

Sick puppy or terrorist? Investigating newspaper representations of white and ethnic minority mass shooters

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Abstract

Newspapers continue to employ perpetrator-oriented narratives on mass shootings, focusing not only on the shooter's criminal action, but on the characteristics, problems and values associated with them. Combining Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with Corpus Linguistics (CL), this study compares the discursive representation of white and ethnic minority mass shooters in newspapers from the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. Sourced from *Nexis* and comprised of online articles from 1st January 2015 to 31st December 2019, computational analysis of an 11 million word corpus examines representations of race and religion whilst also investigating distinctions between the geographical, ideological and formatting aspects of newspapers (broadsheet v. tabloid). Through the analysis of headlines, Chapter 4 offers a microcosmic perspective of the corpus' main themes of terrorism, mental health and sensationalism, looking particularly at the phraseological profiles of racialized terms (*white*, *black* and *Muslim*) and the systemic-functional roles of political, perpetrator and victim social actors in broadsheets and tabloids. Investigating nomination and predication strategies, Chapter 5 analyses the referential nouns and predication devices used to categorize individual mass shooters, focusing on the constitutive effects that repeated labelling devices have on the construction of in-groups and out-groups in society. Finally, Chapter 6 explores the (re)contextualization of political voices within the reported speech of three national leaders, Barack Obama, Donald Trump and Jacinda Ardern, specifically considering how journalists from left-wing and right-wing newspapers use evaluative reporting verbs and speech frames to show ideological agreement or disagreement with the quoted argument. Ultimately, it is argued that white perpetrator representations fuel sensationalist narratives on mental illness, harmful ideologies and loner temperaments. Conversely, the presumption of terrorism and foreignization of ethnic minority perpetrators shape exclusionary prejudices to project representations of otherness onto and construct and maintain representations of fear around their wider non-white communities.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Despite recent campaigns to end the glorification of mass shooters in mainstream media, journalistic narratives continue to frame mass violence and terrorism around the perpetrator (Silva and Greene-Colozzi, 2019; Schildkraut, 2019; Lankford, 2018; Pescara-Kovach and Raleigh, 2017). Media portrayals of mass shootings not only focus on the criminal action but additionally employ perpetrator-oriented narratives, which represent the problems, values and characteristics associated with mass shooters, whilst often simultaneously silencing the victims (Wodak, 2001; Van Leeuwen, 1996). After Omar Mateen shot and killed 49 people inside the Pulse Nightclub in Orlando, Florida on June 12 2016, newspaper reports were quick to label him a terrorist, with the conflation of his Islamic identity exacerbating racial hostility towards Muslim Americans and prompting President Trump to call for a nationwide ban on Muslims entering the US (Ali and Mohideen, 2016). Two years later, the murder of 12 people by white mass shooter Ian David Long in Thousand Oaks, California, received a fraction of the media coverage, with reports that were published echoing Trump's sympathetic label of the killer as a 'very sick puppy' (Lapin, 2018). At the time of writing, the trial of white supremacist Brenton Tarrant in New Zealand has renewed interest in the press reporting of mass shootings. For example, the vow by New Zealand's Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern to never utter the shooter's name (BBC, 2019) has drawn into focus the 'contagion effect' of sensationalizing perpetrators of violence (Lankford and Madfis, 2018a; Lee, 2018), with white supremacist Patrick Crusius calling himself a supporter of Tarrant before murdering 22 people in El Paso on August 3rd 2019 (Dearden, 2019). Identifying the differentiating responses to the above mass shootings, the following corpus incorporates research on these white and ethnic minority mass shooters, with a time frame spanning from January 1st 2015 and December 31st 2019.

To make sense of the constitutive effect of discursive representations of mass shooters on social reality, this study uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to integrate the critique of media discourse with theoretical concepts relating to power, ideology and domination (Fairclough, 2013; Wodak, 2001; Van Dijk, 2009). In offering representations as constructive practices, the press 'function[s] as more than mere 'mirrors' of reality', constituting 'ideologically motivated versions of reality' which determine how audiences view, understand and talk about phenomena as good or bad (Fowler, 1991: 25; Baker et. al, 2013a: 3). Examining how the media 'both reflect and reinforce public perceptions about social groups' (Bleich et. al, 2015: 943), this study examines how the representation of a perpetrator's identity constitutes and is constituted by social attitudes towards their wider racial and religious identities. Yet, the danger of carrying out a perpetrator-oriented study must be acknowledged as this study's focus on mass shooters generates a paradox in maintaining the very

suppression of victim representations and elevation of mass shooter interest that this research seeks to criticise. Thus, this study acknowledges the dilemma in continuing perpetrator-driven investigations, with the hope that focusing on the negative effects of mass shooter narratives on wider communities outweighs the risks of enhancing the visibility of mass shooters and instead, helps to highlight the dangers of ethnic discrimination, victim suppression and sensationalism of mass shooters.

Previous studies have examined the hegemonic identity narratives associated with white versus ethnic minority mass shooters (Beydoun, 2018; Leavy and Maloney, 2009; Chuang, 2012; Yin, 2010; Mingus and Zopf, 2010). In comparing the white-perpetrated Las Vegas shooting with the ethnic minority-perpetrated Orlando shooting, Beydoun (2018) argues that law enforcement consistently functions with 'a presumptive exemption from terrorism for white culprits' and 'a presumptive connection to terrorism for Muslim culprits' (Beydoun, 2018: 1213). Instead, white shooters suffer from mental illness, have troubled childhoods and are constructed within sensationalized and violent narratives (Frisby, 2017). Qualitative research into newspapers has additionally explored racial and religious stereotypes of mass shooters, such as Leavy and Maloney's (2009: 288) study on the Columbine and Red Lake School shooters which confirmed the disproportionate emphases on race and class 'when the killer was a minority person from a low socioeconomic background'. Additionally, Chuang's (2012: 256) research into newspaper representations of the 2009 Binghamton Massacre perpetrator revealed the projections of his Asian ethnicity and immigrant status to 'shift the burden of the crime to minority groups'. The methodologies of these studies differ from this study's corpus-based CDA framework, with Leavy and Maloney taking a qualitative content analysis approach in Critical Sociology and Chuang using a mixed method approach of quantitative and qualitative analysis in Journalism studies. Expanding on these findings, this study therefore seeks to address the gap in linguistic research on this topic, instead informing critical discourse analysis from a corpus-based methodological approach to additionally 'indicate the commonly realised (and less popular or minority) discourses in society' (Baker, 2015: 222) about shootings inside and outside the US and in UK, US, Australian and New Zealand newspapers.

Combining Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with Corpus Linguistics (CL), this study compares the discursive representations of white and ethnic mass shooters in newspapers from white majority, native English-speaking countries, the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia and New Zealand to address the following research questions:

1. What are the linguistic similarities and differences in newspaper representations of white and ethnic minority mass shooters in UK, US, Australian and New Zealand newspapers from 1st January 2015 to 31st December 2019?

2. How do representations of white and ethnic minority mass shooters compare between the geographical, ideological and type of newspaper (broadsheet v. tabloid)?
3. What are the effects of perpetrator-oriented narratives on the representations of victims and wider communities?

To investigate these aims, the decision to incorporate newspapers from New Zealand and Australia was largely due to the corpus' recency, with the New Zealand Christchurch Mosque Shooting in March 2019 necessitating analysis into the country's reporting of the major event whilst including newspapers from Australia to facilitate comparative analysis into a newspaper, other than Anglo-American, which has strict gun laws, no mass shootings and a white-dominant population. In exploring the analytical focus on ethnic discrimination, it is important to include a comprehensive perspective of white-majority countries to examine the different ways in which they signal group membership and (re)produce their white group dominance in media narratives (Van Dijk, 1992).

Whilst using race and religion as thematic comparative parameters in the corpus, the study closely engages with other themes of terrorism, mental health and sensationalism to examine how representations of a perpetrator's criminal action reinforce the individual detachment or collectivism of mass shooters with their wider membership categorization. In offering a microcosmic perspective of an 11 million word (9,000 newspaper articles) corpus, a comprehensive investigation into headlines in Chapter 4 will first introduce these themes through the phraseological profiles and systemic functional roles of white, black and Muslim mass shooters and other significant social actors in mass shooting narratives. Employing the analytical strands of Wodak's discourse-historical approach (2001), nomination and predication strategies, in particular naming and referential devices, will be examined in Chapter 5, including through the identification of evaluative lexis (Hunston, 2011) relating to terrorism and mental health to uncover journalistic attitudes towards social values in relation to a perpetrator's identity. For example, the below headline (H1) demonstrates high intensity and emotional negative referential nouns, verbs and adjectives (underlined) relating to mental instability and sexual assault used to construct hate towards the perpetrator whilst accentuating the shocking aspects to grab the attention of the tabloid's readership:

H1: SEX PEST & UNSTABLE: ALL-AMERICAN ASSASSIN: SINISTER PAST OF GUNMAN Killer 'harassed a female soldier' & got booted out Dallas shooter is demented says shocked Obama.

(The Daily Mirror, July 10 2016)

In Chapter 5, predication strategies, specifically expansion functions in relative clauses, will be investigated to analyse social actors within their social actions, either realised

by the prioritised identification of characteristics, traits and values or through their functionalization in action-oriented narratives (Van Leeuwen, 1996). Example 1 shows the functionalization of Brenton Tarrant, one of the key mass shooters investigated in this study, with the non-defining relative clause expanding on the shooter's violence whilst the main clause denies a presupposed claim that he had mental health issues:

(1) Brenton Tarrant, who murdered 51 people last March in a mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand, was found at trial not to be mentally ill.

(*The New York Times*, August 9 2019)

Finally, in Chapter 6, analysis into the reported speech of US President Donald Trump, former US President Barack Obama and New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern, will investigate the journalists' legitimization or deconstruction of the leaders' arguments relating to mass shooters, often reflecting ideological agreement or disagreement (Reisigl, 2014). Example 2 shows the reported speech of Trump's anti-Islamic rhetoric after the 2015 San Bernardino shooting.

(2) Mr Trump announced his policy for "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States" in a press release on Monday as the US was still coming to terms with an attack in California that killed 14 by a Muslim US citizen and his Pakistani wife.

(*The Canberra Times*, December 9 2015)

Whilst the Australian journalist adds to the coherence of the statement by contextualising the reasons for Trump's Muslim ban, the racialized pre-modifiers *Muslim* and *Pakistani* further highlight Trump's exclusionary discourse by constructing the shooters as the ethnic 'other' (underlined) and thus, conflating and collectivising their Muslim identity with perceptions of violence and threat. It must be noted at this stage that 'journalist' is used throughout this study as a cover term for the various news workers involved in the production of news, including the writers, the sub-editors who write the headlines (analysed in chapter 4) and the editors.

Having briefly described the study's analytical chapters, the next chapter will locate this study within existing Critical Discourse and Corpus Linguistic approaches, laying out the importance of triangulating qualitative and quantitative methods before justifying the methodological steps taken to ensure the construction of a representative and comprehensive specialised corpus.

Chapter 2: Approaches

2.1 Introduction

Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are two complementary fields of linguistic research used to combine a 'precise picture of the frequency [...] of particular phenomena' with 'real-life examples of particular phenomena' (McEnery and Wilson, 1996: 76-77). Although many scholars argue CL to be more of a methodological approach, rather than a theoretical domain of research (e.g. Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008: 10), the application of CL 're-unites the activities of data gathering and theorising' whilst CDA leads 'to a qualitative change in our understanding of language' (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 1). The triangulation of both methodologies works to solve their limitations, namely that CDA is predominantly context-based (Mautner, 2009) whilst CL techniques remove linguistic features from their original context (Clark, 2007). The following chapter lays out the complementary benefits and limitations of CDA and CL in more detail and argues that the triangulation of qualitative and quantitative approaches ultimately facilitates the identification of linguistic data within contextualised social and political environments.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) sees discourse as a 'social practice', focusing particularly on the 'dialectal relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). In other words, discourse refers to the use of discursive communication (e.g., text or talk) within its non-discursive social context, paying particular attention to the relationships, practices and activities involved in the discursive act. As media language pervades society (Bell, 1991: 1), the analysis of newspapers allows investigation into discourse both as a 'socially conditioned' and 'socially constitutive' phenomenon (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Social conditioning involves 'the context dependence of discourses', whereas the constitutive element of CDA looks at discourse as an 'essential component in the creation of knowledge and meaning' (Flowerdew and Richardson, 2018: 2; Fairclough, 1995). Socially conditioned discourse therefore reflects the events, practices and commonly held views in society and is subject to the political, social and historical context in which it is situated whereas socially constitutive discourse constructs and maintains the ideological views, attitudes, values and beliefs held and practiced in society.

Branches of critical discourse analysis include the discourse-historical approach (DHA), which distinctly 'puts weight on historical subjects' and criticises 'discursively

constituted power abuse, injustice and social discrimination' that is relative to specific historical events. For example, Wodak's research includes the 'specific, context-dependant linguistic realisations of the discriminatory stereotypes' present within socialist Austria (Reisigl, 2018: 49, Wodak, 2001: 72). Similarly, Van Dijk's socio-cognitive, discourse analytical approach 'makes explicit the fundamental role of mental representations' involved in ethnic reporting, mediating between 'individual mental models of journalists' and 'shared social cognition (knowledge, attitudes ideologies), societal structures and actual text and talk' (Van Dijk, 2018: 28). Both approaches analyse the constitutive effect of discourse on the reproduction of stereotypes relating to social actors, created 'within the constraints imposed by social conventions, ideologies and power relations' (Flowerdew and Richardson, 2018: 1). As defined by Quasthoff (1998), stereotypes are the 'verbal expression[s] of a certain conviction or belief directed toward a social group or an individual as a member of that social group' (as cited in, Wodak and Reisigl, 1999: 182). Stereotypes can reveal themselves both in the employment of nomination, the 'stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits' constructing social actors (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009; 95), as well as in the use of predication strategies in depicting the actions and processes associated with them. This study closely follows Wodak's CDA approach in the identification of nomination and predication strategies in representations of social actors whilst jointly engaging in the study of the press in maintaining 'ethnic dominance and inequality in society' as examined in Van Dijk's (1991:5) theoretical framework.

Locating this study within existing CDA research rests on the analysis of media 'representations' of identities and collective identities, which Baker et. al argue, 'are often restrained by space and time limitations' and see journalists prioritise certain 'people's perspectives or opinions, over others' (2013: 3). As this study is specifically concerned with a perpetrator's race and religion, the emphases (or de-emphases) of these characteristics have a powerful role in positively or negatively representing the race and religion they are associated with (Van Dijk, 1991: 42). Van Dijk attributes this influence to a form of 'social power' which is the 'control exercised by one group or organisation (or its members) over the *actions* and/or the *minds* of (the members of) another group' (2003: 84).

With white elites playing 'a special role in the reproduction of the system of racism that maintains the dominant white group in power', ethnic minorities continue to maintain a negative 'other' representation against the reproduction of white 'positive group self(re)presentation' (Van Dijk, 2008a: 107, Wodak and Reisigl, 1999). The (re)production of these representations are realised through subtle yet recurrent discriminatory practices and insinuations (Koller and Wodak, 2008: 13). For example, a corpus-based study by Baker et. al (2013b: 275) found Muslims to be frequently connected to conflict and violence, belonging to a detached and distinct community and overall, subject to a repeated process of othering.

Islamophobia and xenophobic attitudes towards Muslims and immigrants, particularly the systematic association with problems such as terrorism, are key points of investigation for this study and are contextually placed within recent political climates across the globe.

2.3 Corpus Linguistics

While CDA employs a qualitative, contextual approach, Corpus Linguistics (CL) uses computational software to 'identify unexpectedly frequent or salient language patterns' (Baker, 2015: 223). Corpus tools facilitate a quantitative mode of analysis by revealing the reiteration or frequency of devices employed to represent people, places and events (Thornbury, 2010). At the basic level, wordlists identify the frequency of items and order them in accordance with their repetition across the corpus. Computer software such as *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott, 2017), used in this study, can additionally use statistical analysis to compare 'words of unusually high and low frequenc[ies]' in a corpus or sub-corpus under investigation, with a larger, general or related specialised corpus (Flowerdew, 2001: 367). By calculating a word's frequency and the statistical likelihood that it will occur in one corpus rather than another, *Wordsmith* generates a list of keywords which help the analyst to identify the topics or 'aboutness' of a particular text (Baker, 2004). Collocations, 'the statistical tendency of words to co-occur' (Hunston, 2002: 12), form semantic associations between a node and the five closest words occurring on either side of the node. Collocational analysis is 'better discernible in large amounts of data' as collocates are calculated by computational software, rather than by a human observer (Sinclair, 1991; Baker et. al, 2008: 278). A large corpus will provide 'a better quality of estimates of their frequency characteristics' (Pecina, 2009: 139) and will reduce the risk of over-stating collocates which co-occur, for example, only one or two times more than another collocate not deemed meaningful. *Wordsmith Tools* facilitates collocational analysis through the collocate and patterns function, with the latter showing how the collocates are 'organised in terms of frequency within each column' (Scott, 2015), as demonstrated by the example of *terrorist* from this study's corpus.

N	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
1	THE	THE	THE	THE	A	TERRORIST	ATTACK	IN	THE	THE	THE
2	TO	TO	TO	OF	THE		ATTACKS	AND	A	IN	A
3	IN	A	OF	A	OF		GROUP	ON	TO	AND	IN
4	OF	OF	A	TO	DOMESTIC		GROUPS	THE	IN	TO	TO
5	A	AND	AND	AS	FOREIGN		ACT	THAT	PARIS	A	AND
6	AND	IN	WAS	IN	TO		THREAT	BUT	IS	OF	OF
7	THAT	WAS	AS	AND	IN		WHO	IS	SAID	ON	THAT
8	WAS	IS	IS	BY	THIS		AND	TO	WAS	SAID	HE
9	IS	BE	IN	AFTER	CHRISTCHURCH		ACTS	A	MUSLIMS	WAS	IT
10	AS	THAT	THAT	WAS	ISLAMIST		ORGANIZATION	HE	AND	IS	IS
11	ON	BEEEN	THIS	AN	FOR		ORGANISATION	OF	CHRISTCHURCH	HE	WAS
12	FOR	FOR	FOR	IS	ISLAMIC		ORGANIZATIONS	BY	HAVE	SOIL	ON

Figure 1: Collocational patterns of *terrorist*

Figure 1 shows the collocational patterns of *terrorist*, with the most frequent items at the top (Scott, 2015). For example, the most frequent R1 collocates are *attack*, *attacks*, *group* and *groups*. Facilitating the analysis of phraseological patterns further, the congrams tool in *Wordsmith Tools* identifies ‘instances of co-occurring words irrespective of whether or not they are contiguous and irrespective of whether or not they are in the same sequential order’ (Cheng et. al, 2008: 237). Figure 2 shows the recurrent lexico-grammatical patterns of *terrorist*.

