..., which may ... be generalised to more general, preferred knowledge, attitudes or ideologies (e.g. about blacks, or about youths)" (ibid.: 85).

It has been mentioned previously that in media studies pure text analysis would not be sufficient in order to determine how language is used to express or enhance particular views and opinions. This, of course, is not to suggest that text analysis should be abandoned. Fairclough (1995b) maintains that "text analysis remains a central element of media analysis" (ibid.: 16). He also argues that media language should be analysed as 'discourse' since not only a newspaper article but also a transcription of a radio programme can be considered a 'text'. 'Discourse analysis' should then encompass analysis of both texts and practices (discourse practices as well as socio-cultural practices) (ibid.).

As stated above, discourse analysis should not be performed "in isolation from audience reception" and "without considering the diverse ways in which such texts [in media] may be interpreted and responded to" (Fairclough 1995a: 9). As Fairclough stresses, "the interpretation of texts is a dialectical process resulting from the interface of the variable interpretative resources people bring to bear on the text, *and* properties of the text itself" (ibid.). Therefore, discourse analysis should be concerned with "the form and function of the

text, the way that this text relates to the way it is produced and consumed, and the relation of this to the wider society in which it takes place" (Richardson 2007: 37).

In other words, if we adopt a critical approach to discourse analysis, we do not confine ourselves to analysing language without considering its function(s) in the given context. The formalist approach, i.e. a study of linguistic units and their relationships, would be hardly sufficient to uncover how language is closely interconnected with external reality and trace the interconnection of language and cultural and social meanings. If our aim is to explore the interface between language and society, the functional approach, as advocated by the Prague School, shall be adopted in this kind of analysis.

A single noun (for example, *a Yardie*, see Example 47b; or *a thug*, see Examples 49b and 50b below) can considerably affect the reader's perception of a person, since such a reference conveys the social status of the person and depicts him as someone who lacks respectable social values. Therefore, the present analysis proceeds from form to function of noun phrases, i.e. it studies the complexity of noun phrases and the lexical choices and their meaning potential in the given context.

2.3 Register and genre

Before proceeding to the characteristics of newspaper discourse, it is necessary to clarify several basic theoretical concepts employed in the present work, above all 'genre' and 'register'.

First and foremost, it should be stated that the terms 'register' and 'genre' and their meanings have been widely discussed in discourse studies and the terms have been used in a number of different ways, for example, as two separate concepts, as terms reflecting two different levels of abstraction, but also as interchangeable terms.

According to Biber (1994), there is a general consensus among researchers over the term 'register' as a concept referring to "situationally defined varieties, as opposed to 'dialect', which refers to varieties associated with different speaker groups" (ibid.: 51). However, beyond this definition, approaches to registers vary – the term may be used "as a cover term for all situational varieties, with little discussion of level of generality" whereas some researchers will "restrict register to occupational varieties" (ibid). At the same time, there have also been analysts who have expressed their reservations about the term 'register'; for example, Fowler (1991) does not support the view that "a language consists of a set of registers", mainly due to "considerable procedural difficulties in drawing the boundaries between them" (ibid.: 36-37). He maintains that language needs to be studied not only with regard to "social and economic circumstances, characteristics of speech situations, etc.", but also in view of "the meanings a culture assigns to itself and its components" (ibid.: 37). On the other hand, he is in favour of Halliday's (1978) definition of 'register' from the semantic point of view:

> A register is a set of meanings that is appropriate to a particular function of language, together with the words and structures which express these meanings.
>
> (Halliday 1978: 195)

> A register can be defined as the configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a situation type. It is the meaning potential that is accessible in a given social context.
>
> (Halliday 1978: 111)

When Halliday used the term 'register' in the early 1960s, he contrasted it with 'dialect' and during the course of time he modified and extended his definition of register, mainly in order to account for the semantic dimension, as he considers register a semantic concept (as can be seen from the citation above). In linguistic studies there have been attempts to define the terms 'register' and 'genre' in relation to each other (e.g. in the theory of different 'semiotic planes', Martin 1985). There have also been views (e.g. Swales 1990) suggesting to substitute the term 'register' by 'genre' (cf. Biber 1994: 51-53). In the present work I adhere to Biber (1994), who proposes to use the term 'register' as "a general cover term for all language varieties associated with different situations and purposes" (ibid.: 32). Therefore, I adopt the definition of 'register' formulated by Biber and Finegan (1994) as "a language variety viewed with respect to its context of use" (ibid.: 4). In accordance with this definition and the approach adopted by Biber et al. in *The Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (LGSWE) (1999), newspaper language, which is the focus of this work, is defined and will be referred to as **a type of register** (one of the four core registers), whose main communicative purpose/content is information and evaluation (Biber et al. 1999: 16). These four major registers can be further subdivided, as they have their sub-varieties or sub-registers; for example, the news register comprises news reportage, editorials, reviews, etc. (ibid.).

As for 'genre', from the sociolinguistic point of view 'genre' can be defined as a 'message type' or 'message form', with "an identifying internal structure", for example, chat, conversation, obituary, debate, newspaper article, etc. (Ferguson 1994, also cf. Brown and Yule 1983). When studying various genres, we should realize that "every genre emerges in specific socio-historical context" (Ferguson 1994: 21). According to Kramsch (1998), the concept of 'genre' can be understood as "a socially sanctioned type of communicative event" that can be identified by "some conventionalized set of communicative purposes" (ibid.: 62). A comprehensive definition of genre, which accounts for various aspects that delimit a genre as such, is offered by Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009). It is this definition of genre that I have chosen to adopt in the present analysis:

> A form of discourse characterized by communicative purpose(s), content, discourse structure, style, intended audience and medium, which is seen as part of the knowledge and communicative competence of the members of a particular discourse community based on a shared experience of co-occurring content, form and context.
>
> (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2009: 148)

As mentioned previously in this work, the primary but not sole purpose of newspaper reports is to provide readers (public) with information. In addition, opinion and evaluation are naturally embedded although not always consciously recognized by the reader (for more details, cf. Section 3.1 below). The style and content are determined not only by these purposes but also by the implied audience and discursive practices. In the present work 'newspaper reports' are therefore approached as **a type of genre** and crime news reports as their **sub-genre**.

2.4 Text vs. discourse

Apart from 'register' and 'genre', another set of concepts requires clarification – 'text' and 'discourse'. As with the concepts of 'register' and 'genre', various scholars adopt different approaches to 'text' and 'discourse' and use the two concepts in different ways. Thus there are studies in which the two terms are used interchangeably, whereas other scholars argue that although interdependent, 'text' and 'discourse' should be approached as distinct phenomena (Widdowson 2007; cf. Dontcheva-Navratilova 2009). In Widdowson's (2007) view, discourse can be defined as "the meaning that a first person intends to express in producing a text, and that a second person interprets from the text" (ibid.: 129). Within CDA, discourse is understood as "a mode of social practice: a set of socio-cultural conventions for conceiving of reality in certain ways and controlling it" (ibid.).

Another traditional distinction between 'text' and 'discourse' is derived from the type of mode, i.e. "written language is associated with text, spoken language with discourse" (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2009: 3; cf. Coulthard 1985). Kramsch (1998), on the other hand, uses both terms in connection with written language; it may be approached either as "a fixed and stable product, i.e. as *text*" or as "an interactive, highly inferential process between a text and its readers, i.e. as *discourse*" (ibid.: 64). The present study adopts the latter approach to written language, as suggested by Kramsch, i.e. as 'discourse'. Newspaper reports are considered here as a form of interaction in a particular context.

Out of the two basic approaches to discourse analysis – 'formalist/structuralist' and 'functionalist' (cf. Brown and Yule 1983, Richardson 2007), the present work attempts to follow mainly the 'functionalist approach' (with the use of structuralist approach as a supportive tool for a functional analysis) since its main aim is not only to analyse newspaper discourse as a cohesive and coherent whole but mainly as 'language in use', i.e. with attention to the functions and purposes that are inseparable from the analysis of linguistic forms (Brown and Yule 1983).

Apart from the distinction between 'text' and 'discourse', the concept of 'text' is of crucial importance here. There has been an extensive discussion in literature concerning the definition of 'text', its scope and character (cf. Brown and Yule 1983, van Dijk 1988, Widdowson 2007). A text can be written or spoken; it can be a relatively long stretch of language, such as a newspaper article, interview or a poem; it can also be a relatively short stretch of language, for example, a single sentence, a notice or a label (Widdowson 2007). In answering the question of how we identify a piece of language as text, Widdowson states that "whether simple or complex, all texts are uses of language which are produced with the intention to refer to something for some purpose" (ibid.: 6).

Considering the concept of text in the newspaper register, various segments shall be taken into account. A newspaper report can be segmented into three basic parts, i.e. the headline(s), the lead and the body copy (Bell 1991: 15). Apart from these, there are other, mostly non-linguistic, features that should be taken into account as constituting text and shaping the final product, for example, the font used, photographs and their captions, the proportion of the verbal and visual components, etc. In the present study a newspaper article is viewed as 'a whole' that has a particular communicative purpose (or purposes) and communicates both information and evaluation, and/or a certain stance.

Chovanec (2000a) argues that the three basic parts, as mentioned above, have different functions and therefore 'require a separate, though interrelated treatment", and "cannot be analyzed on the same level" (ibid.: 8). In the present thesis I adhere to this view and analyze

the three parts of a newspaper article separately but at the same time, with attention paid to their interrelation when the status of the participants is concerned. This approach is based on the belief that the gradual process of construction and development of the status of the core participants in a newspaper article starts in the headline and is further developed and enhanced in the lead and the body copy. This is at least quite probably the reader's impression since an average reader is not familiar with journalistic practice. For example, it is a common journalistic practice that the headline is written by a different person than the body copy, or the editor may choose to change the headline proposed by the author of the body copy; it is also a common practice for leads to be written or rewritten by one of the editors since the lead may be added to an article after the body copy has been submitted to the editor. These practices, however, are not normally known to the reader (cf. Bell 1991).

In accordance with the 'top-down principle' (also 'top-down strategy', cf. Ungerer 2002; cf. also 'inverted pyramid', cf. Keeble 2006), the most important and essential information tends to be provided as soon as possible within an article. Thus, the mention of the participants (in crime news the victim and the offender), is only natural to be made as early as possible, i.e. in the headline. The lead, the main function of which is to summarise the story (Bell 1991), also includes a mention of the core participants. The main part of the story, the body copy, provides further details after the identity of the core participants has been established. Therefore, the present analysis proceeds from the headline(s) and the lead to the body copy.

3 NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE

Chapter Three explores in detail newspaper reports. It provides an account of the communicative purpose and functions of newspaper reports, which are considered not only as informative but also evaluative units. Separate sections are devoted to the news values, to the sub-genre of crime news reports and the issue of audience.

3.1 Communicative purpose of newspaper reports

Considering the communicative purpose of newspaper reports, providing information should be mentioned in the first place since the main, generally acknowledged task of newspapers is to keep their readers up to date. It should be noted, however, that providing information is not the sole communicative purpose that modern press, as well as other types of media, will strive to achieve.

According to Widdowson (2007), some texts "have an obvious utility function" whereas others "are meant to serve a range of different social purposes" and it is not uncommon that the functions a text is to fulfil "are …. combined in complex ways" (ibid.: 6). This statement can be seen as holding true for newspaper reports as well because "what is presented as a factual account in a newspaper article will usually reflect, and promote, a particular point of view" (ibid.: 6). Similarly, Diller (2002) describes newspaper discourse as having three main purposes, i.e. information, comment (opinion formation) and entertainment, and stresses that "there is a clear tendency in modern journalism to blur the three purposes" (ibid.: 5). In his discussion of genres, Swales (1990) claims that various genres, although not all of them, have "*sets* of communicative purposes" rather than one easily identified, clear-cut purpose (ibid.: 47). In newspaper reports the principle function, i.e. providing information, is expected and generally assumed by the reader. Other purposes, mainly presentation of an opinion or promotion of a particular attitude, are involved too, but they are not always so easily identified by the reader.

When analyzing newspaper discourse, the primary question to ask is what the purpose of a particular text is. Is there, apart from providing information, any other purpose (often equally important) or a particular intended effect, as this study attempts to propose? In answering this question, we might consider the three basic types of newspaper articles as proposed by Reah (2002): news reports, editorials and feature articles. According to Reah, "*newspaper articles* are ostensibly news stories – they report information" whereas "*editorials* comment, speculate and give opinion". The third type, *a feature article*, "falls between the two" as it "picks up an item of news, and develops it via comment, opinion and speculation" (ibid.: 87). This is, of course, a basic distinction which may help to understand differences between the basic kinds of articles. On the other hand, it might seem to suggest that opinion and evaluation are confined to editorials and feature articles, but are not to be found in reports. My view of newspaper reports corresponds with the observations made by White (2006), who states that in news reports we often find opinion and evaluation as well, although they may be expressed rather covertly and the reader may not always be aware of their presence in the article (White 2006; for more information, see Section 4.1 below).

3.2 Objectivity vs. evaluation and opinion

It has been stated above that from the journalist's point of view, objectivity is one of the crucial goals of his/her work but at the same time it is an extraordinarily challenging goal to achieve. As Fowler (1991) maintains, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find a text within newspaper discourse or any other kind of representational discourse that could generally be considered unbiased and objective, since "anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium" (ibid.: 10). Fowler maintains that, in the basic sense, bias does exist and will continue to exist, but he recommends to abandon the term 'bias' and suggests different theoretical terms of 'mediation' or 'representation', which in his words "less provocatively cover the processes which lead to 'skewing' and 'judgement' " (ibid.: 12). In the present study the issue of bias in the traditional, i.e. political sense, or the ways of exercising power in newspapers are not the main interest. The aim is rather to demonstrate how social reality in a broader sense is presented to the reader and at the same time evaluated in a particular way. Therefore, the term 'bias', which to some people may have negative connotations, is not used here. Instead, where relevant, the term 'objectivity' is adopted as more general and broader than 'bias'.

At this point it is necessary to provide a definition of 'objectivity', and consider the question whether 'objective' shall be conceived as 'neutral'. In his discussion of this "key defining value underwriting the practices of modern journalism", Richardson (2007: 86) stresses that we should not "confuse dictionary definitions of 'objectivity' with journalistic definitions of objective reporting". Richardson claims that "to file an objective report a journalist needs to distance himself or herself from the truth claims of the report" (ibid.), which on the other hand does not mean that news reporting is devoid of 'value judgements':

> Indeed value judgements are built into the process of news making at all stages of the production process, through newsgathering, news writing, story selection, editing and presentation. ... News reporting is inevitably value-laden – and, on occasion, is fundamentally biased – but this does not stop it from being journalistically objective.
>
> (Richardson 2007: 86-87)

In comparison with editorials and feature articles, it is not a major concern of a report to present views and analyse or discuss social problems. A report should provide information in the first place. This, however, does not mean that a report does not evaluate and will not tackle social problems or phenomena considered crucial within a certain society/community, and represent some views and attitudes. These secondary goals (which may also be seen as primary in some contexts) will be realized rather covertly, i.e. via the language used and particular discursive practices, but still with a great force. It can be seen as a manifestation of the fact that media want to and can play an active role in the society by not only reporting on 'events' and 'actions', but also by evaluating and supporting them or condemning either of them.

Drawing on what has been stated above, newspaper reports can hardly be viewed as neutral, i.e. devoid of judgements, values, evaluation or opinion. The focus of the present research is therefore to investigate how these are naturally interwoven in news discourse and presented to the reader via language.

3.3 News values

Whether considering the content of newspapers, the language or style, one phenomenon appears to be omnipresent and that is 'selection'. The whole process of news production consists in making decisions and choices that, in my view, are governed mainly by the target audience and their alleged expectations, and the news agenda of a particular paper.

In the first place it is essential to distinguish between 'events' and 'news' since not every event has the potential to become a news item – it has to be considered by a newspaper as 'newsworthy' to its audience. The criteria of newsworthiness, traditionally labelled as 'news values', have been the subject of discussion for a number of news discourse analysts since their first systematic and elaborate, and according to Richardson (2007) the most influential account, was proposed by Galtung and Ruge in 1965 (ibid.: 91). As Galtung and Ruge (1965) maintain, "we cannot register everything, we have to select, and the question is what will strike our attention" (ibid.: 65). Their study, the result of which is a list of twelve factors that make events newsworthy, suggests that the factors can mutually combine and those factors that make the event newsworthy will be 'accentuated' during the whole process of the change of an event into a news item until it is 'delivered' to the reader (ibid.: 71). It should be mentioned that an event does not have to satisfy all the twelve criteria to become news but the more criteria it satisfies, the higher the probability that newspapers will regard it as newsworthy. The first eight values are based on general assumptions about "what facilitates and what impedes perception" (ibid.: 67), whereas the last four values (i.e. 9 – 12) are culture-bound factors.

Galtung and Ruge's twelve values, as listed below, have been widely tested, further adjusted and revised since they were first formulated. Their list does not (and cannot) include many other factors that influence the process of news selection in contemporary media. Still it "remains an ideal starting point for any serious discussion of news values" (Brighton & Foy 2007: 7):

1. Frequency (i.e. "the time span needed for the event to unfold itself and acquire meaning)
2. Threshold (i.e. the 'amplitude' of an event)
3. Unambiguity
4. Meaningfulness (i.e. cultural proximity + relevance)
5. Consonance (i.e. what the reader predicts/expects and wants)
6. Unexpectedness
7. Continuity (i.e. what is once defined as news will continue to be defined as news for some time)
8. Composition (i.e. the need for balance in news, e.g. foreign vs. national)
9. Reference to elite nations
10. Reference to elite people
11. Reference to persons (i.e. personification made use of where possible)
12. Reference to something negative

(Galtung & Ruge 1965: 70-71)

The above set of news values proposed by Galtung and Ruge was based on their study of news coverage of three international crises from the early 1960s (in Cuba, Congo and Cyprus). This method of determining the criteria of newsworthiness, i.e. using only

internationally important events, was later criticized (mainly for not paying attention to other kinds of events, i.e. smaller events, local news, etc., and the use of Norwegian newspapers only) and resulted in attempts to modify and further refine the original news values system in order to make it more comprehensive and universal (cf. Richardson 2007: 91-92).

Media have undergone huge changes in the last few decades, and new media require new approaches. The original news values taxonomy requires some refinement too. In 2001 Harcup and O'Neill provided a critical evaluation of Galtung and Ruge's taxonomy and proposed a contemporary set of news values based on their research of the printed press in Britain. They performed an analysis of 1,276 articles published in three national UK dailies in 1999, and suggested the following set of criteria which reflects the changes in the modern media sphere and includes factors which Galtung and Ruge did not and could not include in their list. The new factors which seem relevant to modern media according to Harcup and O'Neill (2001) comprise, for example, entertainment, picture opportunities, reference to sex, reference to animals, humour and showbiz/TV, etc. (ibid.: 274-275). Drawing on their research as well as their journalist background, Harcup and O'Neill provide the following list of criteria for news selection:

1. Power elite (e.g. stories about powerful individuals or institutions)
2. Celebrity (e.g. stories about 'famous' people)
3. Entertainment (e.g. stories about show business, animals, human interest, sex, etc.)
4. Surprise (e.g. stories with an element of surprise and/or contrast)
5. Bad news (e.g. conflicts, tragedies; stories "with particularly negative overtone")
6. Good news (e.g. rescues, cures)
7. Magnitude (i.e. stories "perceived as sufficiently significant in the numbers of people involved or in potential impact")
8. Relevance (i.e. stories relevant to the audience)
9. Follow-ups (i.e. stories about something previously mentioned in the news)
10. Newspaper agenda (i.e. "stories that set or fit the news organisation's own agenda")

(Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 279)

Brighton and Foy (2007) narrowed the list even more and reduced it to seven values which, in their view, reflect the recent changes in media and better suit the modern media sphere.

1. Relevance (i.e. Galtung and Ruge's Consonance and Relevance)
2. Topicality (i.e. something that is new, current and immediately relevant)
3. Composition (i.e. the need for balance in news)
4. Expectation (i.e. what the consumer expects)
5. Unusualness (i.e. unusual behaviour, unexpected events/doings)
6. Worth (i.e. news about elite people and organisations, and about celebrities)
7. External influences (i.e. pressures from outside)

(Brighton & Foy 2007: 29)

The above mentioned lists of news values would deserve a detailed discussion and mutual comparison, which would help to explain clearly and concisely how media have changed in the last few decades. However, this is not the main aim of the present study. The three sets of news values have been chosen to demonstrate how complex the issue of news values is. The fact that the sets are not identical can be attributed to several factors.

Firstly, it is different approaches to news values adopted by various analysts, for example, the perspective of social scientists (e.g. Galtung & Ruge 1965) or academics and/or practising journalists (e.g. Brighton & Foy 2007, Harcup & O'Neill 2001).

Secondly, it needs to be taken into account that the press (and media in general) are changing as the societies they mirror are changing. At present, newspapers in general have to face the problem of declining numbers of their readers, and they naturally fight this problem by accommodating their content and style to the needs and expectations of their alleged (implied) audiences. This may consist, for example, in transition from 'hard news' to 'soft news', reformulation of editorial priorities and also an increasingly evident tendency to 'entertain' rather than 'inform', or at least do both (Franklin 2008a). The 'tabloidization' of culture inevitably results in 'tabloidization' of media, which necessarily remodels the traditional news values (for more information on tabloidization, see Section 4.3). As Franklin (2008a) concludes, "journalists are more concerned to report stories which interest the public than stories which are in the public interest" (ibid.: 13). The former are seen as 'what the reader wants', unlike foreign or parliamentary news or investigative journalism that are all too costly, too time consuming and, moreover, not so likely to win the newspaper new readers or help retain the existent ones (Franklin 2008a).

The taxonomy proposed by Harcup and O'Neill (2001) seems to be more suitable for modern media, since it takes into account the character of modern news, although the original taxonomy devised by Galtung and Ruge is still valid in its general terms. The taxonomy proposed by Brighton and Foy (2007) is rather general and would need further elaboration with respect to the type of medium and message, as they themselves state (ibid.: 30).

With regard to the topic of the present study one more taxonomy should be mentioned – the taxonomy of "news values for a new millennium" proposed by Jewkes (2004: 40-61). Jewkes maintains that news values as 'newsworthiness criteria' may "vary across countries and cultures" (ibid.: 40) and also across different media. She states that "news values are the value judgements that journalists and editors make about *the public appeal* of a story and also whether it is in the *public interest*" (ibid.: 37). Her list of news values is especially relevant for the present work because it is based on research into the UK media and considers news values in relation to crime news. As she emphasizes, it is "by no means exhaustive but it considers a total of 12 features that are evident in the output of most contemporary media institutions, and are of particular significance when examining the reporting of crime" (ibid.: 40).

1. Threshold (i.e. "events have to meet a certain level of perceived importance or drama in order to be considered newsworthy")
2. Predictability (i.e. rare, extraordinary or unexpected events are probable to be considered newsworthy)
3. Simplification (i.e. "events must be reducible to a minimum number of parts or themes"; presentation of events via 'binary oppositions')
4. Individualism (i.e. personalisation)

5. Risk ("we are all potential victims")
6. Sex
7. Celebrity or high status persons
8. Proximity (i.e. spatial and cultural proximity of an event to a particular audience)
9. Violence
10. Spectacle or graphic imagery
11. Children (i.e. any news associated with children, either as victims or aggressors)
12. Conservative ideology and political diversion (i.e. reliance on "a broadly right-wing consensus")

(Jewkes 2004: 40)

According to Jewkes, crime in itself could be regarded as a news value since "any crime has the potential to be a news story" (ibid.) and if it also satisfies some of the general criteria outlined above, its newsworthiness for modern media is further increased. Generally, crime is "inherently highly newsworthy and is usually 'novel' and 'negative' in essence" (ibid.: 61).

3.4 Crime news

Crime news can be found in any newspaper - broadsheet or tabloid, national or local, Czech or English. Previous research performed in this field has shown that "in western nations ... significant proportions of daily newspapers carry stories related to crime" (Wardle 2008: 144). As Jewkes (2004) states, stories about crime and justice "are ubiquitous in modern society" (ibid.: 223) and "perform a similar role to royal weddings, state funerals and 'must see' television events, in bringing communities together and mobilizing common responses" (ibid.: 199).

However strange or disquieting this may seem, readers are (or at least newspaper owners and producers believe they are) interested in crime news as well as other negative events, e.g. scandals, wars or disasters. Before I proceed to explaining the reasons for 'popularity' of crime news among readers, it should be stated that 'crime news' is a relatively broad field of news discourse. Under the label of 'crime news', various types of news may be included, not only reports on particular crimes. The term "encompasses a wide range of topics including the reporting of specific crimes, investigations; when suspects are charged, trials, sentences and the eventual punishment" (Wardle 2008: 144). Although murders, for example, do not generally rank among the most frequent types of crime in crime statistics, they receive more coverage and attention of media than relatively more common types of crime such as theft (ibid.). Of course, different kinds of crime will be considered newsworthy by national and local papers.

To explain the relative popularity of crime news, we can turn to the news values and consider which of the criteria crime news in general satisfies. 'Negativity' is undoubtedly one of the most common news values that determine whether an event is newsworthy or not (van Dijk 1988). It is one of the most stable news values; it is included in all the taxonomies of news values mentioned above (see Section 3.3). Jewkes (2004) does not list 'negativity' as a separate news value since, in her view, crime news is "invariably 'novel' and 'negative' in essence" (ibid.: 223). Considering the role of negativity in news, van Dijk maintains:

> Psychoanalytically, these various forms of negativity in news [e.g. problems, scandals, crime, wars and disasters] might be seen as expressions of our own fears, and their incumbance to others both provides relief and tension by proxy participation. ... In more cognitive terms, we might say that information processing about such events is like a general simulation of the possible incidents that may disrupt our own everyday lives. At the same time, such information is a test of general norms and values.
>
> (van Dijk 1988: 123)

Various negative events happen to ordinary people, and, although individuals often consider them improbable to occur in their own lives, they do happen in 'our world' and 'our society'. They are human stories about real people, with whom the reader can, and is encouraged to, identify. What is considered more appealing to readers is therefore "individual crimes rather than criminal policy or trends" (Franklin 2008b: 18-19; cf. also Jewkes 2004).

An especially appalling crime, such as a murder of a child maltreated and killed by its own parent, is probable to receive attention of national media due to several factors. With regard to the news values suggested by Jewkes (2004), in the first place it is 'a story' about real people within the reader's culture (i.e. Spatial and Cultural Proximity); it is 'dramatic' enough to 'interest' the reader (i.e. Threshold); it involves a child and a certain degree of violence (i.e. Children and Violence); it allows presentation of the murderer as an individual and personalisation of the victim (i.e. Individualism) and the presentation can be simplified to the victim and murderer representing *good* and *evil* (i.e. Simplification). Similarly, a racially motivated murder of a young, innocent person or a murder committed by a member of a gang satisfies the same criteria. Moreover, it may point to violence in the society and it may be used to reinforce the generally acknowledged social values of a particular society or community. It should be stated that children do not have to be victims of crime only; they can also be aggressors or murderers, which makes such events newsworthy too. As Jewkes concludes, "any crime can be lifted into news visibility if children are associated with it" (2004: 56), whether as victims or aggressors.

Crime news in general is probable to attract the reader's attention, but its potential, as shown above, is a great deal wider. Such news may promote debate on serious social issues and problems, as well as reinforce the existing values, or call for a change. Moral boundaries of a particular community or society can thus be formed and further enhanced, and newspapers can act (or try to act) as "moral guardians" (Wardle 2008; cf. also Katz 1987). For example, a teenager who murdered another teenager or a younger person is viewed and presented as a 'folk devil' or 'evil monster'. Such stereotypes enable a clear contrast between the 'tragic victim' and the 'evil killer' and allow newspapers to appeal to consensual and traditional moral standards (Jewkes 2004). At the same time, by classifying the killer as a member of a particular minority group, negative or even hostile feelings towards the group may be reinforced, mainly in tabloid press. In such reports we inevitably find views and attitudes side by side with facts, regardless of the type of newspaper since crime is not a topic of interest to tabloids only, as one might expect.

Similarly to Wardle (2008) and Jewkes (2004), Caviglia (2006) claims that "discourses about violent crime may fulfil different social functions and bear the imprinting of deep-rooted assumptions about the place of the individual in a community, the function of laws and punishment, and the reasons people act as they do" (ibid.: 119). In his investigation of crime

discourse, Caviglia proposes the view that "crime is first of all a narrative which permits exploration of a dimension that is largely inaccessible in everyday life, but is perceived as a relevant part of human experience" (ibid.: 123). In Caviglia's view, discourse about crime is "a space in which community reflects on its problems and reaffirms its values" (ibid.: 124). At the same time, crime news provides space for social criticism since it "can point to shortcomings in society and culture and ... in institutions that failed to prevent or mitigate deviant behaviour" (ibid.: 126).

From the above mentioned it seems evident that providing information is not the main or the only important function of crime news. Why should a newspaper reader need to obtain information about some crime? What is the benefit of being informed and of not being informed about a particular crime? As argued previously in this study, it is mainly the social, cultural and moral potential of such news that makes crime newsworthy. Drawing on Katz's (1987) theory of functions of crime news, Gripsrud (2008) maintains that "crime news is about the daily reconstruction of moral sensibilities on a personal and even private plane" (ibid.: 43). Thus, rather than giving information about crime, the main point is to help individuals learn more about themselves, their views and attitudes, and make sense of their own existence or role in a particular community or society.

3.5 Audience

3.5.1 Real vs. implied audience

Apart from being 'the mirror of the society' and 'information providers', newspapers are also types of business that need to be profitable for their owners. In order to get their share of the market they need to identify their readership, which further influences the overall character of a newspaper. Richardson (2007) claims that "it is impossible to select and compose news without a conception of the target or intended audience" (ibid.: 1).

Based on various surveys and market research it is possible to determine what type of readers individual newspapers are targeted at. On the other hand, these generalizations can only be made up to a certain extent and in rather general terms; for example, we can identify the readers' age range, their socio-economic status or political preferences. However, it would be too superficial and in principle wrong to view readers of a particular newspaper as a homogeneous group of people who share identical views and values (Reah 2002: 36). Similarly, it is virtually impossible to make a clear cut profile of a typical reader of a particular paper, since there are a large number of differences within readerships. Also, we cannot assume that particular people regularly and exclusively read one newspaper only. Although newspapers are fully aware of this fact, they still need to 'create' the reader they are writing for (cf. Jančaříková 2009b). Newspapers will use various means to either identify their audiences or to communicate with them, mostly on the level of style and language (Bell 1991: 84-103). There is thus a clear distinction between 'real' and 'implied' audience, the latter being "the audience the paper appears to be writing for" (Reah 2002: 35). Similarly, Leitner (1997) maintains that media in general work with the concept of prototypical recipients, and emphasizes that recipients are no longer to be considered "passive targets of the message flows" (ibid.: 189).

> It is recipients that expose themselves to or withdraw from media output, they decode adequately or misconstrue content, they reinforce messages or alternatively nullify their effect. Media are therefore bound to incorporate into their messages a prototypical image of recipients and of the audience's desired or likely reactions. They 'design' messages for an audience, a fact that differentiates public discourse from that of other domains, such as the law.
> (Leitner 1997: 189)

Regarding newspaper discourse, it may be concluded that the notion of 'a prototypical image of recipients', as Leitner puts it, corresponds with the concept of 'implied readership'.

3.5.2 Spectacle / observer theory

Not all scholars adhere to the view proposed in the previous subsection. For example, Scollon (1998) refuses the theory of the 'implied writer' and 'implied reader' and suggests a completely different approach. He considers media discourse from a social-interactional point of view and emphasises social interactions taking place during the production of news and reception of news, which he views as two separate processes happening within two communities of practice (i.e. journalists and readers) (cf. also Talbot 2007). He argues that the 'sender-receiver' analogy applied within the study of media discourse, as it is typical of conversational discourse, is too simplifying and insufficient. In his view, "the primary social interaction is not between the producers of spectacles (journalists) and the observers (readers/watchers)" (ibid: viii). Scollon (1998) maintains that "in the primary social interactions among journalists, the reader or viewer is nearly invisible" (ibid.: ix). He proposes that media discourse should be analysed as social interaction, which takes place primarily in 'two communities of practice', the first being journalists who interact with each other through the process of writing and editing an article, thus working towards the end product, and naturally communicating with and influencing each other. The latter, the so-called 'spectating community of practice', is formed by readers. The reader, in Scollon's opinion, "uses his or her reading as one of many means by which he or she strategizes social presence and social interaction" (ibid.: ix). For Scollon, journalists represent the *productive* side and readers the *receptive* one, and "the relationship between the producers and receivers of news discourse is that of spectacle and observer" (ibid.: 75). And it is the theory of 'performance-for-observation' that he suggests instead of the "misleading sender-receiver metaphor of communication" (ibid.: 76). Therefore, he recommends abandoning the sender-receiver model, which he considers "inadequate for treating news discourse as social interaction" (ibid.: 252).

3.5.3 Present approach

If newspaper discourse is considered as a type of communication, the above mentioned theory of *sender* and *receiver* seems to be applicable, although only up to a certain extent, and has been advocated in a number of studies dealing with media discourse (Bell 1991). Of course, written discourse is not fully comparable with face-to-face conversation, since with written discourse the receiver does not have a possibility to negotiate meaning with the sender (for negotiation of meaning in face-to-face conversation, cf. Povolná 2009). Nevertheless, the language and style employed by a particular newspaper will differ from

other newspapers, which can be considered to be at least partly determined by the implied reader and his or her expectations, however abstract and theoretical these may be. In my view, this assumption is indirectly confirmed by the fact that the same corporation or owner may publish a tabloid as well as a broadsheet, which will often use the same information provided by the same news agency, and yet they will present their readers with more or less different articles reporting on the same event. However simplistic this may seem, different readers, among which newspapers need to differentiate in order to get a certain share of the market, are thus provided with 'what they want and what they expect'.

As mentioned above, a newspaper article is undoubtedly a joint product of a number of people who participate in the process of its 'evolution' and these people, i.e. journalists, editors and owners of newspapers interact with each other with respect to certain conventions. Therefore, a single journalist presented to the reader as the author of a newspaper article can hardly be considered the "originator of the discourse" (Leitner 1997: 189, cf. Bell 1991). In this regard I do agree with Scollon (1998) that with so many people participating in the process of writing and rewriting the news story, the author (i.e. the sender) is impossible to identify (ibid.: 212). Similarly, the identity of the reader (i.e. the receiver) is equally difficult to determine. Individual readers approach news stories in various ways, reading whole articles or just bits of them, or skimming the pages or just headlines, and it is virtually impossible to find a reader who "fulfils the characteristics of some implied reader" (ibid.: 213).

I do not refuse Scollon's view and I am fully aware of the fact that the identity of the sender as well as the receiver cannot be fully determined for the reasons mentioned above. It is not suggested here that news discourse should be analysed as an interaction between the journalist and the reader as two individuals; such an approach would be too simplistic and false in principle. On the other hand, by stating that the reader is nearly invisible in the process of production of an article, Scollon challenges the view that newspapers create their readership. In my view, the end product (i.e. an article) is at least partly pre-determined by the implied reader (however abstract he/she is), which results in differences between various papers in terms of effect that particular forms of expression may have on the reader. Therefore, the terms 'sender' and 'receiver', or 'writer' and 'reader', may be used as general concepts when the processes of production and reception of news are discussed.

In her research into comprehensibility and comprehension of news, Wodak (2006) emphasizes that "due to different belief and knowledge systems, news is experienced and stored depending on available cognitive frames; and thus understood in different ways" (ibid.: 6). Different readers will relate particular events to their 'world, views and experience', which will inevitably influence their perception of the event described. This is by no means to suggest that there is only one reading of a particular article, although a particular form of expression employed by a newspaper may imply a certain view and enhance a particular attitude. As mentioned above, journalists themselves do realise that the implied reader is only 'imaginary' and does not really exist. Still, delimitation of audience (although only the implied one) is of crucial importance for newspapers as they are in the first place produced and published in order to be read (and sold). The readers will interpret what they read based on their experience, views and values, which are expected to stem mainly from their social background. This assumption may seem oversimplified but newspapers do adopt this view being governed by the need to identify their readers. Newspapers will adhere to certain conventions since the concept of conventionalization is one of the underlying principles of their 'existence' (Richardson 2007). Therefore, production and perception of news should, in my view, be studied and analysed with respect to the implied audience.

Considering meaning, i.e. what is said and how it is understood, I support Hartley's (1982) view that "meaning is a product of interaction", and "it has to be read" (ibid.: 36) and this is definitely a two-sided process, i.e. it requires both the sender and the receiver in the broader sense. They do not interact directly with each other and yet are inseparable. The reader, albeit implied, therefore needs to be taken into account so that a newspaper can differentiate itself from other newspapers.

It remains to add that the implied reader cannot always be seen as the decisive factor or the main driving force which is superordinate to everything else in the process of news production. There are other aspects that need to be taken into account and that are determined by the type of medium, i.e. practical factors such as space, length of the article, organization of the page, etc. In a broader sense, the production of newspapers (as well as other types of media) is also influenced by ownership, media legislation or style and editorial guidelines (Leitner 1997: 189). Still, I suppose that at least the principal choices made in the process of a newspaper article production are made with the reader in mind since the end product has to be of a certain kind and character corresponding to the profile of a particular paper. What a particular reader makes of the news story is a completely different matter. As Hartley (1982) maintains, the reader can either accept what he or she is presented with or refuse it, being influenced by his knowledge and experience as well as by the circumstances under which the news is presented and the reader is found (ibid.: 36). Thus the journalists, or newspapers, may try to propose and promote certain views, but it is fully up to the reader how he or she will 'approach' these views. The crucial point to make in conclusion is that the reader is by no means a passive recipient of newspaper content.

4 BROADSHEETS AND TABLOIDS

Chapter Four outlines differences and similarities between broadsheets (i.e. quality papers) and tabloids (i.e. popular papers) as two basic types of press. These two types can be viewed as dichotomous to a certain extent but at the same time, as a result of tabloidization, are beginning to display certain features which were originally typical of tabloids only. Chapter Four provides a summary of British national dailies, which are divided into three sub-types, i.e. broadsheets, mid-market tabloids and red-top tabloids. Separate subsections are devoted to readership and circulation. The diversification of readership according to social class and voting preferences is considered an important factor for delimiting the implied reader of a particular newspaper. The readership and circulation figures for the papers under investigation (see Subsection 4.4.3) are included in order to clarify the difference between circulation and readership as statistical data and provide a comparison of the papers in the corpus.

4.1 Introduction

As a reader (not a researcher) I myself choose to read 'quality' newspapers mainly for information and facts, which also explains why I do not normally buy and read 'popular' papers, where I mostly expect 'sensational stories' rather than 'hard news', or at least a considerably lower amount of 'hard news' than in the so-called 'quality' press.

Generally, and at the same time rather superficially, broadsheets could be described (and they themselves would prefer to be viewed that way) as more reliable and objective in terms of information and account of events they provide, as opposed to tabloids. Broadsheets do tend to provide more information and present their readers with more in-depth accounts of events in comparison with tabloids, which on the other hand does not mean that broadsheets are neutral and objective, whereas tabloids are biased and emotive. As argued above, newspapers mediate reality, i.e. present it from a certain point of view and may 'direct' the reader to a particular attitude. This may be done explicitly or implicitly but can be identified in both types of press. In addition, as mentioned in Sections 3.3 and 4.3, the two types of papers (i.e. broadsheets and tabloids), or rather their styles and practices, seem to be closer to each other than they used to be earlier, and so it may be less easy to draw a clear line between them as it was often done in the past.

Based on his own research and that of many other scholars such as Fowler (1991), Fairclough (1995b) or Hartley (1982), White (2006) claims that:

> Contrary to any claims to 'objectivity' on the part of the media industry, news reporting is a mode of rhetoric in the broadest sense of the word – a value laden, ideologically determined discourse with a clear potential to influence the media audience's assumptions and beliefs about the way the world is and the way it ought to be.
>
> (White 2006: 37)

When studying news reporting, we should therefore realize that it has this "rhetorical and ultimately ideological potential" (ibid.: 37). As White's research into the language of broadsheets demonstrates, news reporting in this type of press, which is "most typically associated with the notions of 'neutrality' and 'objectivity' ", also displays examples of

evaluative positioning (ibid.: 41). In this regard, White views evaluation as "the text's positioning of its audience to take either negative or positive views of the participants, actions, happenings and state-of-affairs therein depicted" (ibid.: 38).

The present study is based on the view that more is being communicated to the reader than said. As mentioned above, besides information or 'hard facts', the reader is often presented with particular ideas and beliefs, which is done mainly by means of language, and often remains unrecognized by ordinary readers, who are not familiar with newspaper practices and do not always realize how views and attitudes are communicated 'between the lines'. The aims of such use of language may vary from emphasizing particular information/ characteristics or gaining and retaining the reader's interest to establishing or promoting certain views and attitudes in accordance with a particular social and cultural setting or stereotypes rooted in a community/society (cf. e.g. Reah 2002, Jančaříková 2009a). Therefore, the analysis of newspaper discourse carried out in the present volume cannot be concerned with linguistic means only but has to consider them in the given context with attention paid to the effect that a particular form of expression (or representation) may have on the reader.

4.2 Representational sources

It is argued here that various newspapers are targeted at different readership, which is necessarily reflected in the choice of topics, language and style and in the overall image of a paper (i.e. its layout, the use of photos, colour, etc.).

Kress (1996), who among other phenomena investigates the visual design of newspapers, provides a very interesting comparison of two newspapers, the *Frankfurter Allgemaine* and the English tabloid, the *Sun*. Although the choice of papers in his study does not fully correspond with the material in this work, it is possible to apply some of his findings to English newspapers as well. He suggests that merely by looking at the first page of the two newspapers (i.e. the *Frankfurter Allgemaine* and the *Sun*), we can identify what type of reader they speak to if we consider what type of representational sources (e.g. layout, pictures, colours) they work with (ibid.: 25). The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* with long and dense articles (dense both in terms of language and typography) insists on "the prominence of the representational source of verbal language" (ibid.: 24). In Kress' words, the newspaper is written for a reader "who would not wish to be 'short-changed', who wishes to have a serious treatment of an issue" (ibid.: 25). In my view, this assumption also applies to the traditional English broadsheets, such as the *Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph*. The *Sun*, on the contrary, as Kress concludes, displays very different representational resources: "the prominence of the verbal has gone, or rather, it has been fundamentally transformed into 'display' rather than 'information' in the traditional sense" (Kress 1996: 25), i.e. prominence of photos over text, the use of colours, messages conveyed in photo captions, etc. According to Kress, this implies that the *Sun*'s reader is "a reader who does not have the time, the skill, the concentration or willingness to read in a focused fashion. This is a reader who just wants to get her or his perceptions immediately, directly" (ibid.: 25). Although this distinction may appear rather simplistic, we cannot deny that by mere looking at (not reading), for example, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Sun* (the English broadsheet and tabloid respectively), we can trace similar features which Kress describes in his analysis, mainly the contrast between the verbal and visual systems.

It remains to add that as newspapers have to fight for readers and face the decline in circulation (and therefore also in readership, for more information on circulation and

readership, see Subsections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2), their agenda is changing, which is reflected both in their content and layout (for more details on decline in readership, see Subsection 4.4.2 and Table 4.4 below). Therefore, broadsheet newspapers may choose to employ means and strategies formerly typical of tabloids only, and the differences between the two types of papers may thus become less striking.

4.3 Tabloidization

From the above mentioned it can be concluded that the basic distinction between quality and popular papers (broadsheets and tabloids respectively) is still valid, although up to a certain extent only. As means of basic distinction, the terms 'broadsheet' and 'tabloid' are used in the present study to refer to the particular papers under analysis. At the same time, however, it is important to state that we should not consider the two types as strictly dichotomous – as two distinct types or two types between which we can simply draw a line. With all the changes that modern media have undergone in the last twenty or thirty years, we shall realize that "dichotomies such as 'popular' versus 'quality' journalism cannot really grasp the complexities of actual journalistic practice, even if they are still partially valid" (Gripsrud 2008: 34). Judging from the changing content of newspapers and modern press discursive practices, some analysts go even further in their observations and claim that "the line separating broadsheet and tabloid newspapers has 'virtually disappeared' or at least "has become a 'disappearing frontier' " (Franklin 2008a: 18).