Concgram	Freq.
TERRORIST	
⊕ A-TERRORIST	(+34)
⊕ TERRORIST-OF	(+16)
⊕ TERRORIST-THE	(+11) 1
⊕ TERRORIST-ATTACKS	(+20)
⊕ TERRORIST-ATTACK	(+39)
⊕ TERRORIST-BUT-IS	(+1) 1
TERRORIST-IN-PARIS	1
⊕ TERRORIST-IS-TO	(+2) 1
TERRORIST-TO-POLICE	1
TERRORIST-VICTIM	1
THAT-CAN-TERRORIST-ON	1
THAT-TO-TERRORIST	1
WAS-INSPIRED-BY-TERRORIST	2
A-BETTER-FUTURE-Û-TERRORIST	1
A-DEATH-ROW-TERRORIST	1
A-MUSLIM-BAN-AFTER-THE-TERRORI...	1
A-PARTY-TO-OBAMA-TERRORIST	1
AFTER-KILL-IN-TERRORIST	1
⊕ ANTI-IMMIGRANT-TERRORIST	(+1) 2
ANTI-MUSLIM-TERRORIST	1

Figure 2: Congrams of *terrorist*

Exhibiting the ‘flexibility and descriptive power’ of congrams, Figure 2 shows the frequency of recurrent phraseological patterns of *terrorist* to ‘move away from the node-centred pair-wise investigation of association’ (O’Donnell et. al, 2012: 88). Instead, congrams capture the term’s constituent variation, in allowing ‘items to be at varying distances from each other’ and

in varying orders (O'Donnell et. al, 2012: 88). For example, whilst these concgrams consolidate the collocational findings of *attack* as a frequent right collocate of *terrorist*, they reveal varying lexical (*victim, police, Obama, immigrant, Muslim*) and grammatical items such as *But* and *Anti* that contribute to the term's wider phraseological profile. Frequent lexical combinations in collocational patterns, clusters and concgrams reveal the evaluative and often implicit meanings used in 'recurrent phrases' such as the attitudes or opinions of the writer which 'embody particular social values and views' (Stubbs, 1996: 158). The analyst is required to sort through a word's variable meanings (Hunston, 2002) to uncover a word's semantic prosody i.e. its 'consistent aura of meaning' (Louw, 1993: 30). Concordance lines, the placing of lexical collocations into their phraseological occurrences, additionally allow 'the user to observe regularities in use that tend to remain unobserved when the same words or phrases are met in their normal contexts' (Hunston, 2002: 9). Concordance lines can be organised by their left and right collocates, exhibited in Figure 3.

5,524	conspiracy theories as a domestic terrorist threat . Technology companies,	.
5,525	described the incident as a " credible terrorist threat ". British counter-terrorism	.
5,526	that white men represent the biggest terrorist threat in the country, with the	.
5,527	said white men represent the biggest terrorist threat in the country • He was	.
5,528	across parts of the world facing a terrorist threat . Past attacks in Europe,	.
5,529	has become the Western hub of a terrorist threat that has spread from the	.
5,530	, a man was charged with "making a terrorist threat in the first degree" after	.
5,531	claim that we are in the midst of a terrorist threat manifesting in the type of	.
5,532	across parts of the world facing a terrorist threat . Past attacks in Europe,	.
5,533	to act with lethal force in the face of a terrorist threat . In Australia, this has	.
5,534	going to be a burden on us or become a terrorist threat . Q: But have some people	.
5,535	, implying that all Muslims might pose a terrorist threat . "We regret and condemn	.
5,536	, has been repeatedly labeled a terrorist threat . In the city of Kaduna,	.
5,537	, implying that all Muslims might pose a terrorist threat . "We regret and condemn	.
5,538	, has been repeatedly labeled a terrorist threat . In the city of Kaduna,	.
5,539	going to be a burden on us or become a terrorist threat . Q: But have some people	.
5,540	across parts of the world facing a terrorist threat . Past attacks in Europe,	.

Figure 3: Sample concordance of *terrorist* sorted by L1 and R1 collocates

Figure 3 show a sample of concordance lines of *terrorist*, ordered so that all instances of L1 collocate *a* and R1 collocate *threat* appear together. As concordances contextualise a word or word cluster within its co-text, the computational listing of all instances of a term can then facilitate the application of CDA to uncover the themes associated with it (Baker et. al, 2013b).

In the context of this thesis, concgram analysis, frequency lists and keywords will facilitate the quantitative data collection in Chapter 4, followed by statistical collocational analysis, cluster analysis and concordance analysis in Chapter 5 and returning back to frequency lists and keywords in Chapter 6. Transitivity analysis (Halliday, 1973) is the dominant linguistic framework used for analysis in Chapter 4, followed by qualitative analysis into lexical evaluation, semantics and clause analysis in Chapter 5 and ending with lexical

evaluation, reported speech structures and rhetorical frameworks (such as understatement) in Chapter 6. Chapter 5 also uses the *News of the Web* (NOW) corpus (Davies, 2018) as a reference corpus in a qualitative investigation into semantic prosody. Again, these will all be explained in detail in the relevant chapter. These frameworks were chosen to address the comparative-based research questions into typical journalistic representations of social actors, with the linguistic focus on transitivity, clause analysis and reported speech structures closely engaging in strategies depicting the stereotypical actions and processes associated with actors. Comparatively, lexical evaluation and semantic linguistic frameworks were chosen to uncover repeated strategies relating to stereotypical evaluative traits, facilitating analysis into the commonly held attitudes and values attributed towards a perpetrator's wider racial or religious group.

The comparative parameters of research question 2 will not always form the basis of analysis, with the geographical region and type (tabloid/broadsheet) of newspapers examined in Chapter 4 and the political orientation of newspapers investigated in Chapter 6. However, these parameters are qualitatively considered throughout the thesis, including in Chapter 5, where the analysis treats the corpus as a whole. Chapter 4 examines the results of transitivity analysis across the headlines of both newspaper types to examine how their implied readership affects the language of headlines (Bednarek and Caple, 2018), the role of sensationalism and the representation of social actors and their social actions deemed most newsworthy. Examining the reported speech of three political leaders in chapter 6, comparative analysis into left-leaning and right-leaning newspapers was chosen to complement critical analysis into how ideology affects representations of mass shooters in reported speech frames and whether supposed aligned ideologies of leaders and newspapers show agreement or disagreement with one another. It should also be noted that qualitative examples were selected for illustrative purposes, deliberately chosen to demonstrate the major trends from the quantitative analysis, rather than being randomly downsampled.

2.4 Combining corpus-based methodologies with CDA

Many studies combine CL with discourse analysis to investigate the media's role in reproducing 'social relations of domination, inequality and exploitation' (O'Halloran, 2010: 563), often through negative constructions of ethnic minority groups, such as immigrants (Baker et. al, 2008), Muslims (Salama, 2011; Baker et. al, 2013), Iranians (Esmaili et. al, 2018) and Arab communities (Partington, 2015). All these studies combine corpus-based methodologies with CDA and understand language as a 'social practice' which constitutes 'situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). For example, Baker and McEnergy's

(2005) study into discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in UN and newspaper texts integrated CDA with a corpus-based investigation into the collocational relationships and phraseological occurrences of lemmas relating to refugees and asylum seekers. Through the analysis of lexical evaluation and semantic prosody, the study uncovered predominantly negative stereotypical traits of refugees and asylum seekers, including the construction of these groups as a threat to the national status quo (Baker and McEnery, 2005).

Whilst the majority of the studies mentioned use CDA as the branch of discourse analysis, scholars like Partington adopt a corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) approach, which similarly ‘incorporate[s] the use of computerised corpora in their analyses’, yet differs in having ‘no overarching political agenda’ (Partington et. al, 2013: 10). Whilst the methodological tools for analysing corpora through a CADS approach can be usefully applied to this study - for example studying semantic prosody through collocational tools, analysis into identity dimensions of race and religion gives rise to the critical focus of power in CDA which sees discursive practices producing and reproducing ‘ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). Thus, this study integrates a CDA approach into a corpus-based methodology to critically analyse the presence (or absence) of linguistic patterns which reveal racial and religious stereotypes and the reproductive function that these stereotypes have on maintaining unequal power relations within society.

Baker and Egbert (2016) emphasise the necessity of triangulation to overcome the methodological issues of CDA such as non-replicability, subjectivity and the susceptibility that purely qualitative analysis has on cognitive biases. As CDA is largely concerned with ‘the relationship between language, power and ideology’ (O’Halloran, 2010: 563), personal predispositions of any researcher run the risk of shaping qualitative interpretations of language, whereas CL imposes restrictions on the levels of bias where numerical evidence refutes it. Whilst ‘subjectivity can never be completely removed’, corpus-based approaches limit over-generalizations of ‘fragmentary evidence of phenomena’ and prohibit statements made about isolated examples of discourse to be reflective of that type of discourse as a whole (Saldanha and O’Brien, 2014: 59).

CDA is a crucial aid in providing a contextual explanation for quantitative findings in corpora, without which are left the ‘fragments of language [...] removed from the environment in which they were designed to be displayed’ (Saldanha and O’Brien, 2014: 61). Whilst CL allows analysts to work with much larger sets of data and contribute values of statistical significance to linguistic patterns, Mautner argues that CL should be used to ‘contribute’ rather than ‘do CDA’ when looking at language within its wider context (2009: 157). Balancing levels of researcher intuition is fundamental in using CL soundly in discourse analysis, as those using corpora to purely satisfy preliminary hypotheses run the risk of ‘ignoring inconvenient

examples' whilst those utilising a strict corpus-driven approach exclude intuition as a 'possibly rich source of evidence' (McEnery and Gabrielatos, 2006: 46). Between an approach which is corpus-assisted and one that is corpus-driven, this study tests out the comparative nature of the preliminary hypotheses (that there will be linguistic differences and similarities between representations of white and ethnic minority perpetrators of mass shootings) whilst treating quantitative corpus evidence as the principal factor in measuring the qualitative significance of linguistic patterns. Additionally, a corpus-based methodology emphasises the importance of integration between CL and a CDA or CADS approach by 'moving back and forth between computer-based procedures and traditional, human hermeneutics' (Mautner, 2019: 8) to ensure that qualitative judgements are checked by quantitative findings and vice versa.

The aims of discourse analysis complement the compilation of specialised corpora by facilitating the investigation of 'the discursive construction of a particular subject' (Baker, 2006: 28) against its wider social context. A specialised corpus enables a degree of familiarity with the data and its context, restricted in general corpora where it is often impossible 'to say anything about the original context of use of utterances' (Koester, 2010: 67). A large, specialised corpus can also be used as a reference corpus, such as the (*NOW*) corpus, used in this study to compare the collocational patterns of a certain word in a larger newspaper corpus. CDA is fundamental in contextualising quantitative findings in specialised corpora and facilitating evaluation against larger general, or specialised corpora, and the broader political and social backgrounds in which these discursive constructions appear.

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1 Introduction

Combining CDA with CL requires the building of a specialised corpus in order to study a particular language variety or genre (Baker, 2006). Compilation of a topic-oriented, specialised corpus necessitates greater consideration into the specificity of subject matter to enable detailed context-sensitive analyses of discursive linguistic patterns (Flowerdew, 2004). Specialised corpus design also relies on the selection of specific, external criteria to ensure a corpus is representative (Atkins et al., 1992; Leech, 2007; Biber, 1993; McEnery et al., 2006) and maintains a high level of 'aboutness' or relevance (Murakami et al., 2017, Gabrielatos, 2007). The following chapter lays out and justifies the methodological steps taken to ensure a representative, balanced and relevant corpus was compiled.

3.2 Corpus Design

Representativeness, as the 'true foundation for producing valid results' (Seghiri, 2014: 85), is a fundamental element needed in corpus creation before one can legitimately make generalizations about a specific language variety. Biber (1993: 243) defines representativeness as 'the extent to which a sample includes the full range of variability in a population'. The final selection of data must also remain proportional to the 4.3 million results that were first retrieved in this design process - to enable the creation of a smaller, manageable 'sample' which is still reflective of the larger 'population' of texts (Biber, 1993, McEnery et al. 2006). Balancing representativeness with stratified sampling techniques helps to maximise this proportionality and will now be discussed in relation to the corpus design criteria chosen for this study.

In selecting the corpus' external criteria, Mautner argues that representativeness 'can be safeguarded best by using a reasoned step by step approach [...] and forcing oneself to spell out and justify the choices made' (2008: 37). Using a top-down approach to criteria selection, the boundaries of data were set by narrowing down each design choice from the entirety of possible texts (Mautner, 2008) to allow for data observation at each stage and limit the automatic exclusion of useful material that could otherwise occur at immediate stages. Efforts to ensure relevant material was not removed by external boundaries required researcher self-reflexivity (Watt, 2007) by critically challenging each design decision made and recognising what would not be included by each criterion. Figure 4 shows the top-down approach to criteria selection used to create the corpus, with the narrowing down of texts always prompting justification of each design decision made.

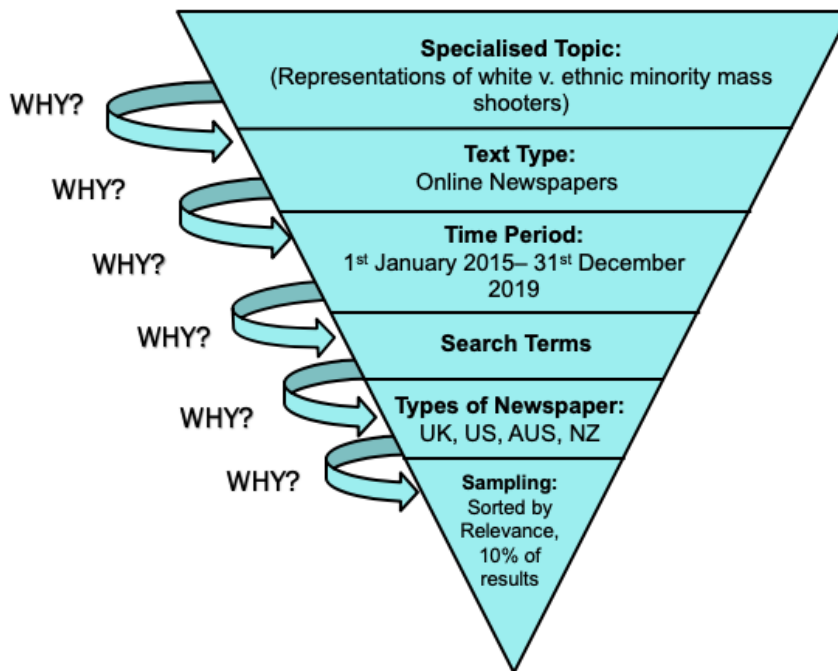


Figure 4: Top-Down Approach to Criteria Selection

Figure 4 shows the order of narrowing used to tighten each boundary of data, starting at the broadest criterion (the specialised topic) and finishing at the stratified sampling technique used to create a manageable and topic relevant corpus. The second level of design criteria, online newspapers, was chosen to analyse ‘the effects of discourse in constituting, reproducing and changing ideologies’ (Fairclough, 2004: 214) which can be intrinsically linked to the presence of social power that newspapers have in setting their own editorial and often, ideological agendas (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008). Newspapers from the United Kingdom, United States, Australia and New Zealand were selected for analysis, all of which consist of a white racial majority population and therefore, facilitate an investigation into the presence of the ethnic ‘other’ against the ‘dominant white society’ (Chuang, 2012: 247).

Modern-day technologies mean many newspapers now have a free online presence which tend to reach a wider audience than their printed versions. Online versions of newspapers, found through the database *Nexis UK* (2019), allow for far greater ease in creating a corpus by simply downloading and converting the articles to .txt files. Whilst the ‘moderate similarity’ option in *Nexis* was selected to limit the downloading of identical articles, over 500 duplicates still had to be removed, spotted in file names with a bracketed number after the headline - e.g., *Student planned shooting spree (1)* - double-checked by comparing the main body of text in the files and manually deleted. Given the number of single-frequency

instances of symbols attached to lexical items, (e.g., *Å€violence*) and the time-consuming process of removing them all, items containing encoding errors were manually altered in the .txt file only if they had a raw frequency of ≥ 5 , identified by the computational programme *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott, 2017).

Whilst scholars agree that representativeness should be the target notion of any corpus builder (McEnery et. al, 2006), specialised corpus design used to study a particular genre of language (Baker, 2006) requires maximising the element of ‘aboutness’ or topic relevance across the data. A topic-oriented corpus causes difficulties in ensuring relevance due to the nature of ‘aboutness’ as ‘inevitably an act of interpretation’ which cannot be determined by quantitative methods (Murakami et al., 2017: 273). As the determinants of ‘aboutness’, the following search terms were selected (and refined after a process of trial and error) to retrieve national online newspapers between 1 January 2015 and 31 December 2019:

‘shoot! AND mass OR muslim! OR white OR extremis! OR supremac! OR islam! OR christian! OR black OR asian AND NOT film!’