As pointed out above, it is necessary to take into account the changing agenda of newspapers, which can be seen as a natural consequence of the overall 'tabloidization' of media and culture (Biressi & Nunn 2008). Modern media are being transformed as their task is not only to inform and provide news but also attract and entertain their audiences. According to Harrison (2008), news has become less descriptive, since events, where possible, are approached as 'human interest stories' (ibid.: 43), which is one of the most significant features of tabloidization in media. Harrison claims that "news in the form of human stories requires of the reader nothing more than a response of moral approval or moral disapproval" (ibid.: 44), which helps to explain why 'human interest stories' are favoured in modern newspapers.

With regard to newspapers, tabloidization means that some strategies and features originally attributed to tabloids are no longer confined to tabloid press only. Tabloidization is reflected in a number of areas, for example, in the content of newspapers, i.e. the range and type of 'news' that particular newspapers choose to provide to their readers, whom the newspaper wants to inform and retain as readers. Other areas of newspaper discourse where tabloidization can be traced include forms of expression and also typography. Among the most prominent features we should also mention 'visualisation' of print journalism – "the emphasis on the visual over the written word in reportage has become symptomatic of the tabloidization of news media in general" (Biressi & Nunn 2008: 8). The term 'tabloidization' used above clearly indicates that the direction is one way, i.e. towards tabloid journalistic style with its values and strategies. Of course, the process is very slow and gradual and to an average reader probably not so evident. Also, such changes and their implementation are not a matter of a few years but rather decades. Franklin (2008a) states that we can trace various changes and tendencies towards tabloid values in modern British broadsheets since the 1980s, when the process started with broadsheet newspapers changing their format and visual features, and gradually proceeded to changes in the content. The fact that this

tendency cannot be ignored is evidenced, for example, by the introduction of a new media term – 'broadloid' – used in recent literature in reference to broadsheets that seem to adapt to 'tabloid culture' more than other broadsheets. In Britain, according to Richardson (2007) or Biressi and Nunn (2008), the *Guardian* appears to represent such a newspaper.

It should also be stated that in modern media studies the term 'tabloid' is mostly associated with a certain style of journalism (or even television and radio) and content of not very good quality, rather than a specific format. In quest for readers, broadsheets are becoming smaller, changing from the broadsheet format (i.e. 750 x 600 mm) to either the 'Berliner size', also known as 'Midi' (i.e. 470 x 315 mm, e.g. *The Guardian*) or even to the tabloid format (i.e. 430 x 280, e.g. *The Independent, The Times*). Since the term 'tabloid' has certain negative connotations which broadsheets strive to avoid, the broadsheets that nowadays have the tabloid format prefer the term 'a compact size' instead (Franklin 2008b).

4.4 British newspapers

The general concept of audience (as outlined in Section 3.5) needs to be further elaborated on with regard to the newspapers readerships. As stated above, generalisations concerning readership may be made up to a certain extent only, usually in terms of the readers' age, gender and political preferences or social class. Albeit very general and rather insufficient, such generalisations play an important role in determining the implied readership of a particular newspaper (governing its content and style) and consequently its advertising potential. In various studies of British newspapers, British national dailies are divided into three, not two types (e.g. Jucker 1992, Reah 2002, Richardson 2007, Tunstall 1996). The traditional distinction – broadsheet vs. tabloid – originally reflected the difference in the format of newspapers but the format no longer seems to be a distinctive feature. For example, the *Independent* or the *Times* (i.e. originally broadsheets in format) have changed to the tabloid format (see Section 4.3). The two terms, i.e. broadsheet and tabloid, have further been extended and instead of the format they rather denote a particular style of reporting and content. Jucker (1992), for example, advocates a three-type categorization of newspapers based on socio-economic classes of the readers: 'up-market' papers (i.e. broadsheets papers) and 'mid-market' and 'down market' (i.e. two types of tabloid), as originally proposed by Henry (1983). Similarly, in Reah (2002) and Tunstall (1996) we find a three-type division: 'broadsheets' vs. 'middle-range tabloids' vs. 'tabloids'. Richardson's (2007) typology includes 'broadsheets' (i.e. the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Times*, the *Financial Times* and the *Independent*), 'mid-market' papers (i.e. the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express*) and 'red-top tabloids' (i.e. the *Daily Mirror*, the *Sun* and the *Star*) (ibid.: 81).

Another traditional dichotomy, i.e. 'quality' vs. 'popular' papers, can be found in numerous studies of British newspapers. The two terms are traditionally used as synonyms of 'broadsheets' and 'tabloids' respectively, although some scholars (e.g. Jucker 1992) express their reservations about these two terms. Jucker claims that "this dichotomy is unsatisfactory because it combines a term making a value judgement with a term referring to the alleged appeal of certain audiences" (ibid.: 47). According to Jucker, the dichotomy may be understood as implying that 'qualities' are not popular or are less popular (ibid.). Also, as stated above, Jucker (1992) emphasizes that it is necessary to distinguish between the two types of tabloids in Britain, and advocates the above mentioned three-type categorisation. Although I realize that the three-type division is more accurate since it maps out the situation in the British newspaper market more accurately, I have chosen to use the terms 'broadsheet'

and ‘tabloid’ in the present study since the middle category of newspapers is not represented in the corpus and it is not the aim of the present study to mutually compare the two types of tabloids. I agree with Jucker’s arguments against the two dichotomies (i.e. quality vs. popular; broadsheet vs. tabloid); however, for the purpose of the present analysis and with respect to the corpus, it is sufficient to use the terms ‘broadsheet’ and ‘tabloid’, and ‘quality’ and ‘popular’ papers as their synonyms.

4.4.1 Readership diversification

It has been stated above that newspapers in order to be successful businesses need to identify their readership. Various surveys which examine the age, social class or voting preferences of readers of a particular newspaper can help newspapers delimit their ‘assumed’/’implied’ reader, however ‘abstract’ such a reader is.

As for the social class of British newspapers readerships, according to Richardson (2007) it is a generally acknowledged fact that “broadsheet newspapers tend to sell more within the elite and upper middle classes, the mid-markets tend to sell to the middle and lower middle classes and the red tops tend to sell to the working classes” (ibid.: 80).

For better illustration and interesting statistical data, we can turn to Worcester (1998), whose research into the British newspapers readerships presents the division of readers based on their social class (see Table 4.1 below, taken completely from Richardson 2007: 81). The social grade system used in surveys of various kinds is based on occupation and divides the British population into six classes, i.e. A, B, C1, C2, D and E (for detailed explanation, see Table 4.2 below). It is a common practice in various surveys to make two main groups by grouping together classes A, B and C1, and C2, D and E into the other main group when a difference between middle classes (A, B, C1) and working classes (C2, D, E) needs to be made. For better illustration of the overall situation in the contemporary British newspaper market, Table 4.1 also includes the mid-market papers, although these are not included in the corpus of this study.

	Social class of readerships (%)			
	A/B	**C1**	**C2**	**D/E**
Financial Times	57	28	9	5
The Times	55	27	9	9
Telegraph	47	31	13	10
Independent	45	32	13	10
Guardian	39	33	13	15
Broadsheet averages	**48.6**	**30.2**	**11.4**	**9.8**
Daily Mail	23	32	24	21
Daily Express	22	31	24	21
Mid-market averages	**22.5**	**31.5**	**24**	**21**
Daily Mirror	7	16	37	40
The Sun	6	15	38	41
The Star	4	15	39	43
Red-top tabloid averages	**5.7**	**15.3**	**38**	**41.3**

Table 4.1: Social class of British Newspaper Readerships according to National Readership Survey (NRS) (Richardson 2007: 81)

Class		% of population (NRS 2008)
A	Higher managerial, administrative and professional	**4**
B	Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional	**23**
C1	Supervisory, clerical and junior managerial, administrative and professional	**29**
C2	Skilled manual workers	**21**
D	Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers	**15**
E	State pensioners, casual and lowest grade workers, unemployed with state benefits only	**8**

Table 4.2: Social grade system according to NRS[1]

The average figures for broadsheets in Table 4.1 show that 78.8 per cent of broadsheet readers on average are A/B and C1, whereas the working classes (i.e. C2 and D/E) constitute 21.2 per cent of broadsheets readerships. With 'mid-market' papers, the proportion is relatively balanced – 54 per cent for A/B and C1, and 45 per cent for C2 and D/E. The average readership figures for 'red-top tabloids' are 21 per cent for A/B and C1, and 79.3 per cent for C2 and D/E. When interpreting these figures, it needs to be taken into account what percentage of population particular classes constitute (see Column Three of Table 4.2). Table 4.1 above demonstrates that members of certain social classes prevail within particular newspaper readership or constitute a far larger proportion than members of other social classes. This type of information is crucial for potential advertisers as it may help determine the implied audience of a particular paper. If we use the traditional grouping, i.e. ABC1 (upper-middle class, middle class and lower middle class) and C2DE (i.e. working classes), with broadsheets and red-top tabloids more than two thirds, i.e. 70 per cent or more of readers belong either to ABC1 or C2DE. Only the mid-market papers do not seem to have such evidently 'polarized' readerships, since their readership division according to social classes is more or less half to half. In addition, it should be pointed out that all newspapers are read by members of other social classes (although the percentage is rather low – around 20 per cent on average with both broadsheets and red top tabloids).

Another interesting overview of the division of British newspapers readerships can be obtained if we consider political preferences of the readers, i.e. according to which party they voted in general elections. The data provided by *Ipsos Mori Research Company,* as shown in Table 4.3 below, demonstrate what percentage of readers of the papers under investigation are Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrats voters. The data from the last five general elections in Britain (i.e. 1992, 1997, 2001, 2005 and 2010) also illustrate whether the political preferences of the readers of particular papers are relatively stable or whether they tend to change and if so, to what extent (Table 4.3 below includes the newspapers under investigation only)[2].

[1] Source: www.nrs.co.uk/lifestyle.html. NRS is a British research company. It provides readership estimates for Britain's major newspapers and magazines.

[2] Source: www.ipsos-mori.com. Ipsos MORI is one of leading UK research companies. It specializes in researching Advertising, Loyalty, Marketing, Media, Social and Political Research and Reputation Research.

	1992 %	1997 %	2001 %	2005 %	2010 %
The Guardian					
Conservative	15	8	6	7	9
Labour	**55**	**67**	**52**	**43**	**46**
Liberal Democrats	**25**	**22**	**34**	**41**	**37**
Others	5	3	8	9	8
The Daily Telegraph					
Conservative	**72**	**57**	**65**	**65**	**70**
Labour	11	20	16	13	7
Liberal Democrats	16	17	14	17	18
Others	1	6	5	5	5
The Daily Mirror					
Conservative	20	14	11	11	16
Labour	**63**	**72**	**71**	**67**	**59**
Liberal Democrats	14	11	13	17	17
Others	3	3	5	5	8
The Sun					
Conservative	**45**	**30**	**29**	**33**	**43**
Labour	**36**	**52**	**52**	**45**	**28**
Liberal Democrats	15	12	11	12	18
Others	4	6	8	10	11

Table 4.3: Voting by Newspaper Readership (1992-2010)

The figures for the *Guardian* from the 1990s general elections show that Labour voters prevailed among the *Guardian* readership (i.e. 55 per cent and 67 per cent); in 2001 and 2005 the number of Labour voters dropped to 52 per cent and 43 per cent respectively and in 2010 the number of Labour voters was very similar to 2005 (46 per cent in 2010 vs. 43 per cent in 2005). Clearly, the *Guardian* is read by a very low percentage of Conservative voters (i.e. 6 vs. 7 vs. 9 per cent in general elections after the year of 2000). Among the *Daily Telegraph* readers we can see a relatively stable percentage of Conservative voters, who constitute about two thirds of the DT readership (65 per cent both in 2001 and 2005, and 70 per cent in 2010).

The voters who read tabloids seem to be more inclined to change their preferences, at least according to the data in Table 4.3 above, which can be interpreted as a result of unsuccessful Labour politics in the last decade. With the *Daily Mirror* we can see an eight per cent decline in Labour voters, who seem to have switched partly to the Conservative party and partly to some minor political parties, although the Labour voters still constituted a majority of the *Daily Mirror* readers in 2010 (i.e. 59 per cent). The figures for the *Sun*, at present the most widely read national newspaper, show the most variation across the five general elections. If we compare the percentage of Conservative and Labour voters, the difference in 1992 was only nine per cent. In 1997 and 2001 it was 22 per cent and 23 per cent respectively, whereas in 2005 the difference was similar to 1992, i.e. 12 per cent. In 2010, the disillusioned Labour voters among the *Sun* readers partly switched to the Conservative and Liberal Democrats parties.

The statistical data mentioned above provide an interesting insight into the diversification of newspaper readerships in view of their voting/political preferences. Similarly to the social class, this type of information may help define the implied audience of a newspaper and may be reflected in how a newspaper depicts certain social groups (e.g. immigrants) or social issues (e.g. welfare system). On the other hand, this does not mean that political news is the main interest of readers. Pursehouse's (2008) research indicates that politics and political topics are not central to determining what newspaper an individual will choose to read. In his research, which concerns the British tabloid *Sun*, Pursehouse interviewed a group of regular *Sun* readers in order to find out their views of the *Sun*'s content, style, attitude to women, other nationalities, etc. The readers themselves tended to describe a typical *Sun* reader as "male, young and 'working class', with some sense of an 'ordinary' job and lifestyle" (ibid.: 298). In Pursehouse's view, the meanings of 'ordinary' and 'everyday' in this description resonate with "the white, British, heterosexual identity, with average qualifications, income and ambitions" (ibid.: 298). Also, most of the readers interviewed by Pursehouse claimed that they were not interested in politics and similar kinds of serious news, which Pursehouse aptly describes as an "apolitical self-identity" (ibid.: 294). What the *Sun* readers interviewed by Pursehouse appreciated most about the *Sun* was its 'connection' with real life and their personal lives, including their work and domestic arrangements, forms of relaxation and leisure time activities (ibid.: 287-288). They also agreed on their view of another British tabloid, the *Daily Mirror*, which they characterized as being "behind the *Sun*", too serious and boring (ibid.: 292). Such a study based on interviews of readers does not provide exact statistical data but still offers a useful insight into who the real readers of a particular paper are and how they view themselves, and at the same time, evidence how unreliable and sometimes even misleading generalisations may be.

The four newspapers under investigation in the present analysis are all British national dailies, two of which are 'quality' newspapers (i.e. the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian*) and the remaining two are 'popular' newspapers (i.e. the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sun*). According to the typologies mentioned and explained above, the former represent 'broadsheets' and the latter represent the so-called 'red-top tabloids'/'down-market papers'/'tabloids'. As stated above, for reasons of simplicity and clarity I use the terms 'broadsheets' and 'tabloids' when referring to the newspapers analysed. The so-called 'mid-market papers'/'middle-range tabloids' are not included in the corpus and therefore the distinction between the two types of tabloids is not relevant in the present analysis.

4.4.2 Circulation

Apart from considering the type and diversification of readerships as described in 4.4.1, it is also worthwhile to mention the circulation figures since these at least partly help to illustrate the situation in the British newspaper market and are important for both newspapers themselves and potential advertisers.

Table 4.4 below presents circulation figures per issue sale for the months of February 2009 and February 2010, and the percentage change year on year. Mainly the latter figure (i.e. the percentage change) illustrates a decline in readerships, which not only British but also European newspapers in general experience at present. The reasons are, for example, new media and also free newspapers, such as the *Metro* or free local newspapers, such as the *Evening Standard* in London. The table includes five main national broadsheets and three national tabloids (all red-top tabloids) in order to provide a more comprehensive picture

of the position of the papers under investigation (marked in bold) in the British newspaper market. The newspapers within each of the two types are listed in descending order according to their circulation.

	February 2009	%	February 2010	%
Broadsheets				
The Daily Telegraph	**821,943**	**-5.16**	**685,177**	**-9.82**
The Times	607,775	-0.86	505,062	-16.90
The Financial Times	421,026	-0.69	390,203	-7.32
The Guardian	**340,238**	**-4.33**	**284,514**	**-16.38**
The Independent	205,964	-18.41	183,547	-10.88
Tabloids				
The Sun	**2,954,298**	**-3.99**	**2,972,763**	**+0.63**
The Daily Mirror	**1,326,628**	**-11.59**	**1,234,967**	**-6.91**
The Daily Star	780,742	+7.85	803,859	+2.96

Table 4.4: Circulation of major British national dailies[3]

As Table 4.4 demonstrates, the *Daily Telegraph* is the best selling broadsheet, although its circulation is considerably lower in comparison with the best selling tabloid, i.e. the *Sun,* which at the same time is the best selling national daily at present. If we look at the percentage change in circulation per year, we can see that almost all newspapers have to face a decline in readership with the exception of the *Sun* and the *Daily Star*. As for the *Sun*, the increase is less than one per cent but it is still important if we consider the relatively big decline (i.e. 4 per cent) in the previous year, since *the Sun* not only managed to stop losing readers but also gained some new readers. The three per cent increase in circulation of the *Daily Star* (not under investigation in the present study) can probably be attributed also to its low price, i.e. 20 pence per copy.

As indicated above, the circulation figures should not be interpreted as the evidence of the readership preferences in terms of content, quality or popularity of the papers since a very important factor influencing the paper sales may also be their price per copy. The price of broadsheet papers was around one pound a copy in 2010 (e.g. the *Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph*; in 2009 the price was the same). The tabloid papers were between 20 and 45 pence a copy (e.g. the *Daily Star* 20p, the *Sun* 30p, the *Daily Mirror* 45p). One of the reasons influencing the price is definitely the papers' advertising potential (cf. Jucker 1992).

Apart from the price, another factor influencing the circulation of newspapers is also the existence and availability of online papers and also the readers' possibilities to access the Internet. It may be assumed that a certain percentage and type of readers may prefer online papers to buying and reading print papers. In my view, we may suppose that members of middle classes have a better and more frequent access to the Internet than working classes. This might also be one of the reasons why broadsheets circulations tend to drop, as their readers may more easily switch to the online papers. However, statistical data concerning readership of online papers are not available at present since the NRS is currently developing a methodology to measure the websites readerships (cf. www.nrs.co.uk). Apart from online versions of newspapers, there are other types of media (mainly television) that compete

[3] Source: www.pressgazette.co.uk, data based on survey provided by ABC, i.e. Audit Bureau of Circulations.

for their audiences and tend to accommodate to modern culture by introducing new kinds of programmes and by changing their styles and practices, and also free newspapers, as mentioned above.

4.4.3 Circulation vs. readership

As it is the case with all statistical data, circulation figures need to be interpreted in the right way. With regard to newspapers this means that we have to differentiate between 'circulation' and 'readership', as these are not identical. In other words, the fact that the circulation of a newspaper is one million copies does not mean that the readership of the paper is also one million.

Circulation of newspapers in Britain is monitored and calculated by *Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC)* and can be defined as "a count of how many copies of a particular publication are distributed" (www.nrs.co.uk/trends.html). However, it is often the case that one publication has more than one reader per copy, which means that the 'readership' figures (calculated and provided by NRS) will be considerably higher than the circulation figures, as can be seen from Table 4.5 below. In this regard, 'readership' is defined as "an estimate of how many readers a publication has" (www.nrs.co.uk/trends.html).

	Circulation July 2010	**Readership October 2009 – March 2010**
The Daily Telegraph	681,322	1,761,000
The Guardian	286,220	1,102,000
The Daily Mirror	1,248,919	3,221,000
The Sun	2,979,999	7,682,000

Table 4.5: Circulation and readership of the newspapers under investigation[4]

Although the circulation and readership data in Table 4.5 are not from exactly the same period (since the figures are calculated and provided by two different institutions over different periods), this fact, in my view, does not significantly influence the overall proportion of circulation and readership illustrated in the table. The circulation figures are influenced by sudden as well as long-term changes, for example the price, a particular promotional campaign (e.g. the edition contains a free gift), seasonal factors, etc. The circulation figures are calculated and published every month while the readership figures every six months.

[4] Source: www.nmauk.co.uk. Data taken and available from the Newspaper Marketing Agency (the agency is a joint project of British national newspapers).

5 REPRESENTATION OF PEOPLE IN NEWSPAPER DICSOURSE

Chapter Five provides a summary of the issue of representation of people in newspaper discourse. Separate sections are devoted to the most influential theories of representation, i.e. van Leeuwen's theory of the representation of people as social actors (1996) and referential and predicational strategies as defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2001). Reference is treated here as a semantic category.

5.1 Representational choices

The present study compares how the same event is reported on in four different British newspapers with focus on expressing and enhancing the core participants' status. The main objective is to investigate what types of strategies in representation are employed in the newspapers analysed and the possible effect of the representational choices on the reader and his or her perception of the event as such and also of a particular social issue which the event embodies.

Considering the ways of referring to people in English, Van Leeuwen (1996) labels participants as 'social actors' and proposes "a *sociosemantic* inventory of the ways in which social actors can be represented" (ibid.: 32). Within the scope of the present study, mainly the categories of 'functionalisation' and 'identification' appear relevant for the present analysis of crime news.

> Functionalisation occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do, for instance an occupation or role.
> Identification occurs when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are.
>
> (van Leeuwen 1996: 55)

In my view, functionalisation and identification in newspaper discourse should not be viewed as a mere determination of who is being spoken about. How a person is referred to is motivated by other factors and will have different effects on the reader. According to van Leeuwen (1996) the categories can merge depending on what representational effect is to be achieved (ibid.: 67). A particular type of semantic reference also encompasses certain social connotations since it places a person or event into a certain context and assigns a particular status to him or her. As Richardson (2007) explains:

> Journalists have to provide names for the people in the events they report and this naming always involves choice. And logically, by choosing one social category over another, they include them within a category and exclude them from other different categories – or perhaps, choose to foreground one social category over other equally accurate alternatives.
>
> (Richardson 2007:49)

A person can be referred to as an **individual** but also as **a representative of a certain social group**. In van Leeuwen's terminology the former type of reference can be described as 'individualisation', whereas the latter is labelled as 'assimilation' (1996: 48). The latter may often be significant in contexts where an important social issue is involved since a certain activity or wrongdoing may then be presented as typically associated with a certain social group and result in stereotyping or even stigmatizing of certain social groups (Jewkes 2004). As Kramsch (1998) stresses, group identity is a cultural phenomenon, i.e. it is not "a natural fact, but a cultural perception" (ibid: 67). It is our own culture and mainly particular "stereotypical models built around it" that shape our perception of other people's social identity. At the same time, we shall realize that "societies impose racial and ethnic categories only on certain groups" (ibid.: 67-68).

The term 'reference' is used here as a cover term for the means of representation that identify, classify and 'evaluate' the core participants and assign particular qualities to them, i.e. proper names and noun phrases. Reference conceived in this way therefore fulfils a number of functions. In the first place the participants need to be identified for the sake of the content and clarity, i.e. so that the reader learns who is being talked about (*ideational function* in Halliday's (1978) framework; *transactional* in Brown and Yule's (1983) terminology). Secondly, reference is closely interlinked with characterization and classification, i.e. a particular choice of reference serves not only to identify the participants but may also assign to them certain values typically associated with particular social actors. As a result, via reference it is possible to convey a certain view of the participants, social relations and attitudes which the writer (newspaper) communicates to the reader (audience). This is clearly evidence of *interpersonal* function of language as proposed by Halliday (in Brown and Yule's terminology *interactional*).

5.2 Reference

As stated in Section 5.1, various forms of reference perform the function of identification, categorisation and classification, which creates space for evaluation to be made and communicated to the reader. I adhere to the view that the way that people are 'named' in newspaper discourse may have a significant impact on how they are perceived by the reader (Richardson 2007).

5.2.1 Naming

The concept of 'naming' requires some clarification, as it can be conceived in several different ways. In a broader sense it can be defined as a process the result of which is a naming unit, i.e. a conventional sign/a conventional denotation of the object (Mathesius 1975). The denotative meaning, or in Leech's (1981) terminology 'conceptual' meaning, is only one component of meaning – naming units also have 'associative' and 'thematic' meaning. The 'associative' meaning, as Leech puts it, includes 'connotative', 'stylistic', 'affective', 'reflected' and 'collocative' meaning. Within the scope of this study, mainly the 'connotative' and 'collocative' meanings appear most relevant. It should be noted that "connotation is our 'real-world' experience associated with a naming unit" (Hladký & Růžička 1998: 21). For example, as Hladký and Růžička explain, "the word *woman* includes physical characteristics, psychological and social properties ('subject to maternal instinct'), typical properties ('experienced in cookery')" (ibid.). Another important property of connotations

is that they are not universal and may vary depending on the social context, the context of situation and cultural differences or cultural-bound preferences. 'Collocative' meaning "consists of associations a word acquires on account of the meaning of words with which it collocates" (ibid.: 23). In my view, the conceptual, connotative and collocative meanings are crucial in newspaper discourse since the way people are 'named' contributes to creating a particular status of the person, mostly by foregrounding one or more of many 'identities' that every person possesses (cf. Richardson 2007). 'Naming' in newspaper discourse, as Richardson uses the term, can be understood as making choices of expressions which create a particular 'picture' of a person.

However, the term 'naming' can also be used in the narrow sense, i.e. the use of proper names and their various forms. Chovanec (2000b) in his study of participant identification in newspaper headlines suggests that from the semantic point of view "the numerous variants of proper names can express a range of attitudes" and therefore the choice of a particular form of name "from the paradigmatic set of available options" carries interpersonal implications (ibid.: 126). In my view, this statement can be extended at least partly from headlines to whole articles, since it is possible to trace a certain consistency in the use of proper names (or proper nouns – a term used in the present work) depending on either a positive or negative status of the participants. As Chovanec states, a proper name has "identifying and individualizing functions" since it enables to depict a participant as an individual (ibid.). In the case of newspaper reports on high profile crime events, the individual is usually already known from previously published articles and is thus familiar to the reader, which appears to be important mainly for enhancing feelings of sympathy towards the victim. If an article is the first report in the press on a particular event, the participants are identified at the beginning of the article and the choice of a particular form of name together with other referential means further communicates and enhances the person's positive or negative status, such as a more or less consistent use of the given name of the victim or the surname of the killer.

It is one of the aims of the present analysis to explore the use of 'proper nouns' in crime news reports in order to demonstrate how the choice of a particular form of a person's name enables to accentuate his or her positive or negative status. Therefore, one part of the analysis is devoted to proper nouns and mainly the use of their variants so that regularities or similarities between the two types of papers can be revealed, provided that such regularities exist.

Since the term 'naming' can be conceived differently, as explained above, I choose to use a more general term of 'reference' in order to avoid confusion. The term 'reference' is understood here mostly as a semantic concept and as an umbrella term for all expressions which form noun phrases referring to the core participants, i.e. proper nouns, common nouns and pronouns.

5.2.2 Referential and predicational strategies

Apart from proper nouns, a person can be referred to by common nouns, the choice of which depends on a number of factors, such as the content of the article, the type of event, the status of the participants that is to be communicated to the reader, the context and also discursive and social practices of particular types of newspapers.

Richardson (2007) emphasizes the social dimension of reference – a particular noun has referential and social meaning. Being referred to as, for example, *a driver* or *an immigrant*, a person is placed within a particular social group or category that may be for various reasons

considered more important in the given context than other characteristics of the person. With some social groups, such as *blacks* or *illegal immigrants*, such referential choices are closely connected with social or cultural stereotypes. The recurrent use of certain wordings, phrases or collocations may help to reinforce these stereotypes and shared assumptions, and as Stubbs (1997) points out, they "can fix and transmit cultural meanings" (ibid.: 368).

Chovanec (2000b) maintains that 'category labels', i.e. common nouns used to refer to a person, function to identify a person as "a type rather than an individual". The choice of a particular common noun enables identification of a person and, at the same time, his/her characterization, which naturally encompasses certain social roles that the reader 'supplies' himself/herself based on his/her expectations and also cultural stereotypes (ibid.: 127-128). Therefore, the reader is by no means to be viewed as a mere (passive) recipient of information.

Reisigl and Wodak (2001) emphasize that such referential choices, in their terminology 'text referential strategies', are motivated psychologically, socially or even politically. In other words, via reference the participants are assigned particular social values/roles and may also be associated with certain social groups since referential strategies (also called 'nomination strategies') are those "by which one constructs and represents social actors" (ibid.: 45). However, as argued above, whether the reader will make these connections and interpret the reference in the intended way is fully dependent on the reader himself/herself since the implications signalled by particular reference may not always be part of the reader's understanding of the text. Thus it may be concluded that referential strategies are used not only to identify but may at the same time evaluate the participants.

Apart from referential strategies evaluation may be realized via 'predicational' strategies – strategies which are used to assign "qualities to people, animals, objects, events, actions and social phenomena" (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 54). As Reisigl and Wodak maintain, these strategies "may, for example, be realised as stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicates" and as a result the social actors are depicted "more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively" (ibid. 45). Predications may be expressed in a vast variety of ways, as the following citation from Wodak and Reisigl illustrates:

> Among other things, predicational strategies are mainly realised by specific forms of *reference* (based on explicit denotation as well as on more or less implicit connotation), by attributes (in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups), by *predicates* or predicative *nouns/adjectives/pronouns*, by *collocations*, by explicit *comparisons, similes, metaphors* and other *rhetorical figures* (including *metonymies*, *hyperboles*, *litotes* and *euphemisms*) and by more or less implicit *allusions*, *evocations* and *presuppositions/implications*.
>
> (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 54-55)

Having made a distinction between the two types of discursive strategies, i.e. referential and predicational, it shall be stated that the two cannot always be clearly separated from each other. Certain nouns, e.g. *a child* or *a criminal* have the capacity to convey positive or negative qualities in themselves without any premodifying or postmodifying expressions, i.e. they involve evaluation although no attributive qualification as such is made. As Reisigl and Wodak (2001) put it, "some of the referential strategies can be considered to be specific

forms of predicational strategies, because the pure referential identification very often already involves a denotatively as well as connotatively more or less deprecatory or appreciative labelling of the social actors" (ibid.: 45; see Examples 42 and 47b below).

In view of what has been stated above, the present study endeavours to reveal what referential and predicational strategies particular newspapers use in order to establish and enhance positive and negative status of the core participants. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) partly draw on van Leeuwen's theory of social actors and propose an extensive framework of strategies reflecting discrimination in discourse. In the present analysis no such unifying topic (like discrimination) can be identified, since the murderers are people of different ages, backgrounds and have different motives for their actions. Therefore, the present analysis focuses on the informative and evaluative potential of noun phrases in particular context in order to demonstrate how a status of the victim and killer is constituted and enhanced in the report.

6 CONTEXT AND MEANING INTERPRETATION

Chapter Six presents a discussion of the role of context in newspaper discourse with focus on interpreting reference to participants in crime news reports. The chapter outlines various types of context and explains why an analysis of this kind requires a sociolinguistic approach. A brief section is devoted to cognitive processes in meaning interpretation.

6.1 The role of context

As it follows from what has been stated in the preceding chapters, meaning and its interpretation should not be viewed as separate from the language user. It is the speaker/writer who has presuppositions, and it is the hearer/reader who makes inferences about what he/she has heard or read. Discourse analysts therefore have to take into account not only semantic but also pragmatic meaning, and consider the context in which the statement or utterance has been produced. As Tárnyiková (2007) maintains, "the interpretation of natural language manifestations is presupposed to be inherently *context-sensitive* and consequently *context-bound*" (ibid.: 61). An analysis of meaning in media discourse cannot be made without considering the context of situation and social context, or even in isolation from them (cf. Brown & Yule 1983, Firth 1957). In Fairclough's (1995) view, analysis of language in abstraction from social context "cannot be the basis for effective interdisciplinary work on the media" (ibid.: 16).

With regard to the topic of the present study this means that a particular form of reference shall be considered in view of the message and purpose of the text, the culture in which the reference is made and in view of the other participants of the event and their social roles. As Sykes (1985) maintains, when discourse involves, for example, reference to ethnic or racial groups, individuals or certain groups may be presented in favourable or unfavourable way; however, the perception of reference as being favourable or unfavourable depends on the context in the widest sense. When we want to differentiate between social groups such as *British citizens* and *immigrants* or *white* and *black people*, via lexical choices it is possible to dehumanize one of the groups in order to portray it in a less favourable light and even as a possible threat or negative force in the society (ibid.: 83-101). This kind of effect can be easily achieved on the lexical level, since certain semantically loaded words or word groups will trigger particular positive or negative views and assign a certain social role to either an individual or a group of people. However, even these words that have derogatory character may not always be understood by the reader as derogatory at all, depending on the context and shared cultural or background knowledge. Therefore, discourse analysis cannot be limited to such items only. As Sykes (1985) stresses, it is often "more revealing to study the range of lexical items actually used in relation to the range of items that the speaker could have used" (ibid.: 97). Similarly, Widdowson (2007) points out that certain lexical items overtly convey the speaker's negative or positive view because such words are considered negative or positive by general conventions; for example, by choosing to use the word *mob* as opposed to *gathering*, the speaker clearly communicates his or her negative evaluation or negative attitude (Widdowson 2007). On the other hand, there are many words which simply "are not marked for attitude" and, as Widdowson emphasizes, "words are not put to use in

isolation" (ibid.: 69). I adhere to the above mentioned view proposed by Sykes (1985) and Widdowson (2007) that it would be too simplistic and in many ways also impossible and insufficient to rely only on semantically loaded lexical items when interpreting meaning, regardless of the speaker, context of the situation, social context and mental processes, since all of these considerably influence meaning and its interpretation.

6.2 Types of context

From the above mentioned it follows that the meaning of a word, utterance or 'text' cannot be considered and analysed in isolation from context. At this point, the concept of 'context', or rather its types, shall be clarified for two reasons. Firstly, 'context' is a rather heterogeneous concept; secondly, the terminology used to label the types and subtypes of context differs considerably depending on the discipline concerned and the approach adopted.

Within news discourse analysis, the principal distinction between 'linguistic' context (i.e. "the surrounding linguistic material, or rather the semantic and structural properties of the surrounding linguistic material") and 'non-linguistic' (or 'extra-linguistic') context may be considered a starting point, the latter being subdivided into 'situational' and 'pragmatic' context (Tárnyiková 2007: 63). According to Tárnyiková, the 'situational' context (also labelled as 'context of situation') can be defined as "the direct environment of discourse, sensitive to global cultural resources" or, in other words, as "a configuration of circumstances in which communication takes place" (ibid.: 64). In newspaper discourse, the interpretation of meaning necessarily involves activation of shared knowledge, and social and cultural models. In this respect, the concept of 'pragmatic' context as defined by Tárnyiková (2007), and mainly the 'local pragmatic context', appears highly relevant:

> *Pragmatic context* is the context of shared (background) knowledge about the world and our experience activated in the process of communication. Sometimes, a *global* pragmatic context (generally shared knowledge of the universe) is distinguished from the *local* pragmatic context shared by members of a particular socio-cultural community.
>
> (Tárnyiková 2007: 65)

In my view, the pragmatic context, as defined by Tárnyiková, can be conceived as including also 'the context of culture'. A partly overlapping term may be found in socio-linguistics, i.e. the so-called 'social' context, which refers to "the social relationships among the participants of communication, their social roles, and expectations associated with those roles" (Tárnyiková 2007: 66).

In this study, the concepts of 'pragmatic' context (including the context of culture) and 'social' context appear to be particularly relevant since the status of the core participants is among other factors determined also by cultural stereotypes and traditional values of a particular society and its current state and problems.

6.3 Cognitive processes in meaning interpretation

In the previous section, background knowledge was described as part of pragmatic context, and as such it is treated in the present study. However, in the literature discussing

meaning interpretation there have also been attempts to treat background knowledge from a different perspective, using the cognitive approach, which stems from cognitive psychology. Although this approach is not adopted in the present study, it is worthwhile to mention the basic premises of the cognitive approach, albeit rather briefly.

Considered from the cognitive perspective, background/pre-existing knowledge is viewed as 'stereotypic knowledge', which is an important element in the general process of understanding. In cognitive psychology there have been approaches attempting to relate pre-existing knowledge and interpretation of written discourse; these approaches propose the existence of the so-called 'scenarios' or 'schemata' that a particular text, if written effectively, should activate (according to Brown & Yule (1983) these terms can be used interchangeably). This view has been further elaborated on within the discipline of pragmatics – the knowledge representations may be approached as 'schemata', 'frames' or 'scripts', all of which represent patterns of pre-existing knowledge. In Yule's (1996) framework, the most general term is a 'schema', i.e. "a pre-existing knowledge structure in memory, typically involving the normal expected patterns of things" (ibid.: 134).

If a structure of pre-existing knowledge has a static pattern, it is referred to as a 'frame', for example a frame of an apartment entails the existence of a kitchen, bathroom and bedroom (Yule 1996: 86). Minsky (1975) defines 'frames' in a more general way as 'stereotyped situations'.

A more dynamic pattern of pre-existing knowledge within which we can identify typical event sequences is labelled as a 'script'; for example, a normal script of a restaurant involves typical events in a certain sequence (Yule 1996, cf. Schank & Abelson 1977).

It should be noted that all the above mentioned patterns, i.e. 'schemata', 'frames' and 'scripts' may be to a lesser or larger degree determined by a particular culture or social group.

7 THE NOUN PHRASE

Chapter Seven examines in detail the structure of the English noun phrase (NP). Several major studies and approaches are outlined here in order to sum up possible approaches to the structure of the complex NP, both in general and with regard to the newspaper discourse. It shall be stated at this stage that the structural level is not the major concern of the present study. Structural patterns, however, serve as a tool which enables a semantic analysis of the expressions that appear in particular positions within the noun phrase.

7.1 The noun phrase structure

The focus of the present study is referential and predicational strategies and the expression of a positive and negative status of the participants. In order to determine how these are realized structurally and semantically, it is essential at this stage to examine in detail the noun phrase, its structure and its potential to express both factual and evaluative content.

As Biber et al. (1999) state, "nouns are often used to refer to a new referent that is previously unknown to the listener/reader. Thus pre- and postmodifiers are used to help to identify the reference of the noun and provide descriptive details" (ibid.: 581). Therefore, it is my assumption that noun phrases shall serve as one of the main means of establishing and building of the status of the core participants in crime news reports. In my view, apart from information, evaluation is embedded in noun phrases too since the ways people are named may convey traditional (or desired/intended) views and attitudes, or accentuate particular qualities of social actors; qualities that are or are not in accordance with the social and cultural norms of a particular community. Evaluation and ascription of a certain status can be achieved by a noun itself (which can thus fulfil referential and predicational function at the same time) and/or via its pre- and postmodification.

As for types of the noun phrase in terms of its complexity, the distinction between 'simple' NPs and 'complex' NPs is relevant for the present work. The 'simple' NP, as defined by Quirk et al. (1985: 1350) is understood as a noun phrase without modification (i.e. a noun, pronoun or a name); the 'complex' NP is a noun phrase with modification (i.e. premodification, postmodification or both).

7.2 Modern approaches to the complex noun phrase structure

Before considering the range and types of noun phrases in newspaper discourse, it is worthwhile to mention several general frameworks of the English noun phrase, as outlined by Biber et al. (LGSWE, 1999), Huddleston and Pullum (2002) and Quirk et al. (CGEL, 1985) in their comprehensive grammars. Since the approach in the present study is mainly functional, the outline representing the major modern approaches to the structure of NP would be incomplete without Halliday's (1985) pattern of nominal group structure.

The patterns of the basic structure of the NP presented below (see Figures 1-4) reveal a number of similarities arising from the fact that all the authors adopt a functional approach. On closer inspection we can trace differences in terminology and the formal division of the Pre-Head and Post-Head Territory. The result, i.e. the order of the elements in the noun phrase is, of course, identical.

Of the four frameworks of the NP, Halliday's and Quirk et al.'s patterns enable useful mutual comparison, as they adopt a similar structural and functional approach. Huddleston

and Pullum's (2002) framework is also structural and functional. It introduced several new concepts and is based on the distinction between the so-called 'internal' and 'external' dependents, i.e. dependents that modify either a 'nominal' (which is an intermediate category between a noun and a noun phrase) or a 'noun phrase' (see Subsection 7.2.2). Biber et al.'s (1999) grammar is a corpus based grammar, and as such it focuses not only on the formal characteristics and features of various structures, but also their actual use in contemporary English, and is thus more descriptive than theoretical. As a result, Biber et al.'s grammar deals with the noun phrase structure also in terms of distribution and realization in the four principal registers.

With regard to what has been stated above, in Subsection 7.2.1 below Halliday's and Quirk et al.'s models are described and compared, whereas the remaining two, i.e. Huddleston and Pullum's, and Biber et al.'s models, are dealt with in separate Subsections, namely Subsections 7.2.2 and 7.2.3 respectively, with comparisons being made where relevant.

7.2.1 Halliday (1985) vs. Quirk et al. (1985)

Deictic			Numerative	Epithet		Classifier	Thing	Qualifier
Pre-D	D	Post-D	ordering quantifying	attitude	quality			
both	*those*		*two*	*splendid*	*old*	*electric*	*trains*	*with panto-graphs*
	a	*certain*					*disquiet*	

Figure 1: Experiential structure of the NP (Halliday 1985)

Determinative			Premodification zones				Head	Postmodifier
Pre-D	Central D	Post D	PreCentral	Central	PostCentr	PreHead		
	our		*numerous*	*splendid*		*tourist*	*attractions*	*to see*
	a		*certain*		*grey*	*church*	*tower*	*which we saw*
all	*this*				*costly*	*social*	*security*	

Figure 2: Noun phrase structure (Quirk et al. 1985)

Out of the two layers of structure, i.e. 'experiential' and 'logical' distinguished by Halliday, Figure One illustrates the experiential structure of the nominal group; the logical structure is not the focus of the present work and therefore is not included here (for more information on the logical structure of the noun phrase, see Halliday 1985: 170-173).

Let us first consider the Pre-Head Territory. In this part of the noun phrase, Halliday (1985) defines four elements. The first two are of determinative nature, i.e. the 'Deictic' and the 'Numerative', the other two have a premodifier function, i.e. the 'Epithet' and the 'Classifier'. The first two, i.e. the 'Deictic' and 'Numerative', although both determinative, have different functions in his view and are, therefore, treated as separate sub-categories. The 'Deictic' "indicates whether or not some specific subset of the 'Thing' is intended; and if so, which" (ibid.: 160); therefore this element is of two kinds, i.e. specific (e.g. *the, this, my, Mary's*) and non-specific (e.g. *each, every, both, all*). The 'Numerative' "indicates some numerical feature of the subset: either quantity or order, either exact or inexact" (ibid.: 163), for example, *many, few, next, last*. The following two constituents, labelled as the

'Epithet' (which can be of two kinds, i.e. expressing attitude or quality) and 'Classifier' are premodifying items. The 'Epithet' conveys "some quality of the subset", which may be "an objective property of the thing itself, or it may be an expression of the speaker's subjective attitude towards it" (ibid.), the former being 'experiential' in function (i.e. 'Experiential Epithets') and potentially defining, the latter 'interpersonal' in function and not potentially defining (i.e. 'Attitudinal Epithets'). As for the order of Epithets, "attitudinal Epithets tend to precede experiential ones" (ibid.: 163). The 'Classifier' element "indicates a particular subclass of the thing in question, e.g. *electric trains, passenger trains, wooden trains, toy trains*" (ibid.: 164) and is placed closest to the head. It shall be stated that the same word can fulfil the function of 'Epithet' in one meaning and 'Classifier' in another; for example, *fast* in *a fast train* (as distinguished from *a passenger train*) functions as 'Classifier', whereas *fast* meaning *going fast* is 'Epithet'. Thus, the elements in the Epithet function are descriptive and/or evaluative, and those in the Classifier function are classifying. This example justifies the reasons for semantic analysis.

In Quirk et al. (see Figure 2 above) we find two main constituents in the Pre-Head Territory, i.e. 'Determinative' and 'Premodifier'. Quirk et al. approach premodifiers from a different perspective – they identify four modification zones, i.e. 'Pre-central', 'Central', 'Post-central' and 'Pre-head'. Adjectives fall in a particular zone if they satisfy all or only some of the relevant syntactic tests (i.e. whether an adjective is central or peripheral, gradable or nongradable, whether it can or cannot be intensified, whether it can be modified by *very*). Zone I (i.e. Pre-Central) is reserved for 'peripheral nongradable adjectives', mainly intensifying adjectives, i.e. emphasizers, amplifiers, downtoners (e.g. *definite, pure; absolute, entire; feeble, slight* respectively.). Zone II (i.e. Central) "includes the central, gradable adjectives, i.e. the most adjectival items, which satisfy all four criteria of adjectival status. Their function is to describe or characterize, and they often form contrastive pairs like *big/small, good/bad, hot/cold*" (1985: 1338). Zone II also comprises adjectives of emotive, evaluative or subjective character (e.g. *lovely, beautiful, horrible, nasty*). Zone III (i.e. Post-central) contains mainly 'participles' and 'colour adjectives', e.g. a *retired* colonel, *blue* skies, a *working* theory (ibid.). Zone IV (i.e. Pre-Head) is occupied by "the least adjectival and most nominal premodifiers" (ibid.: 1339), i.e. nationality, provenance and style adjectives; adjectives such as *annual*, *medical*, *economic*; nouns such as *tourist* (attraction), *Yorkshire* (women), *college* (student) (ibid.). The four modification zones are proportionally rather different. For example, Zone I contains a relatively small number of adjectives, whereas Zone II comprises a large number of adjectives since it contains central gradable adjectives. Descriptive elements are typically found in the Central and Post central zones, whereas classifying elements are found in the Pre-head zone. In more general terms, Quirk et al. state:

> We suggest one principle accounting for all premodifiers: a subjective/objective polarity. That is, modifiers relating to properties which are (relatively) inherent in the head of the noun phrase, visually observable, and objectively recognizable or accessible, will tend to be placed nearer to the head and be preceded by modifiers concerned with what is relatively a matter of opinion, imposed on the head by the observer, not visually observed, and only subjectively assessable.
>
> (Quirk et al. 1985: 1341)

This general principle is in accordance with Halliday's classification, i.e. the order of elements in the premodifying function. 'Attitudinal epithets' (i.e. the opinion of the observer) tend to precede the experiential ones (i.e. observable qualities); 'Classifiers' (indicating a subclass of the thing) are placed in front of the head. Therefore, we may conclude that Halliday and Quirk et al. agree on the order of premodifiers in that they state that subjective elements precede objective ones and descriptive elements precede classifying elements (cf. also Jucker 1992).

Comparing Halliday's and Quirk et al.'s examples (see Figures 1 and 2 above), we find the adjective *certain* in different slots. Halliday lists *certain* among the so called 'Post-Deictics', i.e. elements that identify "a subset of the class of 'thing' by referring to its fame or familiarity, its status in the text, or its similarity/dissimilarity to some other designated subset" (1985: 162), for example, *other, same, complete, entire, certain, expected, famous, obvious, typical, special*. According to this definition, the noun phrase *a certain disquiet* (taken from Halliday) contains two Deictic elements. In Quirk et al. *certain* (in the same meaning as the examples in Figures 1 and 2 illustrate) is considered 'Premodifier' in the 'Pre-central' zone (for more information on this difference, cf. Fries 2000). However, despite the difference in terminology and placement in different slots, the order of the elements is the same.

The 'Post-Head' Territory seems less problematic, since the elements in the Post-Head Territory are categorised according to their internal structure and not according to their position as premodifiers. In Halliday we find one element, i.e. the 'Qualifier', the function of which is to characterize the 'Thing' in terms of some process. The 'Qualifier' can be realised by a clause (for major processes) or by a phrase (for minor processes). Quirk et al. label this element as Postmodifier, which can be realized by, for example, finite clauses, non-finite clauses, appositive clauses or prepositional phrases. Biber et al. (1999) adopt Quirk et al.'s terminology whereas Huddleston and Pullum stick to the basic distinction between complements and modifiers in the Post-Head Territory, as explained below (see Subsection 7.2.2).

It should be noted that Quirk et al.'s terminology has been adopted extensively by many other grammarians and linguists, either fully or with slight modifications, for example, Biber et al. (1999) or Jucker (1992) and can be regarded as traditional and one of the most influential and frequently used frameworks.

7.2.2 Huddleston and Pullum (2002)

As mentioned above, Huddleston and Pullum's framework stems from the distinction between a 'nominal' and 'noun phrase', and between 'external' and 'internal dependents'. Before proceeding to Huddleston and Pullum's structure of the NP, we need to clarify the basic concepts on which Huddleston and Pullum's structure of the NP is based.

They adopt the basic definition that "a NP consists of a head element, alone or accompanied by one or more dependents" (2002: 329), which either precede the head (i.e. 'pre-head dependents') or follow the head (i.e. 'post-head dependents'). What is different, however, in their approach is that apart from a 'noun' and a 'noun phrase' they recognise another, intermediate category, i.e. a nominal. Thus, in their framework, *the old man* is a 'noun phrase', *old man* is a 'nominal' and *the* is a 'determiner'. In this phrase the nominal is the head of the NP and consists of two parts: a modifier and the head. The nominal itself has the word *man* as its head, which Huddleston and Pullum label as the 'ultimate head of the NP', i.e. "the final head element in a line running from the NP through any intermediate

heads until we reach the level of the word" (ibid.: 330). Huddleston and Pullum believe that it is essential to distinguish this intermediate category to account for modification in noun phrases such as *an economic crisis result*, where the ultimate head *result* is modified by a phrase (*economic crisis*), not by two words.

An important distinction within the noun phrase structure as presented by Huddleston and Pullum is between 'external' and 'internal' dependents, both of which can be placed in the pre-head or post-head position. This distinction is closely connected with the concepts of 'nominal' and 'noun phrase', as explained above. The 'internal' dependents are defined as "immediate constituents of a nominal rather than of a NP" (ibid.) and are of two kinds, i.e. 'modifiers' and 'complements'. Thus in the following noun phrase we can identify two internal dependents:

Example 1:

the photographs <u>of Paris</u> <u>which her father had taken</u>

(Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 330)

Both the 'internal dependents' are in the post-head position, i.e. a 'complement' (*of Paris*) and a 'modifier' (*which her father had taken*). The definite article is an 'external' dependent. External dependents are "immediate constituents of a NP, not a nominal" (ibid.: 331) and are also of two kinds, i.e. 'pre-determiners' (e.g. *<u>all</u> those copies*) and 'peripheral' modifiers; the latter being typically adverbs, prepositional phrases or reflexive pronouns (e.g. *the car <u>alone</u>, Jill <u>herself</u>)*. Thus the noun phrase in Example 1 could be extended as shown in Example 2 to include another internal dependent in the pre-head position (i.e. modifier *beautiful*) and an external dependent functioning as a pre-determiner (i.e. *all*)

Example 2:

<u>all</u> the <u>beautiful</u> photographs of Paris which her father had taken

The noun phrase structure as defined by Huddleston and Pullum (2002) can be represented with the tree diagram in Figure Three (taken from Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 332):

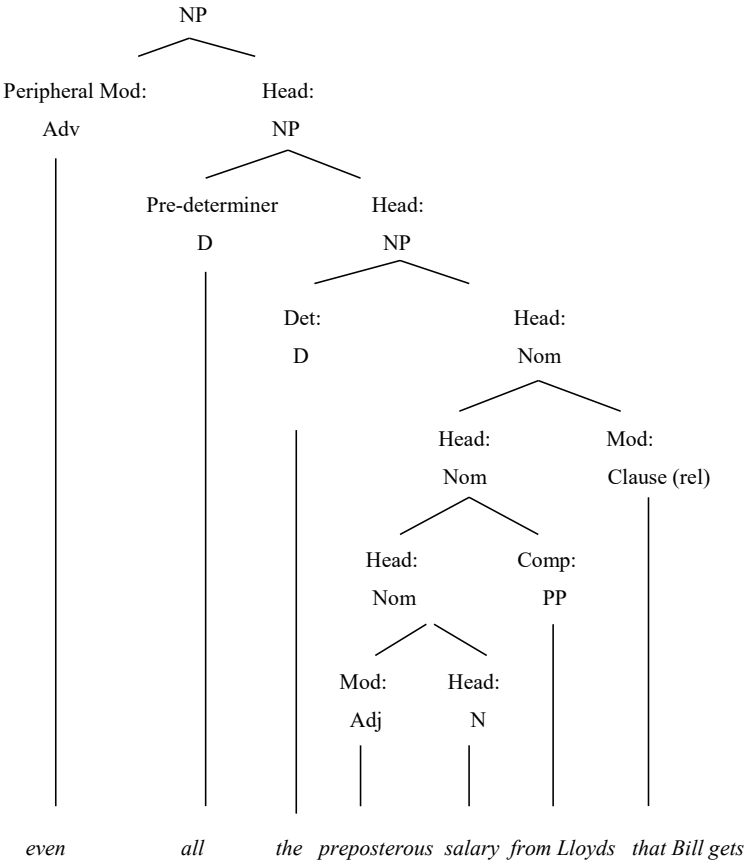


Figure 3: Noun phrase structure (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 332)

If we consider the function and type of the individual elements, the linear structure of the noun phrase can be represented as Figure 4 illustrates:

Pre-head external modifiers	>	**Determiner**	>	**Pre-head internal modifiers**	>	**Pre-head complement**	>	**Head**	>	**Post-head internal dependents**	>	**Post-head external modifiers**
all		*those*		*grossly over-rewarded*		*financial*		*advisers*		*in the city*		*too*

Figure 4: Basic order of elements in the NP (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 452)

The internal dependents, i.e. the 'complement' and 'modifier', are partly parallel with Halliday's 'Classifier' and 'Epithet' respectively, at least in the Pre-Head Territory. In the Post-Head Territory, however, Halliday uses the term Qualifier, whereas Huddleston and

Pullum apply the same terms, i.e. 'complement' and 'modifier'. It was stated above that the same word can function as 'Epithet' or 'Classifier', for example, a *fast train* as mentioned above, i.e. *a train going fast* vs. *an express train* (see Subsection 7.2.1; cf. Halliday 1985: 164). In Huddleston and Pullum's framework, the former is labelled as 'modifier' and the latter as 'complement'. However, in other examples, the concepts do not designate the same elements. For example, according to Huddleston and Pullum, the word *two* can function as an external dependent (i.e. a determiner in *I found two mistakes*), or as an internal dependent when it follows a determiner (i.e. a modifier in *the two mistakes I made*). In Halliday's noun phrase structure, the word *two* would be identified in both examples as 'Numerative'.

7.2.3 Biber et al. (LGSWE) (1999)

Biber et al. (1999) adopt the traditional terminology (cf. Quirk et al. 1985) to describe the four major components of the noun phrase in English, i.e. determiner, premodification, head noun and postmodification/complementation, of which premodification and postmodification/complementation are optional. The terminology is identical with Quirk et al. (CGEL; 1985) with a few exceptions; for example, the term complement in LGSWE is used in "a broad sense that is well-entrenched in American tradition, and roughly equivalent to 'complementation' in CGEL" (Biber et al. 1999: 7).

With each component of the NP Biber et al. list the typical linguistic realizations of the component. For example, premodifiers "include primarily adjectives, participial modifiers and other nouns" (ibid.: 574); postmodifiers "include primarily relative clauses, *-ing* clauses and *-ed* clauses, *to*-infinitive clauses, prepositional phrases, and noun phrases in apposition"; less commonly also adverb phrases, adjective phrases and emphatic reflexive pronouns in apposition (ibid.: 575).

The four major components can be structurally represented as Figure 5 (NP with nouns as their heads) and Figure 6 (NP with pronouns as their heads) illustrate:

determiner	**premodifiers**	**head noun**	**postmodifiers**
the	*industrially advanced*	*countries*	-
a	*small wooden*	*box*	*that he owned*
a	*market*	*system*	*that has no imperfections*
the	*new training*	*college*	*for teachers*
the		*patterns*	*of industrial development in the US*
			complement
the		*fact*	*that I haven't succeeded*

Figure 5: Major components of the noun-head phrase (Biber et al. 1999: 574)

determiner	**premodifiers**	**head noun**	**postmodifiers**
		I, you, she	
a/the	*big*	*one*	*in town*
		anyone	*who is willing to listen*
		those	*who take the trouble to register*

Figure 6: Major components of the pronoun-head phrase (Biber et al. 1999: 574)

Since Biber et al.'s grammar is a corpus based grammar, most of the discussion of the noun phrase is focused on the NP structure and its complexity as well as its distribution within the four principal registers that the LGSWE corpus contains (i.e. academic prose, newspaper language, fiction and conversation). Since the findings concerning the occurrence, distribution and complexity of noun phrases in the register of news are of crucial importance in the present work, they are discussed separately in Subsection 7.3.1 below.

7.3 The noun phrase in the newspaper register

The complexity of noun phrases in the newspaper register and in comparison with the other three principal registers (as defined by Biber et al. 1999) is discussed, for example, in Biber et al. (1999), Biber (2003) and Ni (2003), the first two being based on the news corpus of the LGSWE Corpus (fully or partly).[5] A detailed analysis of the noun phrase in British national newspapers (with focus on its syntactic variations) is presented in Jucker (1992).

7.3.1 Noun phrases as identified in the news corpus of the LGSWE

The findings concerning the structure of noun phrases in the four principal types of register as distinguished and represented in the LGSWE corpus, i.e. academic prose, newspaper language ('news' in short), fiction and conversation, reveal that "around 60 per cent of all noun phrases in newspaper language and academic prose have a modifier, with many noun phrases having multiple modifiers" (Biber 2003: 172-174).

In news, as the corpus indicates, there is "a slightly greater preference for premodification" (Biber et al. 1999: 579), which can at least partly be attributed to the space limitations, since premodifiers are generally more condensed than postmodifiers. As for the linguistic realizations of premodification, the British newspapers corpus study (2003) shows that 'nouns' are preferred as premodifiers in the newspaper register (i.e. around 40%; Biber 2003: 174). Biber maintains that mainly the tendency to use 'noun-noun sequences' has been on increase in newspaper language in the last few decades. Biber (2003) concludes that "the extremely productive use of nouns as premodifiers in news results in a very dense, integrated packaging of information" (ibid.: 177)

As regards postmodification, Biber (2003) maintains that mainly non-restrictive modifiers can be found in this function; mainly non-restrictive relative clauses and appositive noun phrases serve as "compressed devices to pack extra information into relatively few words" (ibid.). Although "tangential to the main point", information presented to the reader in non-restrictive relative clauses may be found interesting by some readers and may also be important in providing "background for the interpretation of the main story line" (ibid.). Appositive noun phrases, which provide background information about the head noun, can be found in newspaper discourse mainly as post modifiers of proper nouns. Apart from 'non-restrictive relative clauses' and 'appositive noun phrases', 'to-noun complement clauses' are also identified by Biber as post-nominal structures typically found in newspaper prose, mainly with head nouns that present "human goals, opportunities or actions; for example, *chance, attempt, effort, ability, opportunity, decision, plan, bid*" as in, for example, *a plan to cut off water from Syria and Iraq for a month* (ibid.: 178).

[5] The news corpus of the LGSWE Corpus contains 31,997 texts, i.e. 10,679,300 words. The texts were taken from British and American newspapers (approximately half to half). Biber's study from 2003 is based on British newspapers of the news corpus of LGSWE.

7.3.2 Ni (2003)

Similar findings as the above mentioned are presented by Ni (2003). His study of noun phrases in media texts focuses on two dimensions of noun phrase analysis. In the first place he examines the 'syntactic complexity of noun phrases', i.e. the occurrence and number of modifiers that a noun phrase contains. Secondly, he carries out a 'semantic analysis of premodifiers' in order to maintain what meanings the particular semantic types of modifiers express.

Similarly to Biber (2003), Ni also compares the four principal registers with focus on their information density. As for the occurrence of nouns and pronouns as heads of NPs, Ni's study reveals that 'news language' has the second highest occurrence of 'non-pronoun headed NPs' (the first being 'academic prose') and the second lowest occurrence of 'pronoun head NPs'. Within the 'news register' he further compares 'press news reports', 'press editorials' and 'broadcast news', among which 'press news reports' have the highest occurrence of non-pronoun headed NPs and, logically, the lowest occurrence of pronoun head NPs (ibid.: 160-163). With regard to modification, Ni focuses on the occurrence of NPs with both pre- and postmodification. His observations indicate that 'editorials', for example, due to their argumentative character are closer to 'academic writing' and thus are more distant from 'news stories' (both press and broadcast), which Ni attributes mainly to space and time limits respectively. Ni maintains that such space and time limits lead news-story writers to use "a more formal style to organize information in a more compact way" (ibid.: 164), which is in correspondence with Biber's conclusions mentioned above.

From the semantic point of view, Ni examines in detail premodifiers and their occurrence in the registers mentioned above. He distinguishes between four types of premodifiers, i.e. 'relation-qualifier', 'attitudinal epithet', 'experiential epithet' 'classifier' (see Figure 7 below), which is clearly influenced by Halliday's (1985) pattern of nominal group structure (see Figure 1 above and Figure 8 below).

a determiner	**relation-qualifier**	**attitudinal epithet**	**experiential epithet**	**classifier**	**head**
a	*certain*	*splendid*	*old*	*English*	*actress*

Figure 7: Prehead elements in the NP structure according to Ni (2003:164)

deictic	**numerative**	**epithet$_1$**	**epithet$_2$**	**classifier**	**thing**
those	*two*	*splendid*	*old*	*electric*	*trains*

Figure 8: Prehead elements in the NP structure according to Halliday (1985: 159)

With regard to press news reports, the figures presented by Ni suggest that 'classifiers' (i.e. "noun phrase premodifiers which denote a permanent and intrinsic quality of the referent of the NP", ibid.: 167) are most numerous (44.5 per cent) and 'experiential epithets' form 32.2 per cent of the total number of premodifiers identified in the press news reports corpus. The occurrence of 'relation qualifiers' and 'attitudinal epithets' is relatively low (13.1 per cent and 10.2 per cent respectively). The low proportion of attitudinal epithets in reports can, according to Ni, be attributed to their character, i.e. attitudinal epithets "reflect the speaker's subjective attitude towards the referent of the NP in a non-defining manner" (ibid.: 168).

It is also worth noting that similarly to Biber (2003), Ni also observes that out of the registers compared it was 'press news reports' that displayed the highest occurrence of nouns or noun phrases as premodifiers, which Ni (2003) describes as "a prominent feature of written news reports" (ibid.: 166).

7.3.3 Jucker (1992)

One of the most extensive and revealing studies of the noun phrase complexity in British daily newspapers is Jucker's (1992) study. Its importance lies mainly in the fact that he compares noun phrases in the three types of British newspapers and also in several sections of news within these papers. He maintains that the three types of newspapers are different socio-economic types targeted at different readerships, which influences their style and complexity of the language they use.

Jucker's corpus is drawn from eleven daily newspapers, i.e. five up-market papers, three mid-market papers and three down-market papers. Jucker's corpus contains articles from five different sections of the newspapers, i.e. arts, business, foreign news, home news and sports. Since Jucker's analysis is primarily syntactical, he explores the occurrence and density of modifiers in the eleven newspapers in order to determine the syntactic variations of NPs both in the three types of newspapers and within the five sections mentioned above. Firstly, he focuses on the number of modifiers in the individual papers and sections. Secondly, he analyses the complexity of modifiers and their realizations, again in the three types of papers and in the particular sections of news.

For the present thesis, mainly his general findings and comparison of the three types of papers are relevant, i.e. the ratio of simple versus complex NPs, the ratio of premodifiers versus postmodifiers, and findings concerning types of premodifiers and postmodifiers in the three types of papers (although the mid-market papers are not the object of this study). Therefore, I have chosen to sum up Jucker's findings in detail here, since some of them will serve as a starting point of my analysis. Biber's (2003) findings are also mentioned here again (see also Subsection 7.3.1 above) provided that an interesting comparison or contrast of the findings can be offered, although I do realize that the two corpora are not fully compatible. Biber's corpus includes ten British newspapers, both national and regional, whereas Jucker's corpus includes eleven papers, all of which are national dailies. Jucker uses articles from five sections of news (see below) and focuses on the differences between the three types of papers as well as across the sections. Biber also included a variety of topics, chosen randomly rather than systematically, and the results are presented as general results concerning newspaper language as such, not specific types of news (e.g. home news, foreign news, etc.) or types of newspapers. My aim is not to criticise either of the studies, or address the question of whose approach is better. The point is to demonstrate that the problem is so complex that it can be approached in different ways and with more or less different results, which justifies my view that it is extremely difficult and at times even dangerous to make generalisations about the newspaper register as such.

In all three types of papers in Jucker's corpus there are more simple NPs than complex NPs (see Table 7.1).

		Total of NPs	All simple NPs	Names & pronouns	All complex NPs	Multiple modification
Down-market	total	7000	4899	2941	2101	609
	%	100.00	**69.99**	42.01	**30.01**	8.70
Mid-market	total	12000	7850	4471	4150	1208
	%	100.00	**65.42**	37.26	**34.58**	10.07
Up-market	total	24000	14387	7675	9613	3023
	%	100.00	**59.95**	31.98	**40.05**	12.60
All papers	total	43000	27136	15087	15864	4840
	%	100.00	**63.11**	35.09	**36.89**	11.26

Table 7.1: Noun phrase structure in the British daily newspapers (Jucker 1992: 115)[6]

From the figures in the table above it can be seen that simple NPs constitute almost 70 per cent of all NPs in the down-market papers, around 65 per cent in the mid-market papers and around 60 per cent in the up-market papers. However, these results have to be interpreted with care because this part of Jucker's analysis is purely syntactic and does not have a semantic dimension. In terms of creating and building a status of the participants, which is the main topic of the present work, simple NPs can be as important as complex NPs, since a noun on its own can be not only referential but also predicational (cf. Reisigl and Wodak 2001). As Table 7.1 above illustrates, the up-market papers have the highest proportion of complex NPs in comparison with both types of tabloids (i.e. mid- and down market), so broadsheets in Jucker's study have a higher occurrence of modifiers than tabloids. This finding also applies to the individual sections that Jucker compares (i.e. arts, business, foreign news, home news and sports news). Of course, the occurrence of modifiers across the sections differs, i.e. business and foreign news sections contain more modification than home news and sports sections, because "different subject matters require different densities of modifiers" (Jucker 1992: 109). Nevertheless, in most samples the highest occurrence of modifiers within each section is in the up-market papers and the lowest in the down-market papers. It shall be noted that whereas Jucker's analysis comprises all noun phrases, my research is concerned only with the noun phrases that refer to the core participants, i.e. victims and killers. Also, with regard to the topic of the present work, it is essential to extend my analysis so that it includes the semantic dimension too. Apart from determining the ratio of simple vs. complex NPs, I will focus on the type of information that modifiers convey and their role in building and enhancing the core participants' status.

At this point it is interesting to mention Biber's (2003) findings (see Subsection 7.3.1). As stated above, in the study from 2003 Biber does not distinguish between the three types of papers when presenting the results, although all three types are represented in his corpus; the corpus includes only the British newspapers of LGSWE corpus, i.e. about a half of the LGSWE newspaper corpus. It was stated previously that according to Biber's corpus study (2003), around 60 per cent of all nouns in newspaper register have a modifier. This statement entails that simple NPs constitute around 40 per cent of NPs in the newspaper register. If we, however, consider Jucker's findings for all papers (see Table 7.1 above), around 63 per cent of all NPs in his corpus are simple NPs and around 37 per cent are complex NPs, so in comparison with Biber's study the proportion is reversed.

[6] The content of the table was adjusted to include the data relevant for the present study. The column Names and pronouns is a subtype of Simple NPs, so the numbers are not to be added to the total sums.

As stated previously, the fact that Jucker's (1992) findings and Biber's (2003) findings are different may be attributed to several factors. Firstly, the size of Biber's corpus is given in words (i.e. 5,432,800; cf. Biber 2003: 171), whereas the size of Jucker's corpus is in noun phrases (i.e. 43,000), so the two corpora are not fully comparable regarding their size. Secondly, Jucker included articles from five different sections of newspapers; Biber's material also covers a range of topics but it is not explicitly mentioned in what proportion and how the choices were made. Thirdly, Jucker's material was compiled between October 1987 and February 1988; in Biber's study it is not specified when the material was compiled but we may assume that the material is more recent, which may also play an important role.

As for the ratio of premodifiers versus postmodifiers, Jucker (1992) and Biber (2003) come to different conclusions too. Jucker's starting hypothesis that premodifiers are more frequent than postmodifiers was not confirmed by the analysis of the corpus, which Jucker himself considers surprising. The finding that "the percentages of premodifiers for most individual samples and for all aggregate categories are slightly higher than 50" (ibid.: 109-110) makes Jucker conclude that "there is no discernible difference in the use of premodifiers versus postmodifiers" in his corpus (ibid.: 110). Biber (2003), on the other hand, states that there is a tendency for more premodification than postmodification in the newspaper register.

Several other findings of Jucker's deserve to be mentioned. For example, his corpus study reveals that up-market papers prefer adjectives to nouns and names in the pre-head position, whereas down-market papers show an exactly opposite tendency, i.e. nouns and names are more common in the pre-head position than adjectives (Jucker 1992: 148). Moreover, down-market papers "seem to rely on a small number of short, simple and stereotypical adjectives, whereas mid-markets and to a far greater extent the up-markets use a greater range of adjectives many of which are neither simple nor short..." (ibid.: 158). The tendency to use stereotypical modifiers can be traced mainly in reference to persons in the down-market papers (ibid.: 176), which Jucker attributes to the type of readership they are targeted at.

As for postmodifiers, their classification is not based on their position as it is the case with premodifiers. With postmodifiers it is their internal structure that is traditionally used to distinguish between types of postmodifiers, i.e. verbal (finite or non-finite) and non-verbal, the latter being "numerically by far the most important subtype of all postmodifiers" (ibid.: 179). Within this subtype, i.e. non-verbal, by far the most frequent in Jucker's corpus is the prepositional phrase, "which accounts for between half and two thirds of all the postmodifiers in every individual sample" (ibid.: 185). Out of the three types of papers, prepositional phrases are most common in up-market papers, whereas in down-market papers nominal postmodifiers seem to be preferred (i.e. nouns, names and adjectives) (ibid.: 181-182).

From the above mentioned, it is obvious that Jucker's study is the most detailed and closest to the topic of the present work, although his corpus is much more general and his analysis has different aims. The corpus of the present work is much more specific since it includes news reports of one type only and the results of the analysis cannot therefore be extended to the whole newspaper register. On the other hand, they reveal how a particular type of news is treated in different papers and provide an insight into discursive practices of some British newspapers within this relatively frequent type of news.

8 MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY

Chapter Eight provides a description of the corpus and explains the criteria for the choice of newspapers and events included in the corpus. It outlines the main aims and methodology of the analysis.

8.1 Corpus compilation criteria

The corpus comprises 40 newspaper reports and was compiled between the years of 2006 and 2010 with the use of the print papers; occasionally an article from the online paper was used when it was not technically possible to obtain a copy of the article from the print paper. In that case, I made sure that the article in the online paper is identical to the article in the print paper both in content and length (with the help of online databases and digital archives accessible from the Newspaper Library of the British Library in London).

The reports were chosen according to the set of criteria specified below in order to ensure that the corpus enables their mutual comparison and also a comparison of the newspapers under investigation.

1) Genre (newspaper reports)
2) Sub-genre: crime reports on trials and verdicts in murder cases
3) Kind of crime and victims (murders, age group 0-16 years of age)
4) Publication date

1) Genre

As specified in the previous chapters, Biber et al. (1995) distinguish four principal registers including the newspaper register. The four core registers can be further divided into a number of sub-registers or sub-varieties. In the present work I label these sub-varieties (e.g. editorials, reports, reviews, etc.) as genres which have different communicative purposes and thus represent different kinds of 'message types' (see Section 2.3 above). If newspaper reports are a kind of genre, then crime news reports can be labelled as a sub-genre.

2) Sub-genre

The sub-genre of crime news is rather varied since it comprises a large number of topics, for example, reports on murders, investigation, court proceedings, verdicts, punishment, etc. (Wardle 2008, discussed in Section 3.4 above). Each of these has certain specific features concerning the content and manner of reporting, usually depending on how much and what sort of information is available at a particular time. In a diachronic study of one event it would be natural to include various types of articles within which a development of reference could be analysed. The present analysis, however, adopts a synchronic approach. The corpus comprises articles from four different newspapers on ten different events. Previous research into crime news (e.g. Caviglia 2006, Jewkes 2004, Wardle 2008) and my own research too (see Jančaříková 2010) show that newspapers tend to resort to the victim/criminal dichotomy (wherever possible) since this strategy enables them to depict and 'identify' good and evil in the society/community (see Section 3.4 above). Jewkes (2004) proposes that:

> ...the mass media are inclined to deal in ***binary oppositions***; a tendency that is true of crime reporting as any other form of reportage. Thus, stories involving crime and criminals are frequently presented within a context that emphasizes good versus evil, folk heroes and folk devils, black against white, guilty or innocent, 'normal' as opposed to 'sick', 'deviant' or 'dangerous', and so on.
>
> (Jewkes 2004: 45)

Articles of the same kind have been chosen, i.e. reports on verdicts and sentences in murder cases involving children, in order to carry out a comparison of how the status of the core participants in ten different events is communicated to the reader in the four newspapers. In this kind of article, in which the murderer is known and has been convicted of the crime, a positive and negative status of the victim and killer respectively can be clearly communicated to the reader. At the same time, an appeal to social norms and values can be made by newspapers.

I am not addressing the question of who the reader should side with since in cases of this kind it is more than obvious with whom the reader will empathise. The crime news was chosen with the aim of demonstrating how a positive vs. negative status are expressed and enhanced via the use of various referential and predicational strategies. The aim is to investigate how linguistic means and various strategies employed in news reporting may promote a particular view of a person in the given context. Another reason for choosing this type of news was also its 'social potential' since such events are certain to generate a lot of public interest as well as spark a public debate on important issues.

3) Kind of crime and victims

All ten events included in the corpus are murder cases, the victims in all of them are children or young people (i.e. teenagers). The age range of the victims is from 0 (i.e. babies) to 16 years of age. This age group was chosen specifically because crimes involving children generally receive wide press coverage (Jewkes 2004). If children are victims, the reason for newsworthiness of such events is that children represent the *good* and *innocent* and therefore their murders generate emotive reactions. Therefore, from the point of view of newspapers, children represent 'ideal' victims, whose innocence can be contrasted with the 'evil' killer. If, on the other hand, children are aggressors or murderers, the events are considered newsworthy because young people are seen as 'the future of the society' and if their behaviour is not in accordance with traditional and conventional values, newspapers can use such events to point to the contemporary state of the society (ibid.).

In five events in the corpus the murderer is a parent of the victim (Events 1-5, Subset A); in the other five events the murderer is a stranger (Events 6-10, Subset B). Three of the murders in Subset B (i.e. Event 7, 8 and 10) were committed by children or teenagers, which enables an interesting comparison of reference to children as victims as well as killers, as mentioned above.

4) Publication date

The articles were collected in sets – each event is represented in the corpus by four articles which were published on the same day, i.e. mostly one day after the verdict was delivered. The main aim of the report is thus to inform on the verdict in the first place. The

time of publication of articles is a very important criterion since one of the main aims of the present work is to compare how the four newspapers report on the same event (with focus on the status of the core participants). As explained above, journalists often use 'prior' texts provided by news agencies and 'modify' these texts in order to present the event in the way which their alleged audiences expect.

8.2 Events in the corpus

Table 8.1 below provides a list of the events included in the corpus. The events are numbered 1-10 and as such they are referred to in the analysis, i.e. E1, E2, etc. The table includes the names of the victims and their age, the names of the killers and the dates on which the articles were published. The date of publication is the day following the trial, i.e. the final day of the trial when the verdict was delivered. In Events 1-5 the killer is either the mother or father of the child, in Events 6-10 the killer is a stranger.

	Victim	**Age (y – years, m – months)**	**Killed by**	**Article published on**
E1	Ryan Hawkins	4 y	father Christopher Hawkins	6-3-2008
E2	Rhys Biggs	2 m	mother Claire Biggs	11-3-2009
E3	Naomi Hill	4 y	mother Joanne Hill	24-9-2008
E4	Millie Hall	3 y	father Gavin Hall	3-11-2006
E5	Bobby Louch	21 m	mother Collette Harris	15-5-2010
E6	Toni-Ann Byfiled	7 y	Joel Smith	5-8-2006
E7	Joe Geeling	11 y	Michael Hamer	17-10-2006
E8	Jimmy Mizen	16 y	Jake Fahri	28-3-2009
E9	Kriss Donald	15 y	Imran Shahid, Zeeshan Shahid, Faisal Mushtaq	9-11-2006
E10	Damilola Taylor	10 y	Preddie brothers (Danny and Ricky)	10-8-2006

Table 8.1: Events in the corpus

8.3 Size of the corpus

As mentioned previously, the corpus contains 40 newspaper reports on ten different events, i.e. four reports on each event as they were published in the four different newspapers. Sample sets are included in the Appendix.

The fact that the reports are of different length can be attributed to several factors. The ten events are reported on in all four newspapers but in each newspaper the event is presented to the reader differently depending on the degree of newsworthiness that the paper assigns to a particular type of news and/or a particular event. This is governed, for example, by the type of readership of the newspaper, but also by the amount and type of other news events covered by the paper on a particular day, since the news coverage in general shall be balanced as to the type of news reported on. Another factor is definitely space limitations and the overall organization of a particular page or news section. As Table 8.2 demonstrates, the size of the corpus is 24,896 words. The figures are given separately for each event and each paper.

	Victim	***Daily Telegraph***	***Guardian***	***Daily Mirror***	***Sun***	**Total**
E1	Ryan Hawkins	488	436	148	237	**1,309**
E2	Rhys Biggs	897	494	86	328	**1,805**
E3	Naomi Hill	519	528	623	516	**2,186**
E4	Millie Hall	679	585	557	726	**2,547**
E5	Bobby Louch	130	431	409	703	**1,673**
E6	Toni-Ann Byfield	618	730	381	401	**2,130**
E7	Joe Geeling	1,028	1,044	1,127	1,010	**4,209**
E8	Jimmy Mizen	787	656	1,045	421	**2,909**
E9	Kriss Donald	587	1,029	543	1,104	**3,263**
E10	Damilola Taylor	685	950	862	368	**2,865**
	Total	**6,418**	**6,883**	**5,781**	**5,814**	**24,896**

Table 8.2: Size of the corpus in words

The figures for each article comprise the number of words in the lead and the body copy; the headlines and sub-headlines are not included in the total number of words per article. Thus Table 8.2 illustrates the amount of attention paid to each event by the four different papers and also the size of the sub-corpus for each of the four papers. The tabloids

sub-corpora are almost the same in size, i.e. 5,781 words for the *Daily Mirror* and 5,814 words for the *Sun*. The broadsheets sub-corpora are also of similar size; 6,418 words for the *Daily Telegraph* and 6,883 words for the *Guardian*.

8.4 Newspapers in the corpus

The decision to analyse four newspapers instead of two (which has previously been done in a number of newspaper language studies) was governed by the intention to perform a contrastive analysis of quality and popular press in Britain and demonstrate similarities and differences as well as tendencies towards tabloidization, as mentioned above in Section 4.3.

The newspapers were chosen mainly with respect to their circulation. As for the broadsheets, the *Daily Telegraph* is the best selling newspaper among the national broadsheet dailies (see the circulation figures in Table 4.4, Section 4.4.2). The *Guardian* was chosen despite its relatively low circulation (it ranks fourth among the broadsheets) because the papers which rank second and third in circulation (the *Times* and *Financial Times* respectively) are rather specific in style and content in comparison with the other broadsheets. The tabloids under investigation, the *Sun* and the *Daily Mirror* were chosen owing to their relatively high circulation, being the first and second best selling newspapers among tabloids. As mentioned above, these papers represent the so-called down-market tabloids (cf. Jucker 1992). Since mid-market tabloids are not represented in the corpus, the term 'tabloid' is used here to refer to the down-market papers in the corpus when a comparison is made with broadsheets (i.e. up-market papers).

8.5 Methods

The analysis is carried out separately for Subset A and Subset B. Within each subset, the three distinct parts of a newspaper article are analysed, i.e. headlines, the lead and the body copy. The analysis proceeds from form to content. Within each part (i.e. headlines, the lead and body copy analyses) quantitative and quantitative methods are combined in order to answer the research questions specified at the beginning of each part; for example, the proportion of simple and complex noun phrases and their realization, the use of proper nouns and their various variants, and the meaning potential of noun phrases and their informative and evaluative content.

9 ANALYSIS

Chapter Nine presents the analysis of 40 articles on the ten events included in the corpus – child or teenager murders, i.e. four articles about each event. The three main parts of a newspaper article, i.e. the headline, lead and body copy, are analysed separately with respect to their different functions as mentioned previously (see Section 2.4 above). This approach at the same time enables a mutual comparison of the three basic parts of a newspaper report with focus on the status of the core participants.

It was stated previously that in Events 1-5 the killer is one of the parents of the victim (i.e. Subset A), and in Events 6-10 the killer is a stranger (i.e. Subset B). The results are given separately for each of the two subsets, i.e. Events 1-5 and 6-10, and mutually compared further on.

The analysis is divided into three Sections. Section 9.1 focuses on the headlines and sub-headlines; Section 9.2 on the lead and Section 9.3 on the body copy. At the beginning of each part the main research questions are listed in order to specify the focus and aims of the analysis.

In Subset A the age range of the victims – children killed by either of their parents – is from 2 months to 4 years of age. In these cases the killer was known from the very beginning, or at least the parent was suspected of deliberate killing since the circumstances of the death indicated either maltreatment or there was a clear motive. In two cases the parent admitted the killing (i.e. Events 1 and 4); in Events 2, 3 and 5 the parent claimed it was an accident. Although these events are definitely of really appalling nature, they do not represent high profile cases on which the press reported previously. The cases receive newspaper coverage in their final stage, i.e. when the case gets to the court and the killer is convicted. The main purpose of the articles is to report on the verdict and the sentence. The murders are committed by the victim's parent, who is depicted as an evil individual, as a person who failed to fulfil his/her principal role, i.e. a mother or father. Such events are considered newsworthy by newspapers, mainly because of their negativity and potential as human stories. The fact that the child was killed by his/her parent makes the events newsworthy since such an act represents a kind of deviant behaviour which violates the traditional image of family and family life (i.e. the 'threshold' news value). In two events, i.e. Event 1 and 4 the child was killed by his/her father as a revenge for the wife's affair or infidelity. In Events 2, 4 and 5 the children were killed by their mothers for not very clear reasons, probably because they were not able to manage to take care of the child who was either disabled (Event 3) or cried a lot, etc. In these cases, the women are typically portrayed as 'bad mothers', i.e. women who failed to fulfil their basic maternal role.

In Subset B, also child and teenager murders, the age range is slightly different and wider, i.e. 7-16 years of age. The killers are strangers whom the police first had to find and convict, which in most cases took several months or even years. These events received a lot of attention and newspaper coverage due to their appalling character, the age of the victims, the motive or the difficulties in finding and convicting the killer. Event 6, for example, is a murder of a seven-year-old girl who was killed by a drug dealer who first killed her father (also a drug dealer) and then he shot the girl in the back (as she was trying to escape), since she was a potential witness. In Event 7 a boy of ten was murdered by a 14-year-old schoolmate, probably a gay, who sent him a fake letter from the headmaster to lure him into his house. In Event 8 a teenager was killed by another teenager after a trivial row in a shop. In

Event 9 a teenager was picked by an Asian gang just because he was white, he was kidnapped and burnt to death. In Event 10 the victim is a ten-year-old boy who was killed by two brothers, 12- and 13-year-old members of a gang. In Subset B children and teenagers are both victims (i.e. all events) and also killers (i.e. Event 7, 8 and 10). All these cases are appalling murders and at the same time they are associated with important social problems such as gangs, street violence, juvenile criminality, etc. Newspapers thus not only report on the cases but also address serious social problems and may act as moral guardians by appealing to universal or consensual values of the society (see Section 3.4 above). The main purpose of these reports is to inform on the verdict when the killer is finally convicted and in some cases also to comment on the judicial system and the work of police. Via reporting and commenting on such events (i.e. Subset B) newspapers may thus promote a public discussion on social problems that the particular crimes encompass and the state of contemporary society. It is mainly because of this social potential that this kind of news receives extensive coverage. This type of event enables newspapers to fulfil their informative function and also offers them possibilities to appeal to universal values and/or to shape and promote the desired values and norms of a particular community or culture.

It is my assumption that the analysis will reveal differences between the two Subsets in depicting the events and the core participants (due to their different character and social potential, as described above) as well as between the individual newspapers.

9.1 Headlines

The principal function of a headline is to attract the reader's attention and promote him or her to read the article, although there are other features that apart from the headline fulfil this function, for example, the photos and their captions, and sub-headlines.

Since the focus of the present work is the status of the core participants, the research questions that the analysis endeavours to answer are the following:

1. Is the victim mentioned in the headline? Is the killer mentioned in the headline?
2. If so, is the mention realized by a common noun (CN), given name (GN), surname (S) or full name (FN)?
3. Is the reference to the core participants realized by simple NPs or complex NPs?
4. Do the complex NPs contain premodification, postmodification or both?
5. What kind of information do the NPs contain? Are they referential, predicational or both?

The quantitative and qualitative methods are used in order to answer the research questions outlined above. The qualitative method is relevant for research questions 1, 2 and 3; for questions 4 and 5 the qualitative and quantitative methods are combined.

9.1.1 Headlines in Subset A (Events 1-5)

For better illustration and easy cross reference the headlines of all twenty articles in this subset are listed below. In order to identify the article being discussed in the analysis, the article and event are specified using the following pattern – the abbreviation of the newspaper title followed by the number of the event, for example:

DT E1 – the *Daily Telegraph* article, Event 1
G E2 – the *Guardian* article, Event 2
DM E5 – the *Daily Mirror* article, Event 5
S E 3 – the *Sun* article, Event 3

Headlines of articles in Subset A

The Daily Telegraph
DT E1 – Man who killed son in revenge for wife's affair gets life
DT E2 – Young mother jailed over horrific cruelty campaign against two-month-old son
DT E3 – Life for mother who drowned disabled girl
DT E4 – Life for father who killed girl to pay back wife's infidelity
DT E5 – Mother kicked toddler to death

The Guardian
G E1 – Life for father who killed son as revenge on unfaithful wife
G E2 – Mother jailed for eight years after horrific cruelty to baby son aged two moths
G E3 – Mother drowned disabled daughter in bath
G E4 – Distraught father suffocated daughter after wife's affair
G E5 – Mother who kicked and punched toddler to death gets life

The Daily Mirror
DM E1 – Vengeful son killer given life
DM E2 – Baby death mum jailed
DM E3 – What she did to my princess was evil
DM E4 – How could anyone take away the life of such a beautiful girl as my Millie? (Note: the mother quoted)
DM E5 – Kicked and punched to death by his mum

The Sun
S E1 – Dad gets life for murder of son, 4
S E2 – Crack addict tortured her baby until he died ... and she'll be out in just 4 years
S E3 – My evil wife
S E4 – Dad gets life for tot's murder
S E5 – Evil mum kicks baby to death

9.1.1.1 Mention of the victim and killer and its realization

As can be seen from the headlines above, an explicit mention of the victim is made in 18 headlines out of 20, i.e. both in broadsheets and tabloids. The exception is S E3 and DM E5 (both are tabloid paper articles), where 'the missing information' creates a certain tension and encourages the reader to read on. In S E3 the headline is the father's emotive reaction and judgement of the wife, who killed their daughter (i.e. *My evil wife*). The mention of the victim is made in the sub-headline (Example 3). In DM E5 the reference to the victim is expressed implicitly by the NP in the agent function – the victim is clearly the murderer's boy child (Example 4).