The exclamation mark (!) was used as a wildcard, which ‘replaces one or more characters at the end of a word’ (LexisNexis, 2019) such as noun *shoot/s/er/ers/er’s* and verb *shoot/s/ing*. Wildcards are a useful tool for manipulating the search criteria ‘to include different parts of a particular lemma’ which ‘introduce a certain level of flexibility’ and may prove as interesting points of comparison in grammatical analysis (Adolphs, 2006: 54, 52) – note that past tense *shot* would not be included in this context however. Establishing a logical relationship between *shoot!* and *mass*, the AND connector locates these terms in every document (LexisNexis, 2019), a methodological alteration made after articles, which focused on police and gang shootings, were appearing too frequently to be considered topic relevant for the corpus. Additionally, in order to tackle the latter issue in Gabrielatos’ reference to ‘the trade-off between a corpus that can be deemed incomplete, and one which contains noise’ (2007: 6), the AND NOT connector was used to exclude the homonym ‘shooting’ relating to film photography after being retrieved in the preliminary results. Football-related verb *shoot* and plant-related noun *shoot* were also present, though later excluded after the following sampling process was implemented. As a method to preserve balance between representations of white and ethnic minority mass shooters, three racial categories (*white, black, asian*), two religions (*muslim, christian*) and two ideologies (*extremis!, supremac!*) were included. Whilst it is acknowledged that there are a multitude of racial and religious terms used to depict a range of ethnic minority groups, preliminary analysis into the retrieved articles found these terms to be the most frequent.

Stratified sampling as a technique to maintain representativeness and aboutness is a key approach in dealing with large amounts of quantitative data in corpus design (McEnery et al, 2006). The initial retrieval of 4.3 million results from the above search terms required a process of ‘specifying relevant strata’ and ‘identifying sampling frames’ (Biber, 1993) to condense the corpus to a manageable size. Each newspaper type was the stratum selected first and then sorted by the relevance ranking in *Nexis* which determines how many and how often those search terms appear in the document (LexisNexis, 2019). Once the articles were sorted by relevance, the first 10% were selected and downloaded into separate folders by newspaper title. Thus, whilst the boundaries of data ‘will inevitably be based on external evidence primarily’ (Atkins et. al, 1992:8), the motivation of textual factors in determining the parameters of ‘aboutness’ (by the frequency of search terms) strengthens the linguistic relevance of the corpus.

Whilst the search terms do not include words relating to specific mass shooters or the location of mass shootings, the retrieval of results show the following named mass shooters to occur in the corpus most frequently, present in Table 1.

Table 1: Most frequent mass shooters captured in corpus

Name	Frequency of name in the corpus	Date	Location	Fatalities
Omar Mateen	1,932 (0.02%)	June 12 2016	Orlando, Florida, US	50 (including perpetrator)
Brenton Tarrant	1,914 (0.02%)	15 March 2019	Christchurch, New Zealand	51
Dylann Roof	1,549 (0.01%)	June 17 2015	Charleston, South Carolina, US	9
Rizwan Farook	762 (<0.01%)	2 December 2015	San Bernardino, California, US	16 (including perpetrator)
Stephen Paddock	698 (<0.01%)	1 October 2017	Las Vegas, Nevada, US	61 (including perpetrator)
Patrick Crusius	663 (<0.01%)	3 August 2019	El Paso, Texas, US	23
Robert Bowers	559 (<0.01%)	27 October 2018	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, US	11
Tashfeen Malik	542 (<0.01%)	2 December 2015	San Bernardino, California, US	16 (including perpetrator)
Connor Betts	484 (<0.01%)	August 4 2019	Dayton, Ohio, US	10 (including perpetrator)
Micah Johnson	434 (<0.01%)	7 July 2016	Dallas, Texas, US	6 (including perpetrator)
Ian Long	95 (<0.01%)	7 November 2018	Thousands Oaks, California, US	13 (including perpetrator)

In following the frequency of names produced by the search terms, analysis of the corpus most closely engages with the above mass shooters, particularly white mass shooters Tarrant, Roof and Paddock and ethnic minority mass shooters Mateen, Farook and Malik. Table 1 also shows all but one of the most frequently mass shooters to be from the US, although the high frequency of Tarrant (0.02%) demonstrates the shooting in New Zealand to be deemed

particularly newsworthy. Additionally, it is interesting that the number of fatalities does not correlate with the frequency of the perpetrator's name. For example, whilst Stephen Paddock committed the deadliest mass shooting with 60 victims, he is only the fifth most frequently named mass shooter.

3.3 Size of Corpus

Specialised corpora are sampled from a homogeneous population, or specific language variety, facilitating 'insights into patterns of language use in particular settings' (Koester, 2010: 67) so that size can be determined by external parameters – in this case, the date span and availability of newspapers. Baker (2006: 28-29) notes the importance of quality in specialised corpora, with the frequency of 'find[ing] the subject mentioned within it' taking precedence over 'issues of quantity'. However, a corpus should always be 'big' (Sinclair, 2004) to ensure accurate conclusions are drawn from a plethora, rather than limited set of linguistic patterns. The overall corpus is comprised of 10, 955,116 words and is made up of 8,989 articles and four sub-corpora (UK, US, Australia and New Zealand). Table 2 shows the total number of tokens and texts across the whole corpus and within each sub-corpus.

Table 2: No. of tokens and texts in overall corpus and sub-corpora

(B): Broadsheet	(T): Tabloid	No. of tokens (%)	No. of texts
UK		5,025, 416 (45.9%)	4,096
<i>Liberal: The Guardian (B), The Independent (B), Daily Mirror (T)</i>		3,022,895	2,142
<i>Conservative: The Daily Telegraph (B), The Sunday Telegraph (B), The Times (B), The Sunday Times (B), The Daily Mail (T), Mail on Sunday (T), The Sun (T)</i>		2,002,521	1,954
US		4,004,698 (36.6%)	2,829
<i>Liberal: The New York Times (B), The Washington Post (B), USA Today (B)</i>		3,824,937	2,550
<i>Conservative: The New York Post (T)</i>		179,761	279
AUS		1,400, 825 (12.8%)	1,466
<i>Liberal: The Canberra Times (B), Sydney Morning Herald (B), The Age (B)</i>		547, 769	549
<i>Conservative: The Australian (B), The Courier Mail (T), The Daily Telegraph (Australia) (T), The Advertiser (T), Herald Sun (T)</i>		853,056	917
NZ		524, 177 (4.8%)	598
<i>Unspecified: The Press (B), The Dominion Post (T),</i>		282,205	314
<i>Conservative: New Zealand Herald (B)</i>		241,972	284
Overall Corpus:		10, 955, 116	8,989

Table 2 presents the ideological and broadsheet/tabloid categorisations in each sub-corpus and each individual newspaper, with the liberal category including left to left-leaning centrist papers and the conservative category including right-leaning centrist to right papers. Whilst 'it is theoretically suspect to aim at achieving a perfectly 'balanced' corpus' (Atkins et. al, 1992: 5), attempts were made to include both liberal and conservative newspapers from each

country, although the majority of New Zealand's news media are 'generally regarded as free and independent' (Freedom House, 2020), hence, the unspecified category. Additionally, whilst this study does not systematically compare the types of articles, it is important to state the percentage of each text type in the full corpus – news articles (54.07%), features (38.6%) and opinion pieces (7.33%) - all included with the aim of representing the entirety of each online newspaper. However, the pragmatic implications of each text type are acknowledged, with news journalists being bound by much tighter restrictions in reporting fair, accurate and factual reports compared to the greater freedom granted to feature and opinion writers who may 'aim to be entertaining, provocative or populist' (Richardson, 2007: 9). However, whilst features and opinion columns will naturally be more openly opinionated than the corpus' most frequent text type (news articles), newspapers still want to represent 'a common-sense position' (Baker et. al, 2013a) which is in line with the opinions and attitudes of the majority of their readers (Bednarek, 2006).

It is worth noting that the imbalances of data in each sub-corpus and ideological category were largely controlled by the categories available in *Nexis*. For example, there were limited conservative newspapers from the US (such as *The Wall Street Journal*) that were not from a particular state. However, striving for perfect balance is paradoxical to achieving total representativeness as unequal elements tell us something interesting about the data itself. For example, liberal newspapers collectively report on the topic more frequently (5,555 articles compared to 3,434 in total), with Australia being the only country with more reports from conservative newspapers. Therefore, whilst the measurability of balance is a necessary consideration in corpus design, the concept of balance is 'fluid' and must only be 'determined by its intended uses' (Xiao, 2010: 151), which in this study, see data inconsistencies like this as an interesting point of research. Having laid out the methodological steps taken to build a representative corpus, the following analysis chapter allows for a microcosmic perspective of the corpus' main themes through the analysis of headlines.

Chapter 4: Headlines: A microcosmic perspective

4.1 Introduction

Within their representations of white and ethnic minority mass shooters, the following headline analysis serves to introduce the linguistic strategies used by journalists to capture the attention of readers and, at the same time, construct and reflect racial and religious ideologies in their wider communities. Serving as a 'cognitive macrostructure' (Teo, 2000: 14), headlines orient the reader towards a carefully selected 'stand-alone unit' (Bell, 1991: 187) which under typological constraints, must adhere to the 'principle of relevance or importance' (Teo, 2000: 13) in summarizing a news article's main themes. Yet, headlines are constructed not only to provide primary information about the content but encompass a stronger persuasive function to arouse curiosity (Jaki, 2014: 36) and 'stir up emotions' (Lennon, 2004: 81).

The headline sub-corpus comprises 146,254 words, equating to 1.34% of the full corpus, but encapsulates the themes of race, religion, mental health, terrorism and sensationalism found in the full corpus. These themes, which are both interlinked and overlapping, are more broadly connected to the homogenization or individualisation of perpetrators against their wider racial and religious communities and the reinforcement of their in-group versus out-group membership status in national, social and political contexts. The following headlines (H2-H6) show the most frequently recurring themes in the headline sub-corpus, discovered through in-depth qualitative analysis of salient frames which situate mass shooting narratives against broader social and political issues.

Race:

H2: "Why are we so reluctant to label white attackers as terrorists?; We must wonder, if an attacker had yelled ""Allahu Akbar"", would it be labelled a terrorist attack from the outset?"

(*The Independent*, May 18 2016)

Religion:

H3: Villainizing Christianity; If we can't condemn Islam for Muslim terrorists, why condemn Christians?

(*USA Today*, November 1 2015)

As the principal comparative parameters in the analysis of the full corpus and expected from the inclusion of racialized search terms, the employment of racial and religious attributes contribute to the characterisation of the perpetrator and the attitudes towards their wider racial or religious communities. The interrogative in H2 challenges the connotative incongruence between the white racial identity and the *terrorist* nomination whilst highlighting how the foreignization of the perpetrator's language would trigger the cognitive association of the

attack as terrorism. H3 highlights how a perpetrator's religion affects the level of condemnation on their wider religious community, disputing the detachment of the Islamic religion when a terrorist is Muslim and highlighting the perceived double-standards in condemning Christianity.

Mental Health:

H4: Alleged killer 'a loner who suffers mental health issues'

(*The Daily Mirror*, May 17 2015)

Terrorism:

H5: TERRORIST Spree killer's 'jihadist' ties Focus on mystery trip to Pakistan & chats with radicals.

(*The New York Post*, November 4 2015)

Less expected from the search terms than the race and religion themes, themes 3 and 4 cover the framing of mass shooting narratives in relation to the type of issue associated with perpetrators and how these issues act as causal factors for their criminal social actions. Constructing a sympathetic, internalised perspective into the shooter's mental struggle, the mental process *suffer* in H4 victimizes the perpetrator and through the *loner* nomination, detaches him from any wider group membership. The semantic association between the presumption of terrorism and the enforcement of a national 'out-group' status is evident in H5 whereby the trip to *Pakistan* and presumption of Islamic radicalisation (*jihadist*) places a condition of foreignness onto the *terrorist* nomination.

Sensationalism:

H6: GARLIC FEST HORROR: Shooter was a seething bigot. Teenage Calif. killer ranted on mixed race

(*The New York Post*, June 30 2016)

Demonstrating the language style of headlines (Bednarek and Caple, 2018), the final dominant theme of sensationalism shows how high intensity emotive lexis (*horror, killer*) and dysphemistic characterisations (*seething bigot*) dramatize the perpetrator's criminal action into a constructed hate-fuelled narrative into the perpetrator's 'extraordinary' (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013) characterisation. Whilst conveying intense negative stigmatisation of the perpetrator, sensationalism provokes readers to emotionally engage with aspects of the narrative which are particularly exciting and entertaining, suppressing frames of tragedy relating to the victims and instead, allowing a provocative perpetrator-oriented narrative to be the focal point of the story.

The characterisation of perpetrators in relation to these themes determines the level of association between their criminal action and their wider in-group or out-group membership categorization, with the presence of these different frames imposing varying levels of blame,

hate, fear or even sympathy upon the perpetrator. The following headline analysis first considers the phraseological patterns of racial and religious markers across the whole headline sub-corpus before analysing the categorization of social actors and the frequency of transitivity processes in a headline broadsheet and tabloid sub-corpus, granting a microcosmic insight into the main themes of the corpus as a whole.

4.2 Racial and religious identity markers in phraseological patterns

Phraseological patterns of the most common racial and religious markers included in the corpus' search terms, *white*, *black* and *Muslim*, were investigated through concgrams to identify common semantic associations relating to events or issues which are 'discursively constructed as (stereo)typical in the view of the target audience' (Potts et al, 2015: 51). These terms were labelled as racial and religious, rather than collectivising them as ethnic, due to the frequent semantic relationship of *ethnic* with *minorities* clashing with *white* as a racial majority marker (Krishnamurthy, 1996). Concgrams contribute to 'identifying and quantifying [...] the phraseological profile of the language' (Cheng et. al, 2008: 240) within a corpus, showing which phraseological occurrences are likely to co-occur, thus aligning linguistic commonalities with the reproduction of certain racial or religious stereotypes. Figure 5 shows the relative frequency of these racial and religious markers out of the total words in each country's sub-corpus, with their non-racialized usages excluded.

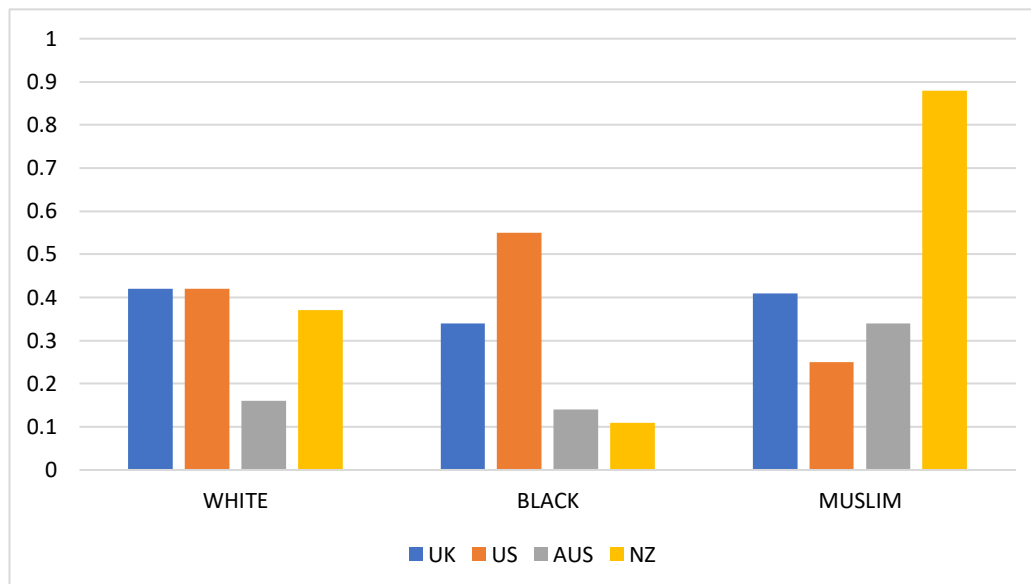


Figure 5: Frequency (%) of racial/religious markers per country sub-corpus

Figure 5 shows *white* to be most frequent in US and UK headlines, *black* most frequent in US headlines and *Muslim* overwhelmingly occurring in New Zealand headlines. Considering white perpetrators commit the majority of mass shootings, (Statistica Research Department, 2020),

the comparative frequency of this lexical item is not relative to this pattern, especially in the US where *black* as a racial marker stands out as higher. However, we cannot tell from this figure whether these racial and religious markers are used to depict perpetrators, or other participants – for example, the considerably higher frequency of *Muslim* in New Zealand headlines aligns with the Muslim identity of the Christchurch Mosque shooting victims. Whether the semantic evaluation of these lexical terms is positive or negative depends on their phraseological profiles, starting with the most frequent three-word and four-word concgrams of *white* in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3: Three-word concgrams of *white*

BLACK-AND-WHITE	12	WHITE-SUPREMACIST-AND	3
WHITE-SUPREMACIST-WHO	5	WHITE-SUPREMACIST-FOR	3
AND-AS-WHITE	4	WHITE-SUPREMACIST-TO	3
SYMBOL-OF-WHITE	3	WHITE-SUPREMACY-A	3
WHITE-PEOPLE-OFFICERS	3	BLACK-WHITE-AND	3

Table 4: Four-word concgrams of *white*

WANTED-TO-KILL-WHITE	4	TRUMP-A-OF-WHITE	3
A-SYMBOL-OF-WHITE	4	TRUMP-A-WHITE-SUPREMACIST	3
BLACK-AND-WHITE-AS	4	ALL-WHITE-BUT-IS	3
KILL-WHITE-PEOPLE-OFFICERS	3	AND-THE-WHITE-HOUSE	3
THREAT-IN-IS-WHITE	3	ATTACK-ON-WHITE-TO	3

Table 3 shows the comparative *black-and-white* pattern as most frequent, whilst *supremacist*, as a negative evaluative ideological identifying noun, is the most common right collocater of *white*. Instances of *Trump* occurring with *white supremacist* reveal an alignment between an authoritative leader expected to protect a nation and the threat of violent ideologies seeking to harm the nation. *Who* acts as a relativizer to *white supremacist* five times, with its role in identifying the racialized participant further showing the editor's prioritisation of elaborating on the perpetrator's traits or characteristics, exhibited in H7.

H7: White supremacist loner, 21, who idolised Columbine killers, is guilty of plotting to mass murder at annual medieval football match in home town
(*The Daily Mail*, January 24, 2019)

The personalisation of the crime through the mental process, *idolised*, makes the *white supremacist* as the 'focaliser' or 'reflector' of action, giving the reader an 'internal view' (Machin and Mayr, 2013: 368) of the subject and humanising his feelings of admiration towards the Columbine killers. Collocating with *white supremacist*, *loner* negatively suggests the shooter's sociopathic character as someone to be fearful of, and not sympathetic to. This highlights the sensationalist tendency of the *Daily Mail* (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013), as a right-wing tabloid 'to provoke sensory and emotional reactions from readers', injecting 'drama, magnitude, salaciousness and/or the unexpected' (Lefkowitz, 2018: 371) into the story to present the extraordinary aspects of the story over factual orientation.