Example 3:

Dad's devastating verdict on mum caged for drowning their disabled daughter, 4 (S E3 Sub-headline)

Example 4:

Kicked and punched to death by his mum (DM E5 Headline)

Similarly, the killer is mentioned in almost all headlines, i.e. 19 out of 20 contain a direct reference to the killer, whether a broadsheet or a tabloid. The only exception is DM E4, which is a relatively long and emotive quotation of the mum commenting on the murder, the effect of which on the reader is clearly to be moving and emotive.

The realization of the reference to the victim and the killer is of one type only, i.e. by common nouns. Since these events are not high profile murders which previously aroused a lot of interest, we do not find any instance of reference by the given name (GN), surname (S) or full name (FN). Neither the victims nor killers are previously known – they are 'unfamiliar' to the reader. Therefore, the reference is realized by common nouns (e.g. *son, baby, girl, daughter, toddler; mother, father, dad, mum,* etc.). These nouns assign a particular social role to the participants (i.e. social actors – parents vs. their children) and thus classify the participants. Such expressions also help to place the event in the category of 'family crime/family murders' and therefore 'human stories', which according to the news values are supposed to attract readers' attention and generate an emotive reaction more than other types of crime, although murders are definitely less frequent than other crimes, such as theft or burglary (see Sections 3.4 and 4.3).

The lexical choices also seem to indicate differences in readership and the intended effect on the reader. For example, in E2 the broadsheets headlines both contain reference to the age of the child (see Examples 5 and 6 below), which of course can be attributed to the fact that journalists frequently use the same sources, or the same prior texts provided by news agencies. However, we may assume that tabloids also use the same sources as broadsheets and still the tabloids headlines of E2 do not mention the child's age. Instead, the tabloids refer to the victim as *baby* (see Examples 7 and 8 below), which in my view can be interpreted as both referential and predicational in this context. As a referential expression it conveys the child's age (i.e. a fact); as a predicational expression it connotes vulnerability and innocence of the victim that did nothing wrong and could not defend himself. It is worth noting that the *Guardian* (i.e. a broadsheet) chooses to double the effect by using the word *baby* as a premodifier of the noun *son* and giving the age of the child in the postmodification (Example 6).

Example 5:

two-month-old son (DT E2)

Example 6:

baby son aged two months (G E2)

Example 7:

baby death mum jailed (DM E2)

Example 8:

her baby (S E2)

Another difference which can be explained by the newspapers being targeted at different readerships can be traced in E4 and E5. When referring to very young children, broadsheets seem to resort to the word *toddler* (both DT E5 and G E5; see also Jančaříková 2010), whereas the *Sun*, as my previous research has also shown (ibid.), typically uses the informal noun *tot*, which is both short and emotive (in the present corpus in S E4 headline).

Neutral vs. informal synonyms can also be found in reference to the killer parent in the corpus, e.g. *father* and *mother* in broadsheets vs. *dad* and *mum* in tabloids (see Examples 9-10):

Example 9a:

Life for father who killed girl to pay back wife's infidelity (DT E4)

Example 9b:

Dad gets life for tot's murder (S E4)

Example 10a:

Mother who kicked and punched toddler to death gets life (G E5)

Example 10b:

Kicked and punched to death by his mum (DM E5)

Some differences but also some similarities in reference to the core participants can be traced if we focus on the complexity of NPs, as the following Subsection explains.

9.1.1.2 Complexity of NPs in Subset A headlines

It was mentioned in the previous section that the majority of headlines in Subset A contain both a mention of the victim and the killer, regardless of the type of newspaper. Let us now consider the complexity of the NPs in the headlines.

Tables 9.1 and 9.2 below summarize the complexity of NPs referring to the victims in broadsheets and tabloids. The symbol in brackets (i.e. +1) indicates a different syntactic level, i.e. the noun phrase is used in a modifying function; e.g. as part of postmodification (i.e. +1post) or in the premodifying function (i.e. +1pre). Although the nouns in the modifying function are not independent elements, they are included in the analysis, since in my view they do refer to the victim and contribute to the creation and development of his or her status (for more information and reasons for this approach, see Section 9.3). If no such symbol is given, the noun phrase functions as a separate sentence element, e.g. an object.

	Simple NPs	Complex NPs		
Total	**6**	**4**		
		pre-mod.	**post - mod.**	**pre- + post-mod.**
	DT E1 (+1post) DT E4 (+1post) DT E5 G E1 (+1post) G E4 G E5 (+1post)	DT E2 DT E3 (+1post) G E3		G E2

Table 9.1: Reference to the victims in the broadsheets (Subset A headlines)

Total	**Simple NPs**	**Complex NPs**		
	7	**2**		
	-	**pre-mod.**	**post - mod.**	**pre- + post-mod.**
	DM E1 (+1pre) DM E2 (+1pre) DM E3 S $E2_1$ S $E2_2$ S E4 (+det) S E5		S E1 (+1post)	DM E4

Table 9.2: Reference to the victims in the tabloids (Subset A headlines)

Note: the total is 9 NPs; S E2 contains two simple NPs referring to the victim, i.e. *her baby*$_1$ and **he**$_2$; DM E5 and S E3 do not contain any reference to the victim and so the reports are not represented in the table; in S E4 the noun *tot* is used in determiner function, see Example 9b above.

As the two tables above illustrate, in reference to the victim the broadsheets and tabloids in the corpus do not seem to differ considerably. In both types of newspapers victims are primarily referred to by simple NPs (i.e. 6 instances out of 10 in broadsheets, 7 instances out of 9 in tabloids), e.g. *his son* (DT E1), *girl* (DT E4), *son* (G E1); *baby* (DM E2), *her baby* (S $E2_1$), *he* (S $E2_2$) or *baby* (S E5). Complex NPs appear less frequent in reference to victims in the headlines, the reason for which is probably mainly limited space and the need for headlines to be as short as possible. In broadsheets we find four instances of complex NPs, three of which have a premodification (see Examples 11-13) and one NP has both a pre- and postmodifier (see Example 14).

Example 11:

two-month-old son (DT E2)

Example 12:

disabled girl (DT E3)

Example 13:

disabled daughter (G E3)

Example 14:

baby son aged two months (G E2)

As the examples above illustrate, the premodifiers are used to give more factual information about the victim; they do not primarily evaluate the person. For example, the compound *two-month-old* functions as an Experiential Epithet describing an objective property of the referent (Halliday 1985). The adjective *disabled* also describes an objective property of the victim and can be considered both referential and predicational, since apart from the condition of the victim it may connote vulnerability and defencelessness to the reader.

In the tabloids headlines only two instances of complex NPs are found; one with a postmodifier (i.e. a numeral expressing the age of the victim, Example 15) and one with both a pre- and postmodifier (Example 16).

Example 15:

(murder of) son, 4 (S E1)

Example 16:

a beautiful girl as my Milie (DM E4)

Tables 9.1 and 9.2 above also illustrate that simple NPs referring to the victim may occur as separate sentence elements or within modification. In the broadsheets headlines, four simple NPs out of six are part of modification; in all four examples the NP is part of a postmodifying relative clause referring to the killer (see Examples 17 and 18 below). In the tabloids two simple NPs out of seven occur in the modifying function, i.e. as part of premodification of the killer (see Examples 19 and 20 below); one simple NP is used in the determiner function (see Example 9b above).

Example 17:

Man who killed his son in revenge of wife's affair (DT E1)

Example 18:

Mother who kicked and punched toddler to death (G E5)

Example 19:

Vengeful son killer (DM E1)

Example 20:

Baby death mum jailed (DM E2)

The tables and examples mentioned above reveal some similarities in reference to the victims in the headlines in the papers concerned, mainly the higher occurrence of simple NPs. Let us now consider if there is the same tendency in reference to the killers in headlines. Tables 9.3 and 9.4 below indicate that with killers the situation is slightly different.

Total	Simple NPs	Complex NPs		
	3	7		
		pre-mod.	post-mod.	pre- + post-mod.
	DT E5 G E2 G E3	DT E2 G E4	DT E1 DT E3 DT E4 G E1 G E5	

Table 9.3: Reference to the killers in the broadsheets (Subset A headlines)

Total	Simple NPs	Complex NPs		
	5	5		
		pre-mod.	post-mod.	pre- + post-mod.
	DM E3 DM E5 S E1 S $E2_2$ S E4	DM E1 DM E2 S $E2_1$ S E3 S E5		

Table 9.4: Reference to the killers in the tabloids (Subset A headlines)

In broadsheets the situation is reversed in comparison with reference to victims. With killers, seven out of ten NPs are complex noun phrases and the remaining three are simple NPs. Out of the seven complex NPs, five have a postmodification and in all five examples the postmodification is realized by a defining relative clause (Examples 21-25).

Example 21:
Man *who killed his son in revenge for wife's affair* (DT E1)

Example 22:
Life for ***mother*** *who drowned disabled girl* (DT E3)

Example 23:
Life for ***father*** *who killed girl to pay back wife's infidelity* (DT E4)

Example 24:
Life for ***father*** *who killed son as revenge on unfaithful wife* (G E1)

Example 25:
Mother *who kicked and punched toddler to death* (G E5)

Premodification is found in two instances only; in both we find an adjective in the premodifying function (Examples 26-27), both being Epithets in Halliday's terminology.

Example 26:

Young ***mother*** (DT E2)

Example 27:

Distraught ***father*** (G E4)

The adjective *young* in Example 26 describes an objective property of the referent, i.e. her age, and is therefore factual. The adjective *distraught* describes the father's alleged condition after he found out about his wife' infidelity. In this context, where the mother's affair is mentioned as the cause of the tragedy, the adjective functions as an attention getting device – the reader shall read on to learn why the father was *distraught*.

In the tabloids headlines, however, the occurrence of simple and complex NPs is balanced (i.e. 5 vs. 5 instances). The complex NPs all have premodification unlike the NPs in the broadsheets, where postmodification prevailed. The preference for premodification in the tabloids can, to my view, be attributed to the fact that in premodification the information is more condensed and therefore more straightforwardly conveyed to the reader than, for example, in relative clauses. Thus, the *Sun,* for example, openly evaluates the killer as *evil* (i.e. *My evil wife* in S E3 and *Evil mum kicks baby to death* in S E5). Although in S E3 the evaluation is made by the other parent and in S E5 by the paper, both uses of the adjective *evil* are examples of an Attitudinal Epithet, which expresses the speaker's opinion/stance (the speaker here being the newspaper). In S E2 the killer is referred to as a *crack addict*, which is referential since it classifies the killer. At the same time, it is predicational – it connotes certain negative qualities since it places the woman into a particular social category of inferior rank, i.e. a category which is generally associated with negative and unacceptable behaviour and lifestyle. In no other paper is this information mentioned in the headline.

The simple NPs referring to the killers in tabloids headlines are pronouns or informal expressions, i.e. *she* (DM E3, S $E2_2$), *his mum* (DM E5) or *dad* (S E1, S E4).

From the above mentioned we may conclude that with this type of event (i.e. murders committed by a parent) the reference to the victim in headlines both in the broadsheets and tabloids in the corpus is more frequently realized by simple NPs. The simple NPs are used as a separate sentence element (e.g. an object) or as part of modification. With killers the situation is different, however. In the broadsheets headlines, complex NPs display a higher occurrence than simple NPs. The complex NPs in broadsheets typically contain a postmodifying relative clause, whereas in the tabloids the use of simple and complex NPs is balanced. In the tabloids, the complex NPs contain premodification by nouns or adjectives but not postmodification. The premodification is more evaluative whereas the postmodification contributes to the identification of the referent. On the whole, there seems to be a tendency towards more compressed NPs in the tabloids headlines, e.g. *vengeful son killer*, *baby death mum*, since these are more direct, whereas in the broadsheets headlines we find, for example, relative clauses, which are not found in the tabloids headlines at all in Subset A. The differences may result from several factors, such as different readerships and their expectations, different degree of emotiveness or space limitations. However, it must be stated that for an analyst as an outsider, i.e. not a professional journalist, the reasons in particular cases may be hard to identify.

9.1.1.3 Sub-headlines in Subset A

Sub-headlines, similarly to the main headline, may function as an attention getting device and as such they may include any piece of information that will make the reader become interested in an article, reference to the participants being one but not the only type of such information. Provided that sub-headlines are used, they may contain a mention of the core participants, but also the crime itself, its horrendous nature, or some important background information.

In Subset A, sub-headlines are not very frequent. As Table 9.5 below illustrates, twelve reports do not contain any sub-headlines, six reports contain one sub-headline and two reports have two sub-headlines. There is not enough evidence to claim that the presence or absence of sub-headlines can be attributed to the type of a newspaper. The table shows that the *Guardian* and the *Sun* use sub-headlines with two events, the *Daily Telegraph* with one event only and the *Daily Mirror* with three events.

	Sub-headlines			
	Daily Telegraph	***Guardian***	***Daily Mirror***	***Sun***
E1	-	-	-	1(v)
E2	-	-	-	-
E3	1 (v)	2 (k)	1 (r; k)	1 (v; k)
E4	-	2 (v; k)	1 (r)	-
E5	-	-	1 (v)	-

Table 9.5: Sub-headlines in Subset A

Note: the symbols in brackets indicate whether the sub-headline contains the mention of the victim (v), killer (k) or a relative (r). The relative is in both cases, i.e. DM E3 and DM E4, the other parent.

Considering the sub-headlines in the corpus, we may conclude that the presence or absence of sub-headlines may rather be attributed to the type of event, space limitations and the length of articles. For example, in Event 3, which was an especially appalling crime when a mother drowned her disabled daughter in a bath, all four articles in the corpus have a sub-headline and the *Guardian* has even two. On the other hand, Events 4 and 5 are also rather appalling but neither of the articles in the *Sun* have a sub-headline, probably because these articles are relatively short, and take up a very small part of the newspaper page and there is not enough space for sub-headlines. The DT, instead of using a sub-headline, chooses to include a photo of the mother-killer (the photo takes up a larger space than the article itself).

Since not all the reports in Subset A contain a sub-headline, a full scale analysis of sub-headlines in the subset is not possible. Therefore, instead of making comparisons or generalisations about sub-headlines, I have chosen to include some examples in order to illustrate the nature and potential of sub-headlines. The examples below all refer to Event 3, since this is the only event with which we find at least one sub-headline in all four articles in Subset A.

The sub-headline can be an elaboration of the headline and further develop the same information (see Examples 28a and 28b, the headline and sub-headline respectively), although syntactically and as an information unit the sub-headline is independent of the headline.

Example 28a:

Life for mother who drowned <u>disabled girl</u> (DT E3 Headline)

Example 28b:

Four-year-old daughter was held in bath until she stopped moving (DT E3 Sub-headline)

The new information is the victim's age and specification of the relationship with the killer (i.e. *daughter,* although the relationship is already clear from the reference to the woman as *mother* in the headline), but the main focus seems to be mainly the horrific action itself.

The article on the same event in the *Guardian* (i.e. G E3) has two sub-headlines but the focus is on the killer, whose full name is given (i.e. sub-headline$_1$), and the nature of her marriage (i.e. sub-headline$_2$). The latter sub-headline contains an implicit reference to the killer by indicating that this was not an ordinary, happy family (i.e. the killer's drinking habit, Examples 29a-29c).

Example 29a:

Mother drowned disabled daughter in bath (G E3 Headline)

Example 29b:

Joanne Hill found guilty of murder and jailed for life (G E3 Sub-headline$_1$)

Example 29c:

Court told of drinking and disintegrating marriage (G E3 Sub-headline$_2$)

Event 3 headline in the DM is a quotation of the father commenting on the murder committed by his wife and as such is emotive rather than informative. The sub-headline has the same focus; the killer is described as a *murder mum*. Since in the headline the mother is referred to by the pronoun *she*, the cataphoric reference helps to create an emotive and dramatic effect (Examples 30a and 30b); the reader shall read on to learn who 'she' is. The pronoun thus serves as an attention-getting device.

Example 30a:

What she did to my princess was evil (DM E3 Headline)

Example 30b:

Dad's fury as murder mum gets 15 years (DM E3 Sub-headline)

The *Sun* employs a very similar strategy as the DM. The headline (see Example 31a) is the father's comment on his wife and is not informative at all. The sub-headline therefore contains a mention of both core participants. Although not being a complete sentence, to my view, it almost resembles a lead (Example 31b).

Example 31a:

My evil wife (S E3 Headline)

Example 31b:

Dad's devastating verdict on mum caged for drowning their disabled daughter, 4 (S E3 Sub-headline)

To sum up, the sub-headlines in articles about Event 3 clearly show that sub-headlines may or may not contain reference to the core participants. A comparison with the referring expressions from the headlines show that the victim or killer may be further identified in the headline (see Examples 29b and 30b) but also evaluated (see Examples 29c and 30b). On the other hand, if the headline itself contains all important information or the space is limited, the sub-headline does not have to be used at all.

9.1.2 Headlines in Subset B (Events 6-10)

As mentioned previously in this chapter, although Events 6-10 are also child murders, they differ from Events 1-5 in several aspects (explained in detail above). These differences are also reflected in the approach of the newspapers, the amount of attention and space devoted to the events and also their placement in the newspaper. In Subset A, each article was presented as a whole on one page, usually in the section of national news. The events in Subset B are, however, high profile events to which the newspapers may want to draw attention as early as possible in the paper. Subset B demonstrates what methods newspapers will employ to achieve this aim.

One of the methods is to place the beginning of the article on the first page and continue on one of the following pages. Another method employed by all types of papers in the corpus, whether broadsheets or tabloids, is, however, slightly problematic. With high profile events newspapers may attract the reader's attention to the news by a short separate article on the first page of the paper. For the purpose of this work I will call this article 'page one introduction'; it seems to function mainly as an attention catching device. An article of this kind may be from 50 to 100 words long. It is usually a summary of the event, which includes a mention of the core participants, the verdict and the sentence. In my view, its content resembles the lead which is not followed by a body copy. What will probably attract the reader's attention is mainly a big headline, a sub-headline and a photo of the victim usually included on the first page. At the bottom of the article there is a cross reference to the page where the reader will find the 'full report'. This full report is a separate article with its own headlines and sub-headlines; it is not a continuation of the article on the first page. The article is fully informative so that the reader learns the most important information whether he/she has read the short introduction on the first page or not. From the journalists' and newspapers' point of view this is a very effective strategy which will probably make the reader become interested in the event and turn to the corresponding page. For an analyst, however, it poses a serious problem. Within the 'page one introduction' it is not possible to carry out an analysis of reference to the core participants since the article is very short and it is only a kind of summary. It is obviously the full report which offers sufficient grounds for the present analysis. The full report has its own headline but this does not have to be fully comparable with the headlines in Subset A. The first mention of the victim and of the killer is usually made in the 'page one introduction' and therefore, when the reader turns to the full report, he/she is already familiar with the core participants. Thus, in my view, if we want to study the expression of the core participants' status, the 'page one introduction' headlines have to be taken into account too.

In the present analysis, the three basic parts of a newspaper article, i.e. headlines, lead and body copy, are analysed separately. Within the headlines analysis I proceed from the 'page one introduction' headlines and sub-headlines as the main ones, whereas headlines and sub-headlines of the full story are treated here as sub-headlines since in the semantic sense

they are a continuation of the headlines on the first page. Within the lead and body copy analysis, I take into account only the full story. The 'page one introduction' resembles a lead but it contains information which is again included in the full report, which has a lead of its own. Therefore, the most important information is repeated in the full story, as if nothing was mentioned previously. This problem concerns five articles in Subset B: G E7, DT E7, DM E7, S E7 and DM E10. Interestingly, four of these articles are reports on Event 7; one on Event 10.

Another formal problem which concerns only one paper (i.e. the *Daily Telegraph*, namely articles DT E7 and DT E9) needed to be solved prior to the analysis. It seems that in recent years crime reports in the DT have a specific layout. The paper chooses to report separately on the crime, the victim and the killer. The event is thus reported on in three separate articles grouped together, so for the reader they create a whole. Each part has its own heading. The first article is devoted to the crime, it usually has a subheading 'The crime' and it is a regular article which is in length and content comparable with articles in the other papers; therefore, this part was chosen for analysis in the present work. The main article is followed by two minor ones, sub-headed 'The killer' and 'The victim', which provide details of the victim's and killer's background, their nature, families, etc. Although these parts are also important for enhancing the status of the core participants, they are not included in the present analysis because they are separate articles with their own structure and as such they do not have equivalents in the other papers. As with Subset A, the headlines of all twenty articles in Subset B are listed below for easy cross reference.

The Daily Telegraph
DT E6 – 40 years for Toni-Ann's cold-blooded killer
DT E7 – Parents of boy, 11, murdered by a schoolmate tell of their despair (+Quotation)
DT E8 – Our society helped to kill my son
DT E9 – Boy murdered by gang in search of a white victim
DT E10 – Justice at last for Damilola parents

The Guardian
G E6 – Cold-blooded killer of Toni Ann jailed for at least 40 years
G E7 – Teenager gets life for killing boy, 11
G E8 – Teenager given 14 years for murder after trivial row led to 'horrific' attack
G E9 – Three jailed for life for race murder of schoolboy
G E10 – Guilty after two inquiries, three trials and a series of forensic blunders

The Daily Mirror
DM E6 – A minimum of 40 years
DM E 7 – 'Little star' Joe was killed by a 14-year-old boy in a calculating murder... so why was he jailed for only 12 years?
DM E8 – Stop it
DM E9 – This cold-blooded execution of a 15-year-old boy because he was white truly was an ... ABOMINATION
DM E10 – At last...Justice for Dami

The Sun
S E6 – Toni-Ann killer caged 40 years
S E7 – Monster aged 14 lured Joe to death
S E8 – Thug who murdered Jimmy, 16, given life
S E9 – Barbaric
S E10 – Lawless savages

9.1.2.1 Mention of the victim and killer and its realization

In comparison with the headlines in Subset A, where 18 articles out of 20 contained reference to the victim and 19 out of 20 articles contained reference to the killer and there was no considerable difference between the two types of papers, in Subset B the situation is not as clear-cut. The reason is mainly a different type of news. As explained above, these events offer a possibility to appeal to social problems (e.g. teenager criminality) and the society itself, e.g. its laws, the judiciary, the work of the police, investigators. Therefore, the focus of the headline does not necessarily have to be the core participants, unlike in Subset A.

Table 9.6 illustrates the occurrence of a mention of victims and killers in Subset B headlines.

Reference to core participants	Total	Article
1. victim + killer	10	DT E6, DT E7, DT E9; G E6, G E7, G E9; DM E7; S E6, S E7, S E8
2. victim only	4	DT E8, DT E10; DM E9, DM E10;
3. killer only	2	G E8, S E10
4. no reference to victim or killer	4	(G E10); DM E6, DM E8; (S E9)

Table 9.6: Reference to the victims and killers in Subset B headlines

As the table shows, a half of the headlines contain reference to both core participants, i.e. the victim and killer. Four headlines mention the victim only, whereas a mention of the killer only can be found in two headlines (see Examples 32 and 33 below). Therefore, the victim is mentioned in 14 headlines altogether, i.e. eight instances in the broadsheets and six instances in the tabloids. The killer is explicitly mentioned in twelve headlines, i.e. seven instances in the broadsheets and five instances in the tabloids. In four articles no reference to the victim or killer is made, although in two of them (i.e. G E10 and S E9), the adjectives *guilty* and *barbaric* can be interpreted as implicit reference to the killer(s), i.e. *they are guilty*, *they are barbaric* (the fact that the reference is implicit is indicated by brackets in the table above).

Example 32:
Teenager given 14 years for murder after trivial row led to 'horrific' attack (G E8)

Example 33:
LAWLESS SAVAGES (S E10)

The table also shows that the mention of the victim only, the killer only, both of them or neither of them cannot be attributed to the type of paper, as both types of paper occur across the four groups. The reason, in my view, is different – it is the piece of information or

feature of the event that a particular paper chooses to emphasise. Thus, the headline of DT E8 (see Example 34 below) presents the victim's mother's opinion that it is the society to blame for her son's death because the killer had been given a supervision order for violent attacks and was still under supervision when he killed her son. In G E10 headline the focus is the legal system and justice (Example 35); in DM E8 headline it is a serious problem of today's Britain, i.e. teenager knife crime referred to implicitly by the pronoun (Example 36). In my view, the three examples below illustrate that newspapers not only report on events, but also comment on them and/or evaluate them in order to point to important social problems.

Example 34:

Our society helped to kill my son (DT E8)

Example 35:

Guilty after two inquiries, three trials and a series of forensic blunders (G E10)

Example 36:

STOP IT (DM E8)

Another feature which does not occur in Subset A headlines and which can be attributed to the type of news in Subset B is the occurrence of the victim's given name in Subset B headlines. Since the events in Subset B have previously received some coverage in newspapers, the victims in the most high-profile cases are referred to by their given names since they are expected to be already familiar to the reader. In the broadsheets eight headlines contain reference to the victim, three instances of which are given names (i.e. DT E6, DT E10, G E6); in the tabloids six headlines contain a mention of the victim and five of these are realized by the victim's given name (i.e. DM E7, DM E10, S E6, S E7, S E8). Among these examples, three instances of the given name appear in articles about Event 6. This was an especially appalling murder of a 7-year-old girl and it took the police three years to find and arrest the killer, who actually confessed the crime to his fellows and they reported him to the police. The case received a lot of coverage in the news and the reader is therefore expected to recall the case and the victim on the mention of her first name, based on previous articles (Examples 37-39). In events of this kind, intertextuality plays an important role because the victims are considered familiar to the reader. In cases which are covered in the press in a string of articles over a period of time, a certain status of the people concerned is established and further reinforced in successive articles (cf. e.g. Chovanec 2000a; for more information on intertextuality in newspaper discourse, cf. Richardson 2007).

Example 37:

40 years for Toni-Ann's cold-blooded killer (DT E6)

Example 38:

Cold-blooded killer of Toni-Ann jailed for at least 40 years (G E6)

Example 39:

Toni-Ann killer caged 40 years (S E6)

Syntactically, in the three examples above the victim's name is in close connection with the mention of the killer; it is either part of modification (Examples 37 and 38) or it functions as a determiner (although with the possessive case omitted, as in Example 39 above). Thus, although the victims' given name is not a separate element, it contributes to the 'identification' of the killer, who is not identified by his name but via reference to the victim.

9.1.2.2 Complexity of NPs in Subset B headlines

In the Subset A headlines reference to the victims by simple NPs prevailed both in broadsheets and tabloids (i.e. 6 and 7 instances of simple NPs in broadsheets and tabloids respectively vs. 4 and 2 instances of complex NPs; see Tables 9.1 and 9.2 above).

In Subset B, broadsheet and tabloid headlines seem to differ. In broadsheet headlines, similarly to subset A, there seems to be a tendency towards simple NPs; 6 out of 8 NPs referring to the victim are simple NPs (see Table 9.7).

Total	**Simple NPs**	**Complex NPs**		
	6	**2**		
		pre-mod.	**post-mod.**	**pre- + post-mod.**
	DT E6 (+det) DT E8 DT E9 DT E10 (+det) G E6 (+1post) G E9 (+1post)		DT E7 (+post) G E7	

Table 9.7: Reference to the victims in the broadsheets (Subset B headlines)

Note: no reference to the victims is made in G E8, G E10

Also, in Subset B, as the above table shows, four out of the six simple NPS referring to the victim are not separate sentence elements; two are found in the modifying function (within a postmodification of another noun), and two simple NPs (both are given names) are found in the determiner function (Examples 40 and 41).

Example 40:

Three jailed for life for race murder of schoolboy (G E9)

Example 41:

40 years for Toni-Ann's cold-blooded killer (DT E6)

In the tabloids, however, the proportion of simple NPs and complex NPs is balanced, i.e. three instances of each (see Table 9.8 below), whereas four headlines do not contain any reference to the victim and therefore, they are not represented in the table below. For this reason it is not possible to draw a reliable conclusion here about the tendency towards using simple or complex NPs, as the corpus does not offer enough instances of either.

Total	Simple NPs	Complex NPs		
	3	3		
		pre-mod.	post-mod.	pre- + post-mod.
	DM E10 S E6 (+1pre) S E7	DM E7 DM E9	S E8	

Table 9.8: Reference to the victims in the tabloids (Subset B headlines)

Note: no reference to the victims is made in DM E6, DM E8, S E9, S E10

As for the reference to the killers, in the broadsheets simple NPs again prevail, i.e. five NPs out of seven referring to the killer are simple NPs, with no instances of the referring expression in the modifying or determiner function, which can be explained by the fact that these noun phrases mostly appear in the agent function (see Table 9.9).

Total	Simple NPs	Complex NPs		
	5	2		
		pre-mod.	post-mod.	pre- + post- mod.
	DT E7 DT E9 G E7 G E8 G E9	DT E6		G E6

Table 9.9: Reference to the killers in the broadsheets (Subset B headlines)

Note: no reference to the killers is made in DT E8, DT E10, G E10

In the tabloid articles headlines in Subset B only five instances of a mention of the killer are found, one being a simple NP and four being complex NPs (see Table 9.10). The remaining five headlines do not contain a mention of the killer, which can be attributed mainly to the fact that their focus is the victim, the verdict or sentence, or something else.

Total	Simple NPs	Complex NPs		
	1	4		
		pre-mod.	post-mod.	pre- + post- mod.
	S E6	DM E7 S E10	S E7 S E8	

Table 9.10: Reference to the killers in the tabloids (Subset B headlines)

Note: no reference to the killers is made in DM E6, DM E8, DM E9, DM E10, S E9

Although syntactically different, these complex NPs all display a certain degree of evaluation. Thus, the noun *thug* modified by a relative clause in S E8 (see Example 42 below) has a double negative effect, since the informal word *thug* is negative in itself and is thus both referential and predicational; the relative clause specifies the violent action of the referent and contains a familiar reference to the victim, which is thus contrasted with the killer. An alternative phrase, for example, *Jimmy's killer,* would have the same meaning but not such a negative effect as the noun *thug* (Example 42).

Example 42:

Thug who murdered Jimmy, 16, given life (S E8)

Another example of a referential and at the same time predicational referring expression can be found in S E7 (Example 43).

Example 43:

Monster aged 14 lured Joe to death (S E7)

The killer is presented to the reader as *a monster*, which is clearly a negative evaluation of the referent. The mention of his age would normally be a factual piece of information which further identifies the referent. In this context, however, it also has a negative effect, since it indicates that the killer was ONLY 14 years old, so the killer was a child himself. The negative effect is also enhanced by the verb *lure,* which connotes dishonest behaviour.

In S E 10 we find a negative noun phrase referring to the killers (Example 44), in this case two brothers of 12 and 13 years of age.

Example 44:

LAWLESS SAVAGES (S E10; note: block capitals used in the paper)

The effect of the negative noun is further enhanced by the adjective *lawless*, which describes the killers as having or showing no respect for the law. This clearly differentiates them from the rest of 'us', i.e. law-abiding citizens. Together with the noun, the adjective helps to place the referents into a category of people who are associated with 'undesirable qualities and socially unacceptable behaviour'. Such a headline is short, strong and direct. Even one word, as Example 45 illustrates, can have the same effect. Both such headlines (see Examples 44 and 45) are 'dramatic' enough to make the reader continue reading and learn who the headlines refer to.

Example 45:

BARBARIC (S E9; note: block capitals used in the paper)

The adjective in Example 45 may refer to the killers or the barbaric murder. In this case, three members of a gang kidnapped a 15-year-old boy only because he was white and knifed him and set fire to him, which is definitely a kind of behaviour that has no place in a civilized society and must be condemned by everybody, and as such it is presented to the reader. The negative effect of these two evaluative headlines, which both appeared on page one of the *Sun* in block capitals (i.e. Example 44 and 45) is further enhanced by the sub-

headlines. In the sub-headlines the killers are referred to as *thugs, thug* being typically and consistently used in the *Sun* to label *a criminal* (for more information on sub-headlines in Subset B, see Subsection 9.1.2.3 below).

Examples 42-45, which in my view have an evaluative character, are all found in the *Sun*, which is not only the most widely-read tabloid, but the best selling newspaper of all national dailies in Britain (see Subsections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 above). It is not surprising that as a tabloid and the most widely read paper the *Sun* is more radical in the headlines than other papers and also more evaluative in depictions of the killers and their actions.

9.1.2.3 Sub-headlines in Subset B

In Subset B, sub-headlines seem to play a considerably more important role than in Subset A. In subset A, some of the headlines were fully informative – they included a mention of the victim, the killer, the action and/or the sentence. Therefore, sub-headlines were not used in some articles, although the reason could also be space or the layout of the page.

In Subset B, some headlines do not contain a mention of the core participants, and in this case the victim and the killer are subsequently mentioned in sub-headlines. But even the headlines which do contain a mention of the victim and/or killer are supplemented by at least one sub-headline (see Table 9.11).

	Sub-headlines			
	Daily Telegraph	**Guardian**	**Daily Mirror**	**Sun**
E6	1 (v)	2 (v, k)	1 (v, k)	1 (v, k)
E7	3 (v, k)	2 (v, k)	2 (v, k)	3 (v, k)
E8	1 (v)	2 (v, k)	1 (v, k)	-
E9	2 (v, k)	2 (v, k)	1 (k)	2 (v, k)
E10	1 (-)	2 (-)	1 (k)	3 (v, k)

Table 9.11: Sub-headlines in Subset B

Note: the symbols in brackets indicate whether the sub-headlines contains the mention of the victim (v), killer (k) or no reference to the victim/killer (-) and how many sub-headlines particular articles have.

It can be seen from Table 9.11 that one article (S E8) does not have a sub-headline, probably because the headline itself is fully sufficient (see Example 42 above). Two articles, i.e. DT E10 and G E10, have sub-headlines but these do not contain a mention of the core participants. The reason is the focus of the headlines and the articles in general, i.e. the legal system and the mistakes the investigators made in this case. Although at the beginning these two articles inform about the trial and the verdict, further on they focus more on the investigation and its process.

Out of the remaining 17 articles with sub-headlines, 13 contain a mention of both the victim and the killer; two have a reference to the victim only and two to the killer only. Let us consider several examples together with the headlines.

In Event 6, the DT chooses to focus on the victim (a young girl) and the violent action

towards her (see Examples 46a and 46b). The age in connection with the adjective *innocent* clearly enhances the girl's status as a pitiable victim.

Example 46a:

40 years for Toni-Ann's cold-blooded killer (DT E6 Headline)

Example 46b:

Innocent seven-year-old saw her father killed, then was shot in the back as she *tried to flee to safety* (DT E6 Sub-headline)

In the *Sun* article reporting on the same event, the sub-headline contains a mention of both the victim and the killer, but the focus is on the agent referred to as a *Yardie* (i.e. a member of a group of criminals from Jamaica or West Indies according to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* 2005: 1772). This noun is referential and predicational at the same time. It classifies the person as a criminal involved in drug dealing – such reference emphasizes his socially unacceptable behaviour, and also his non-British origin (Examples 47a and 47b). The killer is thus depicted as an individual and at the same time an individual of particular origin, which may contribute to 'stigmatization' of this social group, i.e. immigrants or illegal immigrants.

Example 47a:

Toni-Ann killer caged 40 years (S E6 Headline)

Example 47b:

Yardie shot girl in back (S E6 Sub-headline)

In the *Daily Mirror*, the sub-headline contains a mention of both the victim and the killer since the headline has the sentence as its focus (Examples 48a). The adjective *brutal* evaluates the killer's behaviour as *brutal* from the point of view of an ordinary, law-abiding citizen (Example 48b).

Example 48a:

A minimum of 40 years (DM E6, Headline)

Example 48b:

Record sentence for Toni-Ann's brutal killer (DM E6, Sub-headline)

Another expression, already mentioned above, with both referential and predicational function can be found in two sub-headlines in the *Sun*, i.e. *thug*. It seems to be customary in the *Sun* to label criminals of a certain kind using this short, strong and informal expression, the use of which may be prescribed by the *Sun's* house style guide[7]. The reason may be to achieve consistency in vocabulary with regards to the expectations of the newspaper's

[7] Newspapers usually have *A House Style Guide* in order to ensure consistency in the paper in a large number of features, from typography to handling particular issues and vocabulary. It is an important tool for editors, journalists, typesetters and other people involved in the production of a particular newspaper. Many organisations, including some but not all newspapers, make their house style guides available online. Some style guides are for internal use only.

audience. In Subset B, the expression *thug* is used in the headline of S E8 (see Example 42 above) and in the sub-headlines (Examples 49b and 50b below).

Example 49a:
BARBARIC (S E9, Headline)

Example 49b:
Life for race-hate thugs who murdered Kriss, 15 (S E9, Sub-headline)

Example 50a:
LAWLESS SAVAGES (S E10, Headline)

Example 50b:
Dami thugs were on bail .... and could be out in 3 years (S E10, Sub-headline)

In Example 49b, the negative effect of the noun *thug* is further enhanced by the modifying compound *race-hate*; in Example 50b the killers are identified via reference to the victim (i.e. *Dami thugs*), the victim being referred to by a familiar form of the given name (i.e. *Dami* for *Damilola*).

Generally speaking, in Subset B the sub-headlines play an important role both in terms of their informative value and in terms of communicating the status of the core participants. A higher frequency of occurrence of sub-headlines in Subset B can be, in my view, attributed mainly to the type of news in this subset and more varied focus of the headlines in this Subset.

9.2 The lead

Bell (1991) maintains that "journalists do not write articles; they write stories" and that journalists are "professional story-tellers of our age" (ibid.: 147). A good story has to convey the message and be interesting enough for the reader to be considered worth reading.

The lead (or the first paragraph) is of crucial importance to 'news stories', since "it summarises the central action and establishes the point of the story" (Bell 1991: 149). As Bell states, the lead can be compared with the abstract of a story. Although it is just one sentence, it is this "single opening sentence" which shall make the reader continue reading. As such, the lead should be informative but also striking enough to sustain the reader's interest. Moreover, Bell claims that news stories "require evaluation". He means evaluation in the broad sense, the function of which is "to establish the significance of what is being told, to focus the events, and to justify claiming the audience's attention" (ibid.: 152). Since this is a crucial and one of the starting points to consider by the journalist, it is the headline and the lead that fulfil this function. In Bell's words, "the lead is a nucleus of evaluation" since it "focuses the story in a particular direction; it forms the lens through which the remainder to the story is viewed" (ibid.)

The lead is usually written by the journalist who has produced the article but it is the editor's task to decide whether the lead is good enough to fulfil its main function. If not, it is a common practice that the editor changes or totally rewrites the original lead (Bell 1991).

Taking into account the function of the lead and its character (i.e. the summary of the main points), it may be assumed that in the reports analysed in the present work both the victim and the killer will be mentioned in the lead. Therefore, the research questions

to be answered in the analysis of the lead are very similar to those posed in the analysis of headlines above:

1. Does the lead contain a mention of the victim and the killer?
2. If so, is the mention realized by a common name, given name, full name or surname of the core participants?
3. Is the mention of the victim and killer realized by a simple or a complex NP?
4. Do complex NPs contain premodifiers or postmodifiers, and is there a tendency towards either of these?
5. What kind of information do the NPs convey? Are they factual or evaluative?

In the analysis of the lead both quantitative and qualitative methods are combined in order to reveal tendencies towards a particular form of expression of the core participants' status, provided that such tendencies can be identified in the corpus. Since headlines and the lead have similar functions, they are compared where the comparison is relevant to the analysis of the expression of the core participants' status.

9.2.1 The Lead in Subset A

9.2.1.1 Mention of the victim and killer and its realization

The analysis of the lead in Subset A (i.e. 20 articles; 5 articles per newspaper) reveals that the lead of all twenty reports, whether in the broadsheet or tabloid papers, contains a mention of both core participants. Of the two core participants, the agent occupies the subject position in 19 articles, the only exception being DM E3, where the father's comment on his 'killer' wife is made (Example 51) and the lead is positioned from the view of the grieving parent.

Example 51:

A grieving father branded his wife 'evil' yesterday as she was jailed for life for murdering their disabled daughter. (DM E3)

Therefore, the lead in 19 articles typically begins with the mention of the agent and the victim is the recipient of the action (see Examples 52 and 53 from a broadsheet and a tabloid respectively):

Example 52:

A mother *who drowned* ***her disabled daughter*** *in a bath after drinking wine was convicted of murder yesterday and sentenced to life in prison.* (G E 3)

Example 53:

A dad *who murdered* ***his little boy*** *in revenge for his wife's affair was jailed for life yesterday.* (DM E1)

The mention of both the killer and the victim is realized by common nouns in 19 articles in both types of newspaper. The only exception is DM E4, but this 'exception' can

be explained if we consider the focus of the lead in this particular article. Similarly to DM E3 described above, DM E4 has as its focus the reaction of the other parent of the murdered child. In DM E4 it is the mother's reaction and the reference to the victim is a quotation of the mother as she described the child, which enhances the emotive effect of the lead (Example 54). The lead is again positioned from the point of view of the grieving parent, here the girl's mother.

Example 54:

Sobbing Joanne Rainsley yesterday told of her anguish at losing angelic daughter Millie – after her husband was jailed for murdering the toddler with a chloroform-soaked rag. (DM E4)

In subset A there is no instance of reference to the victim or the killer in the lead by their full names or surnames. Therefore, it may be concluded that in both types of newspaper the mention of both core participants is made, and in both the mention is typically realized by common nouns.

9.2.1.2 Complexity of NPs in the lead (Subset A)

Although the lead is only one sentence, there are not such space limitations as in the headline. Therefore, the choice between simple and complex NPs is, in my view, governed by the content and the amount and type of information considered newsworthy about the participants and important enough to convey to the reader.

The findings presented in Tables 9.12 and 9.13 below reveal that in both types of papers the mention of both the victim and the killer is typically realized by complex noun phrases, whereas simple noun phrases occur less frequently.

	Broadsheets		Tabloids	
	Daily Telegraph	**Guardian**	**Daily Mirror**	**Sun**
Simple NPs	1	-	-	2
Complex NPs	4	5	5	3

Table 9.12: Number of simple and complex NPs referring to the victims (Subset A)

	Broadsheets		Tabloids	
	Daily Telegraph	**Guardian**	**Daily Mirror**	**Sun**
Simple NPs	1	1	1	2
Complex NPs	4	4	4	3

Table 9.13: Number of simple and complex NPs referring to the killers (Subset A)

In my view, the reason is the fact that complex NPs offer a possibility to provide more factual information 'packed' together, which at the same time can enhance a positive status

of the victim and a negative status of the killer, who are typically contrasted in the lead. With the victims in Subset A, as the corpus reveals, it is mostly the age of the victim, conveyed via premodification of three kinds, i.e. by a compound, an adjective or a noun. The compound gives the exact age of the victim (Example 55); the adjective and the noun convey the age indirectly, e.g. *infant* or *little* (Examples 56 and 57) and *baby* or *toddler* (Examples 58 and 59).

Example 55:

A father who drugged then suffocated his three-year-old daughter in revenge for his wife's infidelity ... (DT E4)

Example 56:

A mother was jailed for eight years yesterday after a 'horrific' campaign of cruelty against her infant son, who endured broken limbs and 17 fractured ribs.... (G E2)

Example 57:

A dad who murdered his little boy in revenge for his wife's affair... (DM E1)

Example 58:

A mother whose cruel abuse of her baby son echoed the Baby P case ... (DM E2)

Example 59:

An evil mother who inflicted appalling injuries on her toddler son... (S E5)

If we look closely at the modifying expressions, the corpus reveals that compounds giving the exact age of the victim occur more frequently in the broadsheets (5 instances vs. 1 instance in the tabloids). The tabloids seem to prefer complex noun phrases such as *his little boy* (DM E1), *her baby son* (DM E2), *her toddler son* (S E5; DM E5), although this is not to claim that these noun phrases do not appear in the broadsheets too. These noun phrases give information about the age of the victim and may be considered more emotive, i.e. the child was 'really young', he was 'just a baby', he was 'just a toddler' (so he couldn't even walk yet), etc.

In Event 3, one more piece of information is important apart from the victim's age – the girl was disabled, which was probably one of the motives of the mother for killing her child since the care was very demanding and the mother was ashamed of the girl's condition. Three papers, except for DM, choose to include this information (i.e. that the girl was disabled) in the headline or sub-headline, and all of them make a mention of it in the lead.