Another conogram pattern, prevalent in table 3 and 4, is either the placing of *white* as part of the goal participant to violent material processes (*kill-white*) or as the recipient of the nominalised structure, *attack-on-white-to*. For example, the victimization of a white goal participant (Abbas and Talaat, 2019) is shown in H8.

H8: "Dallas shooting suspect stated he wanted to 'kill white officers'; Calls for national unity after sniper, identified as 25-year-old army reservist Micah Johnson, kills five police officers and injures seven others during protest.
(*The Guardian*, July 18 2016)

Similar to H7, H8's inclusion of the perpetrator's mentality (*wanted*) gives the reader an internal insight into their character. Material processes are prevalent in this representation of US black perpetrator Micah Johnson, with aggressive actions *kills* and *injures* centring the headline on the heinousness of the crime against the authoritative *white* police officers. However, *The Guardian*, as a left-wing newspaper which is also 'situated midway on the quality continuum between quality press' (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013: 182) additionally reports on the positive unification of the nation (*national unity*), despite being distal, rather than proximal, to the location of the news event.

Comparatively, conograms containing the racialized attribute *black* reveal more frequent victimization frames in headlines (Table 5-6). The most frequent left collocate of the noun *black man* is *unarmed*, with the repeated nominal phrase referring to more than one social actor, thus, alluding to frequent occurrences of the black identity in a place of danger, with non-aggressive and non-violent characteristics.

Table 5: Three-word concgrams of *black*

UNARMED-BLACK-MAN	14	BLACK-IS-A	3
BLACK-AND-WHITE	12	AN-BLACK-MAN	3
BLACK-LIVES-MATTER	5	BLACK-WHITE-AND	3
DEATH-OF-BLACK	4	NEW-OF-BLACK	3
FACE-OF-BLACK	4	SUSPECT-TO-BLACK	3

Table 6: Four-word concgrams of *black*

FATAL-SHOOTING-OF-BLACK	8	POLICE-BLACK-LIVES-MATTER	3
BLACK-LIVES-MATTER-IN	4	SHOOTING-OF-BLACK-TEENAGER	3
BLACK-AND-WHITE-AS	4	BLACK-AND-WHITE-HAS	3
KILL-EVERY-BLACK-I	3	BLACK-LIVES-MATTER-A	2
OVER-SHOOTING-OF-BLACK	3	BLACK-LIVES-MATTER-FROM	2

Gradable oppositions (Lyons, 1977) in the antonym *black-and-white* show greater relevance in highlighting the *white* identity in its oppositional context to *black*, for example:

H9: Black and White Americans Believe Race Relations Are Deteriorating, Poll Finds.
(*The New York Times*, May 28 2016)

Whilst the discontent of black social actors is more expected in the context of race relations in the US, the inclusion of *white* presupposes the newsworthiness of adding the opinion of the oppositional 'other' whilst further contributing to the segregation of Americans.

Nominalised constructions are more frequent in black clusters than white, with *fatal-shooting-of-black*, *shooting-of-black-teenager* and *over-shooting-of-black* enabling the victimized black identity 'to be packaged into the resulting nominal group, while agency is often silenced' (Downing, 2000: 356). Clusters that position *black* participants in the victim position connect the ethnic minority identity as a targeted entity, with an increased vulnerability exhibited in the reference to *teenager*. Examples of black victimization are exhibited in H10 and H11, both of which include a white actor in the murders.

H10: White Tulsa Officer Is Acquitted in Fatal Shooting of Black Driver
(*The New York Times*, May 17 2017)

H11: White cop breaks down in tears as he is sentenced to 12 years in prison in the shooting of mentally ill black military veteran who was running NAKED and unarmed around an Atlanta apartment complex

(*The Daily Mail*, November 1, 2019)

Direct racial references of the *white* perpetrator against the *black* victim express conflicting race relations in H10 and H11. Both white participants are in positions of authority (*officer, cop*) – embedded in racial superiority ideologies (Mallinson and Brewster, 2005) – against the ordinariness of the *black driver* and particularly vulnerable *mentally ill* and *war veteran*, the latter of which connotes inclusive nationalistic identity. The focus on the white officer's acquittal in H10 presents the perceived shock news value from *The New York Times*, placing the perpetrator as the more newsworthy participant than the *black driver* who, whilst topicalized, only exists in the circumstance of the clause (Halliday, 1973). This means the black driver as a grammatical participant is 'not inherent to the process of the clause' (Abbas and Talaat, 2019: 402) instead, indirectly involved in the focal point of the story: the white officer.

The Daily Mail's headline aligns with the tabloid's common hyperbolic strategies, 'selectively used to emphasize and dramatize the negative events and actions' in which ethnic minorities are involved (Van Dijk, 1991: 220). The capitalization of *NAKED* dramatizes the victim's last actions into a spectacle, painting a humiliating picture of the victim's behaviour and thus, adding to his vulnerability. Yet, it is the *white cop* who *breaks down in tears*, topicalized at the beginning of the headline 'to give it prominence' (Mohd Ali, 2014: 7) and favouring the human, sympathy-evoking response of the *cop*.

With the *black-lives-matter* concgram being frequent in three and four-word patterns (yet only in UK and US headlines), the below examples show its use in both adjectival (H12) and nominal forms (H13):

H12: Jamar Clark: Witnesses tell how 'white supremacists' opened fire on Black Lives Matter protesters; Five people were taken to hospital after being hit in a flurry of gunfire

(*The Independent*, 24th October 2015)

H13: Facing Trump, Black Lives Matter switches to policy battles

(*The Washington Post*, 8th April 2017)

H12 shows *Black Lives Matter*, as 'a new civil rights movement' (Taylor, 2016: 16) to be the pre-modifier to the plural noun *protestors*, situated as the goal participant to the '*white supremacists*' who, as the oppositional active actor participants, are portrayed as the violent racialized other. Alluding 'to the inherent semantic dissimilarity' (Davies, 2012: 48) of these social actors, a distinguished antonymic frame exists between the negative white supremacists and the positive protesters, the latter of whom are represented within a

sympathetic victimization frame, in being *taken to hospital* and *being hit* by the aggressive other. In H13, the nominal use of *Black Lives Matter* takes a participant role, with their actor position in *facing Trump* and linguistic dramatization of *battles* reiterating their racial or political antagonistic status against white President Trump, part of the political establishment they 'are determined to remain autonomous from' (Rickford, 2016: 36). It must be noted that within the corpus' time frame (January 2015 – December 2019), the absence of Black Lives Matter in Australian and New Zealand newspapers may stem from these countries' different racial atmospheres. However, in response to the killing of George Floyd and other instances of racially-motivated police brutality in America, the emergence of the global Black Lives Matter movement in May 2020 means this pattern would now likely be more frequent in headlines.

Turning to *Muslim* as a lexical item, concgram analysis of the religious attribute reveals the term's frequent phraseological occurrences, shown in Figure 6:

MUSLIM	
CRUZ-WE-NEED-TO-PATROL-MUSLIM	7
WE-NEED-TO-PATROL-MUSLIM	7
MUSLIM-STOREOWNER-BRUTALLY-BEATEN-IN-NEW	5
PUNISH-A-MUSLIM	5
THREE-MUSLIM-STUDENTS	5
BEHIND-A-MUSLIM	4
CHRISTCHURCH-MOSQUE-SHOOTINGS-MUSLIM	4
MUSLIM-AS-A	4
YOUR-THOUGHTS-ON-ANTI-MUSLIM	4
MUSLIM-SHOT-IN	4
MUSLIM-TRUMP-AND-CLINTON	4
NEED-TO-PATROL-MUSLIM-TRUMP	4
ON-TRUMP'S-ANTI-MUSLIM-POLICY-WITH	4
SUPREMACIST-PUNISH-A-MUSLIM	4
TRUMP'S-ANTI-MUSLIM-WITH	4
TRUMP'S-MUSLIM-BAN	4
AFTER-MUSLIM-SPEECH-A	3
A-MUSLIM-PROBLEM-REPUBLICAN	3
A-SURGE-IN-ISLAMOPHOBIC-VIOLENCE-MUSLIM	3
ANTI-MUSLIM-IN	3
ANTI-MUSLIM-SENT	3
CLAIMS-HAS-A-MUSLIM	3
COUNTRY-A-MUSLIM	3

Figure 6: Most frequent concgrams of *Muslim*

The targeting of *Muslim* as both a religious characterisation and religious attribute is realised through frequent victimization frames such as *punish-a-muslim*, *muslim-shot-in* and *need-to-punish-a-muslim*. For example, H14 and H15 show the victimization framing of Muslims.

H14: Thousands attend funeral for Muslim students shot in North Carolina; Around 5,500 mourners pay tribute to Deah Barakat, Yusor Mohammed Abu-Salha and Razan Mohammad Abu-Salha, gunned down in their apartment.

(*The Guardian*, February 13 2015)

H15: Christchurch mosque shootings: Muslim women afraid to leave the house despite outpouring of support.

(*The New Zealand Herald*, March 20 2019)

Both headlines are framed sympathetically in victim-oriented narratives, using personalized names in H14 and referring to the emotionality of Muslim women in H15 to humanise the victims. In the liberal newspaper *The Guardian*, solidarity for Muslim victims is legitimated through the use of aggregation, with references to *thousands* attending the funeral and the outpouring of support 'manufactur[ing] consensus opinion' (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 49) that Muslims are supported within society. Yet, the implications of external threat in H15 (*afraid to leave the house*) still consolidate an overall position of minority suppression.

In figure 6, *Muslim*, as an opposed entity is further reiterated through the frequency of the *anti*-prefix label, which 'is often an outsider or "over-the fence" term' (Partington, 1998: 74-75) and applied to others (Muslims) by their more powerful beholders (Duguid, 2010: 192) such as Trump. As *anti* and *Muslim* 'make meaning by forming (parts of) a single linguistic entity' (Cheng et. al, 2008: 243), both words have an endo-centric relationship, making up a repeated unit of meaning of hostility towards Muslims. The phraseological tendency for *Muslim* to occur near *Trump*, the presidential figurehead for the nation, reaffirms the (un)belonging status of Muslims against the racial majority, either by white political figures (*Cruz, Trump*) or violent ideological agents (*supremacist*). With the white authoritarian Trump against the marginalized Muslim minority reiterating their us versus them status, H16-17 show qualitative usages of these antithetical concepts.

H16: Trump drops anti-Muslim rhetoric.

(*The Press (NZ)*, May 23 2017)

H17: Donald Trump: ban all Muslims entering US; Republican frontrunner wants 'total and complete shutdown' of borders to Muslims after San Bernardino shooting in latest boundary-pushing proposal. #WeDoCare: Share your thoughts on Trump's anti-Muslim policy with GuardianWitness.

(*The Guardian*, December 8 2015)

The phraseological co-occurrences of *Trump* with *Muslim* are used by left-wing newspapers, exhibited by H16 and H17, to present the President's national exclusionary tactics, enabled not only by his political authority but his majority white racial identity. The polarity between the powerful and the powerless is demonstrated by the reference to Trump's material action,

drops, indicating an ease in controlling a whole ‘rhetoric’; the ‘persuasion (including ‘manipulation’) in individual texts’ (Fairclough, 2012: 466) towards a societal group. In addition to the *anti-* label, lexis relating to the ostracization of Muslims is apparent in H16, with *ban*, *borders*, *boundary-pushing* and *shutdown* reinforcing more than ‘the symbolic boundaries between nations and nationals’ (Flam and Beauzamy, 2008: 223), but the replication of Trump’s perception of the physical disposability of the Muslim citizen. The reporting of Trump’s aggressive reactionary response to the San Bernardino shooting, committed by Muslim perpetrators, highlights the anti-Islamic tactics that discursively collectivise all Muslims as a homogenous threat and ‘facilitate the creation of generalisations about the designated group’ (Kader, 2016: 31).

Having investigated the phraseological patterns of these racial and religious markers in headlines, the antonymic relationship between *white* and *black* frequently places these attributes within a racially conflict-oriented narrative, with the contrast of white supremacy versus Black Lives Matter centring fear around the individualised white supremacist loner against more frequent sympathetic victimization framings towards targeted black identities. Whilst instances of white participants as recipients of violence are also prevalent, concgram patterns reveal the more frequent oppositional relationship between Muslim and the dominant white racial majority, who through the reproduction of the abuse of discursive power, can enact ‘intimidation, inferiorization and exclusion’ (Van Dijk, 1993a: 97) towards Muslims within wider political and social discriminatory practices.

4.3 Role allocation: Participants and Processes

Analysis of participants through keyword and systemic-functional analysis was undertaken to uncover headlines relating to authority, perpetrator and public social actors, with the former being those whose ‘status or role in a particular institution affords them agentive power in the relevant social practice’ (Van Leeuwen, 2018: 221) such as political figures (e.g. *Trump*, *Ardern*) and the authorities (e.g. *police*, *FBI*) who may ‘enact, sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice’ (Van Dijk, 1993b: 252), for example:

H18: Obama calls for gun controls after church shootings
(*The Times*, May 20 2015)

H19: As White House hedges over attack, FBI says ‘terrorism’
(*The Washington Post*, November 5 2015)

In both examples, the journalist employs authorization legitimation by ‘referring to the appropriate (personal and impersonal) authority as subject’ (Ali et. al, 2016: 78), either through Obama’s political power in proposing legislative action or the FBI’s institutional power in

labelling the attack as terrorism. Alternatively, perpetrator and public participants focus on those 'who are responsible for or directly affected by an event' (Lander, 2014: 13), including functionalization nominations (e.g. *gunman, shooter*), identification nominations (e.g. *extremist, terrorist*) and named participants (e.g. *Tarrant, Mateen*) as well as public participants considered ordinary citizens (e.g. *victims, Muslims, people*).

H20: Texas shooter targets church

(*The Press (NZ)*, October 17 2017)

H21: US Muslims raise more than \$120,000 for families of Pittsburgh shooting victims

(*The Guardian*, 29 September 2018)

Action-oriented narratives realised through material processes show typical social actions assigned to the perpetrator and public participants, with the former (H20) placing the *shooter* as the agent to a deliberate violent process and the latter exhibiting a positive reactionary response to a prior violent tragedy.

4.3.1 Comparing social actors in tabloids and broadsheets

As audience expectations between tabloid and broadsheets differ on content, style and purpose, comparative analysis was carried out to reveal the differentiation of 'habits [which] are formed in this heterogenous group of readers' (Boykoff, 2008: 551). Figure 7 shows the combined relative frequencies of the most frequent social actors in tabloid and broadsheet headlines, retrieved from compiling a list of each sub-corpora's top 300 most frequent words and then identifying the nouns. Rather than being computationally calculated by *Wordsmith*, this study's normalisation procedure for percentage calculations was to manually calculate the relative frequency of specific lexical or grammatical items out of the corpus or sub-corpus so their relative frequencies could then be grouped together, such as into social actor categories (as below) and respectively calculated as a collective relative frequency. It will be noted if this was not the procedure for any subsequent quantitative findings.

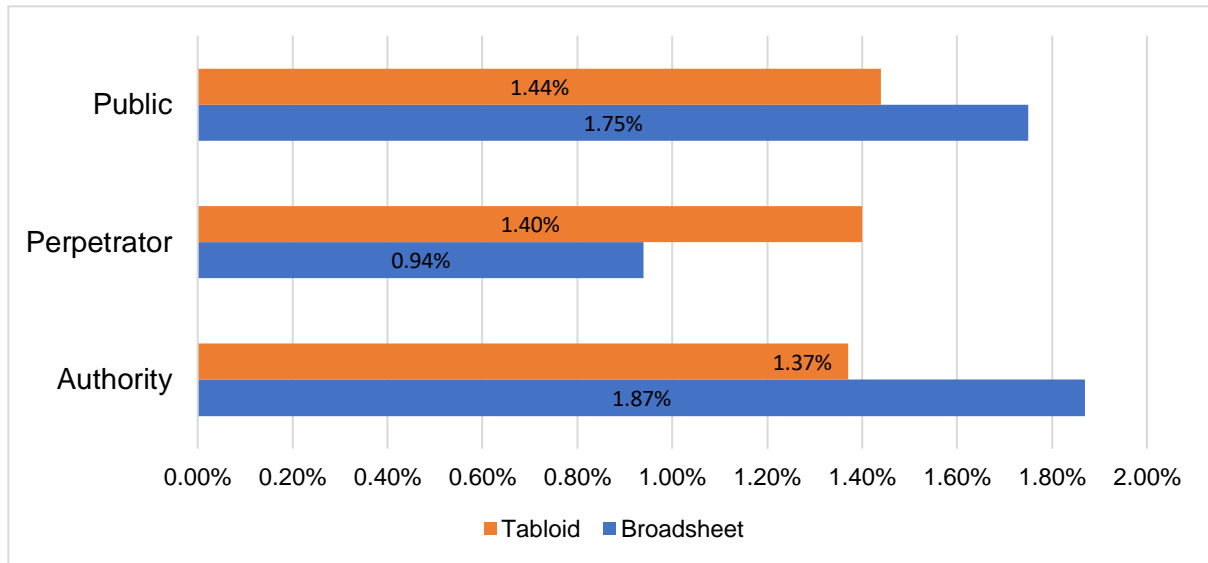


Figure 7: Most frequent social actor types in tabloids and broadsheets

Although public participant types have similar frequencies in both tabloid and broadsheet headlines, Figure 7 presents a higher frequency of authority participants in broadsheets (1.87%) and a higher frequency of perpetrator participants in tabloids (1.40%). Within these broad categories, the naming of a social actor assigns ‘a set of characteristics, motives, values and behaviours’ (Bhatia, 2005: 8) to construct narratives which fulfil broader editorial aims. Whilst the following chapter looks at nomination and referential strategies in detail, Table 7 shows similarities and differences between the most frequent social actors out of the tabloid and broadsheet headline corpora’s top 300 words.

In Table 7, nouns in bold represent keywords that have a comparative frequency of more than 0.2%, with the broadsheet and tabloid sub-corpus acting as the reference corpus for each other (where the other is the node). There are significant overlaps of frequent social actors including high frequencies of authority participants *Trump* and *police*, perpetrator participants such as *shooter/s*, *gunman* and more ideologically loaded words such as *terrorist/s* and *extremist/s*. *Victim/s* have higher frequencies in tabloid headlines (0.25) than broadsheets (0.14), yet are collectively much less frequent than the perpetrator nominations, highlighting the typical construction of perpetrator-oriented narratives in headlines. The comparative lower frequency of victims therefore shows the effects of perpetrator-oriented narratives in silencing those affected, instead granting greater journalistic focus to the perpetrator deemed more newsworthy. Emotive nominations are more frequent in tabloids: *killer/s* has a much higher frequency (0.31), centring the perpetrator’s evil actions upon their name whilst *survivor* in the public category evokes a similar strong emotional response. The

highlights the trend of tabloidization, ‘whereby media outlets shift their focus from political and international issues to sensational stories’, with readers expecting the writer to highlight ‘controversial or colourful elements’ (Wang, 2009: 750) of stories. Both religious lexemes *Muslim/s* and *Christians* are keywords in broadsheets whilst more colloquial lexis (*cop/s* and *kids*) are key in tabloids.

Investigating the participants through clausal representations reveals their participation, or the journalist’s construction of their participation, in ‘a figure of happening, doing, sensing, saying, being or having’ (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 213).

Table 7: Most frequent social actors (%) in broadsheets v. tabloids

	BROADSHEET	TABLOID
AUTHORITY	Trump (0.57), police (0.45), Donald (0.17), President (0.17), officer/s (0.16), Obama (0.13), leader/s (0.12) , Democrats (0.05), minister (0.05)	Trump (0.41), cop/s (0.32), police (0.31), officer/s (0.12), President (0.09), Obama (0.06), Ardern (0.06)
PERPETRATOR	terrorist/s (0.16), gunman (0.14), suspect (0.13), shooter/s (0.12), extremist/s (0.12), man (0.08), supremacist (0.07), killer (0.07), Islamist (0.05)	killer/s (0.31), shooter (0.29), gunman (0.23), terrorist/s (0.19), man (0.14), supremacist (0.07), extremist/s (0.06), suspect (0.06), Jihadi (0.05)
PUBLIC	Muslim/s (0.74), people (0.25), women/an (0.15), victims (0.14), man (0.12), family (0.07), community (0.06), students (0.06), children (0.06), men (0.06), Christians (0.04)	Muslim/s (0.44), victim/s (0.25), people (0.21), man (0.10), family (0.10), woman (0.08), kids (0.08), wife (0.08), families (0.05), survivor (0.05).

Table 8 shows the five transitivity processes and their participant types present and quantified in the following analysis, exemplified by data from the headlines sub-corpus. Existential processes were not included in the analysis as authority, perpetrator and public social actors do not take the existent participant role in this clause type.

Table 8: Transitivity processes and participant types

MATERIAL (MP)
Clauses of 'doing-&-happening' (Halliday, 2014: 224) e.g. Las Vegas gunman / kills / 58 / in America's worst mass-shooting Actor / MP / Goal / Circ.
MENTAL (MeP)
Clauses of 'sensing' (Halliday, 2014: 245) e.g. Victim's wife: I / feel / really sorry for killer Senser / MeP / Phenomenon
RELATIONAL (RP)
Clauses of 'being and having' (Halliday, 2014: 259) e.g. Intensive Abortion clinic shooter / isn't / Christian example Identified / RP / Identifier Attributive Intensive Shooter / was / white [and] victim / was / black Carrier / RP / Attribute Carrier / RP / Attribute
VERBAL (VP)
Clauses of saying (Halliday, 2014: 302) e.g. Family of Christchurch mosque 'shooter' / say / he deserves to DIE Sayer / VP / Verbiage
BEHAVIOURAL (BP)
Clauses of behaving which are 'partly like the material and partly like the mental' (Halliday, 2014: 301). e.g. Black man, 27, / 'LAUGHED' / from behind bars Behaver / BP / Circ.

4.3.2 Clause representations of social actors in broadsheet headlines

Having established the difference between each transitivity process and their participants, Figure 8 shows the calculated relative frequency of each transitivity process used with each of the main actor participant groups, starting with the broadsheet sub-corpus.

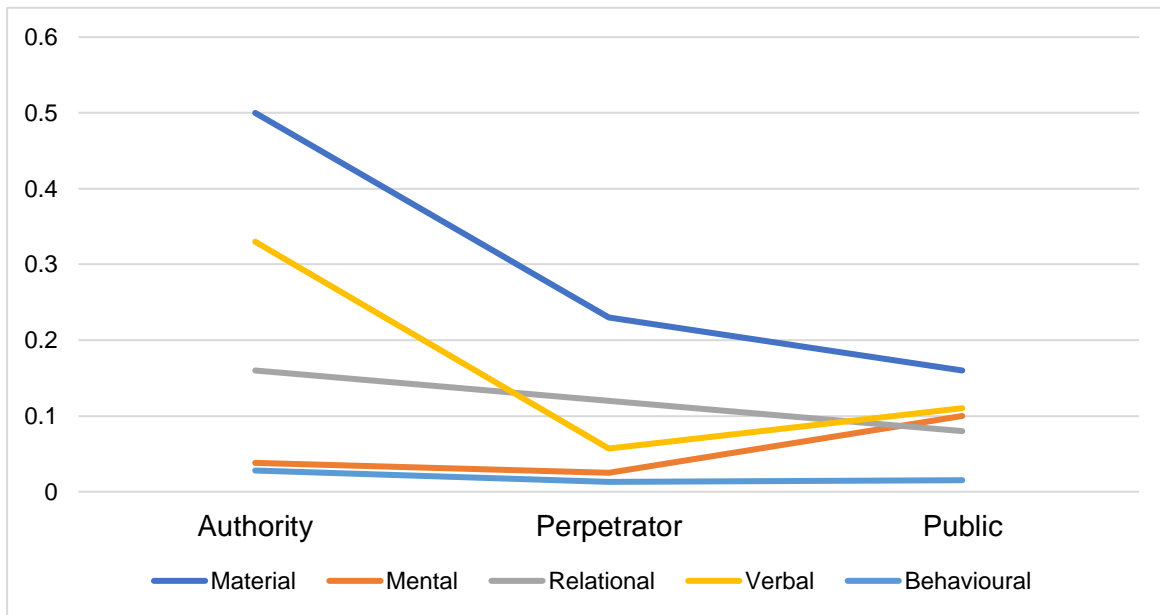


Figure 8: Transitivity Processes used with participant types in broadsheet headlines

After Table 7 presented higher frequencies of authority participants in broadsheet headlines, material processes of political participants and police participants are expectedly high (0.26%) and (0.24%). Out of the 0.32% of authority participants shown in the graph, verbal processes with political participants are particularly high (0.24%), with the representation of talking and communicating actions (Chen, 2005: 36) not only representing the speaker’s attitude about the topic or person they are talking about but additionally revealing journalistic attitudes towards the sayer and their utterance. Using systemic functional analysis, qualitative analysis of verbal processes (VP) associated with national leaders reveals the journalists’ differentiating levels of agreement or disagreement with the original utterance, often manipulated by the decision to directly or indirectly quote the speaker (Headlines 22-25). The layouts of these examples are to purely show each functional component and therefore, are not labelled as tables.

H22	Trump	claimed	he was right about Islam	after Orlando
	Sayer	VP	Quoted	Circ.
	<i>The Independent, June 13 2016</i>			

H23	Trump	proposes	racial profiling as a gun control tactic ‘to start thinking about’
	Sayer	VP	Quoted
	<i>The Guardian, June 19 2016</i>		

H24	Obama	calls	attack	a case of homegrown extremism
	Sayer	VP	Receiver	Quoted
<i>The New York Times, June 14 2016</i>				

H25	'New Zealand to Ban Military-Style Semiautomatic Guns',		Jacinda Ardern	says
	Quoted		Sayer	VP
<i>The New York Times, March 20 2019</i>				

Indirect quotations, rather than direct reported speech, in H22 to H24, allow the journalist to paraphrase an utterance, to conform to spatial constraints whilst filtering the writer's perspective (Pareti et. al, 2013: 990). In H22, the journalist distances Trump from the original utterance through the third person narration, allowing them to convey Trump's confidence through the verb choice *claimed* and followed by his self-proclaimed attribute of being *right*. The journalist's ambiguity of Trump's argument on *Islam* implies the claim's controversiality, catalysed by the circumstantial element (the actions of the ethnic minority perpetrator in *Orlando*) however, leaves the severity of discriminatory discourses unknown, unless the reader continues. Despite the process in H23 (*proposes*) being indicative of Trump's support for a cause, the snippet quote only extracts the proposal's relative importance, minimizing the actual topic content from the original utterance and instead, enabling the journalist to sculpt the proposal as *racial profiling as a gun control tactic*; a racially antagonistic statement that reflects a representation of Trump's hostility towards minorities.

In H24, the journalist's inclusion of the receiver as a nominalised participant (*attack*) subverts its function as a direct addressee (Kondowe, 2014: 176), instead, silencing the potential receiver role of the perpetrator. Utilising Obama's nomination power as a form of authorized legitimation, the journalist maintains the exclusion of nomination strategies relating directly to the perpetrator, thus shifting away the representation of actions situated in the 'here and now' (Fairclough, 2013: 360) to conform to the principle of de-sensationalising the perpetrator's role. H25 shows the most prevalent journalistic 'aim at a verbatim reproduction of the initial message' (Smirnova, 2009: 82), recontextualising the original utterance into a summarized speech frame which reflects the Prime Minister's commitment to legislative change. Thus, the greater inclusion of authority participants in Figure 8 shows the tendency for broadsheet headlines to engage with 'intellectual argumentation' by elites, who have 'preferential access to the discourses in society' (Thommessen, 2017: 25-26). Reported speech as a form of (re)contextualization and (de)legitimization will be discussed fully in Chapter 6.

Considering the topic of mass shootings, Figure 8 consolidated expectations that material processes in relation to perpetrators would be expectedly high (0.23%). However, the second most frequent processes, relational processes (0.12%), show the tendency for

broadsheet headlines to focus on the identification or categorization of social actors, realised ‘between one participating entity and an attribute’ (Matu, 2008: 202) or between one targeted entity and an identifier. H26-H28 show relational processes relating to white perpetrators.

H26	Teen gunman	was	a quiet kid who got brainwashed
	Identified	RP	Identifier
	<i>Sydney Morning Herald, October 7 2015</i>		

H27	Dylann Roof	is	the product of a system that has bred racist hatred for centuries
	Identified	RP	Identifier
	<i>The Guardian, June 23 2015</i>		

H28	La. Shooter	was	active but apparently lonely
	Carrier	RP	Attribute
	<i>The Washington Post, July 19 2016</i>		

In H26 and H28, adjectives relating to mental instability (*brainwashed, lonely*) and personal introversion (*quiet, lonely*) present weak negative evaluation to the perpetrator through sympathetic attributes. Clauses ‘where an entity is attributed with evaluative qualities through the use of an adjective’ (Hunston and Sinclair, 2000: 83), such as H28, are the strongest ‘markers of subjectivity’ (Thompson and Hunston, 2000: 21) although noun complements with positive or negative semantic connotations are also rich in evaluation, such as H27, which negatively evaluates Roof as a product of racism and therefore someone to be fearful of. Distancing the perpetrator from their criminal atrocities and weakening their individual culpability, the *lonely* adjective softens their stigmatisation, contrasting with the intense negative evaluation of *loner* when collocating with the white supremacist pre-modifier discussed earlier. Being “at the receiving end” of the activity’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 44), Roof is depicted as *brainwashed* (by an unknown entity) in H26 and nominated as the *product of a system*, thus, influenced by an externalised agency.

Yet, whilst relational processes are still frequent in representations of ethnic minority shooters, identification factors centre upon their violence or criminality, shown in H29-H31.

H29	Omar Mateen: Orlando gay night club shooter	was	Isis fighter
	Identified	RP	Identifier
	<i>The Independent, June 12 2016</i>		

H30	Munich shooting:	gunman	was	obsessed	with mass shootings
	Circ.	Carrier	RP	Attribute	Circ.
and			had	no links to Isis	
			RP	Attribute	
<i>The Independent, July 23 2016</i>					

H31	Paris terror anger
	Actor
	after it emerges that murderer had criminal past and he was known as a potential Islamic suspect
	Circ.
	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> April 22 2017

In the possessive relational process in H30 (Haratyan, 2011), the negated attribute in having *no links to Isis* (H30) denies a presupposed claim of the perpetrator's affiliation with Isis (Pagano, 1994) whilst in the circumstance of H31, the characterizing attribute in having a *criminal past* pertains to a negative and fearful connection between Isis and the perpetrator's racial identity. The inclusion of nominations, *Isis fighter* (H29), *Isis* (H30) and *potential Islamic suspect* (H31) therefore reiterate the presumed cognitive model of terrorists as exclusively Muslim.

Another prominent finding from Figure 8 is the high frequency of mental processes (MP) relating to public participants (0.10%), which in encompassing elements of thinking or feeling (Halliday, 1973), enables readers to feel empathy towards participants as human beings.

H32	US Muslims	feel	backlash	after carnage in San Bernardino and Europe
	Senser	MP	Phenomenon	Circ.
	<i>The Canberra Times</i> (Aus) December 6 2015			

H33	Sensing urgency	Muslims	plan	to fight Trump with vote
	Circ.	Senser	MP	Phenomenon
	<i>The Washington Post</i> June 16 2016			

The above headlines show ethnic minority citizens to be represented by mental processes, with H32 encompassing an affection process (*feel*) and H33 presenting a cognitive process (*plan*) (Eggins, 2004). The use of affection processes in H32 to 'construe emotions' (Martin et. al, 1997: 121) presents a sympathetic victimization frame whereby the outer material *carnage* of individual social actors impacts the inner personal feelings, thoughts and minds of the innocent wider religious community. The *US* pre-modifier reaffirms national majority versus minority boundaries in H32, reiterating the (un)belonging status of *US Muslims* as indirect victims in having received a *backlash* from the San Bernardino shooting by Islamist perpetrators. Consolidating the previous concgram findings of the collocational tendency for Muslims to occur with Trump, H33 presents the antagonistic dichotomy between the President

(the target) and Muslims (the targeted), yet the liberal newspaper grants Muslims with more power through greater agency.

4.3.3 Clause representations of social actors in tabloid headlines

Transitivity processes of participant types in tabloids reveal contrasting patterns, with the following findings from Figure 9 helping illuminate varying tabloidization strategies employed to achieve its core characteristics of emotionality.

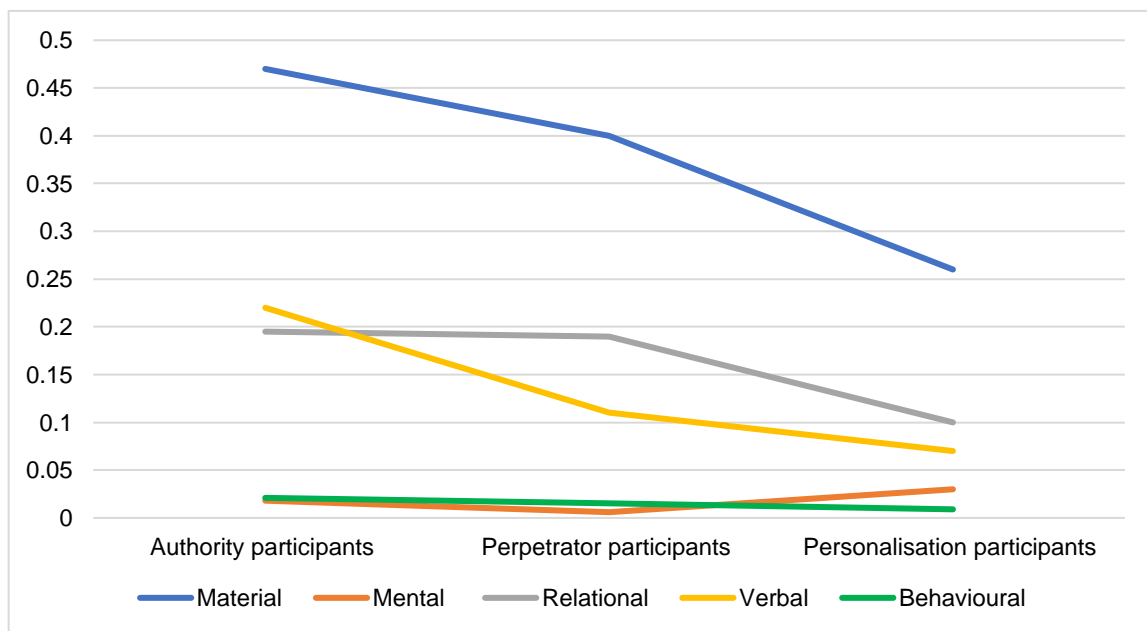


Figure 9: Transitivity processes with participant types in tabloid headlines

Having already established from Figure 7 that perpetrator participants are more frequent in tabloid headlines, it is not surprising that material processes of this group have a much higher relative frequency (0.4%), followed by a high frequency (0.19%) of relational processes. As material processes require an actor which ‘expresses the doer of the process’ (Zhao and Zhang, 2017: 33; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), analysis into the choices of these material processes also reveals the semantic evaluation of the actor participant, particularly when comparing the racial or religious attributes of the perpetrator. Similarly, relational processes help reaffirm the journalist’s identification process by providing ‘descriptive information about the reappearance of the phenomena and the qualities of the relevant participants’ (Darani, 2014: 185). Focusing on the perpetrator often aligns with editorial decisions to publish stories that construe or even, glorify the negativity news value whereby readers ‘respond more strongly to negative stimuli with greater attention and stronger emotional responses’ (Knobloch-Westerwick, 2020: 108). The following examples exhibit examples of tabloidization

strategies used within material and relational processes of white and ethnic minority perpetrators.