None of the NPs referring to the victim in the lead in any of the papers has a postmodification, except for one instance, where the non-defining relative clause specifies the horrific suffering of the child (i.e. G E2; see Example 56 above).

The mention of the killer, as mentioned above, occupies the subject position in most articles (i.e. 19 articles; see Subsection 9.2.1.1). Table 9.13 above reveals that the majority of NPs referring to the killers (15 out of 20 instances) are complex NPs, eight being found in the broadsheets and seven in the tabloids. Out of these 15 NPs, three contain premodification by adjective, whereas the remaining twelve instances of complex NPs have a postmodification. In all twelve instances it is a defining relative clause (see Table 9.14).

	Total	Premodification (adjective)	Postmodification (defining relative clause)
Daily Telegraph	4	1	3
Guardian	4	-	4
Daily Mirror	4	1	3
Sun	3	1	2
Total	**15**	**3**	**12**

Table 9.14: Modification of NPs referring to the killers (Subset A)

From the findings in the table above it may be concluded that defining relative clauses seem to be a relatively frequent means of how the papers choose to define the killer, and as such it is found in both types of newspapers. The relative clause has the violent action as its focus and, logically, includes a mention of the victim as the affected actor. The papers use the same pattern where the noun does not have a premodification because the main information is expressed by the relative clause: a determiner + head noun + a defining relative clause (see Examples 55-58 above). There are only two exceptions. One exception can be found in the *Sun* (S E5; see Example 59 above), where the negative status of the killer is enhanced by the adjective *evil*, typically used by the *Sun* in descriptions of violent criminals/killers (cf. Jančaříková 2010). The other exception is modification by a noun in G E4 (Example 60), where the killer is not referred to as *a father* but as *a hospital radiographer.*

Example 60:

*A **hospital** radiographer who smothered his three-year-old elder daughter with a rag soaked in chloroform ...* (G E4)

In my view, the reason for the use of relative clauses in reference to killers in the lead is that such reference enables to describe the killer by giving details of his violent and appalling behaviour, which at the same time classifies the person as someone who deserves severe punishment in any civilized society. The action itself is mostly so dreadful that its pure mention results in the reader forming a negative view of the killer. The killer is perceived as *evil* not because the newspaper portrays him or her like that or calls him *evil* (as the *Sun* does it) but because what he did is unacceptable and appalling behaviour. Of course, the negative view of the killer can be enhanced by lexical choices, for example, *killed* vs. *murdered* vs. *butchered*; *cruel abuse*, *horrific campaign of cruelty*, which all refer to the action and indirectly to the killer.

9.2.2 The Lead in Subset B

9.2.2.1 Mention of the victim and killer and its realization

As in Subset A, the lead in Subset B articles also contains a reference to both core participants, who are central to the story and therefore the lead (being a summary of the

event) logically contains a mention of both. However, the range of reference to both the killer and victim is wider than in Subset A. In Subset B, victims are referred to by their full names (e.g. three instances in each of the two broadsheets and the *Daily Mirror*, and four instances in the *Sun*). The higher age of the victims in Subset B than in Subset A allows more classification, such as *schoolboy*, *altar boy*, *school leaver* or *race-hate murder victim*. Within the reference to killers, classifying and evaluating adjectives are also found in Subset B, as the following Subsection explains in detail.

9.2.2.2 Complexity of NPs in the lead (Subset B)

Similarly to Subset A (see Tables 9.12 and 9.13 above), in Subset B a tendency towards the use of complex NPs rather than simple NPs in the lead can be traced in both types of newspapers, as Tables 9.15 and 9.16 illustrate.

	Broadsheets		**Tabloids**	
	Daily Telegraph	**Guardian**	**Daily Mirror**	**Sun**
Simple NPs	1	1	2	-
Complex NPs	4	4	3	5

Table 9.15: Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the victims (Subset B)

	Broadsheets		**Tabloids**	
	Daily Telegraph	**Guardian**	**Daily Mirror**	**Sun**
Simple NPs	1	2	1	-
Complex NPs	4	3	4	5

Table 9.16: Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the killers (Subset B)

As in Subset A, the complex NPs in Subset B leads are of informative character mostly; their purpose is to provide more information about the person concerned.

As for victims, it is mostly their age, expressed either explicitly (i.e. by a compound, e.g. *a seven-year-old girl*, G E6) or implicitly by common nouns such as *teenager* (DM E9) or *schoolboy* (G E9). Apart from the victim's age, other pieces of information may help to further classify the victim, e.g. *school-leaver* (G E8) or *altar boy* (S E8). Whereas *school-leaver* (an example from a broadsheet) refers to the victim's age indirectly, the compound *altar boy* from a tabloid not only includes information about the boy's activities but also his background (i.e. Christian and practising family in this context). The latter example, therefore, can be considered both referential and predicational, in my view.

In subset A, the expression of the age of the victim was typically realized by compounds (e.g. *a two-month-old son*) in broadsheets whereas tabloids preferred common nouns, such as *baby* or *toddler*, as these may generate sympathy in the reader. In Subset B, however, no such tendency for either paper can be traced; with each event the situation is slightly different. In

Event 6 the exact age of the victim is given by all four papers, in Event 7 by all except for the DM, in Event 8 none of the papers gives the exact age in the lead, in Events 9 and 10 it is given by the DT only.

In other features, the leads in Subset B display several differences. The most striking is the use of proper nouns in reference to victims. Subset B includes events which have previously been covered in the press, some rather extensively. The reader is at least partly expected to recall the event and the victim, who is not an unfamiliar person as in Subset A events. In Subset B we therefore find the victims being referred to by their full names in 13 leads out of 20, i.e. 65 per cent. The full name of the victim occurs in the lead across the papers: four instances in the DT, two instances in the G, three instances in the DM and four instances in the *Sun*. The full name appears in the following 'patterns':

a) the full name is modified – three vs. four instances in the broadsheets and tabloids respectively (i.e. G E6, DT E7, G E8; DM E7, S E7, S E8, S E10; Examples 61-62)

Example 61:

... who murdered seven-year-old Toni-Ann Byfield (G E6)

Example 62:

... for murdering altar boy Jimmy Mizen (S E8)

b) the full name is part of another NP and functions as a modifier/or determiner – two vs. one instances in the broadsheets and tabloids respectively (i.e. DT E8, G E10; DM E10; Examples 63 and 64)

Example 63:

The parents of Damilola Taylor finally witnessed justice... (G E10)

Example 64:

Damilola Taylor's brave parents spoke of their relief last night ... (DM E10)

The head of the NP in this pattern is personal in all three instances (i.e. *father*, *parents*, *parents* respectively)

c) the full name is modified and at the same time functions as a modifier – one vs. one instance in the broadsheets and tabloids respectively (i.e. DT E10; DM E8; Example 65). The head of the NP in this pattern is either personal (i.e. *dad* in DM E8) or impersonal (i.e. *death* in DT E10).

Example 65:

Six years after the death of 10-year-old Damilola Taylor, his parents ... (DT E10)

d) the full name is in apposition to another noun phrase – one instance in the Sun (S E9)

Example 66:

*The mum of race-hate murder victim Kriss Donald yelled 'you b*******' at his "barbaric killers"....* (S E9)

The modifiers of the full name may express factual information such as age, mostly via compounds or common nouns. The *Sun*, however, uses modification to further classify and also evaluate the person; for example, the victim in S E7 is described as *chirpy* (Example 67). Generally, evaluation in the *Sun* is more evident with the killers than with the victims.

Example 67:

Chirpy *11-year-old Joe Geeling was brutally murdered ....* (S E7).

As for the killers, the mention of the killer and its realization depends on the position of the referring expression in the sentence and on the 'focus' of the lead. Newspapers may choose to build the lead around the killer but also around the victim and in some cases in the corpus also around the parents, whose emotive reactions, feelings or comments are made central to the lead.

Out of the four papers, the *Guardian* is the most consistent in that it begins each of the leads (i.e. all five events) with reference to the killer, which is found in the subject position. In the DT the reference to the killer is the subject (2 instances), a part of the subject (1 instance) or the object (2 instances). In the DM four leads have the killer in the subject position (2 instances in later clauses, not the first clause of the lead) and in one event the reference to the killer is made via a passive structure (i.e. *by* + the agent). In the *Sun*, there seems to be most syntactic variety since there are two instances of the killer in the subject position, two as the agent in a passive structure and one instance of a prepositional object. Therefore, it is not possible to draw a valid conclusion about the expression of the killer's identity/classification as being more or less consistent in either type of paper. It should rather be stated that the leads in Subset B display more variety than those in Subset A. The reason is that the events in Subset B can be depicted not only as murders of children as in Subset A, but they can also serve as a means of tackling social issues and problems of today's British society.

In Subset A relative clauses were identified as a relatively common type of postmodification in reference to the killers. Subset B does contain several instances of relative clauses too but displays no considerable tendency towards their use, which again, in my view, can be attributed to the type of events that offer more possibilities of how to present them to the reader. This variety also provides more space for evaluation, mostly in the *Sun*, which uses strong adjectives and nouns in modification more frequently than the other papers in order to enhance a negative status of the killer(s), e.g. *evil*, *twisted*, *barbaric*; *Yardie gangster*, *thug*, *savages* (Examples 68-71).

Example 68:

An evil Yardie gangster who executed a girl of seven... (S E6)

Example 69:

Twisted thug Jake Fahri was jailed for life yesterday for .... (S E8) (note: the only example of the killer's full name in the lead in the whole corpus)

Example 70:

*The mum of race-hate murder victim Kriss Donald yelled 'you b*******' at his "barbaric killers" yesterday...* (S E9)

Example 71:

Schoolboy Damilola Taylor was killed by two lawless savages on bail for robbery... (S E10)

The reference to the killer in Example 68 above, i.e. *an evil Yardie gangster*, is a typical example of a negative noun phrase containing several expressions that enhance a negative status of the killer. The two negative premodifiers, a negative noun and a postmodifying relative clause (in which the negative effect is enhanced by the use of the verb *execute*) form a strongly negative cluster. As mentioned above, the adjective *evil* is a common evaluative expression used to describe criminals in tabloids, mainly in the *Sun*. In my view, the consistent use of this adjective in tabloids helps to enhance the 'good' vs. 'evil' binary opposition. The noun *Yardie,* as explained previously*,* is a negative expression associated with drug dealing criminals of Jamaican origin and the noun *gangster* is negative in itself. In British context, this combination can be very powerful – the criminal is *non-British*, maybe *an immigrant*, he is *violent*, etc. Such a depiction of the killer may enhance the deeply-rooted view reinforced mainly by tabloids that immigrants commit crimes. In broadsheets, which are more reticent in general, we would hardly ever find such a description. Examples 72-75 illustrate this difference between broadsheets and tabloids (they are all examples of reference to the killer from the leads of Event 6 articles).

Example 72:

*A **gunman** who preyed on drug dealers was jailed ....* (DT E6)

Example 73:

*A **former member** of a **notorious** west London **gang** who murdered seven-year-old Toni-Ann ...* (G E6)

Example 74:

*An **evil gunman** who murdered a girl of seven ...* (DM E6)

Example 75:

*An **evil Yardie gangster** who executed a girl of seven...* (S E6)

The *Daily Mirror* also uses the adjective *evil* but the combination of *evil + Yardie + gangster* in the *Sun* definitely ranks higher on the scale of negativity – it is more straightforward, more radical and displays a high degree of evaluation. The broadsheets avoid such evaluations and choose to focus on the killer's background, i.e. the killer *preyed on drug dealers* and *was a member of a notorious gang* (i.e. *a gangster*).

To sum up, the analysis of the lead, similarly to the analysis of headlines, shows that it is not possible to make generalisations about crime reports as such; the type of event has to be taken into account in the first place. I realize that the corpus is relatively small. Still, in my view, it reveals some interesting similarities and differences which would deserve separate and more elaborated research and which demonstrate how different papers, not only types of papers but also individual papers, work with the same information and present it to the reader, which will be even more obvious in the analysis of the body copy.

9.3 The body copy

Since the body copy is "the main text of a story or feature" (Bell 1991: 15), it might seem that it is the most important part of a newspaper report. It is the longest of the three main parts (i.e. headline, lead and body copy) and contains the most details in comparison with the headlines and the lead. From the journalists' and editors' point of view the body copy builds on the two previous segments, which change an 'article' into a 'story' (ibid.). What makes the reader choose to read a particular article, however, is not the body copy but the preceding parts. Since each of the three parts has its own distinct function, they are all important segments in a newspaper report structure. Formally, they are independent of each other, and may even be written by different people, and yet they are closely interrelated. If the three parts 'work' together efficiently, the reader does not even recognize that there is some structure at all (Keeble 2006).

The headline attracts the reader's attention, the lead focuses the story and the body copy contains details considered important for the story. What details a newspaper considers newsworthy and necessary to mention depends largely on the intended audience, although there are definitely other factors, such as space limitations.

The main points are to be conveyed first, i.e. what happened to whom, possibly also when and where. The crucial information is further expanded by giving the background and the circumstances of the event. The headline attracts the reader's attention and the lead "tends to highlight the main angle" (Keeble 2006) further elaborated on in the body copy (ibid.: 124). Without breaking or delaying 'the dramatic flow', the body copy provides factual details and background information supported largely by direct and indirect quotes (ibid.: 124-125).

It was explained above (see Subsection 8.1) that the articles in the corpus were chosen based mainly on several content criteria, i.e. the type of event (i.e. murder), the age of victims, the killer (i.e. a parent or a stranger) and the type of report (i.e. trial/verdict reports). The length of articles was not one of the decisive factors since it would be rather difficult and complicated to collect articles which would satisfy all the content criteria and at the same time would be of approximately the same length, with each event being covered in all the four papers. However, on the whole, the sub-corpora within each type of papers are comparable in size. As can be seen from Table 8.2 above (see Subsection 8.3), the articles vary in length, which depends mainly on the amount of attention that a particular newspaper decided to devote to a particular event. Therefore, the numbers of simple and complex NPs referring to victims and killers vary too. The absolute figures are in some cases too low to allow some statistical evaluation or generalisations. The results shall therefore be interpreted as tendencies rather than rules or norms. Despite this drawback, the material in the corpus, in my view, does reveal some interesting tendencies in reference to the core participants in the type of crime reports concerned.

As for the newspapers included in the corpus, it is my assumption that generalisations about the two basic types, i.e. broadsheets and tabloids, should be made reticently. Therefore, in the analysis of the body copy, each newspaper is treated separately in order to demonstrate to what extent the individual papers differ. The tables made for each newspaper in the corpus enable a mutual comparison of the papers as such and consequently the types of newspapers, provided that the same or similar tendency appears to be shared by both newspapers of the same type.

At this point it is also essential to clarify how NPs are approached in the present analysis. I am fully aware of the fact that a particular approach influences the results largely.

Some analysts choose to focus only on the noun phrases on the topmost level; others, for example Jucker (1992), choose to include also the NPs which function as modifiers of other NPs. Unlike Jucker, I am not primarily concerned with different syntactic levels on which the noun phrases are found but I have decided to follow Jucker's approach for a different reason. To my view, the NPs in modifying or determiner function also contribute to the status of the core participants. For example, the noun phrases in a determiner function instead of the possessive pronoun, as shown in the following examples, may have at least a slightly different effect in a particular context: *his suffering* vs. *the child's suffering* vs. *the toddler's suffering* vs. *the tot's suffering* vs. *Bobby's suffering*. Therefore, the noun phrases functioning as determiners are also included in the present analysis. Their determiner function is indicated in the corresponding tables. Similarly, noun phrases found within modification are also included in the analysis (cf. Jucker 1992), since these also play an important role in depiction of the core participants.

The articles in the corpus generally include some quotations either of the judge, of the parent/s or police officers who have investigated the cases; the quotations of the killer's words are also relatively frequent. The quotations play a very important role in the articles, either because they represent the voice of some authority or the grief-stricken parents and they naturally include references to the victims and sometimes the killers, too. Such NPs uttered by someone else than the newspaper are also included in the analysis. What is excluded, however, is the reference to the killer made by the killer himself/herself by the pronoun 'I' in the quotations, because grammatically there is no other possibility. Other pronouns, such as 'he' or 'she' used to refer to victims and killers are included in the simple noun phrases figures because their use is a matter of choice, i.e. instead of the pronoun the newspaper could use a common noun, such as *the father*, *the child*, etc.

Not all noun phrases that refer to victims and killers contribute to the building or enhancing of a particular status of the core participants. Pronouns, for example, mostly function as cohesive devices, although in some cases the use of a pronoun can be motivated by the need to create a dramatic effect, mainly via cataphoric reference. Pronouns are therefore included in the tables showing the number of simple NPs in a separate column in order to show the proportion of pronouns, proper nouns and common nouns within simple NPs. Qualitative analysis, however, does not focus on the pronouns in detail and is concerned mainly with the use of proper nouns and common names which primarily contribute to the building and enhancing of the core participants' status in the type of reports in the corpus.

Another issue that requires some clarification is the treatment of noun phrases in apposition, for example, *Hall, a hospital radiographer* (DT E4). From the semantic point of view, in apposition it is a general rule that one item is defined (i.e. *Hall*) and the other defining (i.e. *a hospital radiographer*), although not necessarily in this order (Jucker 1992).

In terms of their syntactic relation, however, there is not a relation of dependence between them. According to the *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics*, apposition is "a syntactic relation in which an element is juxtaposed to another element of the same kind" (2007: 24). As Dušková et al. (1994) state, the two items should be rather treated as two items between which there is a distinctive kind of coordination (ibid.: 498). Biber et al. (1999, see Subsection 7.2.3), on the other hand, list appositive noun phrases among the means of postmodification and according to Biber's (2003) study, appositive noun phrases modifying a proper noun are frequently found in the newspaper register. However, in many appositions, mainly 'full, non-restrictive' appositions, for example, *My friend Anna was here last night*.,

"it may not be clear which of the appositions is the defining one" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1305), which justifies the approach advocated by Dušková et al. (1994) and adopted in the present work. Therefore, in the first part of the body copy analysis concerned with the complexity of noun phrases, such appositive noun phrases are treated separately. Based on this approach, the above mentioned example consists of two noun phrases, i.e. the proper noun *Hall* is a simple NP and *a hospital radiographer* a complex noun phrase with premodification (the latter being labelled in the corresponding tables as 'pre+CN'). Full names, e.g. *Gavin Hall*, are treated as simple noun phrases since they refer to one 'entity'. If the proper noun (i.e. GN, S or FN) is followed by a comma and a numeral expressing the person's age (e.g. *Gavin Hall, 33*), such a noun phrase is treated as a complex one with postmodification. The numeral is appositive to the name but it does not fulfill the same syntactic function as the proper noun and cannot be treated separately as a noun phrase.

Throughout the analysis the results are summarised in a number of tables and further commented on. The majority of tables are considered essential for better illustration and justification of the results and as such they are presented within the text of the work instead of being placed in the Appendix.

As in the preceding analyses of the headlines and the lead, both quantitative and qualitative methods are used in order to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the proportion of simple and complex NPs?
2. What is the proportion of proper nouns and their variants, the pronouns and common nouns within the simple NPs? What type of modification do the complex NPs involve?
3. Are there any tendencies in the use of proper nouns? Are the newspapers consistent in the use of particular variants of proper nouns in reference to victims and killers?
4. Are the NPs classifying/identifying and/or evaluative? What kind of effect might particular lexical choices have on the reader in the given context?

9.3.1 The body copy in Subset A

9.3.1.1 Simple and Complex NPs (victims and killers)

It has been stated above that due to the different length of articles, the numbers of simple and complex NPs in individual articles vary and so the absolute figures for individual articles differ to a certain extent. Nevertheless, if we consider the average figures, even such a small corpus as the present one offers some interesting findings about the complexity of noun phrases. A closer look at the figures in Tables 9.17 and 9.18 below reveals that simple NPs prevail over complex NPs both in reference to the victims (see Table 9.17) and the killers (see Table 9.18).

	Daily Telegraph		Guardian		Daily Mirror		Sun	
	SNPs	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**
E1	13	3	6	-	3	1	5	2
E2	20	2	12	1	2	1	6	5
E3	37	-	21	3	28	8	17	8
E4	20	7	20	5	15	3	29	6
E5	3	2	14	6	26	1	33	6
T %	**93 87%**	**14 13%**	**73 83%**	**15 7%**	**74 84%**	**14 16%**	**90 77%**	**27 23%**

Table 9.17: Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the victims (Subset A)

	Daily Telegraph		Guardian		Daily Mirror		Sun	
	SNPs	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**
E1	23	3	25	2	5	2	14	2
E2	20	2	8	2	1	1	7	4
E3	22	3	28	1	31	3	25	2
E4	26	2	19	3	14	5	37	-
E5	1	2	11	1	13	2	16	4
T %	**92 88.5%**	**12 11.5%**	**91 91%**	**9 9%**	**64 83%**	**13 17%**	**99 89%**	**12 11%**

Table 9.18: Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the killers (Subset A)

Among the NPs relating to either the victims or the killers, simple NPs constitute at least two thirds (or more) of the overall number of these NPs in most articles, i.e. between 77 per cent and 87 per cent with victims, and between 83 per cent and 91 per cent with killers on average. The difference may partly be caused by the fact that simple NPs include pronouns, which are relatively frequent due to their cohesive function. Also, since the events are 'human stories', the articles are 'built' around the core participants, who are referred to by pronouns and also relatively frequently by proper nouns.

Pronouns as grammatical words do not carry meaning unlike lexical words, such as nouns. Still, even if pronouns were excluded from simple NPs for this reason, the number of simple NPs would still remain higher in the majority of articles than the number of complex NPs, although in a few articles the difference would not be so prominent, as Tables 9.19 and 9.20 below illustrate. This fact, however, shall be attributed mainly to the length of particular articles (e.g. DT E5, DM E1, DM E2).

	Daily Telegraph		Guardian		Daily Mirror		Sun	
	SNPs	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**
E1	8	3	6	-	3	1	5	2
E2	16	2	9	1	2	1	2	5
E3	23	-	15	3	14	8	11	8
E4	13	7	12	5	12	3	12	6
E5	2	2	7	6	11	1	16	6
T %	**62 82%**	**14 18%**	**49 77%**	**15 23%**	**42 75%**	**14 25%**	**46 63%**	**27 37%**

Table 9.19: Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the victims with pronouns excluded (Subset A)

	Daily Telegraph		Guardian		Daily Mirror		Sun	
	SNPs	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**
E1	7	3	6	2	1	2	5	2
E2	10	2	5	2	1	1	2	4
E3	8	3	9	1	13	3	10	2
E4	6	2	8	3	8	5	12	-
E5	1	2	6	1	6	2	9	4
T %	**32 73%**	**12 27%**	**34 79%**	**9 21%**	**29 69%**	**13 31%**	**38 76%**	**12 24%**

Table 9.20: Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the killers with pronouns excluded (Subset A)

With the pronouns excluded, the percentage of simple NPs still remains higher than the percentage of complex NPs, the number of simple NPs being between 63 per cent and 82 per cent in the case of victims, and between 69 per cent and 79 per cent in the case of killers.

The noun phrases which, in my view, help to constitute a particular status of a person involve mainly proper nouns (i.e. names and their variants) and common nouns, as discussed in the following subsections.

9.3.1.2 Reference to the victims

As for reference to the victims, apart from pronouns, the simple NPs are realized mainly by the given name (GN), whereas the surname (S) and full name (FN) of the victim are not used at all in any of the papers in Subset A (see Tables 9.21-9.24 below). Given names are also used in the determiner function of non-personal nouns (indicated by GNd

in the corresponding tables), for example, *Rhys's chest* (DT E2); this use is found slightly more frequently in the broadsheets than in the tabloids in the corpus. In my view, it is the consistent use of the given name throughout the body copy that 'keeps' the victim within the scope of the reader's attention. Similarly, common nouns in the possessive case are used as determiners of another noun (indicated by CNd in the corresponding tables), for example, *her daughter's cerebral palsy* (G E3), mainly in the broadsheets whereas in the tabloids in the corpus this use is relatively rare.

Surnames, as the analysis will show, are 'reserved' for the killers (see Section 9.3.1.3 below). The full name of the victim is unnecessary information in Subset A events because the killer is one of the parents, whose name is given at the beginning of the body copy. Common nouns as simple NPs are found in most articles across the papers in different numbers. In DT E5 and DM E1 no instances of common nouns as simple NPs are found, which is to be attributed mainly to their relatively short length, as mentioned above.

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E1	**13**	5	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	1
E2	**20**	5	3	-	-	-	-	4	6	2
E3	**37**	11	3	-	-	-	-	14	7	2
E4	**20**	8	2	-	-	-	-	7	3	-
E5	**3**	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-

Table 9.21: Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset A)

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E1	**6**	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1
E2	**12**	5	2	-	-	-	-	3	1	1
E3	**21**	6	2	-	-	-	-	6	5	2
E4	**20**	7	1	-	-	-	-	8	3	1
E5	**14**	4	1					7	2	-

Table 9.22: Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Guardian* (Subset A)

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E1	**3**	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
E2	**2**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
E3	**28**	11	-	-	-	-	-	14	2	1
E4	**15**	10	2	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
E5	**26**	3	1	-	-	-	-	15	6	1

Table 9.23: Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset A)

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E1	**5**	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
E2	**6**	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-
E3	**17**	6	-	-	-	-	-	6	4	1
E4	**29**	7	1	-	-	-	-	17	4	-
E5	**33**	9	2	-	-	-	-	17	5	-

Table 9.24: Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Sun* (Subset A)

The complex NPs referring to the victims are not numerous and they are relatively varied in their structure, having both proper nouns and common nouns as their heads. Both types of nouns are found with pre- and postmodification (see Tables 9.25-9.28). Out of the proper nouns variants, the given name (pre- or postmodified) prevails, mainly in the *Sun* (i.e. 8 instances), whereas the articles in the other papers contain three (i.e. the G and DM) or four instances (i.e. the DT). The *Sun* also displays the highest number of modified common nouns in comparison with the other three papers included in the corpus. These complex NPs are often part of quotations of the victim's grief-stricken parent describing the child. Tables 9.25-9.28 also illustrate that the papers do not seem to display a tendency towards using one type of the complex NP. The numbers and types vary across the papers as well as types of papers. However, it may be concluded that, in general, modification is found more frequently with common nouns than with proper nouns, mainly in the DT (see Table 9.25) and the *Sun* (see Table 9.28).

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E1	**3**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
E2	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1[d]	-	1
E3	**-**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E4	**7**	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-
E5	**2**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

Table 9.25: Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset A)

Note: 1[d] = one instance of a premodified common noun in the determiner function

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E1	**-**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E2	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
E3	**3**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
E4	**5**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-
E5	**6**	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	1	-

Table 9.26: Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Guardian* (Subset A)

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E1	**1**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E2	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
E3	**8**	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-
E4	**3**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
E5	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

Table 9.27: Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset A)

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E1	**2**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
E2	**5**	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
E3	**8**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	-
E4	**6**	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1
E5	**6**	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	2

Table 9.28: Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Sun* (Subset A)

As mentioned above, in comparison with the other three papers, the *Sun* articles display more instances of modified proper nouns (see Table 9.28); they are mostly given names with either pre- or postmodification (see Examples 76-78 below). In Example 76, the child's age is mentioned again (although given in the headline already), so it may be concluded that the *Sun* wants to emphasise this piece of information. In Example 77, the *Sun* chooses to stress the victim's helplessness by referring to him as *helpless Rhys*, instead of using, for example, a neutral common noun such as *the child*. The use of a familiar form of the victim's given name (i.e. *Millie*) also enhances familiarity and possibly compassion on the side of the reader (see Example 78).

Example 76:

Christopher Hawkins, 47, stabbed four-year-old Ryan nine times ... (S E1)

Example 77:

... all they could be convicted of was cruelty. That was because helpless Rhys suffered so many broken bones ... (S E2)

Example 78:

... then she saw Amelia, known as Millie. (S E4)

All the four papers are consistent in the use of proper nouns throughout the body copy. The victims are referred to by their given names, which mostly occur as SNPs, occasionally with modification or in the determiner function. Tables 9.29-9.32 outline the range of proper noun variants employed by all the papers in reference to the victims.

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E1	**6**	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E2	**8**	5	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E3	**14**	11	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E4	**12**	8	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E5	**4**	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.29: Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset A)

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E1	**3**	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E2	**7**	5	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E3	**9**	6	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E4	**9**	7	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E5	**8**	4	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.30: Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Guardian* (Subset A)

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E1	**3**	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E2	**1**	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E3	**12**	11	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E4	**13**	10	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E5	**5**	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.31: Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset A)

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E1	**5**	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E2	**4**	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E3	**7**	6	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E4	**10**	7	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E5	**13**	9	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.32: Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Sun* (Subset A)

From Tables 9.29-9.32 it can be seen that both types of papers use the proper name variants in the same way. Event 5 is the only one which displays at least one instance of the victim's full name in each paper. This can be explained by the context of the situation of the event concerned. The victim – a baby boy – has his father's surname and not the killer's (i.e. the mother's surname), whose full name is given in the body copy too. Therefore, the victim's full name, unlike in the other cases, is necessary to mention. In this case, clarity is thus superordinate to other aims.

The quantitative analysis presented above is not sufficient enough to uncover how a positive status of the victim is constructed throughout the article. Apart from the consistent use of the victim's given name as explained above, the status is generated in NPs via modification, although it should be stated that the victims in these cases automatically possess a positive status and natural compassion of the reader since they are young children, helpless and vulnerable, and moreover, killed by their own parent. As Jewkes (2004) explains, "we hang on to the ideal of children as precious innocents who must be protected from the sordid and the spoiled" (ibid.: 99). Therefore, in many cases children represent 'ideal' victims, with whom the reader will naturally empathise.

Also, due to the low age of the children, there is not much factual information to convey about them apart from them being *young*, *bright*, *beautiful*, *full of life*, *small*, *helpless*, etc. Due to their age it is not possible to describe them by giving details of their hobbies, interests, plans or ambitions as with older victims in Subset B. The focus is therefore on the victim's age, which is expressed either in exact figures in pre- or postmodification; or via the use of common nouns such as *infant* (Example 79), *youngster* (e.g. S E3) or *tot* (e.g. S E2), which all convey the fact that the victim is *a young child*.

Example 79:

Biggs repeatedly crushed the chest of her infant son, Rhys, ... (G E2)

The victim's age is also expressed implicitly and with more emotive effect by adjectives, such as *little* in *little boy* (S E1, DT E2) and mainly the adjective *tiny*. In the *Sun*, for example, each victim in all five events is described either as *tiny* or *little.* The emotive effect of these words can be enhanced by their repetition or their co-occurrence. Thus, in

the same article (i.e. S E2) the victim is referred to as *a tiny baby, tiny Rhys*, *helpless Rhys* and also by informal and emotive nouns, such as *tot* and *mite*. Example 80 illustrates how the *Sun* combines such informal expressions with other negative information given in the postmodifying relative clause, which draws the reader's attention to the child's suffering and his unfortunate fate. In this example, the relative clause is separated by hyphens instead of commas, which appears to be a frequent feature of journalistic style, mainly when the relative clause is rather long.

Example 80:

Cops discovered a bloodied teddy bear and clothes at the home of the mite – who would have been constantly screaming in pain. (S E2)

The *Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian*, on the other hand, do not tend to use adjectives or informal nouns in reference to the victims, probably in order to avoid evaluation of any kind or emotive language; not because they view the victim differently but because evaluation and emotiveness are not normally associated with serious papers and are not expected by their readers to be found in reports. Instead, similarly to the tabloids, these papers choose to include quotations of judges, detectives or parents, mainly those that include 'authentic' descriptions of the victims. Such quotations enhance the 'human' character of the story and at the same time enable the paper to avoid evaluation that is in broadsheets reserved rather for editorials or other types of articles (e.g. feature articles). Thus, the *Guardian*, for example, chooses to quote the chief executive of the NSPCC[8] (Example 81); the *Daily Telegraph* chooses to quote the grief-stricken mother (Example 82).

Example 81:

The level of brutality inflicted on this helpless infant is sickening. (G E5)

Example 82:

It is incomprehensible to us as to how anyone under such circumstances could deliberately take away such a beautiful little girl as Millie. ... Millie will always be remembered as a happy, lovely and beautiful girl ... (DT E4)

Although all the four papers employ quotations as a means increasing authenticity, they exploit quotations differently. Similar details and quotations and sometimes also almost identical clusters of language found in all four articles on the same event indicate that the newspapers used the same prior text provided by a news agency, which is becoming an increasingly common feature of modern journalism (Franklin 2008b). However, a comparison of the quotations used in the four papers reveals that they work with prior texts differently, which in my view shall be attributed mainly to the different readerships of the papers. Thus, in reports on Event 3 in the corpus, the grief-stricken father's words are included in different ways and different 'range'. In the *Guardian* it is an indirect quotation combined with a direct one, but rather brief (see Example 83 below). In the *Daily Telegraph*, a straightforward, direct quotation contrasts the little girl (*my princess Naomi*) with the killer (*evil wife)*, and there is another quotation which further describes the victim as *a lively* and *a happy child* despite her disability (see Example 84 below). Both the tabloids are more emotive as they

[8] NSPCC – The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

include several other quotations and choose almost the same phrases (see Examples 85 and 86 below), which are not found in the broadsheets. The tabloids seem to favour large clusters, mostly quotations of what the devastated parents said, which enhances the emotive effect of the description of the victim (given by a loving parent) and further contributes to the personalisation of the victim. At the same time, the 'loving' and the 'evil' parent can be contrasted, too.

Example 83:

Her estranged husband, Simon Hill, 38, told a press conference he would never be able to come to terms with what had happened. His daughter "lived life to the full and was an inspiration. (G E3)

Example 84:

After Hill was convicted of murder, her husband, Simon said: "Joanne was a non-swimmer with a fear of water. To be held under water was her biggest fear. What she did to my princess Naomi was evil." Mr Hill, 38, went on to reject the assertion that his daughter "suffered" as a result of her condition. "This is not true," he said. "Naomi did not suffer at all. She lived life to the full and was an inspiration to us all. (DT E3)

Example 85:

"*What she did to my princess was evil. Naomi was a chatterbox, a great story teller. She could make me laugh all day long. Her cheeky grin and beaming smile could light up a room. There is not a minute that goes by without me wishing she was still here. She was my constant companion, she was my best friend, she was my little princess.* (DM E3)

Example 86:

"What she did to my princess Naomi was evil". ... It has been said in court that Naomi suffered from cerebral palsy. This is not true. She did not suffer at all. She lived life to the full and was an inspiration. Naomi took everything in her stride and enjoyed everything that four-year-olds do; if only slightly slower. Not a minute goes without me wishing she was still here. She was my constant companion, my best friend, my little princess. (S E3)

Unlike the *Guardian*, which does not choose to include the noun phrase *my little princess* uttered by the father, the other papers use it; in the *Sun* article it occurs twice. By choosing to include this phrase the papers enhance the victim's innocence. The tabloids then further enhance this effect by quoting more of the father's description of his daughter (i.e. the last sentence in Examples 85 and 86), which both the broadsheets excluded.

From the examples in this Subsection it can be seen that the noun phrases referring to the victim are an important factor in portraying the victim, but not the only one or the most important one. It is rather the combination of the noun phrases, their location in the body copy, authentic language of a parent's description and the clustering of particular information that together create the intended effect. The choice and combination of these factors is, in my view, governed by the alleged expectations of the implied readership of a particular paper. Thus, the *Sun*, for example, is most emotive and most evaluative both in comparison with the other tabloid (i.e. the DM) and both the broadsheets included in the corpus. The *Sun* is read

by 'masses', it voices their opinion, and as a tabloid it can afford to present views openly and bluntly. The *Daily Mirror*, also a tabloid, seems less 'radical', which may be the reason why, as Pursehouse (2008) found out, the *Sun* readers consider the *Daily Mirror* boring, too serious and "behind *the* Sun" (2008: 292; see Subsection 4.4.1).

9.3.1.3 Reference to the killers

As stated and explained above (see Subsection 9.3.1.1), simple NPs prevail over complex NPs in reference to the killers (see Table 9.18 above). In two articles the proportion of simple and complex NPs is slightly reversed (i.e. DM E1, S E2) but this difference is only of minor importance in the whole corpus (see Table 9.20 above).

Similarly to the reference to the victims, in reference to the killers all the newspapers in the corpus are consistent in the use of proper nouns. Within simple NPs, the killers are generally referred to by their surnames, which also appear in the determiner function, although rather infrequently (i.e. 1 instance in the DT, 2 instances in the G and the DM, and 4 instances in the *Sun*; see Tables 9.33-9.36 below). The full name is used rather rarely as a simple NP (i.e. DT E3, G E1, G E5, S E4); it is more commonly used as the head of a complex noun phrase, i.e. with modification. Common nouns as simple NPs are relatively rare; the reference to the killers is realized mainly by surnames and pronouns, as can be seen from Tables 9.33-9.36.

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E1	**23**	-	-	6	-	-	-	16	1	-
E2	**20**	-	-	8	-	-	-	10	2	-
E3	**22**	1_h	-	5	-	1	-	14	1	-
E4	**26**	-	-	5	1	-	-	20	-	-
E5	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

Table 9.33: Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset A)

Note: 1_h = one instance of given name used by the killer's husband

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E1	**25**	-	-	4	-	1	-	19	-	1
E2	8	-	-	3	1	-	-	3	1	-
E3	**28**	1_h	-	7	-	-	-	19	1	-
E4	**19**	-	-	6	1	-	-	11	1	-
E5	**11**	-	-	4	-	1	-	5	1	-

Table 9.34: Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Guardian* (Subset A)

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E1	**5**	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-
E2	**1**	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
E3	**31**	1_h	-	9	1	-	-	18	1	1
E4	**14**	-	-	6	1	-	-	6	1	-
E5	**13**	1_h	-	5	-	-	-	7	-	-

Table 9.35: Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset A)

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E1	**14**	-	-	4	1	-	-	9	-	-
E2	**7**	-	-	2	-	-	-	5	-	-
E3	**25**	-	-	7	-	-	-	15	3	-
E4	**37**	2_w	-	5	1	1	-	25	3	-
E5	**16**	-	-	7	2	-	-	7	-	-

Table 9.36: Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Sun* (Subset A)

Note: 2_w - two instances of the given name used by the killer's wife

The tables above also show several instances of reference to the killer by his or her given name, which are all, however, used by the killer's partner, i.e. they come from a source other than the newspaper. Therefore, these instances are by no means examples of inconsistency in the use of proper noun variants.

Complex NPs referring to the killer more frequently contain a proper noun with modification rather than a common noun with modification, i.e. nine vs. three instances of a modified proper noun and a modified common noun respectively in the DT; six vs. three instances in the G; eleven vs. two instances in the DM and eight vs. four instances in the *Sun* (cf. Tables 9.37-9.40 below). It is worth noting that in the case of the victims the situation was reversed – common nouns were modified more frequently than the proper nouns (see Tables 9.25-9.28 above).

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E1	**3**	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
E2	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
E3	**3**	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
E4	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
E5	**2**	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

Table 9.37: Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset A)

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E1	**2**	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1[d]	-	-
E2	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
E3	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
E4	**3**	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
E5	**1**	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.38: Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Guardian* (Subset A)

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E1	**2**	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
E2	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
E3	**3**	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
E4	**5**	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
E5	**2**	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

Table 9.39: Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset A)

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E1	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
E2	**4**	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1
E3	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
E4	**-**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E5	**4**	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

Table 9.40: Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Sun* (Subset A)

It has been stated above that the papers are consistent in the use of proper nouns, which applies both to the victims and killers. A closer look at the variants of proper nouns and the occurrences of particular variants in Tables 9.41-9.44 below reveals that the most frequent variant of proper nouns in reference to the killers is the surname as a simple NP. Whereas the other variants, if they are used, are found in each article once or twice, the surname has the highest frequency of occurrence in all papers, the number depending on the length of a particular article. The surname is also the most commonly modified variant of proper nouns in both types of papers, with a slightly higher frequency of occurrence of a modified surname in the tabloids (i.e. 5 instances in both the G and DT, and 8 instances in the DM and *Sun*).

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E1	**8**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	6	-	1	-	-
E2	**9**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	8	-	-	-	-
E3	**10**	1_h	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	5	-	2	-	-
E4	**7**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	1
E5	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-

Table 9.41: Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset A)

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E1	**6**	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	-
E2	**5**	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1
E3	**9**	1_h	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
E4	**9**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	6	-	1	-	1
E5	**6**	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	-

Table 9.42: Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Guardian* (Subset A)

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E1	**3**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
E2	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
E3	**13**	1_h	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	9	-	1	-	1
E4	**11**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	6	1	2	-	1
E5	**8**	1_h	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	1	-	-

Table 9.43: Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset A)

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E1	**6**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	1
E2	**4**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-
E3	**8**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	7	-	-	-	-
E4	**9**	2_w	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	1
E5	**13**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	7	1	2	-	2

Table 9.44: Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Sun* (Subset A)

The postmodification of the surname may contain factual information about the killer, e.g. the age, profession or place of living of the killer and thus provide more personal details about the killer (Examples 87 and 88).

Example 87:

Harris, 30, of Dartford, Kent, tried to blame her boyfriend, ... (G E5)

Example 88:

Hill, who sold advertising space for a publishing company, ... (DM E3)

The postmodification can also contain further details of the case or explanation of the circumstances (Examples 89 and 90). Thus, although non-defining, the relative clauses provide either some interesting information or information important for the 'story'.

Example 89:

Hill, who will serve a minimum of 15 years sentence, ... (DT E3)

Example 90:

Hall, who was off work on sick leave and prescribed anti-depressants, ... (G E4)

The surname is also used as a determiner, although rather rarely in comparison with the given name of the victim in the determiner function (1 instance in the DT, 2 instances in the G and DM and 4 instances in the *Sun*).

As for the use of the killer's full name, each of the twenty articles in Subset A contains one instance of it. The full name typically appears in the opening sentence of the body copy – 19 articles out of 20; except for DT E5, where the focus is the victim and the killer's full name is mentioned in the third paragraph of the body copy. Out of the 19 articles, in 16 articles the killer's full name is found in the subject position, i.e. as the agent; the other three articles have a different subject but the killer's full name is included in the opening sentence of the body copy. The full name is either a simple NP (i.e. Pattern 1, 3 instances; see Table 9.45) or it has a modification (i.e. Patterns 2-6) or it is found together with another, appositive noun phrase (i.e. Pattern 7), as Table 9.45 below demonstrates.

NP Pattern	Total	Articles in Subset A
1. FN	3	G E1, G E5; S E4,
2. FN + age	9	DT E3, DT E4; G E4; DM E1, DM E2, DM E3, DM E5; S E1, S E5
3. FN + rel. cl.	1	DM E4
4. FN + age + rel.cl.	1	DT E1
5. FN + age+ PP	1	G E3
6. pre- +FN + post-	1	S E3
7. NP + FN	4	DT E2, DT E5; G E2; S E2

Table 9.45: First mention of the killer in the body copy (Subset A)

Note: PP = prepositional phrase; rel. cl. = relative clause

As can be seen from the table above, Pattern 2 (i.e. full name + age) is most frequent (i.e. 9 instances across the papers), age being considered an important factual detail. The only example of premodification of the killer's full name (Pattern 6) is found in the *Sun* – the full name is modified by an evaluative adjective which clearly communicates a negative status of the killer, i.e. *warped* (see Example 91 below). In four instances we find two noun phrases in apposition (Pattern 7), two of which classify the killer as the victim's *mother* (DT E5 and G E2) and the other two as *a crack addict* (DT E2 and S E2; for more information on appositive noun phrases, see Subsection 9.3.1.4 below).