White Perpetrators

H34	SYNAGOGUE COWARD	SLAUGHTERED	GRANS
	Actor	MP	Goal
<i>The Sun, October 29 2018</i>			

H35	Gilroy Garlic Festival gunman, 19,	was	'kind of a loner'
	Identified	RP	Identifier
<i>The Daily Mail, July 31 2019</i>			

H36	Mass shooter	had	demons
	Carrier	RP	Attribute
<i>The Advertiser (Aus), November 13 2017</i>			

Ethnic Minority Perpetrators

H37	MUSLIM KILLERS Terror probe	in massacre	
	Actor	Circ.	
	Islamic husband & wife	murder	14
	Actor	MP	Goal
<i>The New York Post, December 13 2015</i>			

H38	JIHADISTS	ARE	JUST A BUNCH OF W@*!@*S
	Identified	RP	Identifier
<i>The Sun, January 30 2015</i>			

H39	He	beat	his wife,
	Actor	MP	Goal
		ate	pork,
		MP	Goal
		drank	
		MP	
and		took	drugs.
		MP	Goal
	He	was	no Muslim,
	Identified	RP	Identifier
	he	was	a s**t.
	Identified	RP	Identifier
<i>The Daily Mirror, July 16 2016</i>			

Similar tabloidization strategies exist in headlines about white and ethnic minority perpetrators, with aggressive material processes *slaughtered* (H34) and *murder* (H37) both implicating the intensity of violence as 'emotionally arousing' features in news (Pantti, 2010: 169). Both these examples also include specific categorization devices (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009), with the capitalized nominations *SYNAGOGUE COWARD* and *MUSLIM KILLERS* using noun

modified noun phrases to semantically create a mental model of the perpetrator's character. Whilst both aggressive in their capitalised form, white perpetrator Robert Bowers is depicted as a *coward*, a symbolic referent which implies a passivity or weakness. Comparatively, in H37, Muslim perpetrators Rizwan Farook and Tashfeen Malik, are nominated by their violent crimes (*killers*) and pre-modified by their Muslim religion whereby the Islamic belief has automatically 'been perceived as the motivating element behind the violent behaviour' (Ghauri and Umer, 2019: 3), further consolidated through the *Islamic* pre-modifier of the husband and wife participant.

In H39, the *He* pronoun functions as the subject of each of the four independent material clauses, which although ellipsed in three of the clauses, connects violent and anti-Islamic material actions to Mateen. In the latter identifying relational processes, a denial-correction clausal relationship exists between the denial of Mateen's Muslim identity i.e. 'what is not true' (Winter, 1977: 29) and the expletive correction that *he is a s**t*, a derogatory characterization which the journalist asserts as true. In being 'imbued with a force and potency', the deleted expletive identifiers (*s**t* and *w@*!A*S!*) can have both 'humour emphasis' or have 'an 'aggressive' function' (Stapleton, 2010: 290) which combine to construct and maintain hate speech directed at the perpetrator. These dysphemistic referential choices combine to construct and maintain hate speech within society, directly towards the perpetrator and indirectly towards their Muslim identity. Whilst the rebuttal of Mateen's Muslim identity therefore characterizes him as an outcast and detaches his immoral behaviour from his wider religious community, the negation of his expected Muslimness still presents his Islamic religion as a prioritised part of his identification.

In representations of white perpetrators, the *kind of a loner* identifier in H35 not only alludes to a form of weak mental illness but depicts the white male shooter as heterogenous, and detached from the wider white racial community. Similarly, the attribute of having *demons* to the white carrier in H36 metaphorically depicts the white shooter as mentally ill, sympathetically implying the shooter's internalized struggle: a nomination strategy discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Finally, with Figure 9 showing a higher frequency of material processes (0.26%) relating to public participants than broadsheet headlines, analysis reveals Muslims to often be the actor in transitivity processes.

H40	Mosque massacre hero	wrestled	gun	from killer
	Actor	M: Process	Goal	Circ.
and		forced	him	to flee in waiting car
		M: Process	Goal	Circ.
	<i>The Daily Mail, March 15 2019</i>			

H41	Muslims	hit back
	Actor	M: process
	<i>The Sun, March 13 2016</i>	

With public participants as the agent, H40 shows reactionary aggressive material processes (*wrestled, forced*) towards the primary aggressor, transforming a negatively evaluative action-oriented narrative into a positive frame which focuses on the bravery of victims. The nomination *mosque massacre hero* juxtaposes the horror of the crime, with the positively evaluative nomination *hero*. As active participation most explicitly foregrounds agency (Tranchese & Zollo, 2013: 151), the placing of the *hero* as the actor pushes the narrative away from negative sensationalism, and instead, upon the courageous act carried out by the ordinary citizen. However, whilst the material process *hit back* in H41 implies an original attack imposed on Muslims, the absence of the goal particularly blurs the distinction between the positive or negative social actors if not 'set against this 'background knowledge' (Teo, 2000:14). Therefore, whilst tabloidization strategies towards Muslim perpetrators are explicitly pejorative in headlines, positive evaluations towards Muslims as ordinary citizens are prevalent in victimization narratives surrounding the Christchurch Mosque shooting. Whether these sympathetic victimization frames of the Muslim community are present when the perpetrator is Muslim is more complex, necessitating a deeper discussion into the reproduction of discriminatory discourses towards Muslim perpetrators.

4.4 Conclusion

In offering a microcosmic perspective of the corpus' main themes, the above analysis reveals the importance of a headline's functions in framing and summarization (Bednarek and Caple, 2017), enabling some preliminary conclusions to be made about the dominant social actors, actions and ideological viewpoints present in the corpus as a whole. A headline's 'potential to reinforce newsworthiness' (Bednarek and Caple, 2017: 125) through promoting the story's

news values (Bell, 1991) is essential in attracting the reader, realised by the 'internalized assumptions about what is important to transmit' (Cotter, 2010: 56).

Firstly, in addressing the linguistic similarities and differences of white versus ethnic minority mass shooters (research question 1), concgram and transitivity analysis showed the theme of mental health to encompass both dysphemistic or sympathetic representations of white perpetrators, with naming strategies (*loner*) and attributive adjectives in relational processes (*lonely*) suggesting an insanity defence to their crimes. Transitivity analysis additionally demonstrates the presumption of terrorism to occur more explicitly within representations of ethnic minority mass shooters through identifying relational processes (e.g. [Mateen] *was Isis fighter*), fuelling in-depth analysis into the attribution of the terrorist nomination in the following chapter. Furthermore, the frequent attribution of Muslim as a negative identity construction explicitly characterises ethnic minority perpetrators for example, through the pejorative nomination *Muslim Killers*.

In exploring the ideological and formatting comparative parameters in research question 2, the construction and maintaining of sensationalist discourses in headlines, such as through expletives, violent material processes (e.g. *slaughtered, murder, wrestled*) and emotive nominations (e.g. *killers, coward*), shows the construction of hate speech, intense emotivity and more explicit racialisations to occur more frequently in tabloid and predominantly, right-wing newspapers. Conversely, left-wing, broadsheet headlines more frequently include the speech of political social actors, generally steering away from sensationalist perpetrator-oriented frames (except the tabloid *The Daily Mirror*) and often focusing on the effect of wider communities, particularly the Muslim community.

This leads to the representation of victims and communities laid out in research question 3, with concgram analysis showing the frequent oppositional relationship of *Muslim* with *Trump*, as well as its strong colligational relationship with *anti-* to reiterate the victimization of the Muslim 'other' against the dominant, white majority. Verbal processes in the reported speech of Trump further consolidate exclusionary discursive strategies used to maintain the boundaries of the national in-group against the Muslim out-group, a key discursive strategy discussed later in the reported speech chapter. Concgram analysis indicates the oppositional relationship between white, black and Muslim social actors, including the frequent antonymic relationship between either the white supremacist or authoritative perpetrator (e.g. *police officer*) and the unarmed black victim. Finally, the comparative lower frequency of *victim/s* to perpetrator nominations in both broadsheets and tabloids shows the interpersonal function of headlines in attracting the reader through perpetrator-oriented narratives whilst rarely naming the direct victims.

Exhibiting the headline's own function in 'providing a lens on, stance towards or angle on the rest of the story' (Bednarek and Caple, 2018: 100), the variability of the headline

analysis grants a comprehensive, down-sized critique of the key social actors, events and ideologies making up the whole corpus. However, in making up only 1.34% of the full corpus, larger quantitative analysis is needed to confirm whether these results are illustrated in the full body of the news text after the function of headlines in 'attracting the reader' has been achieved (Bednarek and Caple, 2018: 100).

Chapter 5: Naming Mass Shooters: Nomination and Predication Strategies

5.1 Introduction

Nomination and predication devices were investigated to explore the linguistic similarities and differences in representations of white versus ethnic minority mass shooters (research question 1) whilst linking to research question 3 to analyse the effects that repeated labelling devices have on the ‘construction of in-groups and out-groups’ in wider communities (Baker et. al, 2008: 282, Wodak, 2001). Nomination analyses how social actors ‘are named and referred to linguistically’ (Wodak, 2001; Kader, 2016: 29) whereas predication additionally encompasses ‘objects, events, actions and social phenomena’ (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 54). Criticisms that naming makes ‘celebrities out of monsters’ means journalists must consider other linguistic representations when choosing which referential devices to employ (Lankford and Madfis, 2018b: 273, Zaremba, 2016, Dahmen et. al, 2018). Non-named referential devices are therefore important in representations of mass shooters, including functionalization (e.g. *terrorist*, *shooter*, *gunman*) and identification naming strategies (e.g. *extremist*, *maniac*, *lone wolf*). The former ‘occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity’ whilst the latter defines social actors in terms of what they ‘more or less permanently, or unavoidably are’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 54). The following analysis examines three frequent referential strategies, qualitatively identified in the preliminary analysis as recurrent lexical or grammatical features and consolidated by high relative frequencies. These are the functionalization of *terrorist* (0.05%), dysphemistic referential nouns relating to the mentality of perpetrators (0.004%) and who- relative clauses (0.42%) used to refer to perpetrators when they are personally identified. In granting analysis of wide-scale linguistic patterns, the following chapter treats the corpus as a whole, rather than creating sub-corpora for ideological or broadsheet/tabloid comparisons, although the NOW corpus is used as a reference corpus in section 5.3

5.2 The semantic effect of pre-modification on the *terrorist* nomination

Terrorist as a nomination device was investigated as a keyword after identifying the term’s significantly high frequency (0.05%), occurring in the corpus 5,973 times and revealing ‘descriptive accounts’ of the topic-oriented discourse of mass shooters (Baker, 2004: 347). Scholars have identified common topoi associated with the utilization of *terrorist*, with referential strategies that ‘connect an argument to a claim or conclusion’ often inducing the belief that Muslims are terrorists (Baker et. al, 2012: 257, Richardson, 2004, Nickels et.al, 2012, Samaie and Malmir, 2017). As the terrorist nomination is expected in mass shooting narratives, a comparative investigation into the term’s attribution to white and ethnic minority

referents is required to uncover whether discriminatory or uneven nominal attribution exists. Statistically calculated by the collocational pattern feature in *Wordsmith*, Figure 10 shows the thematic groups of the term's L1 nominal or adjectival pre-modifiers, with the relative frequencies of each pre-modifier manually calculated out of the full corpus' tokens.

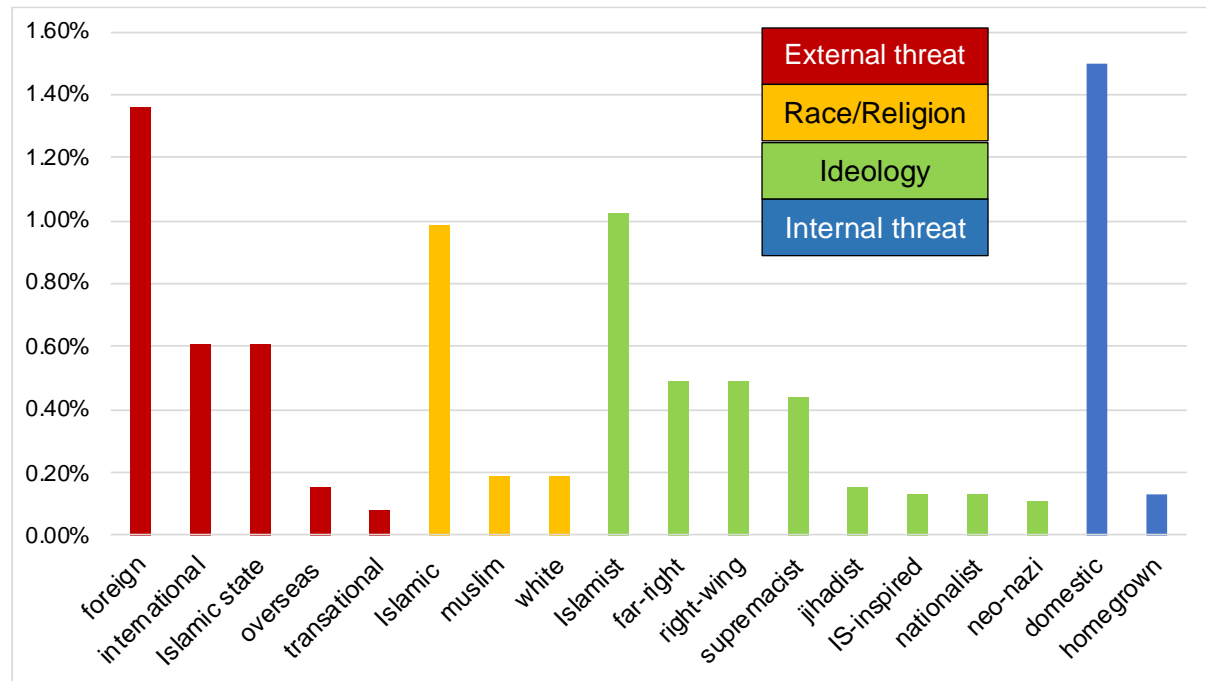


Figure 10: Most frequent L1 collocates of noun *terrorist*

Figure 10 shows the most frequent L1 nominal pre-modifiers to be *domestic* (1.50%) in the internal threat category and *foreign* (1.36%) in the external threat category, closely followed by the negative ideological nominal *Islamist* (1.02%) and racialized attributive adjective *Islamic* (0.99%). Negative evaluative nominations associated with harmful white ideologies such as *far-right*, *right-wing* and *supremacist* are also frequent in making up the ideology semantic set. The following analysis considers *domestic*, *foreign* and *Islamic* as left collocates to uncover how common patterns of association help to construct stereotypical qualities associated with terrorists. *Islamic*, rather than the ideological nomination *Islamist*, was chosen for further investigation in order to closely engage with the dominant themes of race and religion and the impact that this religious attribute has on wider Islamic communities.

5.2.1 *Domestic* in-group versus *Foreign* out-group

Despite the overwhelming majority of mass shootings from both white and ethnic minority perpetrators having been carried out by citizens of the victim country, threats of terrorism by Muslims are perceived to be international whilst white individuals are considered domestic

(Sinnar, 2019:1337). Out of all the manually quantified uses of the domestic pre-modifier to terrorist, Figure 11 reveals an unequal percentage of the term's attribution between white and ethnic minority perpetrators.

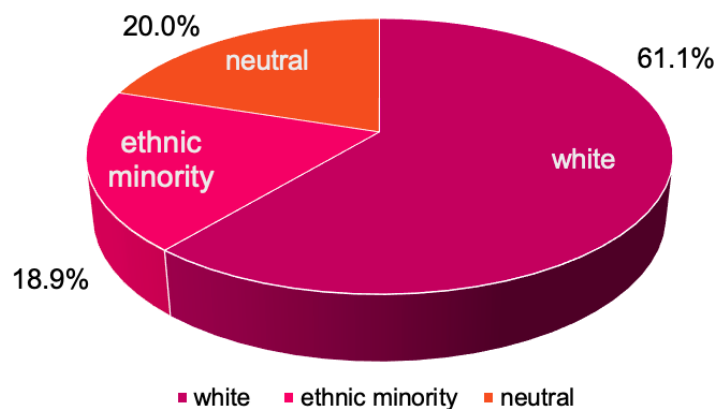


Figure 11: Attribution (%) of nominal pre-modifier *domestic*

Figure 11 shows *domestic* to be attributed the most to white shooters (61.10%) compared to ethnic minority shooters (18.90%) and unspecified shooters (20%). Evident in examples 3 and 4, *domestic* as a lexical pre-modifier challenges the negative out-group presentation of terrorists by implying a shared national identity between the perpetrator and victims, and thus, weakening the racial paranoia argument that different cultures equate to a collective threat (Sharma and Nijjar, 2018).

(3) "He claims to be a Christian and is extremely evangelistic," his ex-wife wrote in a court document. "He is obsessed with the world coming to an end." And of course, he had a semiautomatic rifle to go with his delusions. How did this malcontent become a domestic terrorist? (about Robert L. Dear)
(*The New York Times*, December 5th 2015)

(4) If there was ever an opportunity to define white extremists as domestic terrorists, Dylann Roof was it, Snyder says. But people went back and forth, and it went down the same careful deliberation that happens with active shooters: Maybe it was a mental-health issue. Maybe he was disturbed. Maybe he had a predisposition to violence.

(*The New York Times*, November 3rd 2018)

With the focus on mental health making the phenomenon into processes of being rather than doing (Opara, 2012), examples 3-4 show the culpability of terror to be diluted by mental health issues, religious beliefs and personal attributes. For example, instead of the inclusion of verbs relating to conflict and violence (e.g. *killed*, *murdered*), the agency of white perpetrators is suppressed by attributive and possessive relational processes including religious attributes (*Christian*, *evangelistic*), mental health attributes (*obsessed*, *disturbed*) and mental health

nominals (*delusions, a predisposition to violence*). This emphasis on 'being' encourages the spectacle of mass shooter personas, exhibiting an attitudinal surprise towards the connection between their identity and crimes. The rhetorical interrogative: *How did this malcontent become a domestic terrorist?* in example 3 'displays the force of a strong assertion' (Westin, 2002: 25) that it is difficult to envisage the transformation of a dissatisfied white male to a white male committing mass murder. In example 4, the left-wing reporter's use of anaphora - *Maybe it was a mental-health issue. Maybe he was disturbed. Maybe he had a predisposition to violence* – conveys irony in searching for the stereotypical mental health justifications needed to legitimize white-perpetrated crimes as comprehensible.