The killer naturally has a negative status since the person is not only a killer but at the same time a killer of his or her own child, which is what makes the events newsworthy as human stories. The relationship between the killer and the victim (i.e. a parent and his or her child) is conveyed to the reader as soon as possible, i.e. in the headlines and/or in the lead. The most important and 'striking' information (in these cases 'striking' in the negative sense – a child was killed by his or her own parent) is thus presented to the reader in the parts preceding the body copy. Throughout the body copy itself the dramatic effect lessens since the killer is already viewed by the reader in negative terms, i.e. the negative status has already been established. Therefore, the information found in the pre- and postmodification of NPs is often factual rather than evaluative, mostly in the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Guardian* and also in the *Daily Mirror*. These papers choose to inform the reader about the killer's age, profession or place of living (see Examples 87-88 above). The *Sun*, as it has been shown in the previous sub-sections on the headlines and the lead, is rather different from the other three papers. It uses a more varied repertoire of nouns and adjectives which not only classify but also evaluate the killer. Through the use of adjectives such as *warped* (S E3; Example 91), *monstrous* (S E2; Example 92) or *cold-hearted* (S E5; Example 93), the *Sun* describes and at the same time evaluates the killer's behaviour and proposes a particular view of the killer.

Example 91:

Warped Joanne Hill, 32, was jailed for a minimum 15 years for drowning Naomi, four, in the bath. (S E3)

Example 92:

The monstrous mum, whose boyfriend was found guilty of wilful neglect for doing nothing to help the tot, ... (S E2)

Example 93:

Cold-hearted Harris tried to blame her junkie boyfriend James Phillips ... (S E5)

Example 91 also illustrates how tabloids employ informal and emotive language. In Example 92 taken from the *Sun*, the *monstrous mum* and *the tot* are contrasted. The *Sun* cleverly combines factual information, i.e. the full name and age of the killer, with the evaluation of her behaviour and nature, which broadsheets typically avoid. In Event 2 (see Example 92 above), besides the mother her boyfriend was also accused in the case and later found not responsible for the child's death. For this reason the reference to this man is not included in the quantitative analysis in this work since it is the mother that is presented as the killer from the start. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the *Sun* chooses to include 'negative' details about the boyfriend too. This is done within a relative clause that

postmodifies the NP introducing the killer at the beginning of the body copy (Example 94). The mother is not only *a crack addict* but also a woman who lives with a rapist.

Example 94:

Crack addict Claire Biggs – who blamed her child-rapist boyfriend for killing two-month-old Rhys – was sentenced ... (S E2)

Example 94, similarly to Example 91, also illustrates how the *Sun* accumulates negative information, which is likely to have a strong effect on the reader. The aim, in my view, is to hint at the killer's social status, way of living, socially unacceptable behaviour, etc., which helps to place the killer (i.e. the mother) and her partner in a lower social category than the one of the reader. Both are thus depicted as 'outsiders', different from normal, ordinary people. The articles in the *Daily Mirror*, also a tabloid, do not contain instances of this strategy; the negative effect is achieved by other means, mainly by focus on the violent action of the killer. The broadsheets, which are generally more reticent, communicate a negative status of the killer in a less straightforward way – as a fact which at the same time assigns negative qualities to the killer. So, the broadsheets 'evaluate' the killer implicitly by choosing to include information that is probable to trigger particular negative associations, such as 'the father was a drinker' (DT E1, Example 95); the woman was a 'bad' mother who had already maltreated another of her children (Example 96).

Example 95:

Hawkins, who had taken to drinking 20 pints of beer a day after the split... (DT E1)

Example 96:

They knew her as a former crack addict, who had already had an "at risk" child taken into care. (G E2) (note: *they*, i.e. health workers; *her*, i.e. the killer)

Another example of factual information which is both descriptive and evaluative, i.e. referential and predicational at the same time, is the NP *crack addict* found in three of the papers with the exception of the DM (Event 2). It is worth noting that both the broadsheets use the phrase *former crack addict* (Examples 96 and 97) whereas the *Sun* omits the adjective *former*, which may be interpreted by the reader as the killer being *a crack addict* at the time of the killing (Example 94 above).

Example 97:

Former crack addict Claire Biggs, 27, had already seen her first child taken into care when she repeatedly crushed Rhys's chest, causing numerous rib fractures. (DT E2).

The *Daily Mirror* does not choose to include this phrase, which in my view can be attributed rather to the length of the article (i.e. 86 words) than a different 'approach' to the description of the killer. On the other hand, the DM chooses to include the information that she lived with *a convicted rapist* (Example 98). To my view, the choice of the DM to include such information is motivated by the intention to express a lower social status of the mother by stating that she does not conform to the traditional image of a caring mother not only because she maltreated her own child and is responsible for his death but also because she formed a relationship with a convicted rapist (see also Example 94 above).

Example 98:

Biggs lived in London with convicted rapist Paul Husband, 33, who is awaiting sentence for child cruelty. (DM E2).

Similarly to the conclusions drawn about reference to the victims, the negative status of the killer is expressed and enhanced by a consistent use of a particular variant of proper nouns and by some of the complex noun phrases (as not all complex noun phrases contribute to the building of a negative status). Nevertheless, apart from noun phrases, there are other means that newspapers employ to express and enhance a negative picture of the killer, as shown above.

9.3.1.4 Appositive NPs in Subset A

Appositive noun phrases due to their potential to pack together information that may identify, further specify or describe a person seem to be an effective tool in journalistic style, mainly when a first mention of a person is made in a newspaper article. Appositive noun phrases thus enable to accumulate factual information important for identification of a person and as such they are often made use of where more information about the killer needs to be conveyed (Examples 99-101), usually but not exclusively at the beginning of the body copy.

Example 99:

Hawkins, a sheet metal worker, and the children's mother, ... (DT E1)

Example 100:

Inner London crown court heard how the child's mother, 27-year-old Claire Biggs, bamboozled health workers into believing he was not in danger. (G E2)

Example 101:

His mother, Collette Harris, of Bexleyheath, south-east London, ... (DT E5)

As discussed above, factual information can help to identify and also classify a person, for example as *a crack addict* (see Examples 94, 96 and 97 above). It is a fact which at the same time due to its negative connotations classifies a person in terms of his/her low social status and undesirable qualities or unacceptable behaviour. On the other hand, such information can also be expressed by other means, mainly postmodifying relative clauses, which represent a tool equivalent to appositive noun phrases. Moreover, relative clauses seem to be used relatively frequently mainly when more information is to be conveyed – in that case a clause structure appears more suitable, mainly for the sake of clarity. In Subset A, appositive phrases are used mostly to provide more information about the core participants although their number is relatively low, as can be seen from Table 9.46. The table shows the number of 'NP+NP' sequences, separately for the victim and killer in each article and paper.

	Daily Telegraph		*Guardian*		*Daily Mirror*		*Sun*	
	Victim	Killer	Victim	Killer	Victim	Killer	Victim	Killer
E1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	1
E2	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	1
E3	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
E4	1	1	2	-	-	2	-	1
E5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	**4**	**4**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**3**

Table 9.46: NP+NP sequences in Subset A

The reason for a relatively low frequency of occurrence of appositive noun phrases is probably the fact that other means, mainly relative clauses, are used as alternative tools. When used about the killers, appositive noun phrases specify their relation to the victim, their profession or place of living. When used in reference to the victims, one of the NPs in the sequence is typically the victim's given name. Such instances found in Subset A articles are examples of full, restrictive apposition, for example *son Ryan, four* (DM E1), *my princess Naomi* (DT E2) or *his daughter Amelia* (G E4).

Based on what was stated above, it may be concluded that appositive NPs represent one of the means of identifying and classifying the core participants, and the choice to use them instead of a relative clause depends mostly on the type of information that they convey, i.e. as age, profession or place of living, and the amount of information thus conveyed rather than the type of newspaper.

9.3.2 The body copy in Subset B

9.3.2.1 Simple and complex NPs (victims and killers)

As in Subset A, simple NPs prevail over complex NPs in the body copy in Subset B, too. The proportion of simple and complex NPs is also similar, i.e. with average figures between 76.3 per cent and 83.7 per cent for the victims and between 75.7 per cent and 86.5 per cent for the killers, as can be seen from Tables 9.47 and 9.48 below. Although the absolute figures are relatively small for some articles (depending on their length), the sub-corpora for each type of paper are comparable. Therefore, the average results provide an insight into the use of simple and complex NPs in this type of crime news in general terms.

	Daily Telegraph		*Guardian*		*Daily Mirror*		*Sun*	
	SNPs	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**
E6	12	3	14	3	15	4	15	4
E7	29	5	35	3	50	13	28	10
E8	12	4	8	5	26	15	10	4
E9	17	5	12	3	17	2	29	4
E10	10	1	13	2	11	3	2	1
T %	**80 81.6%**	**18 18.4%**	**82 83.7%**	**16 16.3%**	**119 76.3%**	**37 23.7%**	**84 78.5%**	**23 21.5%**

Table 9.47: Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the victims (Subset B)

	Daily Telegraph		*Guardian*		*Daily Mirror*		*Sun*	
	SNPs	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**
E6	25	3	27	1	13	2	17	7
E7	55	4	46	2	40	5	38	9
E8	18	3	13	6	29	7	16	6
E9	21	6	34	9	21	6	51	17
E10	22	6	15	7	34	5	18	6
T %	**141 86.5%**	**22 13.5%**	**135 84.4%**	**25 15.6%**	**137 84.6%**	**25 15.4%**	**140 75.7%**	**45 24.3%**

Table 9.48: Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the killers (Subset B)

As mentioned previously, pronouns, which rank among simple NPs, fulfil mainly a cohesive function and do not carry meaning like common nouns. If pronouns are excluded, the number of simple NPs still remains higher than the number of complex NPs, as it was the case in Subset A, too. In Subset B the simple NPs with pronouns excluded constitute between 62.2 per cent and 75.8 per cent on average for the victims and between 58 per cent and 76.3 per cent for the killers (see Tables 9.49 and 9.50). Therefore, it may be concluded that with or without the pronouns simple NPs constitute at least two thirds (or more) of the overall number of NPs relating to the victims or killers in each paper.

	Daily Telegraph		*Guardian*		*Daily Mirror*		*Sun*	
	SNPs	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**
E6	8	3	7	3	4	4	6	4
E7	18	5	20	3	23	13	18	10
E8	7	4	4	5	16	15	8	4
E9	8	5	11	3	8	2	18	4
E10	8	1	8	2	10	3	2	1
T %	**49 73.1%**	**18 26.9%**	**50 75.8%**	**16 24.2**	**61 62.2%**	**37 37.8%**	**52 69.3%**	**23 30.7%**

Table 9.49: Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the victims with pronouns excluded (Subset B)

	Daily Telegraph		*Guardian*		*Daily Mirror*		*Sun*	
	SNPs	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**	**SNPs**	**CNPs**
E6	10	3	11	1	6	2	6	7
E7	20	4	21	2	16	5	12	9
E8	12	3	5	6	16	7	5	6
E9	18	6	27	9	16	6	26	17
E10	11	6	12	7	24	5	12	6
T %	**71 76.3%**	**22 23.7%**	**76 75.2%**	**25 24.8%**	**78 75.8%**	**25 24.2%**	**61 58%**	**45 42%**

Table 9.50: Number of SNPs and CNPs referring to the killers with pronouns excluded (Subset B)

9.3.2.2 Reference to the victims

In reference to the victims in Subset B, the range of simple NPs is very similar to Subset A. Within simple NPs the given name prevails and it is also used in the determiner function – more frequently in comparison with Subset A; in the tabloids one or more instances are found in every article; in the DT and G three articles out of five contain examples of this use of the given name (see Tables 9.51-9.54 below). Out of the five events in Subset B, the most instances are found in Event 7, where the victim is a 10-year-old boy with cystic fibrosis and the killer a 14-year-old boy, who went to the same school.

The use of the given name on the whole, including the determiner function as an alternative to a possessive pronoun, in my view contributes to the personalization of the victim, whose given name occurs throughout the body copy.

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E6	**12**	5	-	-	-	1	-	4	1	1
E7	**29**	9	5	-	-	-	-	11	4	-
E8	**12**	6	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	1
E9	**17**	2	1	-	-	1	-	9	3	1
E10	**10**	4	3	-	-	-	-	2	1	-

Table 9.51: Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset B)

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E6	**14**	4	2	-	-	-	-	7	1	-
E7	**35**	12	6	-	-	-	-	15	2	-
E8	**8**	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
E9	**12**	1	-	Mr 1	-	-	2	1	6	1
E10	**13**	4	3	-	-	-	-	5	1	-

Table 9.52: Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Guardian* (Subset B)

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E6	**15**	3	1	-	-	-	-	11	-	-
E7	**50**	10	6	-	-	-	-	27	5	2
E8	**26**	9	3	-	-	1	-	10	3	-
E9	**17**	3	2	-	-	-	-	9	3	-
E10	**11**	4	3	-	-	-	-	1	2	1

Table 9.53: Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset B)

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E6	**15**	2	2	-	-	1	-	9	1	-
E7	**28**	13	4	-	-	-	-	10	-	1
E8	**10**	3	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
E9	**29**	8	7	-	-	-	-	11	3	-
E10	**2**	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.54: Simple NPs referring to the victims in the *Sun* (Subset B)

Although Subsets A and B are very similar regarding the use of simple NPs, there is, however, one difference. In Subset A, where the children were killed by their own parent, the victim's full name was considered redundant information. In Subset B, the killer is a stranger, so the victim needs to be referred to by his or her full name, at least once in the report for identification. As can be seen from Tables 9.51-9.54 above, in several cases the victim's full name occurs once in the body copy (i.e. 2 instances in the DT, 1 instance in the DM, and 1 instance in the *Sun*). In these articles, the victim's full name was not mentioned previously; therefore it occurs in the body copy as a simple NP. If the tables do not show any instance of the victim's full name, the reason is of two kinds – with the majority of articles it was mentioned in the lead (i.e. 14 instances - DT E7, DT E8, DT E10; G E6, G E7, G E8, G E10; DM E7, DM E8, DM E10; S E7, S E8, S E9, S E10) or the full name is used as a complex NP in the body copy (i.e. 2 instances – G E9, DM E9). In one article, the victim's full name is mentioned both in the lead and in the body copy (i.e. DME 8). In DM E6, the victim's full name is not included at all due to a previous reference to her father by the father's full name (the father was also killed in the incident). In G E9, one example of the surname with title is found – the victim is referred to as *Mr Donald* (when details of the trial are given in the report), which as a form of reference to the victim is not found in any other article. Since this kind of title is not normally used without a surname, the reference is regarded as a simple NP. Although syntactically it is an example of restrictive apposition (Dušková et al. 1994: 499), I regard it as a polite form of a surname (see Table 9.52).

Complex NPs are found in relatively small numbers in most articles, i.e. up to five CNPs per article at most, with the exception of three articles, i.e. DM E2 (13 CNPs), DM E3 (15 CNPs) and S E2 (10 CNPs). As for modification, it seems that in the broadsheets common nouns (i.e. CN) are modified more frequently than proper nouns (i.e. PN) (i.e. 15 vs. 3 instances of a modified CN vs. a modified PN in the DT and 9 vs. 6 instances in the G). In the tabloids, modification is found with both types of nouns relatively frequently. In the DM there are 23 vs. 14 instances of a modified CN vs. a modified PN; in the *Sun* the proportion is relatively balanced, i.e. 13 vs. 10 instances of a modified CN vs. a modified PN (see Tables 9.55-9.58 below).

On the whole, when comparing Subsets A and B, the results are very similar for both the broadsheets in the corpus and also for the *Sun*. The *Daily Mirror*, on the other hand, displays more complex NPs in Subset B than in Subset A and also the most instances of modified proper nouns in Subset B in comparison with the other three papers (i.e. 14 instances in the DM vs. 10 in the *Sun*, 6 in the G and 3 in the DT).

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E6	**3**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
E7	**5**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1
E8	**4**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2[d]	-	2
E9	**5**	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-
E10	**1**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.55: Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset B)

Note: 1[d] = one instance of a premodified common noun in determiner function

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E6	**3**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
E7	**3**	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
E8	**5**	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	-
E9	**3**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-
E10	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-

Table 9.56: Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Guardian* (Subset B)

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E6	**4**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
E7	**13**	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	2
E8	**15**	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	1	1
E9	**2**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
E10	**3**	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.57: Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset B)

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E6	**4**	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
E7	**10**	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	2
E8	**4**	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
E9	**4**	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
E10	**1**	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.58: Complex NPs referring to the victims in the *Sun* (Subset B)

As far as the use of proper nouns variants is concerned, it follows from what has been stated above that proper nouns variants display a large degree of consistency in Subset B, too. Given names prevail both as simple NPs and are also found with modification. In the determiner function the given name occurs in all papers, although in the two tabloids more instances can be found (i.e. 9 instances in the DT, 11 instances in the G vs. 15 instances in the DM and 19 in the *Sun*; see Tables 9.59-9.62).

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E6	**6**	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E7	**14**	9	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E8	**6**	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E9	**6**	2	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E10	8	4	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.59: Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset B)

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E6	**7**	4	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E7	**20**	12	-	2	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E8	**6**	4	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E9	**6**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	$_{Mr}1$	-	-	-	-
E10	**7**	4	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.60: Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Guardian* (Subset B)

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E6	**5**	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E7	**21**	10	1	4	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E8	**16**	9	-	3	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E9	**7**	3	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E10	**10**	4	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.61: Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset B)

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E6	**6**	2	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E7	**20**	13	1	2	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E8	**11**	3	1	1	-	5	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E9	**17**	8	1	1	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E10	**3**	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9.62: Proper name variants referring to the victims in the *Sun* (Subset B)

As tables 9.59-9.62 illustrate, the only other variant (i.e. other than the given name) used in the body copy in reference to the victims is the full name, either on its own or with modification. Generally, however, the full name is used in the body copy mostly for identification depending on what kind of reference to the victim was made in the lead (Examples 102a and 102b).

Example 102a:

A gunman who preyed on drug dealers was jailed for life yesterday for shooting dead a seven-year-old girl moments after she watched him kill her crack dealer father. (DT E6, the lead)

Example 102b:

Joel Smith, 32 showed no emotion after a jury found him guilty of killing Toni-Ann Byfield and 41-year-old Bertram Byfield. (DT E6, the first sentence of the body copy; note: the girl's given name was used in the headline)

The events in Subset B differ from those in Subset A in that the killer in each event in Subset B is a stranger and not a member of the family. At the same time, each event can also be associated with a certain social problem. Event 6, for example, involves drug dealers and gang members. In Events 8 and 10 the murderers are teenagers; in Event 10 the teenagers are also members of a gang, which ranks both the events among violent teenage crime (i.e. a relatively serious problem of contemporary Britain, or at least in big cities). Event 9 was a racially motivated murder committed by members of an Asian gang. In Event 7 a young boy was killed by an older schoolmate. Thus, although all the articles in Subset B are formally of the same kind, i.e. reports on the trials and verdicts, their focus is more than just informing on the verdict, since most of these are high profile events previously reported on in the press. This fact is then naturally reflected in reference to the victims (and killers also), mainly in the tabloids.

The broadsheets represented in the corpus appear relatively consistent in their approach to the depiction of victims in comparison with the tabloids in the corpus. In all events the reference to the victims in the broadsheet articles is mostly factual. The information includes, for example, the victim's age (Example 103), the victim's physical condition or description (provided that it is relevant in the context; Examples 104-106) or the victim's background. This information is expressed either via pre- or postmodification of the given name mostly (Examples 103 and 106) or occasionally the full name (Example 104) or via appositive noun phrases where one noun phrase is the given name (Examples 105 and 107).

Example 103:

Jimmy, who had celebrated his 16th birthday the day before, died within minutes ... (G E8)

Example 104:

As the 6ft 2in, 14 stone Jimmy Mizen wrested the sign away, Fahri, 5ft 7in, picked up the dish from the counter and hurled it at him. (G E8)

Example 105:

Joe, a pale, slight boy who suffered from cystic fibrosis, bled to death ... (DT E7)

Example 106:

The gang selected the slightly-built Kriss because he was white ... (DT E9)

Example 107:

Jimmy, one of nine children of a devout Catholic family, ... (G E8)

Such depictions are not only informative but also help to enhance the view of the person either as an unfortunate person, weaker than his attacker, defenceless, a nice person, etc. For example, the choice to say that Jimmy had celebrated his sixteenth birthday the day before his death (see Example 103 above) is more probable to generate sympathy on the side of the reader towards the boy than a purely factual noun phrase stating the boy's age, such as *Jimmy, 16*. So, it is not only a particular piece of information but also the way in which it is presented that may contribute to the personalization of the victim.

The age of the victim is expressed in the broadsheets also by common nouns, used either as simple NPs (e.g. *teenager* (DT E9) or *schoolboy* (G E9)), or in complex NPs (Examples 108 and 109), or by adjectives (e.g. the *younger* boy).

Example 108:

... the nine-stone schoolboy was grabbed and punched ... (DT E9)

Example 109:

Kriss Donald, 15, from Pollokshields, ... (G E9)

In Subset B the noun *victim* is also used when the victim is being referred to, which was not the case in Subset A (e.g. DT E7, G E7, DT E9, G E9, DT E10; Example 110).

Example 110:

... the victim was probably alive when he was set on fire ... (G E9)

The *Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph* do not 'evaluate' the victims directly. Instead they provide 'mediated' evaluation by including quotations (of the parents or the judge) which contain a description of the victim. Thus, the victim is described and 'evaluated' but it is clear that the description and evaluation come from a different source than the newspaper itself, i.e. it is 'mediated'. Since it is highly probable that various newspapers work with the same prior texts provided by news agencies or other sources, as mentioned previously, newspapers often use the same or very similar quotations, both broadsheets and tabloids. For example, the quotation in Example 111 is taken from the DT and the same quotation or its shortened version can also be found in the DM and *Sun*, which choose to quote the mother's description of the girl.

Example 111:

Toni-Ann was a bright, lovely, respectable and talkative girl. (DT E6; uttered by the girl's mother)

Examples 112 and 113 also illustrate how broadsheets employ mediated evaluations in order to avoid making evaluations or evaluative descriptions themselves.

Example 112:

Joe was clearly an intensely loved member of a close and devoted family. (G E7; uttered by the judge)

Example 113:

A trivial incident over absolutely nothing in a high street bakery ended three minutes later with the death of a blameless young man. (G E8; uttered by the judge)

Unlike the broadsheets, the tabloids in the corpus appear less consistent in that they approach victims differently in particular events in Subset B, depending on the kind of event, the age of the victim, or other factors. Thus, in some events they choose to be rather factual when referring to the victims throughout the article and provide personal details, such as the victim's age, physical condition or background (see Examples 114-116 below). Nevertheless, as stated above, the inclusion of such information which triggers positive connotations or sympathy may help to reinforce the status of the victim as 'poor victim' that was 'only 10 years old' or 'slightly-built'.

Example: 114:

Her slightly-built brother Kriss, 15 – who hated racists – was dragged off a street ... (S E9)

Example 115:

Nigerian born Damilola, ten, bled to death after being cut with a broken bottle ... (S E10)

Example 116:

... 6ft 2in former altar boy Jimmy ... (DM E8)

These noun phrases are very similar to the type of descriptions that are typically found in broadsheets – certain factual information contributes to the positive status of the victim. Apart from this type of descriptions, tabloids will also employ more emotive and informal language in the descriptions of the victim and include personal details which further contribute to portraying the victim as 'a nice, young person deprived of his/her young life'. In Subset B this is most evident in events 7 and 8, where an emotive effect is achieved by informal nouns, such as *lad* (both in the DM and the *Sun*), which may also be modified by evaluative adjectives (e.g. *trusting*, *fun-loving*; Examples 117-119) or by complex NPs contributing to the personalization of the victim (Examples 120-122).

Example 117:

But the trusting little lad ignored the advice and calmly made his final journey ... (DM E7)

Example 118:

And he killed the fun-loving little lad with shocking violence ... (S E7)

Example 119:

His victim, three years below him at the school, was a trusting boy with an obedient nature ... (S E7)

Example 120:

In every image, the little blond has a smile on his face ... (DM E7)

Example 121:

Scheming loner Michal Hamer lured diminutive Joe to his bedroom ... (S E7)

Example 122:

... vile thug Jake Fahri, 19 was found guilty of killing gentle giant Jimmy, 16 ... (DM E8)

Examples 121 and 122 also illustrate how the tabloids contrast the victim with the killer in one sentence with the help of appositive noun phrases, for example *vile thug* vs. *gentle giant* (for more information on this contrast, see Subsection 9.3.2.3 below).

Similarly to the DT and the G, the tabloids also choose to include quotations, mainly of the parents or other members of the family or some authority (i.e. the judge or a police inspector who investigated the murder).

It has been mentioned above that newspapers use binary oppositions, in crime news more typically than in other types of news. In this regard, Event 6 provides an excellent example of how this strategy influences reporting of reality. In Event 6, there are two victims – a seven-year-old girl Toni-Ann and her drug dealing father Bertram Byfield. Therefore, the focus should be on two victims. In all four newspapers, however, the girl is treated as the victim whereas the father is mentioned rather briefly and suppressed to the background[9]. The main reason for such treatment is probably the low social status of the father, who was *a drug dealer* and also *an illegal immigrant*. From this point of view he does not represent an 'ideal' victim with whom the reader shall empathise. Nevertheless, it is interesting to compare the means of reference to the father as used by the broadsheets and tabloids in the corpus. All the four papers choose to state that the father was a drug dealer, either in the lead or in the first paragraph of the body copy. It is relevant, factual information since this was the motive for the killing. The fact that he was an illegal immigrant is treated by the newspapers differently, however. Two papers, i.e. the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mirror*, do not state this information at all. The *Guardian* chooses to convey to its readers that the man was born in Jamaica and moved to England after "buying a British passport", which clearly indicates that he got to Britain illegally as it is not possible to 'buy' a passport. The *Sun* is the only paper which states the information openly by describing him as *Jamaican illegal immigrant* and *a member of a Yardie gang controlling a crack cocaine trade worth millions* (in one sentence). In all the papers, the father is mostly referred to by his surname, which indicates that his social status is lower than the status of the other victim, the girl.

[9] The reference to the father is not numerous in any of the articles since he is not treated as a victim equal to the girl. Therefore, this kind of reference is not included in the quantitative analysis of reference to the victims in this Subsection.

To sum up, in Subset B, there are many examples of noun phrases which through their structure and content contribute to creating and enhancing of a positive status of the victims, mainly in tabloids in Events 7 and 8. In the other events, where the noun phrases are less evaluative and more factual, the victim's status in both types of papers is enhanced by other means, mainly by including particular 'favourable' information, as shown above.

9.3.2.3 Reference to the killers

As stated above and similarly to the findings in Subset A and also to the findings concerning the reference to the victims in Subset B, in reference to the killers simple NPs again prevail over complex NPs in Subset B (see Subsection 9.3.2.1 above).

The articles in Subset B are slightly longer than those in Subset A. Therefore, in Subset B more complex NPs per article can be found. On the whole, however, simple NPs still constitute two thirds (or more) of the total number of NPs relating to the victims or killers per article (see Table 9.48 above).

In Subset B, two events (Event 9 and 10) differ from the remaining three in that there is more than one killer (i.e. three killers in E9 and two killers in E 10). In Event 9 the victim was killed by three members of a gang, two of which are brothers, i.e. of the same surname. In Event 10, the killers are two teenage brothers, i.e. also of the same surname. The reference to the killers in these two events is therefore slightly different from the other three events. It is made in two ways – the killers are either referred to as a group/pair, or as individuals. Both ways of reference are taken into account in the analysis and recorded separately in the corresponding tables. The tables outlining the simple and complex NPs and the use of proper name variants include numbers with labels that distinguish the type of reference. In Event 9, 'g' is used for gang and numbers 1, 2 and 3 for the three killers; in Event 10, 'b' is used for the brothers and numbers 1 and 2 to refer to each brother separately. This kind of approach helps to explain the reference to the killers in these two events more clearly than if only absolute figures were recorded in the tables.

As for simple NPs, the killers are generally referred to by the surname, which is the most common of proper nouns variants. The full name is used for identification of the killer unless it was mentioned previously in the lead. Nevertheless, there are several uses of proper nouns variants that deserve more comment and explanation.

In Events 9 and 10 more instances of the killers' full names can be found (i.e. more than one instance) than in the other articles since it is necessary to distinguish the brothers in order to avoid confusion which would be caused by reference by the surname in some parts of the report. In Event 10, the killers are also referred to by their given names, for at least two reasons, to my view. Firstly, when they committed the murder they were children (12 and 13 years old) and they are brothers, so the reference by the surname might cause confusion. Therefore, this use of the given name by the newspaper, which is not normally found in reference to killers, is determined contextually. Secondly, despite being children, they have previously been in trouble with law and they 'perfectly' fit the stereotype of 'evil youth' or 'folk devils' (cf. Cohen 2002).

In Event 7, a few instances of the killer's given name can also be found but for a different reason than in Event 10. The killer was also a teenager like the brothers in Event 10. In Event 7, however, the reference by the given name is not used by the newspaper but by the killer's father (i.e. DT E7, G E7) or by the lawyers during the trial (i.e. G E7, DM E7), both the prosecuting (1 instance in G E7) and the defending lawyers (2 instances in G E7 and 1 instance in DM E7). The newspapers do not use the killer's given name, except for Event 10, as explained above (see Tables 9.63-9.66).

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E6	**25**	-	-	7	1	2	-	15	-	-
E7	**55**	1_{f}	-	13	2	-	-	35	4	-
E8	**18**	-	-	8	-	1	-	6	3	-
E9	**13_{g}+5_{1}+ 2_{2}+1_{3}**	-	-	3_{1} 1_{3}	-	-	-	3_{g}	10_{g}, 2_{1}, 2_{2}	-
E10	**12_{b}+7_{1} +3_{2}**	1_{2}	-	1_{b} 1_{1}	-	2_{1} 1_{2}	-	8_{b}, 2_{1}, 1_{2}	3_{b}, 2_{1}	-

Table 9.63: Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset B)

Note: f = father; 13_{g} = 13 simple NPs referring to the gang; 5_{1} = 5 simple NPs referring to killer 1, etc.

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E6	**27**	-	-	8	-	1	-	16	2	-
E7	**46**	$3_{law,}$ 1_{f}	-	10	3	-	-	25	4	
E8	**13**	-	-	3	-	1	-	8	1	
E9	**12+12_{1} +6_{2}+4_{3}**	-	-	$3_{1,}3_{3}$	-	$4_{1,}$ $3_{2,}1_{3}$	1_{1}	$3_{g,}$ $3_{1,}1_{2}$	7_{g}, 1_{1}, 2_{2}	2_{g}
E10	**8_{b}+3_{1} +4_{2}**	1_{2}	1_{1}	4_{b}	-	1_{2}	-	2_{b}, 1_{2}	2_{b}, $2_{1,}$ 1_{2}	

Table 9.64: Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Guardian* (Subset B)

Note: E7: $3_{law,}$ 1_{f} = 3 instances of the given name used by the lawyers, 1 instance used by the father

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E6	**13**	-	-	3	1	1	-	7	1	-
E7	**40**	1_{law}	-	8	3	-	-	24	4	-
E8	**29**	-	-	6	1	1	-	13	7	1
E9	**9+8_{1} +3_{2}+1_{3}**	-	-	1_{3}	-	2_{1}, 1_{2}	-	3_{g}, 2_{1}	6_{g}, 2_{1}, 2_{2}	2_{1}
E10	**14_{b},+10_{1} +10_{2}**	7_{1}, 7_{2}	1_{2}	3_{b}	1_{b}	-	-	6_{b}, 3_{1}, 1_{2}	4_{b}, 1_{2}	-

Table 9.65: Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset B)

	Total	Proper nouns						Pronouns	Common nouns	
		GN	GNd	S	Sd	FN	FNd		CN	CNd
E6	**17**	-	-	5	1	-	-	11	-	-
E7	**38**	-	-	9	1	1	-	26	1	-
E8	**16**	-	-	3	-	-	-	11	2	-
E9	**27_g+12_1 +5_2+7_3**	-	-	4_3	-	5_1, 2_2	1_1	17_g, 3_1, 2_2, 3_3	10_g, 3_1, 1_2	-
E10	**8_b+7_1 +3_2**	$2_{1,}$ 1_2	-	3_b	-	1_2	-	$2_{b,}$ 4_1	3_b, 1_1, 1_2	-

Table 9.66: Simple NPs referring to the killers in the *Sun* (Subset B)

Tables 9.63-9.66 illustrate that the numbers of common nouns as simple NPs are relatively low, i.e. between four and seven instances per article, with the exception of Event 9, where the killers are most often referred to as a *gang*, *killers* or *attackers*.

Complex NPs and their numbers as well as the proportion of modified common nouns and proper nouns differ across the papers, regardless of their type. Whereas in the DT and the *Sun* the proportion is balanced (i.e. 11 vs. 11 instances of a modified PN and modified CN respectively in the DT, and 22 vs. 23 in the *Sun*), in the G more modification can be found with proper nouns (16 vs. 9 instances of a modified PN vs. CN) and in the DM there are ten vs. 15 instances of a modified PN vs. CN. Therefore, it does not seem that the use of modification of common and proper nouns can be attributed to the type of newspaper (see Tables 9.67-9.70).

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E6	**3**	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
E7	**4**	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
E8	**3**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
E9	**0_g+4_1 +1_2+1_3**	-	-	-	-	-	-	1_3	1_1 1_2	-	2_1	1_1	-
E10	**2_b+2_1 +2_2**	1_2	-	-	1_1	1_b	-	-	1_1 1_2	-	-	1_b	-

Table 9.67: Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset B)

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E6	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
E7	**2**	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E8	**6**	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
E9	**3+3$_1$ +2$_2$+1$_3$**	-	1$_2$	-	-	-	-	-	2$_1$, 1$_2$,1$_3$	-	-	3$_g$	1$_1$
E10	**3$_b$+2$_1$ +2$_2$**	-	2$_2$	-	-	-	-	-	2$_1$	-	1$_b$	2$_b$	-

Table 9.68: Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Guardian* (Subset B)

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E6	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
E7	**5**	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	2	-
E8	**7**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	1	1
E9	**1+3$_1$ +1$_2$+1$_3$**	-	1$_2$	-	-	-	-	-	2$_1$ 1$_3$	-	-	1$_g$, 1$_1$	-
E10	**3$_b$+1$_1$ +1$_2$**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1$_1$ 1$_2$	-	-	2$_b$	1$_b$

Table 9.69: Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset B)

	Total	Proper nouns									Common nouns		
		Given name			Surname			Full name			pre	post	both
		pre	post	both	pre	post	both	pre	post	both			
E6	**7**	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	3	1	-
E7	**9**	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	3	1	1
E8	**6**	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
E9	**5+6$_1$ +2$_2$+4$_3$**	-	1$_1$ 1$_2$	-	1$_3$	2$_3$	-	1$_1$	1$_1$, 1$_3$,1$_2$	-	4$_g$, 1$_1$	1$_g$, 2$_1$	-
E10	**4+1$_1$ +1$_2$**	-	1$_1$ 1$_2$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1$_b$	-	3$_b$

Table 9.70: Complex NPs referring to the killers in the *Sun* (Subset B)

The use of proper nouns in Subset B is to a large extent consistent with the findings in Subset A, although Subset B displays several exceptions, which are determined contextually, i.e. two brothers of the same name can be referred to by the surname only on condition that it is clear which of the two brothers is being spoken about. In cases where there might arise confusion, the full name is used instead. However, if there is no danger of confusion, e.g. with killer 3 in Event 9, the killer is referred to by his FN for identification and subsequently by his surname only, as it is typical of reference to the killers in general (see Tables 9.71-9.74). Generally, whether there is one killer or more, the surname remains the most frequent proper noun variant in reference to the killers.

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E6	**12**	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	7	-	1	-	1
E7	**16**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	13	-	-	-	2
E8	**9**	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-
E9	**0$_g$+4$_1$ +1$_2$+1$_3$**	-	-	-	-	-	3$_1$	1$_3$	1$_1$, 1$_2$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E10	**2$_b$+5$_1$ +4$_2$**	1$_2$	-	1$_2$	-	-	2$_1$ 1$_2$	-	1$_1$, 1$_2$	-	-	1$_b$, 1$_1$	1$_1$	1$_b$	-	-

Table 9.71: Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Daily Telegraph* (Subset B)

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E6	**9**	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-
E7	**19**	3_{law} 1_{f}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	2	-	3
E8	**9**	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	3	-	4	-	-
E9	**0_{g}+10_{1} +5_{2}+5_{3}**	-	-	1_{2}	-	-	$4_{1,}$ $3_{2,}$ 1_{3}	-	$1_{2,}$ $2_{1,}$ 1_{3}	-	1_{1}	$3_{1,}$ 3_{3}	-	-	-	-
E10	**4_{b}+3_{1} +4_{2}**	1_{2}	-	2_{2}	-	1_{1}	1_{2}	-	2_{1}	-	-	4_{b}	-	-	-	-

Table 9.72: Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Guardian* (Subset B)

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E6	**6**	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	1
E7	**14**	1_{law}	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	8	-	1	-	3
E8	**9**	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	6	-	-	-	1
E9	**0_{g}+6_{1} +2_{2}+2_{3}**	-	-	1_{2}	-	-	2_{1} 1_{2}	-	$2_{1,}$ 1_{3}	-	-	1_{3}	-	-	-	2_{1}
E10	**4_{b}+8_{1} +9_{2}**	7_{1} 7_{2}	-	-	-	1_{2}	-	-	-	1_{1} 1_{2}	-	3_{b}	-	-	-	1_{b}

Table 9.73: Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Daily Mirror* (Subset B)

	T	Given name					Full name					Surname				
		GN	pre GN	GN post	pre GN post	GN as d	FN	pre FN	FN post	pre FN post	FN as d	S	pre S	S post	pre S post	S as d
E6	**9**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	2	-	1
E7	**15**	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	9	2	2	-	1
E8	**7**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	4	-	-
E9	**0_g+9_1 +4_2+8_3**	-	-	1_1, 1_2	-	-	5_1, 2_2	1_1	1_1, 1_2,1_3	-	1_1	4_3	1_3	2_3	-	-
E10	**3_b+3_1 +3_2**	2_1, 1_2	-	1_1, 1_2	-	-	1_2	-	-	-	-	3_b	-	-	-	-

Table 9.74: Proper name variants referring to the killers in the *Sun* (Subset B)

In Subset A, seven different patterns of the first mention of the killer in the body copy were identified, the most common being Pattern 2, i.e. a postmodified FN with the postmodification giving the killer's age (see Table 9.45 above). In Subset B, this pattern also occurs and it is the most frequent of all (i.e. 5 instances). On the whole, there is a wider variety of patterns in Subset B than in Subset A (i.e. 13 patterns, see Table 9.75).

NP Pattern	Total	Articles
1. FN	2	G E6; S E10-1
2. FN + post (age)	5	DT E6, DT E7, DT E10-1; G E8; S E6
3. FN + post (rel.cl.)	1	DM E7
4. pre + FN + post	1	DM E10
5. CN	3	G E7, G E10; DT E9
6. pre + CN	1	S E9
7. CN + post	1	G E9
8. App NP + FN + post (age)	3	DM E6, DM E8, DM E9
9. App NP + FN	1	S E7
10. FN + App NP	1	DT E8
11. S + post (age)	1	S E8
12. App NP + GN + post (age)	1	DT E10-2
13. App NP + GN	1	S E10-2

Table 9.75: First mention of the killer in the body copy (Subset B)

Table 9.75 also demonstrates that there are more examples of appositive noun phrases in Subset B than in Subset A. There are seven instances of the first mention of the killer containing appositive NPs (i.e. Patterns 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13). The appositive NPs are used with the full name or the given name as the other appositive NP, the name being also further postmodified in four instances (i.e. Patterns 8 and 12). Out of the seven instances only two are neutral, giving information about the relation between the two killers, i.e. *his brother Danny, 18* (DT E 10-2; see Table 9.75, Pattern 12) and *brother Ricky* (S E10-2, see Table 9.75, Pattern 13). The other five (4 from tabloids and 1 from a broadsheet) are all negative to a certain extent since the noun phrase appositive to the killer's name indicates his strange or violent nature, criminal history, etc. (Examples 123-127).

Example 123:

Yardie Joel Smith, 32, shot crack dealer Bertram Byfield in his flat and blasted little Toni-Ann in the back as she fled. (DM E6)

Example 124:

... *vile thug Jake Fahri, 19, was found guilty of killing gentle giant Jimmy, 16*... (DM E8)

Example 125:

... ringleader Imran Shahid, 29, demanded revenge ... (DM E9)

Example 126:

Scheming loner Michael Hamer lured diminutive Joe ... (S E7)

Example 127:

Jake Fahri, a 19-year-old cannabis smoking school dropout, slashed ... (DT E8)

All the examples above illustrate how an appositive NP can be used to create and communicate a negative status, either directly and openly via informal expressions, such as in the tabloids (Examples 123-126) or via more or less factual but still negative information as in the *Daily Telegraph* (Example 127). Thus, the negative status of the killer, often established already in the headline and/or the lead is further enhanced by the first mention of the killer in the body copy with negative information being accumulated at the beginning. As for the other Patterns shown in Table 9.75, Patterns 4 and 5 also communicate a negative status; in Pattern 4 this is achieved by the premodifying adjective *vicious* and in Pattern 5 by nouns, such as *killers* (G E10) or *attackers* (DT E9). The other patterns are factual in terms of content, stating either the killer's age or background (Examples 128 and 129).

Example 128:

Kriss Donald, 15, from Pollokshields, was abducted, stabbed repeatedly and then doused in petrol and burned to death by five men of Pakistani descent ... (G E9)

Example 129:

... the jury found the three Asian men guilty of racially aggravated abduction and murder. (S E9)

At the same time, Examples 128 and 129 illustrate that the origin of the killers is considered important information to convey to the reader. Such information is factual but also indicates that racism was involved, which the *Sun* immediately enhances by the use of the adverb *racially* (Example 129). Whereas the *Guardian* chooses to include the nationality (i.e. as exact information as possible), the *Sun* uses a general adjective *Asian*.

As for the kind of information conveyed in the NPs referring to the killers, the findings are very similar to those discussed in the previous section on victims. It may be concluded that the broadsheets are again more reticent, i.e. careful about making evaluations of the killers. Evaluation is mostly presented indirectly, i.e. not as the view of the paper. A negative status of the killer is either expressed via negative factual information, for example, the person has a criminal history and is known to the police or has behaved violently before (Examples 130-133). It is mainly the choice to include such information that contributes to a classification of the killer as a person with problematic behaviour or criminal past (i.e. a person with a lower social status and therefore not an ordinary, law-abiding citizen) or someone who disrespects the conventions of the society concerned.

Example 130:

The boys, both of whom were supposedly under supervision at the time of Damilola's killing, were remanded in custody ... (G E10)

Example 131:

Smith, who has a string of convictions stretching back 16 years, ... (DT E6)

Example 132:

The boys, members of a South London gang, ... (G E10)

Example 133:

Fahri, who had a history of difficulties controlling his temper, ... (G E8)

Some information may not be negative in itself but it may trigger negative connotations in a particular context. For example, in Event 6, the *Guardian* chooses to give the age of the killer together with his physical description. This physical description of the criminal does not appear relevant in the context. In my view, the choice to include such information is not motivated by the need to describe the man physically but to create an image of 'a fiercely looking man' and 'a criminal who holds law in contempt', and consequently contrast him with 'the helpless, innocent victim' (i.e. *a seven-year-old girl*; Example 134).

Example 134:

Joel Smith listened to the guilty verdicts at the Old Bailey, and the sentence an hour later with no sign of emotion. But as he was led from the dock, the muscular and tattooed 32-year-old gave a middle finger gesture of abuse at the detective ... (G E6)

Another strategy used by broadsheets is to present 'evaluation' of the killer as it was made by someone else (as mentioned previously in Subset A, in the body copy analysis). The articles thus contain reactions of the parents and mainly quotations of the judge or a policeman speaking about the appalling character of the crime or the criminal (Examples 135-137).

Example 135:

Det Ch Insp Cliff Lyons, who led the investigation described Fahri as an extremely violent and aggressive yob, ... (DT E8).

Example 136:

Det Chief Inspector Cliff Lyons said: "Jake Fahri is an aggressive young man who throughout his life demonstrated an inability to restrain his temper". (G E8)

Example 137:

The judge, Lord Uist, described Imran Shahid as a "thug and bully with a sadistic nature not fit to be free in civilised society". (DT E9)

These quotations are also found in the tabloids, together with a few more quotations which the broadsheets did not choose to include. In general, the tabloids seem to make a more extensive use of direct and indirect quotations (Examples 138-141), mainly such that include straightforward, negative characteristics of the killer.