On the other hand, the lower frequency of labelling ethnic minority perpetrators as *domestic* reinforces the discriminatory and exclusionary practices that racial and religious minorities are (un)belonging from the national identity. Examples 5 and 6 show some instances of the *domestic* label:

(5) "Where does this stop?" the President said of Mr Trump's approach, noting that he had proposed a ban on admitting Muslims into the United States, and that the Orlando assailant was an American citizen, like the perpetrators of previous domestic terrorist attacks in San Bernardino, California, and Fort Hood, Texas.

(*The Canberra Times*, June 16 2016)

(6) To not consider him a domestic terrorist in the most intuitive sense of the term risks perpetuating the notion that as a Muslim, he was somehow not one of our own.

(*The New York Times*, September 11 2019)

The reported speech in example 5, a liberal newspaper, (re)contextualises Obama's critique of Trump's proposed legislative ban on Muslims entering the US, instead highlighting the *domestic*, and therefore national in-group status of the American citizen Muslim perpetrators of the Orlando and San Bernardino shootings. Example 6, from another liberal newspaper, similarly challenges the unequal nomination strategies used to depict terrorists, noting the dangerous *risks* of discrimination in making Mateen's Muslim identity ineligible as *one of our own*.

In representations of ethnic minority perpetrators, the marginalization of the 'other' is further reiterated by the *foreign* pre-modifier, positioning them beyond national boundaries and collectivising non-white shooters as objects of societal fear (Wodak, 1999). In Figure 12, concordances of *foreign terrorist* show journalistic strategies to incite fear of externalised forces, despite the majority of these perpetrators having lived in the United States.

	A	B	C
1	disturbed individual, a domestic ideologue or a foreign	terrorist?	For those innocents killed and those who survive
2	not have any information to indicate that a foreign	terrorist	group directed the attack in Orlando.
3	"Despite our warnings that this person was a foreign	terrorist	fighter, Belgium could not establish any links
4	operational ties among Farook, Malik and foreign	terrorist	groups. And yet a striking element
5	The strategy recognizes that foreign	terrorist	groups continue to plot against the United States
6	killer, and of potential inspiration by foreign	terrorist	Comey added that he was "highly confident" that Mateen
7	suspect Cesar Sayoc is not a foreign	terrorist	Nor is Robert Bowers, who allegedly shouted
8	ferocity and self-styled purity of foreign	terrorist	groups - among them the Islamic State.
9	that "the killer" was inspired by foreign	terrorist	organizations, even if he didn't always
10	Pulse nightclub shooter was inspired 'by foreign	terrorist	organizations' but there is no evidence

Figure 12: Sample concordance (10 out of 85) of *foreign terrorist*

Figure 12 shows *foreign terrorist* to frequently be placed as a nominal pre-modifier to collective nouns (*groups, organizations*), contributing to the perception of a homogenous international threat from which all Muslim perpetrators originate. In lines 6, 9 and 10, the perpetrator acts as the goal participant to the collectivised foreign entity of threat, connecting the marked foreignness of the perpetrators such as through the named referent Mateen despite him having been a US citizen. The framing of foreign terrorism is therefore largely constructed around the presumed affiliation with larger international forces, who in sharing perceived 'alien' characteristics with the ethnic minority perpetrator, are collectivised as a unified threat against the West.

5.2.2 Religious Pre-modifier: *Islamic*

With Figure 10 showing the attributive adjective *Islamic* to be the most frequent religious pre-modifier to *terrorist*, the following sample concordance (Figure 13) shows a process of collectivisation whereby the recurrent indicators of an 'othered' identity lead to a presumed affiliation of Muslim perpetrators with international terrorist organizations.

	A	B	C
1	our nation was attacked by a radical Islamic	terrorist	Trump said in a statement."My deepest sympathy
2	Here, it was not an Islamic	terrorist	attack against citizens of a Western country
3	label the Orlando nightclub killer an Islamic	terrorist	- but then Omar Mateen himself pledged
4	we can be sure that an Islamic	terrorist	outrage like the one in Orlando will draw
5	Mateen was a homophobe. And an Islamic	terrorist	He was also racist, and reportedly beat his
6	the notion that Mateen was a radical Islamic	terrorist	terrorist. Barack Obama has described the Orlando
7	been reluctant to call Mateen an Islamic	terrorist	in part to protect the feelings of American Muslims
8	the description of Mateen as an Islamic	terrorist	has parallels to the debate over Lindt cafe siege
9	mentally unstable and have been an Islamic	terrorist	just as Mateen's targeting of gays does not
10	not preclude him from being an Islamic	terrorist	No terrorist is well adjusted. The bottom line is
11	Mateen (right), 29, a security guard and Islamic	terrorist	killed by police.
12	Some did not see Monis as an Islamic	terrorist	but as a mentally unstable man.
13	Taliban extremists and other Islamic	terrorist	oufits. In Pakistan, girls are slaughtered by extremists
14	Muslim community to renounce Islamic	terrorist	groups and publicly announce allegiance
15	irony he was murdered by an Islamic	terrorist	one of the people he warned about," Big Dog wrote.
16	earlier actions of this murderous Islamic	terrorist	were deemed not severe enough

Figure 13: Sample concordance (16 out of 122) of *Islamic terrorist*

A racial affiliation between the Islamic identity and intense negative evaluative parameters of threat and violence is evident, with lines 1-2 presenting the Islamic other as a 'suspect community' existing outside national boundaries (*our nation, Western country*) and thus, demonising Islamic followers as a dangerous and homogenous threat to the national status quo (Sharma and Nijjar, 2018: 81; Nickels et. al, 2012). High intensity adverb-adjectives such as *mentally unstable* (12) and negative appraisements (Van Leeuwen, 1996) including *homophobe* (5) and *racist* (5) intensify the demonization of the perpetrator, including the *Islamic* label associated with him. As the intensification of negativity leads to the expectation of negative consequences, (Alba-Juez and Mackenzie, 2019), the journalist's employment of extreme emotivity not only makes the reader's anger 'closely connected to [the] ensuing violent action' (Sánchez-García and Blanco-Carrión, 2007: 233) but to the perpetrator's closest collocational attribute: his Islamic religion. The frequent attribution of these nominations to perpetrator Omar Mateen (lines 5-11) - despite his affiliation with terrorist organizations remaining insubstantial (Ackerman, 2016) - shows his Afghan and Muslim identity to be 'routinely conflated with – and inextricably tied to – terrorism' (Beydoun, 2018: 1216). Looking at two of these examples in closer detail, Mateen's functionalized criminality becomes suppressed by the identification and collectivisation of his Muslim identity:

(7) "In a tragic irony he was murdered by an Islamic terrorist, one of the people he warned about," Big Dog wrote. In his blog posts, Thalasinios condemned violent zealotry around globe - but he was slain by two zealots who lived nine miles from his home.

(*The New York Post*, December 5, 2015)

(8) They pontificated. And lost sight of why we need to work out why this happened IT'S pretty clear that Omar Saddiqui Mateen was a homophobe. And an Islamic terrorist. He was also racist, and reportedly beat his former wife. He was an all-round nasty piece of trash before he made the evil and vile decision to storm a popular gay nightclub and kill as many people as he could.

(*The Advertiser (Aus)*, June 15, 2016)

In examples 7 and 8, emphases on material processes through aggressive verbs (*murdered, slain, beat, storm, kill*) create an 'action-oriented narrative' (Bloor and Bloor, 2013: 112), focusing on the functionalization of the social actor (Van Leeuwen, 1996). However, relational processes are also used to construct the shooter's identity through emotionally-appealing tabloidization strategies, with the dysphemistic nominals (*zealot, racist, all-round nasty piece of trash*) and negatively evaluative adjectives (*violent, evil, vile*) contributing to an intense degradation of his character. Expectation of Mateen's potential for murder is reiterated in example 7 where his nomination as an *Islamic terrorist* is post-modified as *one of the people* his victim *warned about*, implying his Muslim identity to be a contributing factor to his violence.

5.3 Dysphemistic lexis relating to mental health

Dysphemistic referential nouns (*loner*, *fanatic*, *psycho**, *lunatic*, *madman* and *maniac*) were investigated to reveal the evaluative traits associated with the negative appraisal of social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 58). Through a qualitative-based investigation into semantic prosody, collocational analysis based on the concordance (rather than statistical) analysis of the full corpus and reference NOW Corpus was then undertaken to uncover the ‘consistent co-occurrence’ of items, and therefore recurrent attitudinal meanings (Hunston, 2007: 251), of the most frequent of these terms in both newspaper discourse on mass shootings and in general newspaper discourse.

As dysphemisms seek to ‘disparage, humiliate and degrade’ (Allan and Burridge, 2006: 240), these ‘bad-naming’ nominations (Bolinger, 1980: 119) were expectantly frequent, working to justify varying levels of hate, blame or character weakness. Figure 14 shows the relative frequencies of the most frequent nouns relating to mental states, out of the full corpus’ total words, split into the terms’ attribution to white and ethnic minority shooters.

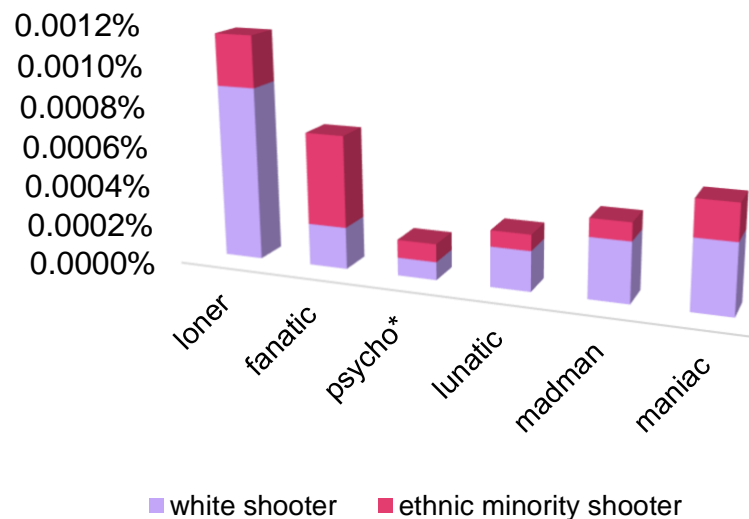


Figure 14: Frequency of Nominal Mental Health Dysphemisms

Figure 14 shows *loner*, *lunatic*, *madman* and *maniac* to be attributed most frequently to white rather than ethnic minority shooters across the corpus, with *fanatic* being the only dysphemistic referential noun significantly higher in ethnic minority shooter depictions. Whilst all these lexical items carry negative evaluative meanings, *loner* acts as a milder and sympathetic substitution for criminal mentality whilst *madman* and *maniac* are much harsher derogatives. Although these lexical items are near-synonyms – in that they have ‘similar cognitive or denotational meanings’ (Xiao and McEnery, 2006: 108) - qualitative analysis reveals stark differentiation between their connotations, realised by consistent and distinct semantic themes attached to descriptions of white and ethnic minority mass shooters.

Examples 9-13 show the contextual placing of *loner* in white shooter descriptions, evidently encompassing softer representations of their mental state.

(9) We already have some clues to what motivated the Christchurch killer - beyond the screamingly obvious fact that he hated Muslims. We know he was an overweight loner who was bullied at school.

(*Herald Sun (Aus)*, March 21 2019)

(10) "Troubled loner" might be more accurate, the type we know from Port Arthur, Dunblane and Sandy Hook. Paddock apparently had no strong religious or political beliefs. No criminal history. Not known for angry outbursts.

(*Sydney Morning Herald*, Oct 6 2017)

(11) The murder accused became noticeably bulkier in the months before the shooting, was always polite and friendly and spoke with an English-sounding accent. Another neighbour who shared an internal wall with the alleged shooter described him as "a bit of a recluse". "He seemed like a loner, but a friendly *loner*."

(*The Dominion Post (NZ)*, March 23, 2019)

(12) He fit no model of the alienated, violent loner.

(*The Dominion Post (NZ)*, February 26 2016)

(13) Planned Parenthood in Colorado Springs, whose alleged perpetrator was notoriously described in the New York Times as a "gentle loner", not a terrorist, despite the apparent political motivation behind his attack.

(*The Guardian*, December 4, 2015)

Sympathetic identity framing is notably frequent, with lexis relating to victimization and amiability working to legitimize the incongruence between the white shooter and the white shooter's crimes. The notion of *loner*, as separate and (un)belonging to any social group, transforms a shooter from targeting to target, either implying an explicit goal participant role (Halliday, 1973) in being *bullied at school* or implicitly *troubled* and *alienated* by external factors. Lexis denoting positive evaluative personality traits (*polite, friendly, gentle, not known for angry outbursts*) further fulfils a condition for sympathy by 'providing colour and human interest' (Bednarek, 2010a: 35) to likeable, emotive characteristics. Evaluative parameters relating to the expected/unexpected dichotomy (Thompson and Hunston, 2000, Bednarek and Caple, 2018: 147) reveal the unexpectedness of the shooter's crime, realised by 'no' and 'not' denial negation phrases. As 'negation denies a claim which is already in some ways 'on the table'' (Love, 2000: 36; Pagano, 1994: 256), the claims that the perpetrator had no strong *religious or political beliefs, no criminal history and was not a terrorist* indicates a subversion of the presupposed violent and hateful mass shooter *model*, particularly the *alienated, violent loner* associated with white mass shooters.

Comparatively, whilst significantly less frequent, concordances of *loner* reveal the term to be explicitly more pejorative when attributed to ethnic minority shooters:

(14) He was simply a loner with psychiatric issues, access to a weapon and a Muslim name.

(*The Sun*, 28 June 2016)

(15) It has also emerged that Mateen was a loner and vicious wife beater. He wed his first wife seven years ago but beat her repeatedly.

(*The Daily Mirror*, June 13, 2016)

(16)

Heather LaSalla, of Fort Pierce, said she blocked Mateen on Facebook after he sent her inappropriate messages. "He was one of those guys who wouldn't leave me alone," she said. "He was always like a loner."

(*The New York Post*, June 18, 2016)

Examples 14-16 show the semantic themes surrounding *loner* to carry greater derogative meaning, with references to violence (*access to a weapon, vicious wife beater, beat her repeatedly*) and harassment (*sent her inappropriate message, wouldn't leave me alone*) reinstating, rather than diminishing, the shooter's agency in criminal actions and overall negative appraisal. Stigmatisation of Mateen's religious group identity in example 14 emphasises the 'otherness' in having a *Muslim name*, attaching his loner status to a wider category norm, in both having Islamic beliefs and *psychiatric issues*. Uncovering the semantic prosody of *loner*, a concordance investigation into the NOW Corpus reveals similar themes. Figure 15 shows themes of victimization (1), white racialization (2) and positive evaluation (3).

N	Concordance	Set
1	adulthood. Dennis (Ryan McDonald) is a socially inept loner with a volatile dark streak and delusional fantasies of	1
2	statements: " What do you get when you cross a mentally ill loner with a society that abandons him and treats him like	1
3	comic-book movie. Staring Joaquin Phoenix as troubled loner Arthur Fleck, the Warner Bros film has grossed over \$1	1
4	said Monday that the shooter appeared to be " more of a loner . " " I don't think he had a lot of connections to very	1
5	that victimized Elliot and made him the wounded, fractured loner that we've come to know. The audience comes to the	1
6	blind to it for most of my life. # I grew up a friendless loner with a horrible life. I believed on the deepest level that I	1
7	the " White Wolf " for his pale skin, all-white hair, and loner's temperament, Geralt is a far cry from the choir boy clean	2
8	assurance by newcomer Colten Wilke) is a troubled white loner whose relationship with the Indigenous community is	2
9	Helping Hand holiday party. # I'm very much an introvert and loner , so parties or big events aren't my scene (which is ironic	3
10	men, while simultaneously rocking the whole masculine loner vibe of the " Mad Men " 50s and the Steve McQueen' 60s	3
11	name is Din Djarin, is your iconically cool, flawed, mysterious, loner gunslinger that harkens to the best of the samurai movies	3

Figure 15: Sample concordance of *loner* in NOW Corpus

Three distinct semantic themes reveal evaluative meanings of *loner*, all of which correlate with the term's contextual usages in depictions of white mass shooters. Sympathetic expressions are realised by negative attributive lexicalisations, such as adjectival *wounded, fractured, friendless* and the nominal phrase *a society that abandons him*, similarly implying a separate actor participant role that is culpable for the *loner* victimization status. A racialization of *loner* is also evident, with left collocates *White wolf, pale skin* and *all-white hair* corresponding to

the higher frequency of *loner* to depict white mass shooters. Positive evaluative traits are additionally prominent in building characterisation, with emphases on popularity, masculinity and charm showing the lexical choice to be semantically detached from notions of criminality and murder. This semantic category therefore highlights an ironic usage of *loner*, produced by a ‘collocative clash’ (Louw, 1993: 30) between likeable evaluative traits of an individual found in the NOW Corpus and its comparably frequent usage to denote white mass shooters in this study’s corpus.

Comparatively, *fanatic* as a lexical item occurs more frequently in depictions of ethnic minority shooters, illustrated by the following qualitative examples.

(17) The gunman, Omar Mateen, is said to have been homophobic and Islamist, twin hatreds that are also found in this country. Whether Mateen was a fanatic or a madman remains unclear. But nobody can be sure there are no Omar Mateen’s in New Zealand.

(*The Dominion Post*, 14 June 2016)

(18) The 21-year-old Muslim fanatic was convicted last month of the 2013 terror attack that killed three people and left 264 injured.

(*The Sun*, March 16 2015)

(19) Yes, the gunman was the son of a Muslim fanatic and had embraced a grab-bag of Islamist causes from his internet wanderings; but he was also, in all likelihood, a young man contorted by conflict about his own sexual orientation in a fundamentalist subculture.

(*The Times*, June 19 2016)

Religious faith as a requisite for being labelled a *fanatic* is prevalent, with examples 17-19 showing explicit collocational relationships between the node and the most frequent pre-modifying noun collocate *Muslim*, with a frequency of 6.8% out of all the term’s L1 collocates. Attributive relational verbs (*have, was*) in example 17 negatively characterise the carrier, Mateen, as a *homophobic and Islamist*, with the comparative conjunction *or* indicating a mutual exclusivity between an ideologically crazed *fanatic* or a mentally unstable *madman*. Transforming the perpetrator’s individual name into a collectivised entity, the declarative that there are *no Omar Mateen’s* has metonymic functions, in that it stands for another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), in this case a larger group of *homophobic, Islamic fanatics*.