Example 138:

... a killer who police branded as "cold and calculating" ... (DM E7)

Example 139:

"*Jake Fahri is something totally different, a yob from that part of society that we all abhor*". (DM E8)

Example 140:

A policeman called them "the scum of the earth". (DM E10)

Example 141:

"*The Preddies are violent, lawless savages who thought they could escape justice".* (S E10)

However, apart from quotations, the tabloids also openly express "their view", e.g. by using particular negative nouns which are not found in the broadsheets (unless in quotations), such as *yob*, *thug*, *bully*, *gangster*, etc. Such expressions directly classify the killer as belonging to 'outsiders' or 'others' as opposed to the rest of the society, i.e. 'us', law-abiding citizens (cf. Jewkes 2004, Richardson 2007). The killers are thus associated with unacceptable behaviour and are portrayed as 'folk devils' (a term introduced by Cohen in 1972; cf. Cohen 2002, Jewkes 2004; see Subsection 8.1 above). Moreover, the tabloids intensify the negative effect of these words by pre- or postmodification (Examples 142-144), which thus results in accumulation of negative information in one sentence.

Example 142:

Violent yob Fahri lived around the corner from the Mizens and was known as a local bully with a string of convictions including burglary and assault. (DM E8)

Example 143:

The gangster brothers – *who had a string of convictions, beat victims and robbed at knifepoint* – *had bragged they were "untouchable*". (DM E10)

Example 144:

... *the teenage brutes* – *who held the law in total contempt* – could be out on the rampage again in three years. (S E10)

Descriptions of this kind and noun phrases such as *a violent yob*, *a vile thug*, *vicious Ricky Preddie*, *the evil pair*, etc. communicate the killer's/killers' negative status openly and radically. In the *Sun*, negative adjectives are used as premodifiers of the killer's surname, for example, *sly Hamer* (S E7) or *twisted Mushtaq* (S E9). Such strategies employed by tabloids are avoided by broadsheets, which in reports still strive to provide facts and not views. Traditionally, in broadsheets, views are to be presented openly in different kinds of article, whereas a report should be an objective account of an event. However, as shown above, by inclusion of particular information and quotations, the

broadsheets are also evaluative, although rather covertly in comparison with the tabloids, since objectivity remains one of the most important values traditionally associated with broadsheets.

9.3.2.4 Appositive noun phrases in Subset B

In Subset A, appositive noun phrases were found both in reference to the victims and the killers. The information thus presented was mostly factual, so the appositive noun phrases were used mostly to provide more details about the person, such as his/her profession or the relation between the killer and victim. It was also shown, using the example of *former crack addict*, how appositive noun phrases help to classify a person negatively. It is mainly this use that is found in Subset B, as explained in Subsection 9.3.2.3 above. As can be seen from Examples 123-127 above, in reference to the killers, appositive noun phrases in Subset B are used mainly to enhance the killer's negative status. It may be for this reason that the number of appositive noun phrases referring to the killers is slightly higher than in Subset A. Moreover, in Subset B appositive noun phrases occur more frequently in reference to the killers than to the victims, as Table 9.76 illustrates.

	Daily Telegraph		***Guardian***		***Daily Mirror***		***Sun***	
	Victim	Killer	Victim	Killer	Victim	Killer	Victim	Killer
E6	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-
E7	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	2
E8	-	1	1	-	3	3	-	1
E9	-	2	-	3	-	3	1	3
E10	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	2
Total	**1**	**6**	**2**	**5**	**3**	**8**	**4**	**8**

Table 9.76: NP+NP sequences in Subset B

Appositive noun phrases relating to the victims express factual information which at the same time helps to enhance the status of the victim as 'a nice, obedient, defenceless child' or ' a young person who did no wrong' (Examples 145-147). Their function is clearly to reinforce the status of the victim as 'a victim' by emphasizing his or her peaceful or happy nature.

Example 145:

... *Toni-Ann – a lively seven-year-old full of hope and excitement – ...* (G E6)

Example 146:

... Jake Fahri was found guilty of killing gentle giant Jimmy, 16 (DM E8)

Example 147:

6ft 2in former altar boy Jimmy ... (DM E8)

As the examples above and mainly Examples 123-137 in the previous subsection demonstrate, appositive noun phrases can be informative (i.e. provide factual information) and evaluative, both in a positive and negative sense. Therefore, they can be used both in reference to the victims and the killers. Their effect can be further enhanced by contrasting the two core participants as shown above (see Examples 124 and 126 above). Mainly Example 124, in which the killer and victim are contrasted in one sentence, i.e. *vile thug Jake Fahri,19* vs. *gentle giant Jimmy,16* (DM E8), illustrates how the contrast between 'good' and 'evil' may be communicated via noun phrases. Apposition further enhances the contrast as it enables to present 'evaluation' of the two boys in a relatively condensed way in one sentence.

10 CONCLUSIONS

The present work is a sociolinguistic study of reference to victims and killers in one type of crime news in British press. It is a corpus based study which examines the linguistic complexity and the meaning potential of **the noun phrase** as a means of expressing a positive and negative status of the core participants, i.e. victims and killers.

The work is based on the hypotheses proposed by Jewkes (2004) and Richardson (2007) that "the mass media are inclined to deal in **binary oppositions**; a tendency which is as true of crime reporting as any other form of reportage" (Jewkes 2004: 45) and that "the way that people are named in news discourse can have significant impact on the way in which they are viewed" (Richardson 2007: 49). Therefore, media in general, not only report on current events but also have the power to influence our views and attitudes, our perception of social problems and our own life by accentuating and enhancing particular social and cultural values and by approving of or condemning certain kinds of behaviour.

With regard to the above mentioned hypotheses, a particular type of crime reports was chosen as especially suitable for the present analysis, i.e. reports on trials and verdicts in murder cases. This type of report allows investigation of binary oppositions, mainly **the victim/criminal dichotomy**, which appears to be a prominent strategy in crime reporting in general (Caviglia 2006).

The corpus includes 40 newspaper reports from four British national dailies, two broadsheets (i.e. the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian*) and two tabloids (the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sun*). The corpus is built around ten murder cases, each being represented in the corpus by four articles taken from the four newspapers. The victims in all ten cases are either children or teenagers since these represent 'ideal' victims from the newspapers' point of view. The killers are either parents of the child (Events 1-5) or strangers (Events 6-10). The corpus is therefore divided into two Subsets, i.e. Subset A (Events 1-5) and Subset B (Events 6-10).

Following Biber et al.'s (1999) approach, newspaper language is viewed as a type of **register** (one of the four core registers) in general terms, i.e. as opposed to other registers, for example, conversation and academic language. **Newspaper reports** are approached as a **genre** and **crime reports** as **a sub-genre**. Since I am primarily interested in the 'interaction' between the newspaper and the reader, i.e. what is communicated to the reader (both information and evaluation) and what inferences the reader may make while reading a report, newspaper language in the analysis is approached as **discourse**.

The work argues that **the communicative purpose of reports** is not only to **inform** but also to **evaluate**, and **express views** and **attitudes**, whether covertly or overtly, via language choices mainly. Objectivity being one of the most sacred values of the broadsheet press is understood from the journalist's point of view as manifestation of "being distanced from the truth claims of the report" (Richardson 2007: 86).

At present, more than ever, newspapers have to 'compete' for their readers. In order to face economic pressures, be successful businesses and get their share of the newspaper market they need to differentiate themselves from other papers, which may be achieved mainly by being targeted at particular **readership**. Although the idea of the so-called implied readership is rejected by some scholars (e.g. Scollon 1998), in my view, newspaper production is at least partly influenced by this concept, as this work endeavours to demonstrate. The mere existence of three types of newspapers in Britain and the differences in their content, language and layout can be viewed as evidence of differentiation of the newspaper market

as well as newspaper readership. Newspaper language analysts (e.g. Jucker 1992, Tunstall 1996, Richardson 2007) advocate a three-type categorisation of newspapers, i.e. broadsheets, mid-market papers and down-market papers, the last two being types of tabloids. In my view, the extension of the traditional two-type categorisation is also evidence of the changes in the modern media sphere. Although I support the three-type categorisation, in the present work the mid-market papers are not included in the corpus and so the basic distinction between broadsheets and tabloids appears as sufficient. The tabloids in the corpus represent typical examples of tabloid press in Britain. The terms 'quality' and 'popular' are used in the present work too, as synonyms of 'broadsheet' and 'tabloid' respectively.

In order to determine how language is used not only to express information but also to communicate views and attitudes, **the noun phrase** was chosen as the linguistic focus of the present work. Out of the major structural and functional approaches to the noun phrase analysis as outlined in Chapter Seven, i.e. Halliday (1985), Quirk et al. (1985), Biber et al. (1999) and Huddleston and Pulllum (2002), a simplified version of Quirk et al.'s model was adopted in this work; simplified in that premodifiers are dealt with here as one category, regardless of the individual premodification zones. Quirk et al.'s approach was chosen due to its extensive application in language studies (e.g. Biber et al. 1999) and also studies of newspaper language (e.g. Jucker 1992). Therefore, the noun phrase analysis in the present work is based on the distinction between simple and complex noun phrases (Quirk et al. 1985: 1350); the complex noun phrase is further analysed as consisting of a determiner, premodification, the head and postmodification.

A newspaper report consists of three main segments, i.e. headlines, the lead and the body copy, which have their unique functions and purposes and still they are closely interrelated. The analysis is therefore subdivided into three main parts dealing with the three basic segments of the newspaper reports analysed. Within each part Subsets A and B are analysed separately and mutually compared.

The **headline** is usually the most striking segment of an article – the segment that encourages the reader to read an article or skip it. Headlines thus fulfil two principal functions – they are to be informative and also appealing. With 'human stories', including the type of crime news investigated in the present work, the event and its participants are central to the report and it seems natural that a mention of both the victim and the killer should be made in the headline. This assumption holds true for a majority of articles in Subset A, but not fully for Subset B.

In Subset A an explicit mention of the victim is found in 18 headlines and that of the killer in 19 headlines out of 20. In Subset B, the victim and the killer are both mentioned in ten headlines, four headlines contain a mention of the victim only and two headlines of the killer only, whereas four headlines do not contain a mention of either (see Table 9.6). This difference between Subsets A and B can be attributed mainly to a different 'type' of events in the two Subsets. In Subset A, which contains events not previously reported on in the press, the reference to both the victims and killers is realized by common nouns. The victims and killers are presented via stating of their social roles, i.e. in terms of who they are, for example, *mother*, *father*, *man*, *wife*, *young mother*, *dad* vs. *son*, *daughter*, *girl*, *baby*, *toddler*, etc. Since the participants are not known to the reader, their names would not fulfil the function of identification, which is thus better communicated by common nouns conveying the participants' social status. As mentioned above, the majority of headlines in Subset A contain a reference to both the killer and the victim and are thus fully informative,

and so only eight articles in this subset include sub-headlines. Within these sub-headlines we find five instances of a mention of the victim and four instances of a mention of the killer. In Subset B, which includes high profile events covered previously in the press, most of the victims are expected to be familiar to the reader. This fact allows reference to the victims by their given names in the headlines, mainly in Events 6, 7 and 10, which received extensive coverage in the press for various reasons (e.g. the age of the victim and/or the killer, the motive or a bad course of investigation). Where the reader might not recall the event from the mention of the victim's given name (i.e. Events 8 and 9), common nouns are used to identify the victim, either determining his/her social role or age (e.g. *schoolboy, teenager, a 15-year-old boy*). The killers are referred to by common nouns which classify them either via their social roles (e.g. *schoolmate, teenager, a 14-year-old boy*) or via the use of common nouns with negative connotations, mainly in the tabloids (e.g. *gang, killer, thug, monster, savages*). Whereas the broadsheets are mostly factual in their description of the killers (in both Subsets), the tabloids tend to make some sort of evaluation, either indirectly by presenting someone else's view (e.g. *My evil wife*) or their own which is expected to be the opinion of the readers as well (e.g. *vengeful son killer*, *evil mum*, *monster*, *thug*, *barbaric*, *lawless savages*). The two broadsheets in the corpus, i.e. the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian* do not seem to differ much from each other. The situation with the two tabloids is different – the *Sun* can be described as more radical and straightforward than the *Daily Mirror*, which is evident also in the analysis of the lead and body copy.

In Subset B, unlike in Subset A, all papers make use of sub-headlines in order to convey more information and sustain and increase the reader's interest. Out of 20 articles, 19 contain sub-headlines; 13 articles have sub-headlines which contain a mention of both the killer and the victim, two contain a mention of the victim only, two of the killer only and two articles have sub-headlines focusing the reader's attention on other aspects of the story than the participants (e.g. the course of investigation or the sentence).

The complexity of NPs also seems to be influenced by the type of event rather than the type of newspaper. In Subset A the headlines are mostly built around the killer and the sentence he/she was given for killing his/her child. The victims as recipients of the action are referred to mostly by simple NPs in both types of papers, six vs. four instances of simple and complex NPs respectively in the broadsheets, and seven vs. two instances in the tabloids. The reference to the victim/the recipient occurs in the object function (e.g. *mother drowned disabled daughter, father suffocated daughter*) but also within modification of the noun describing the killer (e.g. *baby death mum*, *vengeful son killer*) or as an object in a postmodifying relative clause, typically in the broadsheets (e.g. *Life for father who killed girl* ...). The killer, on the other hand, is referred to more frequently by complex NPs in the broadsheets (i.e. 7 complex vs. 3 simple NPs), whereas in the tabloids the proportion is balanced (i.e. 5 complex vs. 5 simple NPs). As for the type of modification found in the headlines in reference to the killers, the broadsheets seem to prefer postmodifying relative clauses (which provide mostly factual information, such as the killer's background or details of the killing), whereas in the tabloids all five complex NPs identified in Subset A headlines contain some premodification, which is often realized by evaluative adjectives. Apart from space limitations and the specific character of headlines, this difference between the two types of papers may be attributed to the fact that in comparison with postmodifying relative clauses, premodification enables more condensation of information and thus makes the reference more straightforward and possibly stronger and more explicit as well as evaluative.

In Subset B we find more variation in the headlines. The broadsheets resort to simple NPs in reference to both the victims and the killers, probably in order to have 'enough space' for other relevant details of the event, and thus remain as objective and factual as possible. The tabloids, which strive to achieve a dramatic effect and make evaluations of the people or the event, do not seem to adopt some consistent 'pattern' in reference in terms of complexity of NPs. They use simple as well as complex NPs in reference to the victims employing the victim's given name where possible. In reference to the killers, complex NPs occur more frequently (i.e. 4 complex NPs vs. 1 simple NP); in five headlines, however, the killer is not mentioned at all or is not mentioned explicitly.

Based on what has been stated above, it may be concluded that despite the limited space and condensed character of headlines, the broadsheets headlines as found in the corpus tend to be highly informative and the broadsheet papers are relatively consistent in the use of simple and complex NPs. The tabloids display more variety in both the content and complexity of the NPs in headlines, depending on what they choose as the focus of the headline, for example, the victim, the killer, the violent action or the sentence. The tabloids headlines, apart from being informative, include a certain degree of evaluation realized through the use of particular common nouns with negative connotations (e.g. *thug*, *monster*) or negatively evaluating adjectives (e.g. *evil*, *barbaric*).

The main role of **the lead** (usually one sentence and one paragraph) is to summarise and focus the story (Bell 1991). Being a summary of the story, it should again contain a mention of both the victim and the killer.

Since an article, whether published in a broadsheet or tabloid, begins with the lead as the summary of the main points, the lead in articles in both Subsets displays some similarities. Firstly, in both Subsets all leads contain a mention of the victim and the killer. Without the mention of both the core participants the lead could hardly be considered complete and fulfilling its main function. Secondly, in terms of complexity, in both Subsets and also in both types of newspapers the reference to the victims and killers in the lead is predominantly realized by complex NPs, i.e. 80 per cent in reference to the victims, and 70-80 per cent in reference to the killers.

Although being just a single sentence, the lead, unlike headlines, is not influenced by space and structural limitations. In my view, the main reason for using complex noun phrases in reference to the victims and killers in the lead is mainly governed by the need to provide more, essential information about the core participants.

What differs, however, is the semantic realization of the reference. In Subset A, both the victims and killers are referred to by common nouns in the lead; the common nouns mostly convey the victims' and killers' social roles, as we have seen in the headlines, too. The victims' depiction is mostly of factual nature since it includes information about the relation of the victim to the killer (i.e. a *son* or *daughter*) and the victim's age. The killer is typically referred to as a *father* or *mother*. In the broadsheets these common nouns are typically postmodified by relative clauses which specify the violent action (i.e. in 7 leads out of 10, e.g. *a father who killed his four-year-old son...*). In the tabloids such postmodifying clauses are found too (in 5 leads out of 10). From the broadsheets these differ mostly in vocabulary, using, for example, a stronger synonym of *kill*, such as *murder* or *butcher*. The *Sun*, which appears to be most evaluative of all the papers in the corpus, increases the emotiveness of the lead by informal nouns, such as *mum* and *dad*, which are in some cases modified by evaluative adjectives (e.g. *an evil mum*, *a sadistic mum*), whereas the *Daily Mirror*, also a tabloid, uses both neutral nouns (i.e. *mother*) and informal nouns (i.e. *dad*) but not evaluative adjectives.

In Subset B, the reference to both the victims and killers is more varied, again due to the different type of events, i.e. murders committed by strangers, higher age of the victims, and previous coverage in the press. The victims are referred to by their full names; the victim's full name occurs in 13 articles out of 20, i.e. 65 per cent, whereas the killers are referred to by common nouns (with one exception, i.e. S E8). The victims are thus personalized, whereas the killers remain 'nameless' in the lead and are classified via factual information about their age (e.g. *teenager*) or by being categorized negatively as *gang members, an evil Yardie, barbaric killers, an evil gunman, a school dropout*, etc. Mainly the reference to killers displays differences between broadsheets and tabloids as two types of papers. The broadsheets in order to sustain objectivity resort to descriptions which present factual information that has negative connotations, for example, *a school dropout*, *a former member of a notorious west London gang*, *three Asian gang members*, etc. This type of reference is factual but at the same time helps to place the killers in the 'outsider' group as opposed to 'ordinary, law-abiding citizens'. The tabloids, which generally do not have to be as reticent as broadsheets, combine information with evaluation, mainly the *Sun*. While *the Daily Mirror* appears to be slightly inconsistent, since in some events it evaluates the killer and in others it remains factual (as if being in two minds about being objective or evaluative), the *Sun* openly evaluates the killers using negative nouns or negative adjectives, for example, *an evil Yardie gangster*, *barbaric killers*, *twisted thug Jake Fahri* or *lawless savages*. The lexical choices of this kind and mainly their combination in one noun phrase represent a strategy typical of the *Sun* in the lead and also in the body copy.

The body copy as the third main segment of a newspaper report builds on the previous two segments, i.e. the headlines and the lead, in which the identity and status of the victim and killer have already been established. So, when the reader proceeds to reading the body copy, he or she is already familiar with the core participants, who already possess a positive or negative status.

In both Subsets, simple NPs constitute approximately two thirds (or more) of all NPs relating to the victims and killers in all the papers in the corpus. The tendency towards using simple NPs in reference to the victims and the killers in the body copy can, in my view, be explained as being determined by the type of news in the corpus. All events, and therefore the reports too, are built around the core participants whose identity is known, which is not always the case in other types of crime news; the identity of the killer and sometimes also the victim may be unknown at the time of reporting of the crime. In the present type of crime news (i.e. reports on verdicts) the core participants are known and can be contrasted. The reference to both throughout the body copy is thus made primarily by proper nouns (i.e. names) and pronouns, which both tend to occur as simple NPs. Pronouns are mostly used as cohesive devices and occur in relatively large numbers depending on the length of the article. Nevertheless, even if pronouns are excluded as a means not generally contributing to a positive and negative status in this type of reports, simple NPs still tend to prevail over complex NPs in all papers. It may be concluded that simple NPs prevail in the corpus mainly due to the character of this type of news. Interestingly, Jucker's (1992) study also revealed a tendency towards simple NPs, which in his corpus constituted approximately 70 per cent of NPs in down-market papers and approximately 60 per cent in the up-market papers (see Subsection 7.3.3, Table 7.1). On the other hand, Biber (2003), who investigated the complexity of noun phrases in newspaper register as such without treating the different types of papers separately, states that around 60 per cent of all nouns in newspaper register have a modifier.

These conflicting findings can be attributed mainly to the different character and sizes of the corpora analysed by Jucker and Biber, and at the same time confirm that findings of any corpus-based analysis must be interpreted carefully with respect to the particular corpus.

A positive and negative status of the victim and killer respectively is enhanced and sustained in the body copy mainly through a consistent use of proper nouns variants and particular referential and predicational strategies.

Both Subsets reveal a consistency in the use of proper nouns variants in both types of newspapers. The full name is generally used mostly once in the body copy for identification of the victim and the killer, although in Subset A, where the killer is either of the child's parents, this kind of identification of the victim is unnecessary after the killer's (i.e. the parent's) full name was mentioned.

Out of the proper nouns variants, the most frequent one in reference to the victims is the given name. In Subset A, the given name occurs as a simple NP and also in the determiner function in all four papers. Within complex NPs, pre- and postmodification of the given name occurs relatively rarely with the exception of the *Sun*, where given names are found both with pre- and postmodification. The few instances of modified given names found in the other three papers are all instances of a given name with postmodification. Generally, in all four papers complex NPs tend to be built around common nouns. In Subset B, the findings are very similar. Within simple NPs the given name prevails and occurs in the determiner function too, the determiner function occurring slightly more frequently in the tabloids than in the broadsheets. Within complex noun phrases in Subset B, the broadsheets display a tendency to build complex NPs around common nouns as in Subset A, whereas in the tabloids both common nouns and given names are found with modification. For example, the DT and the G contain 3 and 4 instances respectively of a modified given name, whereas the DM and the *Sun* display 13 and 9 instances respectively.

In reference to the killers, the most frequent proper noun variant in both Subsets and both types of papers is the surname, which unlike the given name does not promote familiarity but creates a certain distance that in this kind of news signals a negative status. Within simple NPs, the surname is the most prominent variant, whereas the other proper nouns variants occur rather rarely, for example, the full name is used mostly once for identification (as mentioned above) and the surname occasionally occurs in the determiner function. The given name is normally reserved for victims. Provided that it is used in reference to killers, the use comes from a different source, i.e. a different speaker, for example, the killer's wife, husband or parent (Subsets A and B) or the lawyers during the trial, mostly the defending ones (Subset B). The only exception of use of the given name in reference to the killer by a newspaper itself is found in Event 10, where it is necessary to differentiate between two killers – two teenage brothers treated primarily as children who killed another child. In Event 9 there are also more killers, two of whom are brothers in their late twenties, but these are distinguished via the use of full names.

Apart from the consistent use of proper nouns variants as described above, a positive and negative status is communicated mainly via referential and predicational strategies, which is especially evident with the killers in both Subsets and with the victims mainly in Subset B.

The victims in Subset A, being all very young children (up to 4 years of age), represent 'ideal' victims from the newspapers' point of view. They fit the image of vulnerable, helpless human beings, fully dependent on their parents, who instead of caring and loving their

children, treat them with cruelty finally causing their death, or kill them deliberately for incomprehensible reasons, i.e. incomprehensible to 'us', ordinary people. However simplistic this definition may seem, it is a common stereotypical image of young child victims. The most common quality to which the reader's attention is drawn is their low age, either via explicit expression of age (mainly in broadsheets) or via nouns and adjectives, such as *infant*, *toddler*, *youngster*; *tiny* or *little* (the adjectives being typically found in the tabloids).

In order to sustain objectivity, the broadsheets in the corpus are similar to each other in employing 'mediated' evaluations, for example, using quotations of the grieving parents. The tabloids, apart from using quotations to a larger degree, also make evaluations of their own, which can be traced slightly more frequently in the *Sun* than in the *Daily Mirror*. The main means of such evaluations are adjectives (i.e. *little, tiny, helpless*) either with the given name or with common nouns with positive connotations.

In Subset B the victims are older (from 7 to 16 years of age), which enables more variety in the means used to enhance the victims' positive status. Apart from details of age, it is the victim's peaceful nature, family background or physical and health condition (if relevant) that encourage compassion on the side of the reader or enhance the view that the victim did nothing to deserve to die in such an appalling manner and at such a young age. The broadsheets in the corpus create this image mainly by choosing to include particular factual information with these connotations. The tabloids employ this strategy too and they also resort to evaluative reference, such as *the trusting little lad*, *the fun-loving little lad*, *diminutive Joe*, etc.

The strategies employed to depict the killers are even more varied because reference may be made to the killer not only as an individual but also as a representative of particular social groups or even social stereotypes.

In Subset A it is necessary, from the newspapers' point of view, to determine and inform the reader of what kind of person the killer is, since it is appalling and incomprehensible to an ordinary person that a parent kills his or her own child. Subset A reveals an interesting difference in the depiction of 'father' and 'mother' killers. In the events in which the killer is the child's father (i.e. Events 1 and 4) one of the crucial pieces of information is the motive (in both events it was the wife's affair), but the man is not primarily presented as a 'bad' father. His behaviour is a reaction to the wife being unfaithful. The 'mother killers', however, are in the first place depicted as 'bad' mothers, who did not show enough feeling and love for their child, maltreated their other children too or valued the relationship with their partners more than the child. The negative status is thus established by portraying such women as failing to fulfil the traditional maternal role, which lowers their social status and differentiates them from the wide category of 'us', ordinary people who respect the traditional values, and often parents at the same time.

Mainly in Subset B the killers may be associated with a particular social group or a social problem. For example, by labelling the killer as a *Yardie*, his non-British and criminal background is accentuated. This categorisation, found only in the tabloids in the corpus, may imply that serious crime is connected with *immigrants*, which is a view enhanced mainly by tabloid press. Such use of stereotypical images of particular groups of people may lead to the stigmatization of the group in the society/community concerned. Similarly, in the case of *teenage killers*, an image of a juvenile criminal hanging about the streets or being in a gang represents another stereotype. These 'evil monsters/evil teenagers', similarly to immigrants, may be then portrayed as 'folk devils'– a threat to the society (cf. Cohen 2002). Young people

traditionally symbolize the future, and if they become killers and aggressors, the future of the society is at risk. The teenage killers in the corpus, whose behaviour is unacceptable as it does not conform to the conventional norms and values, are depicted as having 'a string of convictions', being previously 'in trouble with law' and also as 'being raised in single parent families'. Such reference helps to emphasise their negative background and newspapers may appeal to the traditional family values at the same time. As mentioned above, broadsheets, which are generally reticent about making overt evaluations, will express such views/ negative descriptions either in 'mediated' form via quotations of judges, police officers, etc., or via including negative factual information, which is expressed mainly in postmodifying relative clauses. The tabloids, on the other hand, tend to be more evaluative, mainly the *Sun*, and more direct in the expression of evaluation. The *Sun*, for example, has a wider repertoire of negative expressions than the *Daily Mirror*, i.e. nouns such as *thug* or *brute*, and strong negative adjectives in the premodifying function such as *vile*, *monstrous*, *warped*, *cold-hearted*, *twisted* or *evil*. These expressions are also combined in one noun phrase in order to accumulate negative information and thus increase the negative status of the killer. Mainly the noun *thug* and the adjective *evil* represent stereotypical expressions which *the Sun* typically and consistently uses in crime news in reference to killers and aggressors. The *Daily Mirror*, although also a tabloid, appears less radical and less evaluative. The broadsheets avoid such evaluations as a matter of principle and do not normally use evaluative adjectives and informal nouns unless these are taken from quotations. In that case, such expressions are used in inverted commas to indicate that this expression comes from a different source, not the newspaper itself.

Another strategy important for expressing the participants' status is the use of appositive noun phrases, which are slightly more frequent in Subset B and mostly in reference to the killers. Appositive noun phrases can present factual information that further identifies the person, for example, his/her age, profession or place of living. They can also classify the person and thus contribute to his/her positive or negative status, e.g. *gentle giant Jimmy*, *little star Joe* vs. *scheming loner Michael Hamer* or *vile thug Jake Fahri.* Such depictions are both descriptive and evaluative and still structurally relatively simple.

In my view, the above mentioned findings to a large extent confirm the hypothesis that the way people are named in newspaper discourse draws the reader's attention to particular characteristics of these people and, therefore, may have a substantial impact on how they are viewed. The noun phrase is one of the crucial means of expressing a positive and negative status of the core participants, although not the only one, since there are other means that together with noun phrases form a particular 'image' of a person (e.g. other linguistic means such as verbs, visual means, photo captions and the layout of the paper/ page). This image may be further enhanced via employing 'binary oppositions', i.e. in the present type of crime news via contrasting the 'good' and 'evil' or 'innocent' and 'cruel'. The material and its analysis reveals that representation of people in newspaper reports is definitely a complex area in which lexical and structural choices are interconnected with social context and cultural values and conventions of a particular society. As for the two types of newspapers included in the corpus, it would be too simplistic to claim that broadsheets are factual and objective, whereas tabloids are mostly emotive and evaluative. As it follows from the analysis, broadsheets are more reticent than tabloids, which on the other hand does not mean that broadsheets do not contain views and evaluations and do not mediate reality to their readers. The difference between the two types of papers consists mainly in how views

and evaluations are communicated to the reader. Tabloids, the *Sun* more evidently than the *Daily Mirror*, present their readers with a 'ready-made' picture of the participants in full colours; broadsheets prompt their readers to 'make' a particular picture (often very similar to the tabloid one) themselves.

Finally, I would like to state that due to the size of the corpus, the present analysis is only a small contribution to the study of representation of people in newspaper discourse, which is a fascinating and extremely diverse area of study. Many of the points mentioned (and many others not dealt with in this study but manifested in the corpus) deserve further and more elaborate investigation. I do believe that despite the limitations of the corpus, the present work reveals some intriguing phenomena which illustrate that representation of people in newspaper discourse is a fascinating field of study.

References

Bell, A. (1991) *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Biber, D. (1994) 'An analytical framework for register studies.' In: Biber, D., Finegan, E. (eds) *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 31-56.

Biber, D., Finegan, E. (1994) 'Situating register in sociolinguistics.' In: Biber, D., Finegan, E. (eds) *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 3-12.

Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S., Finegan, E. (1999) *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London: Longman.

Biber, D. (2003) 'Compressed noun-phrase structures in newspaper discourse. The competing demands of popularization vs. economy.' In: Aitchison, J., Lewis, D. A. (eds) *New Media Language*. London: Routledge. 167-181.

Biressi, A., Nunn, H. (2008) *The Tabloid Culture Reader*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Brighton, P., Foy. D. (2007) *News Values*. London: Sage Publications.

Brown, G., Yule, G. (1983) *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Caviglia, F. (2006) 'Understanding public discourse about violence and crime.' In: Lassen, I., Strunck, J., Vestergaard, T. (eds) *Mediating Ideology in Text and Image*. Amsterdam and Philadephia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 119-144.

Chovanec, J. (2000a) *Interpersonal Aspects of Printed News Discourse. A sociolinguistic Study of the Woodward Case Reporting in the Electronic Telegraph*. An unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Brno: Masaryk University.

Chovanec, J. (2000b) 'Interpersonal implications of participant identification in news headlines.' In: *6th Conference of British, American and Canadian Studies. Proceedings.* Prešov: Prešovská univerzita. 124-133.

Cohen, S. (2002) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers.* 3rd ed. London: Routledge.

Coulthard, M. (1985) *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. London, New York: Longman.

Diller, H.J. (2002) 'Genre vs. text type: Two typologies and their uses for the newspaper reader.' In: Fischer, A., Fries, U. *Text Types and Corpora*. Tübingen: Narr. 1-16.

Dontcheva-Navratilova, O. (2009) *Analysing Genre: The Colony Text of UNESCO Resolutions*. Brno: Masaryk University.

Dušková, L. et al. (1994) *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny*. Praha: Academia.

Fairclough, N. (1995a) *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1995b) *Media Discourse*. London: Hodder Education.

Ferguson, C. A. (1994) 'Dialect, register and genre: Working assumptions about conventionalization.' In: In: Biber, D., Finegan, E. (eds) *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 15-30.

Firth, J.R. (1957) *Papers in Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fowler, R. (1991) *Language in the News.* London: Routledge.

Fowler, R. (1996) 'On critical linguistics.' In: Caldas-Coulthard, C. R., Coulthard, M. (eds) *Texts and Practices*. London and New York: Routledge. 3-14.

Franklin, B. (2008a) 'Newszak: entertainment versus news and information.' In: Biressi, A., Nunn, H. (eds) *The Tabloid Culture Reader*. Maidenhead: Open University Press. 13-22.

Franklin, B. (2008b) 'Newspapers: trends and developments.' In: Franklin, B. (ed.) *Pulling Newspapers Apart. Analysing Print Journalism.* London and New York: Routledge. 1-35.

Fries, P. H. (2000) 'Some peculiar adjectives in the English nominal group.' In: Lockwood, D.G., Fries, P. H., Copeland, J. E. (eds) *Functional Approaches to Language, Culture and Cognition*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 289-322.

Galtung, J., Ruge, M. H. (1965) 'The Structure of Foreign News. The presentation of Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers.' *Journal of Peace Research*, 2(1), 64-91.

Gripsrud, J. (2008) 'Tabloidization, popular journalism, and democracy.' In: Biressi, A., Nunn, H. (eds) *The Tabloid Culture Reader*. Maidenhead: Open University Press. 34-44.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1978) *Language as a Social Semiotic. The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1985) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Harcup, T., O'Neill, D. (2001) 'What Is News? Galtung and Ruge Revisited.' *Journalism Studies*, 2(2), 261-280. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700118449

Harrison, J. (2008) 'News'. In: Franklin, B. (ed.) *Pulling Newspapers Apart. Analysing Print Journalism.* London and New York: Routledge. 39-47.

Hartley, J. (1982) *Understanding News*. London: Routledge.

Henry, H. (1983) 'Are the national newspapers polarizing?' *Admap*, 19 (10), 484-491.

Hladký, J., Růžička, M. (1998) *A Functional Onomatology of English*. Brno: Masarykova Univerzita.

Jančaříková, R. (2009a) 'Newspaper reporting: Cohesive devices as means contributing to the effectiveness of news.' In: Hůlková, I., Jančaříková, R. (eds) *Exploring Cohesion and Coherence in English Discourse. Third Brno Conference on Linguistic Studies in English (Proceedings)*. Brno: Masaryk University. 109-119.

Jančaříková, R. (2009b) 'Understanding the language of news reporting.' In: Hanušová, S. et al. *Research in English Language Teacher Education*. Brno: Masaryk University. 61-68.

Jančaříková, R. (2010) 'Crime news in British press: Expressing positive and negative status of core participants.' *Discourse and Interaction*, *3(1)*, 35-61.

Jewkes, Y. (2004) *Media and Crime*. London: Sage Publications.

Jucker, A. H. (1992) *Social stylistics: syntactic variation in British newspapers.* Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Katz, J. (1987) 'What makes crime 'news'?' *Media, Culture and Society*, 1(9), 47-75. https://doi.org/10.1177/016344387009001004

Keeble, R. (2006) *The Newspapers Handbook*. 4th edition. London and New York: Routledge.

Kramsch, C. (1998) *Language and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kress, G. (1996) 'Representational resources and the production of subjectivity.' In: Caldas-Coulthard, C. R., Coulthard, M. (eds) *Texts and Practices*. London and New York: Routledge. 15-31.

Leech, G. (1981) *Semantics: the study of meaning*. 2nd ed. London: Penguin books.

Leitner, G. (1997) 'The Sociolinguistics of Communication Media.' In: Coulmas, F. (ed) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing. 187-204.

Martin, J. R. (1985) 'Process and text: two aspects of human semiosis.' In: Benson, J. D., Greaves, W. S. (eds) *Systemic Perspectives on Discourse*. Norwood: Ablex. 248-274.
Mathesius, V. (1975) *A Functional Analysis of Present Day English on a General Linguistic Basis*. The Hague: Mouton.
Matthews, P. H. (2007) *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Ni, Y. (2003) 'Noun phrases in media texts. A quantificational approach'. In: Aitchison, J., Lewis, D. A. (eds) *New Media Language*. London: Routledge. 159-168.
Povolná, R. (2009) 'Negotiation of meaning in spoken interaction.' *Topics in Linguistics. Interface between Pragmatics and Other Linguistic Disciplines*. Issue 3. Nitra: Constantine the Philosopher University. 55-58.
Pursehouse, M. (2008) 'Looking at The Sun: into the nineties with a tabloid and its readers.' In: Biressi, A., Nunn, H. (eds) *The Tabloid Culture Reader*. Maidenhead: Open University Press. 287-302.
Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., Svartvik, J. (1985) *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language.* London and New York: Longman.
Reah, D. (2002) *The Language of Newspapers*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.
Reisigl, M., Wodak, R. (2001) *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism.* London: Routledge.
Richardson, J. E. (2007) *Analysing Newspapers*. *An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Scollon, R. (1998) *Mediated Discourse as Social Interaction*. London and New York: Longman.
Stubbs, M. (1997) 'Language and the Mediation of Experience'. In: Coulmas, F. (ed) The Handbook of Sociolinguistics. Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing. 358-373.
Sykes, M. (1985) 'Discrimination in Discourse.' In: van Dijk, T. A. (ed.) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis. Discourse Analysis in Society.* Vol. 4. London: Academic Press. 83-101.
Swales, J. M. (1990) *Genre Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Talbot, M. (2007) *Media Discourse. Representation and Interaction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Tárnyiková, J. (2007) *Sentence Complexes in Text. Processing strategies in English and in Czech.* Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého.
Tunstall, J. (1996) *Newspaper power: the new national press in Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Ungerer, F. (2002) 'When news stories are no longer stories: The emergence of the top-down structure in news reports in English newspapers.' In: Fischer, A., Tottie, G., Lehman, M. (eds.) *Text Types and Corpora*. Tübingen: Narr. 91-104.
van Dijk, T. A. (1988) *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbum.
van Dijk, T. A. (1996) "Discourse, power and access." In: Caldas-Coulthard, C. R., Coulthard, M. (eds) *Texts and Practices*. London and New York: Routledge. 84-104.
van Leeuwen, T. (1996) "The representation of social actors." In: Caldas-Coulthard, C. R., Coulthard, M. (eds) *Texts and Practices*. London and New York: Routledge. 32-70.
Wardle, C. (2008) 'Crime reporting.' In: Franklin, B. (ed.) *Pulling Newspapers Apart. Analysing Print Journalism.* London and New York: Routledge. 144-152.

White, P.R.R. (2006) 'Evaluative semantics and ideological positioning in journalistic discourse.' In: Lassen, I., Strunck, J., Vestergaard, T. (eds) *Mediating Ideology in Text and Image*. Amsterdam and Philadephia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.37-67.
Widdowson, H. G. (2007) *Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Wodak, R. (2006) 'Images in/and news in a globalised world.' In: Lassen, I., Strunck, J., Vestergaard, T. (eds) *Mediating Ideology in Text and Image*. Amsterdam and Philadephia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 1-16.
Worcester, R. M. (1998) 'Demographics and values: What the British public reads and what it thinks about its newspapers.' In: Bromley, M., Stephenson, H. (eds) *Sex, lies and democracy.* London: Longman. 39-48.
Yule, G. (1996) *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Electronic sources

Amos, O. (2009, March 6) February ABCs: Daily Star rises, Independent slumps. RetrievedMarch 30, 2010, from http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/story.asp?sectioncode=1&storycode=43271
Ponsford, D. (2010, March 12) Feb ABCs: Qualities plunge, but Star and Sun are up. Retrieved March 30, 2010, from http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/story.asp?sectioncode=1&storycode=45172
Social grade – definitions and discriminatory power. (n.d.) Retrieved March 26, 2010, from http://www.nrs.co.uk/lifestyle.html
Voting by newspaper readership 1992-2010. (n.d.) Retrieved August 17, 2010, from http://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/poll.aspx?oItemId=2476&view=wide
http://www.nmauk.co.uk/nma/do/live/homePopulate. Accessed on March 31, 2010.

Sources

Event 1

Perrie, R. (2008, March 6) 'Dad gets life for murder of son, 4.' *The Sun*, p. 23
Stokes, P. (2008, March 6) 'Man who killed his son in revenge for wife's affair gets life.' *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 5.
'Vengeful son killer given life.' (2008, March 6) *The Daily Mirror*, p. 7.
Wainwright, M. (2008, March 6) 'Life for father who killed son as revenge on unfaithful wife.' *The Guardian*, p. 13.

Event 2

'Baby death mum jailed.' (2009, March 11) *The Daily Mirror*, p. 26.
Carvel, J., Butler, P. (2009, March 11) 'Mother jailed for eight years after horrific cruelty to baby son, aged two months.' *The Guardian*, p. 14.
Clench, J. (2009, March 11) 'Crack addict tortured her baby until he died ... and she'll be out in just 4yrs.' *The Sun*, 19.
Simpson, A. (2009, March 11) 'Young mother jailed over "horrific" cruelty campaign against two-month-old son.' Retrieved March 20, 2009, from www.telegraph.co.uk.

Event 3

Asford, B. (2008, September 24) 'My evil wife.' *The Sun*, p. 13

Bunyan, N. (2008, September 24) 'Life for mother who drowned disabled girl.' *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 13.

Carter, H. (2008, September 24) 'Mother drowned disabled girl in bath.' *The Guardian*, p. 11.

Disley, J. (2008, September 24) 'What she did to my princess was evil.' *The Daily Mirror*, p. 17.

Event 4

Britten, N. (2006, November 3) 'Life for father who killed girl to pay back for wife's infidelity.' *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 1,3.

'Dad gets life for tot's murder.' (2006, November 2) Retrieved November 20, 2007, from www.thesun.co.uk.

Taylor, M. (2006, November 3) 'Distraught father suffocated daughter after wife's affair.' *The Guardian*, p. 13.

Ward, V. (2006, November 3) 'How could anyone take away the life of such a beautiful girl as my Millie?' *The Daily Mirror*, p. 9.

Event 5

Bowcott, O. (2010, May 15) 'Mother who kicked and punched toddler to death gets life.' *The Guardian*, p. 20.

Haywood, L. (2010, May 15) 'Evil mum kicks baby to death.' Retrieved July 20, 2010, from www.thesun.co.uk.

'Mother kicked toddler to death.' (2010, May 15) *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 12

Shaw, A. (2010, May 15) 'Kicked and punched to death by his mum.' The Daily Mirror, p. 12.

Event 6

Martin, N. (2006, August 5) '40 years for Toni-Ann's cold-blooded killer.' *The Daily Telegraph,* p. 10.

Pallister, D. (2006, August 5) 'Cold-blooded killer of Toni-Ann jailed for at least 40 years.' *The Guardian*, p. 14.

Parker, A. (2006, August 5) 'Toni-Ann killer caged 40 years.' *The Sun*, p. 19.

Shaw, A. (2006, August 5) 'A minimum of 40 years.' *The Daily Mirror*, p. 7.

Event 7

Bunyan, N. (2006, October 17) 'Parents of boy, 11, murdered by a schoolmate tell of their despair.' (p. 1); 'Fake letter that lured little Joe to his death.' *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 4.

Carter, H. (2006, October 17) 'Teenager gets life for killing boy, 11.' (p.1); 'Life sentence for teenager who murdered schoolboy in 'savage' kitchen knife attack.' *The Guardian*, p. 10.

Dislay, J. (2006, October 17) ' 'Little star' Joe was killed by a 14-year-old boy in a calculating murder ... So why was he jailed for only 12 years.' (p.1); 'Lured to his death by gay killer letter.', The *Daily Mirror*, p. 4.

Russell, A. (2006, October 17) 'Monster aged 14 lured Joe to death.' (p. 1); 'Teen psycho.' The Sun, p. 6.

Event 8

Bates, S. (2009, March 28) 'Teenager given 14 years for murder after trivial row led to 'horrific' attack.' *The Guardian*, p. 8.

Clench, J. (2009, March 28) 'Thug who murdered Jimmy, 16, given life.' Retrieved April 3, 2010, from www.thesun.co.uk.

Gammell, C. (2009, March 28) 'Our broken society helped to kill my son.' *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 13.

Ward, V., Hanna, L. (2009, March 28) 'STOP IT.' *The Daily Mirror*, p. 4

Event 9

Carrell, S. (2006, November 9) 'Three jailed for life for race murder of schoolboy.' *The Guardian*, p. 12.

Clench, J. (2006, November 9) 'BARBARIC.' (p. 1); 'You animals.' The *Sun*, p. 8.

Cramb, A. (2006, November 9) 'Boy murdered by gang in search of a white victim.' *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 8.

Smith, M. (2006, November 9) 'This cold-blooded execution of a 15-yr-old boy because he was white truly was an ..ABOMINATION.' *The Daily Mirror*, p. 11.

Event 10

Clemments, J., Mackay, D. (2006, August 10) 'At last ..Justice for Dami.' *The Daily Mirror*, p. 1, 8.

France, A. (2006, August 10) 'LAWLESS SAVAGES.' *The Sun*, p. 1, 5.

Laville, S. (2006, August 10) 'Guilty, after two inquiries, three trials and a series of forensic blunders.' *The Guardian*, p. 2.

Steele, J. (2006, August 10) 'Justice at last for Damilola parents.' *The Daily Telegraph*, p. 1, 4.

Glossary of Terms

binary oppositions – in newspaper language a tendency to represent people and events "through polarized constructions of difference which are fixed and immutable – man/woman, black/white, good/evil, tragic victim/evil monster" (Jewkes 2004: 222); an example of a strategy that reflects this tendency in crime reports is **the victim/criminal dichotomy** (see below)

body copy – 'the article proper', the main text of a story; one of the three main segments of a newspaper report, the other two being **headlines** and the **lead**

circulation – a count of how many copies of a particular publication are distributed

crime news – news stories about crime, not only a crime as such (i.e. a particular event when it happens) but also reports on the course of investigation, trials, verdicts, etc.

critical discourse analysis – the study of discourse in relation to ideologies that are believed to underlie its production

critical linguistics – a study of language in relation to social conditions and social connotations of language use (as opposed to descriptive linguistics)

discourse – 'language in use' with its communicative function(s) within a particular register; a mode of social practice'

down-market papers – also 'red-top tabloids', read primarily by working classes, e.g. the *Sun,* the *Daily Mirror*

folk devils – a term used in media and political discourse to label offenders, criminals, or aggressors (both individuals and social groups) and define them as a threat to a society; "outsiders" as opposed "us", i.e. the rest of the society that conforms to the traditional values, (e.g. illegal , juvenile criminals; cf. Cohen 2002)

genre - 'message type' or 'message form' which displays an identifying internal structure, e.g. a newspaper report

headline – the 'title' of a newspaper article functioning both as a summary of the content and an attention getting device

implied audience (as opposed to 'real' audience) – the expected, alleged audience of a particular paper; the audience the newspaper appears to be writing for, which is reflected both in the content and language of a paper; it can be defined in general terms, e.g. age, social class, voting preferences, etc.

lead – the first paragraph of a newspaper article, mostly one sentence which is a summary of the most main point/s; it establishes the main point of the story (Bell 1991), often typographically distinct from the body copy

mid-market papers (also '**middle-range**' tabloids) – tabloid newspapers such as the *Express* and the *Daily Mail*

naming – (1) in the broad sense, a process the result of which is a naming unit, i.e. a conventional sign; (2) in the narrow sense, the use of proper names and their various forms; (3) in newspaper language the labelling of people to identify and classify them

news values – criteria of newsworthiness, which govern selection and presentation of news stories, originally formulated by Galtung and Ruge (1965) and further elaborated on and refined to suit the modern media sphere

objectivity – 1) the state or quality of being objective, i.e. considering facts only and not being influenced by personal views; 2) in the journalistic sense, objectivity in reporting means that the journalist "needs to distance him or herself from the truth claims of the report" (Richardson 2007: 86)

pragmatic context – context of shared background knowledge; *global* pragmatic context represents "generally shared knowledge of the universe", *local* pragmatic context is shared "by members of a particular socio-cultural community" (Tárnyiková 2007: 65); pragmatic context can be seen as encompassing the 'context of culture'

predicational strategies – the ways that language assigns qualities to people, things, events, actions, etc.

readership – 1) as a figure in newspaper market surveys it is an estimate of how many readers a publication has; 2) the readers of a particular paper, also 'audience'

referential strategies - the ways of 'naming' people (i.e. naming in the broad sense) which serve to identify a person as an individual or/and a member of a particular social group

register - a language variety viewed with respect to its context of use, Biber et all. (1999) define four core registers, i.e. conversation, fiction, newspaper language and academic prose (ibid.: 4).

sender-receiver model – a communication model which involves the 'sender' of a message and the 'receiver' of a message, applied traditionally in conversation analysis

social context – context of a particular community in general or at a particular time including the social roles associated with particular social groups within the community and attitudes to them

spectacle/observer theory – a theory proposed by Scollon (1998); the processes of news production and reception happen within two communities, i.e. journalists (the producers of 'spectacles') and readers ('observers') and the social interaction takes place within these communities rather than between them

strategy – "a more or less accurate or a more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim" (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 44)

tabloidization – the tendency towards tabloid content of newspapers and also other forms of popular media content; "it connotes decay, lowering of journalistic standards that ultimately undermine the ideal functions of mass media in liberal democracies" (Gripsrud 2008: 34)

text – a unit of newspaper discourse with a particular communicative purpose and value, i.e. an article as a whole, including headlines, the lead, the body and photo captions

top-down principle (also '**inverted pyramid'**)– the most important facts/information/ elements are to be found at the beginning of an article (the 'top') and the less important towards the end

up-market papers – serious papers (i.e. broadsheets), read primarily by middle classes, e.g. British national dailies such as the *Times,* the *Daily Telegraph,* the *Guardian,* the *Independent and* the *Finacial Times*

victim/criminal dichotomy – the tendency to build crime reports (if possible) around the core participants (victim vs. killer/assailant) and contrast them as 'good' and 'evil', innocent vs. guilty, etc.

Appendices

Due to space limitations, the appendices contain several samples of reports of the corpus, Subset A being represented by reports on Event 3 (Appendix 1) and Subset B being represented by reports on Event 6 (Appendix 2).

Appendix 1, Subset A, Event 3

Event Three

DT E3

Life for mother who drowned disabled girl

Four-year-old daughter was held down in bath until she stopped moving

By Nigel Bunyan

A MOTHER who drowned her daughter in the bath because she was ashamed of the four-year-old's cerebral palsy was jailed for life yesterday.

Joanne Hill, 32, murdered daughter, Naomi, at the family home in Deeside, Flintshire, north Wales.

The court was told she was "ashamed and embarrassed" by her daughter's condition and went about killing her in a "determined and planned way".

After Hill was convicted of murder, her husband, Simon, said: "Joanne was a non-swimmer with a fear of water. To be held under water was her biggest fear. What she did to my princess Naomi was cruel." Mr Hill went on to reject the assertion in court that his daughter "suffered" as a result of her condition. "This is not true," he said. "Naomi did not suffer at all. She lived life to the full and was an inspiration to us all."

The jury at Chester Crown Court heard Naomi's mother poured herself a glass of wine before carrying the child upstairs, undressing her and holding her head under the water until she stopped moving. Hill set about planning the murder after her husband refused to allow Naomi to be put out for adoption. It was deliberately timed for the afternoon of Nov 26 last year because she knew he would be at work.

The court was told Hill, who will serve a minimum 15-year sentence, had struggled to cope with Naomi's mild cerebral palsy. The child wore callipers to help her walk and had poor hearing. Michael Chambers, QC, prosecuting, said: "Joanne Hill could not come to terms with the fact that her daughter was disabled. She could not come to terms with the fact that her daughter was disabled. She, quite simply, wanted her dead."

"Instead of seeking help from the social services she quite deliberately and consciously acted to kill Naomi. She quite simply wanted Naomi dead. She couldn't cope with caring for Naomi and left a lot of the everyday care to her husband. She even suggested to him that Naomi should be adopted, but he would never agree to that because he doted on her."

On the day of the killing, Hill picked up Naomi from her childminder and drove home. Once there she poured herself a glass of wine and began running a bath. Mr Chambers said: "When the bath was full she told Naomi she was having a bath, but Naomi didn't want one.

"She carried her upstairs and undressed her. She put her in the bath and drowned her by holding her head under the water for a long time until she was dead."

Hill dressed her daughter's body as if nothing was amiss and drove her around for eight hours, drinking several glasses of wine, before taking her to hospital claiming she was unconscious. She was arrested and charged.

Hill, who claimed to have intended taking her own life, had pleaded guilty to manslaughter on the grounds of diminished responsibility but denied murder. The prosecution, however, maintained that despite having been mentally ill earlier in her life, at the time of Naomi's murder she was suffering no abnormality of mind.

Passing sentence, Judge Elgan Edwards told Hill: "There can be no excuse for what you did."

NEIL JONES/PA

Joanne Hill is escorted to prison in handcuffs after being given a life sentence yesterday. The court heard that she had been 'ashamed' that her daughter Naomi, above, had mild cerebral palsy

> *She could not come to terms with the fact that her daughter was disabled. She, quite simply, wanted her dead*

Mother drowned disabled daughter in bath

Joanne Hill found guilty of murder and jailed for life

Court told of drinking and disintegrating marriage

Helen Carter

A mother who drowned her disabled daughter in a bath after drinking wine was convicted of murder yesterday and sentenced to life in prison.

Joanne Hill, 32, from Connah's Quay, Flintshire, north Wales, admitted killing four-year-old Naomi by drowning her in November last year. She had denied murder but pleaded guilty to manslaughter on the grounds of diminished responsibility. However, the jury at Chester crown court, which had heard Hill was embarrassed about her daughter's mild cerebral palsy, rejected this plea and found her guilty of murder after deliberating for an hour-and-a-half. She will not be eligible for parole for at least 15 years.

Her estranged husband, Simon Hill, 38, told a press conference he would never be able to come to terms with what had happened. His daughter "lived life to the full and was an inspiration", he said.

Judge Elgan Edwards told Hill: "There can be no excuse for what you did."

The judge said: "You killed your own daughter because you could not cope with her disability. You had other pressures upon you, a disintegrating marriage, and you decided to kill your own daughter by drowning her."

During a 10-day trial, the court heard that Hill could not cope with her daughter's mild cerebral palsy and was embarrassed by her condition, insisting she wore trousers to cover her legs. She had suggested to her husband that they have Naomi adopted or fostered. He refused because he was a "doting father". The court heard that Naomi was partially deaf and wore callipers. On November 26 last year Hill finished work and collected Naomi from her childminder, took her home and killed her. Her unwitting husband sent her a text message saying: "Is Naomi safe?" but she never replied. She then dressed her daughter and placed her body in a car seat and drove around for eight hours, drinking from a bottle of wine.

Joanne Hill was said to be embarrassed by four-year-old Naomi's mild cerebral palsy, and insisted she cover her legs

'Jo more often than not was drunk in the kitchen when I got home' Simon Hill's evidence in court

In the early hours of the next day, she arrived at the Countess of Chester hospital with her daughter in her arms shouting for help.

In the weeks leading up to the killing she had been drinking heavily and it had caused the couple's marriage to deteriorate. She had also cheated on her husband with a work colleague.

It was not known what Hill did during the eight hours after Naomi's death.

Police established that she had visited a petrol station at 11.30pm, where CCTV footage showed her sharing a joke with a staff member. Nursing staff at the hospital said she appeared drunk, distant and calm as doctors tried to resuscitate Naomi.

The court was told that on occasions Naomi's childminder had been worried about handing her back to her mother because she smelt of alcohol and at times appeared strange.

Her husband told the court: "Jo more often than not was drunk in the kitchen when I got home and the house would be in the dark and Naomi would be asleep on the settee in the lounge."

In a police interview played during the hearing, Hill admitted holding her daughter under water for five to 10 minutes. Hill had a history of mental health problems dating back 15 years.

WHAT SHE DID TO MY PRINCESS WAS EVIL

CHEEKY Naomi was dad Simon's "little princess"

Dad's fury as murder mum gets 15yrs

BY JAN DISLEY
j.disley@mirror.co.uk

A GRIEVING father branded his wife "evil" yesterday as she was jailed for life for murdering their disabled daughter.

Joanne Hill, 32, drowned four-year-old Naomi – who had cerebral palsy – in the bath because she could not cope with looking after her.

She then dressed her and drove around with her body for eight hours before walking into a hospital drunk and saying: "Will somebody help me. I think she's dead."

Husband Simon, 38, said yesterday: "Joanne is a non-swimmer with a fear of water. To be held under is her biggest fear.

"What she did to my princess Naomi was evil."

"Naomi was a chatterbox, a great story teller. She could make me laugh all day long. Her cheeky grin and beaming smile could light up a room. There is not a minute that goes by without me wishing she was still here. She was my constant companion, she was my best friend, she was my little princess."

"The fact that Naomi has been taken away at such a young age and in such a terrible way is something we will never come to terms with."

DROWNED

The jury took just 90 minutes to dismiss Hill's defence that she was mentally ill when she drowned Naomi at home in Deeside, North Wales, last November.

Hill, who sold advertising space for a publishing company, left her office in Chester she went to a pub for a glass of wine, then collected Naomi from a childminder. On the way home she bought more wine.

At about 6pm Hill ran a bath while Naomi watched TV. Although Naomi said she did not want one, there was no struggle, Hill told police. She held her daughter's head under for between 10 and 20 minutes.

After drowning her, she dressed Naomi in denim dungarees and a pink and yellow top before putting her in her Renault Megane along with a bottle of wine.

She told police she wanted to be out of the house before Simon got home from work at 7.30pm.

For the next eight hours Hill drove around between Deeside and Chester, stopping to drink the wine, buy another bottle and get petrol – with her dead daughter in the back seat. At about 3.30am Hill arrived at the Countess of Chester hospital drunk and holding Naomi.

Calmly, Hill said: "Will somebody help me. I think she's dead."

She later admitted the killing but pleaded manslaughter on the grounds of diminished responsibility.

ILLNESS

Chester crown court had heard from medical experts that Hill had suffered mental problems in the past and is now suffering from serious mental illness.

Jailing Hill for life and ordering she should not be released for 15 years, Judge Elgan Edwards, Recorder of Chester, told her: "You killed your own daughter because you could not cope with her disability. There can be no excuse for what you did." He ordered that she be moved from prison to a psychiatric unit.

Hill sat impassively in the dock throughout, with two nurses and a guard. But her mother, sitting at the back of the court, wept silently.

Simon, who works for a car rental company, held the hands of relatives in the public gallery.

Described in court as a devoted and fabulous father, he had refused to consider his wife's request for Naomi to be adopted or fostered.

Det Insp Simon Price, who interviewed Hill after her arrest, said: "Naomi was described as a beautiful girl and indeed she had the whole of her life before her.

"The fact her life was ended so prematurely is in itself a matter of great sadness. However, for this to have taken place at the hands of her mother makes it all the more difficult to comprehend."

LIFE SENTENCE Hill in handcuffs at court yesterday

HEARTACHE Dad Simon at press conference yesterday

You killed your daughter because you could not cope with her disability

KILLER Mother Joanne Hill

MY EVIL WIFE

Dad's devastating verdict on mum caged for drowning their disabled daughter, 4

Doting . . . grieving dad Simon Hill

By BEN ASHFORD

A MUM was branded "evil" by her husband last night for murdering their disabled daughter — because she was ashamed of her illness.

Warped Joanne Hill, 32, was jailed for a minimum 13 years for drowning Naomi, four, in the bath.

The advertising executive believed the youngster, who suffered mild cerebral palsy, was a punishment from God.

She admitted the killing but claimed she was in the grip of mental illness.

But a jury threw out her defence of diminished responsibility and convicted her of murder after deliberating for just 90 minutes.

After seeing his wife caged for life yesterday, devastated dad Simon, 38, said: "What she did to my princess Naomi was evil."

And he revealed that Hill carried out the killing in the bath despite having a lifelong fear of water.

He added: "To be held under water is her biggest fear."

Pitiful

The pitiful relationship between Hill and her "confident, bright and beautiful" daughter was laid bare in a harrowing two-week case.

Jurors heard Hill was embarrassed by her child's condition.

She would shriek at Naomi for soiling her underwear and at times couldn't bear to be in the same room as the youngster, who wore callipers and struggled to hear and walk.

Care workers said the mum would pick her up from nursery reeking of booze and begged them to keep her disability a secret from other mums.

Yet doting dad Simon was horrified when his wife suggested having her adopted.

He was travelling home from work on November 27 last year when Hill ran a bath for the tot at the family home in Conah's Quay, North Wales.

In a police tape played to Chester Crown Court, Hill described in a calm, steady voice how she added bubble bath and checked the temperature before holding the toddler beneath the water.

She then dressed her lifeless body in dungarees and drove around aimlessly before running into a hospital A&E unit, where she was later arrested.

Paying tribute to Naomi yesterday, car rental firm worker Simon went on: "It has been said in court that Naomi suffered from cerebral palsy.

"This is not true. She did not suffer at all. She lived life to the full and was an inspiration.

"Naomi took everything in her stride and enjoyed everything that four-year-olds do, if only slightly slower. Not a minute goes by without me wishing she was still here. She was my constant companion, my best friend, my little princess."

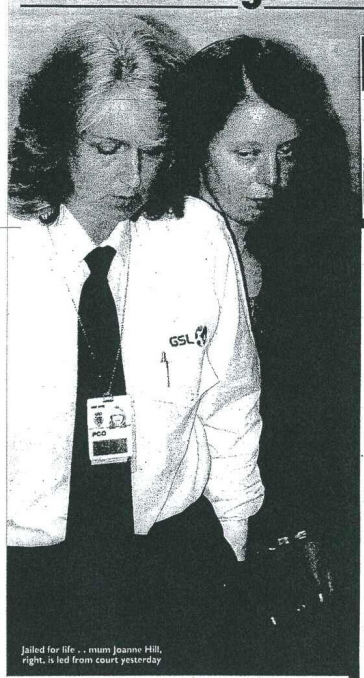
The court had heard Hill had a long history of mental illness and her marriage was on the rocks when she killed Naomi. She also slept with one of Simon's colleagues weeks before the murder, jurors heard.

Sentencing her, Judge Elgan Edwards QC said: "There is no excuse for what you did. You must now pay the penalty."

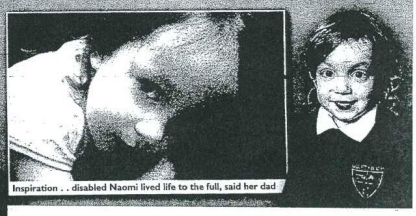
It was agreed in court that Hill had a mental illness and the judge ordered her to be moved from prison to a psychiatric unit as soon as possible.

She had sat impassively in the dock throughout the verdict and sentencing, surrounded by two nurses and a guard.

b.ashford@the-sun.co.uk



Jailed for life . . mum Joanne Hill, right, is led from court yesterday



Inspiration . . disabled Naomi lived life to the full, said her dad

40 years for Toni-Ann's cold-blooded killer

Innocent seven-year-old saw her father killed then was shot in the back as she tried to flee to safety

By Nicole Martin

A GUNMAN who preyed on drug dealers was jailed for life yesterday for shooting dead a seven-year-old girl moments after she watched him kill her crack-dealer father.

Joel Smith, 32, showed no emotion after a jury found him guilty of killing Toni-Ann Byfield and 41-year-old Bertram Byfield.

The girl's mother, Christine Richards, who travelled from Jamaica for the case, broke down and had to be led from the court as the jury foreman returned the unanimous verdict after almost three days of deliberation.

Mr Justice Gross, sentencing Smith to life with a recommendation that he serve a minimum of 40 years, said: "There can be no doubt the intention was to kill. These were cold-blooded, cynical and callous shootings.

"I regard the killing of Toni-Ann as an exceptionally aggravating factor.

"However grimly accustomed one may become to serious violent crime, there is a particular horror in the shooting in the back at close range of a seven-year-old girl."

As Smith was led to the cells, he made an obscene gesture to detectives from Operation Trident, the Scotland Yard unit that investigates black-on-black crime.

Miss Richards said: "The judge has recognised these cold-blooded and callous killings and has taken the steps to impose a 40-year minimum life sentence.

"I have followed the trial closely and I am convinced justice has now been done.

"I will never understand Joel Smith, a man who can shoot a seven-year-old girl in the back. He has shown no remorse in spite of overwhelming evidence.

"Toni-Ann was a bright, lovely, respectable and talkative girl. She had such a bright future and seemed to take the setbacks in her stride. Her love for life could not be dampened until she crossed paths with Joel Smith."

The prosecution said that Smith had shot Toni-Ann as she screamed and attempted to flee her father's bedsit in Harlesden, north-west London, shortly after midnight on Sept 14, 2003.

The jury was told that Smith almost got away with "the perfect crime" because there were no witnesses, no closed circuit television recording of his escape and no scientific evidence at the scene.

But the killing of Toni-Ann "shocked the nation", prompting friends and fellow prison inmates to come forward to identify Smith as the killer.

The court heard that Smith, who has a string of convictions stretching back 16 years, provided the breakthrough in the case in a series of taped telephone calls, prison cell confessions and incriminating conversations with friends.

His reaction to a BBC *Crimewatch* appeal about the shootings, broadcast the following year while he was in prison for a series of unrelated offences, was one of "great despair and foreboding".

His cellmate, who gave evidence, said Smith became restless and kept turning the television set off. He told him: "If they get me for this I won't see the other side of this wall."

In a taped conversation with his girlfriend the day after the programme was broadcast, he talked about "the clock ticking" and said he would "never see the day again".

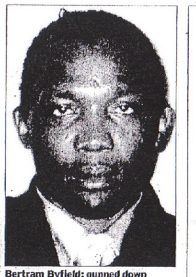
He told another inmate that he had been paid £20,000 to kill Byfield, a crack cocaine dealer also known as Antony Pinnock. And he had told a friend that he had "blasted a Yardie and his girl".

The jury rejected Smith's claim that he left Toni-Ann and her father "very much alive and well" after he had gone to Byfield's home earlier in the day to buy cannabis.

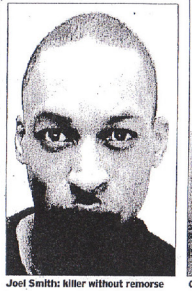
He said he did not have either a grudge or motive for wanting to kill them.

Smith blamed the killing on Tafari Dacas, a member of the Mus Love Crew gang, who was jailed for life last year for shooting dead a man at the Notting Hill Carnival.

Toni-Ann Byfield was allowed back into the care of her crack-dealer father and ended up a victim



Bertram Byfield: gunned down



Joel Smith: killer without remorse

PA/PHOTONEWS

Christine Richards, Toni-Ann's mother, left court in tears

Cold-blooded killer of Toni-Ann jailed for at least 40 years

Seven-year-old 'lively, full of hope and excitement'

Gangster's gesture of defiance to detective

David Pallister

A former member of a notorious west London street gang who murdered seven-year-old Toni-Ann Byfield and the crack cocaine dealer she knew as her father, was sentenced to life imprisonment yesterday with a minimum of 40 years.

Joel Smith listened to the guilty verdicts at the Old Bailey, and the sentence an hour later, with no sign of emotion. But as he was led from the dock, the muscular and tattooed 32-year-old gave a middle finger gesture of abuse at the detective who first questioned him.

Mr Justice Goss told him he had shot Toni-Ann – "a lively seven-year-old full of hope and excitement" – in the back at close range in a "cold-blooded, cynical and callous" fashion. She had been executed in a drug-related crime – either a robbery or an assassination – in order to silence her as a witness to the slaying of Bertram Byfield, 42. They were killed three years ago in Byfield's west London bedsit when Toni-Ann was formally under the care of Birmingham social services.

After the hearing Detective Superintendent Neil Basu of Operation Trident, Scotland Yard's specialist squad dealing with gun crime, thanked members of the black community who were brave enough to help the police.

Smith robbed crack houses, sometimes at the point of a gun. He hung out with members of the Mus Luv Crew who had a reputation for pulling their guns at the slightest provocation. Shortly after midnight in September 2003 he and, police believe, an accomplice, blagged their way into the ground floor bedsit on Harrow Road, Brent. Byfield, a Jamaican, was found on the floor tangled in a bicycle. Toni-Ann, cowering in her nightdress, was murdered with a single shot.

Byfield, born Anthony Pinnock in Jamaica, had moved to England to deal drugs after buying a British passport in the name of Bertram Byfield. He had had a 10-year relationship with Toni-Ann's mother, who bore him two sons. The little girl believed him to be her father. DNA tests showed they were not related.

In January 2000, while Byfield was serving a nine-year sentence in London for trafficking cocaine, Toni-Ann was brought to the UK for what was supposed to be a holiday. At first she stayed in Birmingham with Byfield's ex-partner and one of her half-sisters.

But concerns about physical abuse were raised by her teachers. Birmingham social services intervened and she was placed with a foster family. Byfield had been out of prison for a year and for the summer holidays of 2003 it was agreed that she could stay with an "aunt" in Brent and occasionally see her father.

An independent report found that Birmingham social services was "seriously inadequate" in the handling of her care.

At first, the police targeted Byfield's drug associates for the murders. Although Smith had a string of offences going back to his teens, he was not on Trident's radar for heavy-duty gang crime. But he nevertheless panicked, leaving a trail of incriminating conversations with friends and associates. He headed north and ended up in Liverpool.

The public revulsion at Toni-Ann's murder meant intelligence began to filter through to Trident detectives that Smith could have been involved. On Merseyside he was known as "Cane" or "Caney" – short for cocaine.

The breakthrough came a year later, last September, when police went on Crimewatch. "We aimed this directly at him," said a senior officer. The suspect, the programme was told, was a black British male, in his 30s, formerly living in Brent but now in Liverpool and still involved in crime. Smith watched the show with mounting dread. He was on B wing of Liverpool's Walton prison serving a three-year sentence for a wounding.

A day later, on September 16 last year, Smith phoned his girlfriend, Toni Blackett, about the programme. This was damning evidence. "I feel like I'm a dying man ... Toni, I will never see the day again."

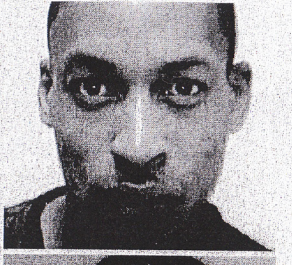
Toni Blackett began crying and asked: "What do you mean. What are you trying to say?"

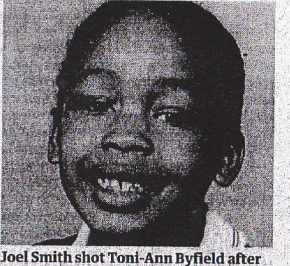
Smith: "The watch thing, did you watch it yesterday?"

Blackett: "No, I didn't."

Smith: "Deep shit ... they've got everything. The clock is ticking."

Smith was arrested a few days later before he was due to be released. He claimed that he had visited Byfield's home to buy cannabis at a time when Byfield and Toni-Ann were shopping for her school uniform. In court, he claimed a friend in the Mus Luv Crew – serving 30 years for another killing – had carried out the actual shooting.

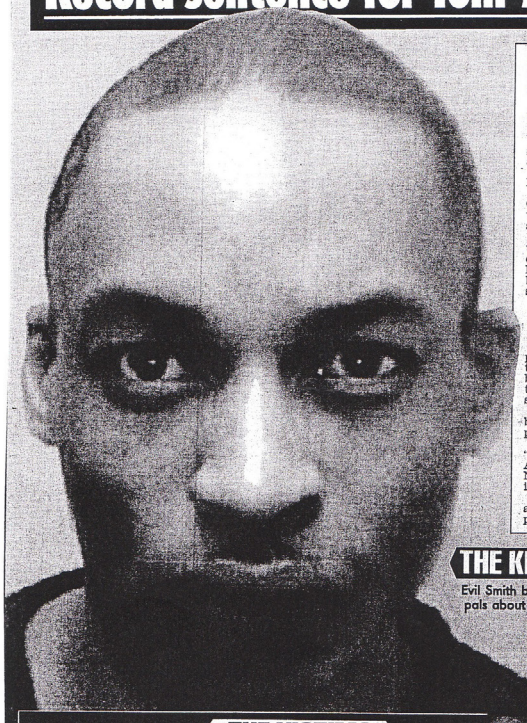




Joel Smith shot Toni-Ann Byfield after she witnessed death of her 'father'

A MINIMUM OF 40 YEARS

Record sentence for Toni-Ann's brutal killer



AN evil gunman who murdered a girl of seven because she saw him kill her "father" was given a record 40-year minimum jail term yesterday.

By ADRIAN SHAW

Yardie Joel Smith, 32, shot crack dealer Bertram Byfield in his flat and blasted little Toni-Ann in the back as she fled.

Even gangland pals were so horrified they grassed on him. Yet Smith showed no remorse and made a one-fingered gesture at police as he was led away to start two life terms.

Smith shot Toni-Ann and Byfield in a 2003 drug robbery.

Old Bailey judge Mr Justice Gross told him: "She was in the way and you murdered her as a potential witness.

"However grimly accustomed one becomes to violent crime, there is a particular horror in the shooting in the back at close range of a seven-year-old girl.

"This evil has no place in our society. It seems to me it must be met by the most severe sentences."

Mum Roselyn Richards later paid Toni-Ann a tearful tribute. She said: "She was a bright, lovely, respectful and talkative little girl. She had such a bright future.

"Her love for life could not be dampened, until she crossed paths with Joel Smith."

Det Supt Neil Basu added: "No one won here today. Toni-Ann will still never be eight. No parent can begin to imagine her mother's agonies."

He hailed Smith's sentence and said: "I hope at some point he has the decency to tell us why he committed this most evil of acts."

Toni-Ann's life was as chaotic as her death was brutal.

She was taken from her Jamaican home to live with Byfield, who postmortem tests showed he was not her real dad.

When he was jailed for selling crack, she was fostered by a Birmingham family. But social workers' blunders saw her return to live with him at his ex-offenders' hostel in Kensal Green, North West London.

She spent her last day alive shopping with him for a uniform as she eagerly waited to start school the next day.

Smith was caught after bragging to lovers and gangland associates. Police are convinced he did not act alone and are hunting accomplices.

The judge ordered the building site foreman, of no fixed address, to serve at least 33 years for killing Byfield.

Voice of the Mirror: Page 8

a.shaw@mirror.co.uk

THE KILLER

Evil Smith boasted to pals about his crime

THE VICTIMS

DEALER: Tony

TONI-ANN was born in Jamaica to Roselyn Richards who already had two sons by Tony Byfield.

She falsely told him that Toni-Ann was also his child. By the age of six months, Toni-Ann was being passed around and was looked after by Byfield's girlfriend.

The woman brought Toni-Ann to England when she was four to see her Kent-born dad in jail.

Byfield was freed from prison in 2001. He was shot in a row but recovered. In 2003 Birmingham social services took Toni-Ann into care. Then she went to a foster family. But Roselyn begged social workers to let her daughter be with her "loving" father.

They were living in a hostel while Byfield sold crack when Smith shot and killed them.

LOST: Toni-Ann

S E6

TONI-ANN KILLER CAGED 40 YEARS

Yardie shot girl in back

By ANDREW PARKER

AN EVIL Yardie gangster who executed a girl of seven to stop her identifying him as a killer was jailed for 40 years yesterday.

Joel Smith, 32, shot Toni-Ann Byfield in the back after she saw him blast her drug-dealing 'dad' Tony Byfield.

He wiped her out as a potential witness after killing Tony – who was not Toni-Ann's natural father – in his "perfect crime".

But underworld gangsters were so shocked they broke a code of silence to "turn him in" to cops.

Sentencing Smith, Judge Mr Justice Gross told him:

"I regard the killing of Toni-Ann as an exceptionally significant one.

However grimly accustomed you may become to serious violent crime, there is a particular horror encountering the shooting in the back of a seven-year-old girl.

That is the tragic hallmark of this case.

This was not a stray bullet or a random shot. It was fired into her close by with a view to killing her.

Those who use firearms in such a fashion can accept no quarter from the law."

The judge added Smith would be a "very old man if and when" he was ever released.

Smith, who was found guilty of the double murder, made obscene gestures to cops as he was sentenced at the Old Bailey.

The trial heard Smith targeted Jamaican illegal immigrant Byfield, 41 – a member of a Yardie gang controlling a crack cocaine trade worth millions. When he got to Byfield's bedsit in a hostel for ex-offenders in Kensal Green, North West London, on September 13, 2003, he found Toni-Ann was there too and killed them both. He shot her in the back as she fled to the door.

The court heard Toni-Ann, who was under the care of Birmingham Social Services, should not have been allowed to stay in London overnight with Byfield. After the double shooting Smith, who lived in nearby Harlesden, fled to Liverpool.

But information from the underworld led to a BBC Crimewatch appeal.

The "self-confessed gunman and robber of drug dealers" was identified and arrested in prison where he was serving three years for GBH.

Smith's ex-girlfriends said he had confessed to them about the killing. As Smith was sentenced, Toni-Ann's mother Roselyn Richards wept and muttered "bad man".

Later she described her daughter as a "bright, lovely little girl". She added: "Her love for life could not be dampened – until she crossed paths with Smith."

a.parker@the-sun.co.uk

EVIL Smith believed he had got away with the 'perfect crime', but was turned in by the underworld

VICTIM Toni-Ann was gunned down in cold blood after seeing her drug dealer dad murdered

RESUMÉ

Monografie předkládá výsledky výzkumu v oblasti diskursu médií se zaměřením na vyjadřování statusu obětí a vrahů ve zprávách o zločinu v britském tisku, a to jak seriózním, tak bulvárním. Výzkum se soustřeďuje na referenční prostředky vyjadřované pomocí nominální fráze a její informativní a evaluativní potenciál. V úvodu je vyslovena hypotéza, že různé způsoby odkazování na oběti a vrahy akcentují určité charakteristiky těchto osob, což výraznou měrou přispívá k celkovému obrazu, který si o těchto osobách vytváří čtenář. Zprávy o zločinu zkoumané v této práci jsou novinové reportáže, které informují o verdiktech v deseti různých případech vražd dětí a mladých lidí ve Velké Británii v letech 2006-2010.

Úvodní kapitoly (1-6) se zabývají specifickým charakterem novinového diskursu, jehož zkoumání vyžaduje kritický přístup s ohledem na funkce jazykových prostředků a jejich provázanost se sociálním kontextem, a dále vymezují roli čtenářů novin a podrobně popisují potenciál referenčních prostředků. Kapitola 7 vymezuje charakter a strukturu nominální fráze, která je předmětem lingvistické analýzy. Kapitola 9 předkládá analýzu korpusu rozděleného na dvě části, a sice Set A (vraždy spáchané jedním z rodičů oběti) a Set B (vraždy spáchané cizí osobou). Články jsou postupně analyzovány s ohledem na tři základní části novinové reportáže, tj. titulky, úvodní odstavec a text reportáže.

Výsledky výzkumu naznačují, že moderní britský tisk využívá celou škálu referenčních prostředků, které mají nejen funkci informativní, ale také klasifikační a evaluativní, přičemž určitý druh evaluace událostí, osob i sociální reality je patrný v obou typech novin. Noviny vyjadřují pozitivní a negativní status především různými způsoby pojmenovávání obětí a vrahů, a to jak vlastními, tak obecnými podstatnými jmény (s atributy i bez nich). Užití vlastních jmen v obou typech novin je v analyzovaném typu reportáží do velké míry konzistentní, přičemž na oběti se nejčastěji odkazuje křestním jménem, zatímco na vrahy příjmením bez titulu pan nebo paní. Seriózní noviny komunikují pozitivní status obětí a negativní status vrahů spíše zprostředkovaně a skrytě, zejména prostřednictvím citací jiných osob a selekcí pozitivních a negativních informací, na základě kterých si čtenáři vytváří určitý názor, který je však do jisté míry předjímán výběrem informací uvedených o jednotlivých aktérech, jazykovými prostředky, prezentací události samotné s důrazem na určité aspekty události, apod. Seriózní tisk tedy na rozdíl od tisku bulvárního nepoužívá hodnotící adjektiva; neformální a hodnotící výrazy se vyskytují zejména v citacích jiných osob. Bulvární noviny naopak svým čtenářům předkládají přímá a otevřená hodnocení, zejména prostřednictvím expresivních a hovorových adjektiv a podstatných jmen, pozitivních i negativních, tak aby jednoznačně kontrastovaly oběť a vraha. Tím otevřeně směrují čtenáře k jasně definovanému názoru či postoji, což do značné míry potvrzuje hypotézu vyslovenou v úvodu práce. V neposlední řadě je však také třeba zmínit fakt, že referenční výrazy nejsou jediným (byť velmi důležitým) prvkem přispívajícím k vyjádření statusu účastníků, neboť jsou úzce provázány s dalšími významnými prostředky a faktory, se kterými vytváří jedinečný finální celek, jakož i se sociálním kontextem, který určuje normy přijatelného a nepřijatelného chování. Velkou roli sehrává především druh popisované události a její detaily, tj. možnost prezentovat událost jako „lidský příběh“, ke kterému by veřejnost neměla být lhostejná a zaujmout jednoznačný postoj.

INDEX

A

apposition 44, 57, 95, 99, 100, 117, 120, 124, 143
audience 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 65, 89, 98, 160, 161

B

binary oppositions 23, 64, 131, 145, 152, 160
body copy 17, 18, 66, 67, 69, 80, 81, 97, 98, 100, 103, 106, 108, 110, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 124, 128, 131, 138, 139, 140, 146, 147, 149, 150, 160
broadsheet 11, 24, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 61, 67, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 103, 109, 110, 117, 118, 124, 128, 129, 130, 131, 139, 140, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 162

C

circulation 31, 32, 38, 39, 40, 67, 160
classification 42, 54, 62, 94, 96, 140
connotation 20, 34, 41, 42, 44, 119, 130, 140, 147, 148, 149, 151, 160
context 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 32, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 64, 72, 77, 86, 94, 97, 99, 100, 108, 128, 140, 161
  cultural 13, 14
  social 15, 43, 47, 48, 152, 161
crime news 13, 16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 41, 43, 47, 51, 63, 64, 120, 131, 145, 146, 149, 152, 160
crime reports 11, 63, 81, 97, 98, 145, 160, 162
critical discourse analysis 14, 160

D

discourse 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 45, 47, 48, 49, 145, 160
  newspaper 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 27, 32, 33, 41, 42, 43, 47, 48, 51, 58, 83, 152, 153, 162
dramatic effect 79, 99, 117, 148

E

emotiveness 77, 109, 148
evaluation 11, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 32, 42, 44, 47, 51, 77, 86, 89, 96, 97, 98, 109, 117, 129, 130, 140, 143, 145, 147, 148, 149, 151, 152
evil 25, 63, 64, 69, 71, 77, 79, 90, 92, 93, 96, 97, 109, 110, 132, 142, 143, 147, 148, 149, 151, 152, 160, 162

F

folk devil 25, 64, 132, 141, 151, 160
full name 70, 72, 79, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 100, 102, 103, 108, 111, 116, 117, 124, 128, 132, 136, 139, 149, 150

G

genre 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 63, 145, 160
given name 43, 70, 72, 83, 84, 89, 90, 102, 103, 104, 106, 108, 111, 112, 116, 120, 122, 126, 128, 132, 133, 139, 147, 148, 150, 151

H

headline 17, 18, 28, 43, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 97, 98, 100, 106, 117, 128, 139, 146, 147, 148, 149, 160, 162
human interest 22, 33
human stories 25, 33, 69, 72, 101, 117, 146

Ch

choices 12, 13, 21, 29, 43, 62, 145, 152
  lexical 15, 47, 72, 93, 100, 149
  referential 44
  representational 41

I

identity 11, 12, 13, 18, 28, 38, 42, 96, 149
immigrants 38, 44, 47, 88, 97, 151
intended effect 19, 72, 110
inverted pyramid 18, 162

L

lead 14, 17, 18, 20, 59, 66, 67, 69, 79, 80, 81, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 117, 124, 128, 131, 132, 139, 146, 147, 148, 149, 151, 160, 162

M

meaning interpretation 47, 48, 49
modification 51, 53, 54, 55, 59, 61, 75, 77, 84, 93, 96, 99, 104, 106, 108, 111, 112, 116, 124, 126, 128, 134, 147, 150
  postmodification 51, 57, 58, 59, 62, 70, 72, 73, 76, 77, 84, 92, 96, 99, 100, 104, 106, 108, 116, 117, 128, 138, 141, 146, 150
  premodification 51, 57, 58, 62, 70, 74, 75, 77, 92, 93, 100, 117, 146, 147
modifiers 53, 54, 55, 57
moral guardians 25, 70

N

naming 14, 41, 42, 43, 161
negativity 24, 25, 69, 97
news values 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 72, 161
noun 15, 43, 44, 45, 51, 52
  appositive 58, 99, 100, 116, 117, 119, 120, 128, 131, 139, 142, 143, 152
  common 43, 44

complex 11, 51, 60, 61, 67, 70, 74, 75, 76, 77, 84, 85, 86, 90, 91, 92, 94, 98, 100, 102, 104, 111, 112, 119, 120, 121, 124, 129, 130, 132, 134, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150
proper 43
simple 51, 60, 61, 70, 74, 75, 76, 77, 84, 85, 91, 94, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 111, 114, 116, 120, 121, 122, 124, 126, 129, 132, 134, 147, 148, 149, 150
noun phrases (NP) 11, 15, 42, 43, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 84, 85, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 98, 99, 101, 108, 117, 118, 120, 121, 132, 140, 147, 149

O

objectivity 20, 31, 142, 145, 149, 151, 161

P

popular press 67
predicational strategies 41, 43, 44, 45, 51, 64, 150, 161
prior text 72, 109, 129
pronoun 43, 44, 51, 55, 57, 59, 61, 77, 79, 83, 99, 100, 101, 102, 111, 121, 122, 149
public interest 23, 64

Q

quality press 67
quotation 72, 79, 81, 91, 99, 104, 109, 110, 129, 131, 140, 141, 142, 151, 152

R

readership 13, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 60, 62, 66, 72, 73, 77, 109, 110, 145, 146, 157, 161
receiver 27, 28, 29, 161
reference 11, 14, 15, 21, 22, 34, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 51, 63, 64, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 106, 109, 111, 112, 114, 117, 119, 120, 122, 124, 128, 131, 132, 136, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152
register 13, 15, 16, 17, 21, 52, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 99, 145, 149, 161
relative clause 44, 57, 58, 75, 76, 77, 86, 92, 93, 96, 97, 109, 116, 117, 119, 120, 147, 148, 152
representation 13, 14, 20, 32, 41, 42, 152, 153

S

sender 27, 28, 29, 161
social actors 41, 42, 44, 45, 51, 72
social class 31, 34, 35, 36, 38, 160
status 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 24, 26, 41, 43, 45, 48, 51, 53, 54, 61, 64, 65, 69, 70, 73, 80, 81, 83, 88, 89, 90, 99, 102, 108, 118, 119, 130, 131, 132, 140, 143, 146, 149, 151, 152, 171
negative 11, 13, 43, 45, 51, 64, 92, 93, 96, 97, 117, 118, 119, 139, 140, 142, 145, 149, 150, 151, 152, 171
positive 13, 91, 108, 130, 132, 149, 151, 171
stereotype 12, 25, 32, 44, 48, 49, 132, 151
sub-headline 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 78, 79, 80, 86, 87, 88, 89, 92, 147

T

tabloid 11, 24, 25, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 61, 66, 67, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 90, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 103, 109, 110, 111, 114, 117, 118, 122, 124, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 139, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 160, 161, 162
tabloidization 23, 31, 33, 67, 162
text 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 98, 100, 109, 160, 171

V

victim/criminal dichotomy 63, 145, 160, 162

VICTIMS vs. KILLERS IN THE BRITISH PRESS
Naming Strategies in Murder Reports

Mgr. Renata Jančaříková, Ph.D.

Published by Masaryk University, Žerotínovo nám. 617/9, 601 77 Brno, CZ
1st electronic edition, 2018

ISBN 978-80-210-8948-8

muni
PRESS