The lexical combination of *Muslim fanatic* discursively associates mental instability as emerging from their Islamic religion, a common cognitive strategy connecting semantic themes of violence (*conflict, terror attack, killed*) and ideology (*Islamist, fundamentalist subculture*) with Islamic beliefs (Baker et. al, 2013: 262). Whilst the semantic themes of *loner* focus on individualised, evaluative personality traits, frequent references to religious beliefs show the semantic prosody of *fanatic* as an obsession over collectivised causes, opening up room for exclusionary discursive practices against ‘them’ (Wodak, 2015). Comparatively,

qualitative analysis into *fanatic*, as a referential noun for white shooters, reveals two distinct semantic themes.

(20) "This is a crazed lunatic full of hate," Las Vegas Mayor Carolyn Goodman said. You may have thought, as I did, that the Christchurch shootings were the act of a lone-wolf fanatic. You may have thought, as I did, that no-one saw it coming.
(*The Dominion Post (NZ)*, March 21, 2019)

(21) If Milhan had read the Christchurch gunman's manifesto he would have found plenty to fuel his rage but he would also have seen the Christchurch fanatic did not profess to be a Christian.
(*The Press (NZ)*, April 27, 2019)

(22) Brenton Tarrant was recalled as a fitness fanatic who worked as a personal trainer and ran free exercise programmes for local children.
(*The Times*, March 15 2019)

(23) SHOOTER IS A WELL-TRAVELLED GYM FANATIC WHO GREW UP IN SMALL-TOWN AUSTRALIA.
(*The Daily Mail*, March 15 2019)

Examples 20-23 show *fanatic* to encompass similar references to ideology/beliefs (*manifesto*, *Christian*) and violence (*gunman*, *fire off*, *fuel his rage*). Attempts to characterise white perpetrators as mentally unstable are shown through frequent attributive relational verbs, with the allocation of mental health attributes (*crazed lunatic*, *lone-wolf fanatic*, *rage*) determining a character-oriented narrative of the perpetrator. In revealing 'shared sets of beliefs or ideology that characterise a particular social group' (Semino, 2008: 33), the use of the *lone wolf* conceptual metaphor in example 20 implies a culpability of violent predatory action whilst emphasising the detachment of the perpetrator from external influence. Yet, it is the amelioration of *fanatic* in examples 22 and 23 which is particularly challenging, with representations of white supremacist Brenton Tarrant including a *WELL-TRAVELLED GYM FANATIC* and *fitness fanatic* who ran *exercise programmes for local children*. Both expressions are positively evaluative, conveying qualities deemed admirable and therefore 'violat[ing] a semantic prosody condition' (Xiao and McEnery, 2006).

Taking *fanatic* out of a context of mass shootings and into the context of general news discourse, its concordance profile reveals similar semantic themes: ideological obsession (1), Islamic characterisation (2) and positive evaluation (3). Studying the collocates either side of *fanatic*, a similar phenomenon exists between a negative semantic prosody of a violent or dangerous obsession (*Isis*, *violent*, *paranoid*, *battling a demon*, *authoritarian*, *attacks*, *hateful*), a less negative ideological consumption of *religious* belief to a more positive synonym for an enthusiast (*football Fanatic*, *Lego fanatic*). The term's racialization towards Muslims is prevalent in concordance lines 8-9 correlating with its frequent association with Muslim

perpetrators in the mass shootings corpus. Similarly, *football* and *Lego* as left collocates for *fanatic* align with the positive lexical representation of white Tarrant as a *gym* and *fitness fanatic*, demonstrating the term's 'slippery semantics' as a 'recurrent linguistic inconsistency in racial identification' (Godreau, 2008: 7).

N	Concordance	Set
1	and batteries with and without firearms. He is a religious fanatic, says he's battling a demon. " # Church officials	1
2	this- if it wasn't bogged down with fending off fanatic attacks by hateful Democrats, it could accomplish	1
3	- she called him a violent and paranoid and a religious fanatic. The Texas attorney general today said that the	1
4	mince any words. " The Act is not only authoritarian and fanatic, but also an egregious folly in as much as it	1
5	more extreme Singaporeans, I'm not an anti-white paper fanatic. I don't equate our immigration policy with an	1
6	people, before fleeing the scene. # The 24-year-old ISIS fanatic was stopped after arriving in the suburb of Sesto	1
7	aid worker David, from Perth, was killed by Isis fanatic " Jihadi John " six years ago. # She found it by	1
8	of this situation is an eventual replacement of the present fanatic Shiite Muslim government, either by a military one	2
9	is not an indication that those women were necessarily fanatic Muslims. Living in that culture and facing daily	2
10	boy # Tauranga six-year-old Hunter Ferris is a Lego fanatic. He has autism and has found Lego gives him	3
11	, Godin's Auto Sales in Auburn. # Sue was a football fanatic, and enjoyed going to Gipper's regularly for trivia	3

Figure 16: Sample concordance of *fanatic* in NOW Corpus

Whilst the frequency and concordance profile of *fanatic* show the term's semantic orientation to often be altered by the racial identity of the referent, an investigation into the mental-health dysphemism *maniac* – whilst significantly attributed to white shooters - reveals a closer semantic parallel between white and ethnic minority shooter representations, the former of which is exemplified below.

(24) In Las Vegas, TERRIFIED music lovers run for their lives as maniac Stephen Paddock open fires from the 32nd floor of a Las Vegas hotel.

(*The Sun*, October 5 2017)

(25) Nikolaz Crus, this maniac who allegedly shot up the school in Parkland, Fla., basically indicated everything except the time and place he was going to attack. But somehow, we missed all of his warning signs.

(*The New York Post*, February 17 2018)

(26) This maniac Stephen Paddock has now raised the bar and some nutter will want to beat his 'target'.

(*The Sun*, October 4 2017)

Contextualising qualitative usages of *maniac*, examples 24-26 show either explicit agency associated with murderous material processes (*open fires, shot up, going to attack*) or implicit connections to these processes by the deictic marker *this* (*this maniac, this was just one maniac*). With the location of these examples occurring in right-wing tabloid newspapers, the semantic amplification of the high intensity nominal *maniac* shows typical tabloid lexicon in shifting the report 'to an engaged and often enraged personalization' (Conboy, 2003: 47) which constructs hate towards the perpetrator. The term's ideational meaning, an

argumentation strategy of emotive language (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, Macagno and Walton, 2010), sensationalises the perpetrator's mental instability, granting a thriller-fuelled narrative of the shooter whilst imposing a level of responsibility onto others who have *missed the warning signs*. Comparatively, examples 27-29 show the uses of *maniac* in representations of ethnic minority perpetrators.

(27) A Muslim maniac who calls himself 'Black Jesus' has been arrested after-allegedly shooting dead three white men and wounding another in California in broad-daylight.

(*The Daily Telegraph (Aus)*, April 20 2017)

(28) A MANHUNT is on for an Islamist gun maniac who slaughtered 39 New Year's Eve revellers at a Turkish nightclub before fleeing.

(*The Daily Mirror*, January 2 2017)

(29) THEY ran screaming for their lives as their loved ones were cut down by bullets and bombs on a sunny Tunisian beach. Then their terror and grief turned to fury as suspicion grew that they had been left at the mercy of an Islamic State maniac well known to police.

(*The Sun*, January 16 2017)

Examples 27-29 similarly employ direct agency with graphic material processes (*shooting dead, wounding, slaughtered*). However, the nominal pre-modification of *maniac* with the perpetrator's religion (*Muslim*), ideology (*Islamist, Islamic State*) or weapon (*gun*), combined with an absence of their names, shows the mental instability of these social actors to be either categorised by violence, collective violent ideologies, or by their religious beliefs. Intense cognitive reactions (*terror, grief, fury, suspicion*) and affected participant processes (*ran screaming for their lives, left at the mercy of*) intensify the causal power of the perpetrator's mentally-driven crimes and projects similar fearful emotional responses (Martin and White, 2005) toward the collectivised ISIS ideology, and more broadly the Muslim 'other'. Turning to the concordance profile of *maniac* in the NOW Corpus, Figure 17 shows three differentiating semantic themes arising from the node's surrounding collocates: vulgar language, violence/intimidation and humour.

As derogatives 'contribute to establishing settings and happenings and constructing characters', expletives (*f*****, fucking*) and vulgar language (*ball-licking, crazy, burping*) reinforce the evaluative extremity of *maniac* as being particularly harmful or taboo to societal norms, whilst additionally solidifying a newsworthiness in using entertaining lexicalisations. Corresponding with *maniac* as a high intensity evaluative referent, a semantic theme of violence and intimidation (2) is realised through negative attributive adjectives (*homicidal, controlling, abusive, axe-wielding, harassing*) and the actor participant process *chasing*, indicating a predator to victim dichotomy that would be expected in mass shooter news narratives.

N	Concordance	Set
1	. The Jesus Rolls # Jesus Quintana, the ball-licking maniac from the Coen brothers' The Big Lebowski,	1
2	call him " crazy Persian ", " f***** crazy Persian, maniac ", and made harassing comments and jokes	1
3	Hey, he's a nice normal guy, but he's also a fucking maniac. " # But it was a roll of the dice; you're not	1
4	(Oliver Jackson-Cohen), a controlling, abusive maniac who has made her life a misery. Her sister	2
5	the fact that his brother Lore was a homicidal maniac (" Decent, " " Datalore "), his father an	2
6	to Dorset in a car like that. But let's say a homocidal maniac is chasing you with an axe, in daytime, in a	2
7	you meet will turn you into a homicidal axe-wielding maniac before you can finish that can of coke	2
8	not progress. And I was still burping like a maniac. What do people use apple cider vinegar	3
9	feel like you should do so as well. The toilet paper maniac who hauls 40 packs of Charmin to his car is	3
10	in a sweaty AF mosh pit and dancing like a maniac with strangers who have a shared love for an	3

Figure 17: Sample concordance of *maniac* in NOW Corpus

Differentiating the term's semantic prosody from mass shooter representations, a humorous theme arises from the juxtaposition of neutrally evaluative inanimate objects (*toilet paper*, *40 packs of Charmin*, *can of coke*) or amusing actions (*dancing*, *burping*) with the negative intensity of *maniac*, creating humour through the semantic incongruence between normalised objects and actions with violence. Whilst not explicitly used for comedic effect in representations of mass shooters, the term's connotative potential for humour indicates a level of characterised absurdity when attributed to perpetrators, compared to *loner* for example.

5.4 Who? The expansion function in relative clauses

Relative clauses with their functions in 'nominal reference, identification and/or expansion' (Biber et. al, 2002: 281; Wiredu, 2012: 104) play an important role in constructing, adding and elaborating on information about the given referent. *Who* as a relativizer in clauses occurs 13, 576 (0.12%) times in the corpus, making its clausal function a useful indication into the additional prioritisation of characteristics, actions and values associated with the individual perpetrator. The following analysis considers the expansion function when mass shooters are referred to by their names, realised by *who* non-defining relative clauses where 'one clause elaborates on the meaning of another by further specifying or describing it' (Halliday, 2004: 461). Newspapers rely on compressed noun post-modification for 'informational purposes' (Biber et. al, 2008: 184) whilst revealing the attributes that the journalist chooses to be most essential for the referent's characterisation (Adika, 2015). For example, the clausal expansion of Paddock - *who killed 58 people at a concert in Las Vegas* - shows his active material action (to kill) to be the prioritised identification, whilst the expanding relative clause '*Mateen, who was Muslim*' reveals his religion to be deemed most vital in his characterisation. The clause therefore facilitates the process of extending, whereby actions and traits of mass shooters are

described with further detail, ‘adding as much subsidiary information as possible’ (Khrosravinik, 2009: 485).

Analysis of three white (*Paddock, Roof, Tarrant*) and three ethnic minority perpetrators (*Farook, Malik, Mateen*) was facilitated by comparing different thematic categories within these embedded syntactic structures. As the perpetrators of the biggest mass shootings, the chosen shooters were selected due to their frequent occurrences in newspaper articles. Split into five thematic categories and accompanied by a legend to outline the topics, Figure 18 shows the relative frequency of thematically categorized *who*-relative clauses, out of all the non-defining *who*-relative clauses used to describe these shooters, combined within racial categories for quantitative analysis.

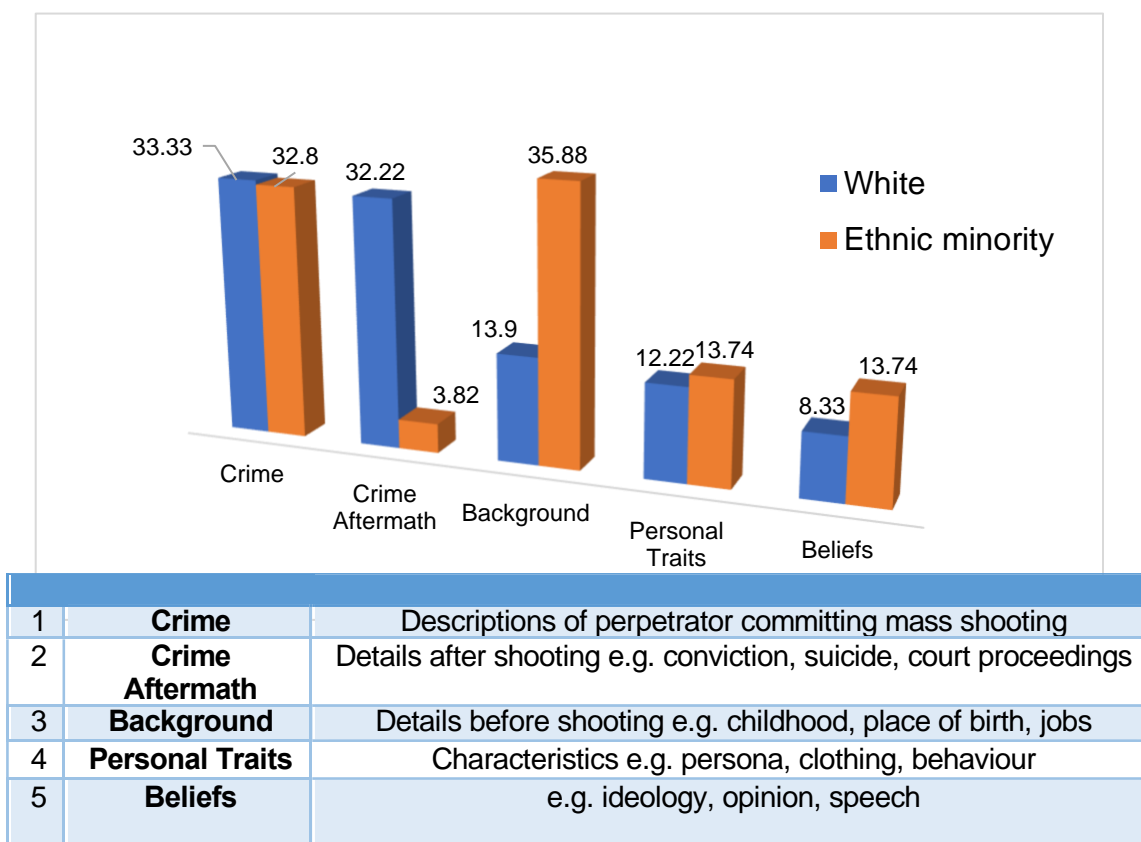


Figure 18: Themes in non-defining *who*-relative clauses for white versus ethnic minority perpetrators

Figure 18 shows the attribution of the crime theme (1) to be similarly high in white and ethnic minority representations, whereas the crime aftermath category is clearly higher for white mass shooters. This is largely due to all of the ethnic minority perpetrators having died on the scene, removing narratives on the arrest, conviction or trial. Comparatively, the background category is much higher in non-defining clauses of ethnic minority perpetrators, showing the journalists’ frequent accentuation of their past, and potential causes of their crimes. Expansion clauses which focus on the perpetrator’s personal traits have similar frequencies in white and

ethnic minority representations, whilst the characterisation of perpetrators in terms of their beliefs is more frequent in ethnic minority representations. This figure therefore shows that the categorisation of topics is important in identifying ‘thematically uniform discourse processes’ that ‘in their entirety constitute the discourse strand’ (Jäger, 2001: 47, 53) associated with individual perpetrators. To further analysis into how non-defining clauses contribute to the identity of the referent, cluster analysis was carried out to see repeated phraseological patterns (Scott, 2007) relating to the most frequent processes attributed to perpetrators, exhibited in Table 9.

Table 9: Most frequent three to five word clusters in *who* expansion relative clauses

	CLUSTER	FREQ.		CLUSTER	FREQ.
1	ROOF WHO KILLED NINE	18	16	WHO KILLED NINE PEOPLE	7
2	DYLANN ROOF WHO KILLED NINE	14	17	SYED RIZWAN FAROOK WHO	7
3	DYLANN ROOF WHO KILLED	14	18	WHITE SUPREMACIST DYLANN ROOF	7
4	WHO WAS BORN IN	14	19	TARRANT WHO IS ACCUSED	7
5	WHO KILLED 49 PEOPLE	13	20	MALIK WHO WAS BORN	7
6	OMAR MATEEN WHO KILLED 49	13	21	WHO KILLED 49 PEOPLE IN	6
7	MATEEN WHO KILLED 49 PEOPLE	13	22	WHO KILLED NINE BLACK	6
8	OMAR MATEEN WHO KILLED	13	23	WHO WAS BORN IN PAKISTAN	6
9	MATEEN WHO KILLED 49	13	24	ROOF WHO KILLED NINE BLACK	6
10	AND TASHFEEN MALIK WHO	8	25	TARRANT WHO IS ACCUSED OF	6
11	ROOF WHO MURDERED NINE	8	26	WAS BORN IN PAKISTAN	6
12	DYLANN ROOF WHO MURDERED	8	27	DYLANN ROOF WHO IS	6
13	WHO IS ACCUSED OF	8	28	KILLED 49 PEOPLE IN	6
14	SUPREMACIST DYLANN ROOF WHO	7	29	DYLANN ROOF WHO WAS	6
15	ROOF WHO KILLED NINE PEOPLE	7	30	MALIK WHO WAS BORN IN	6

Table 9 shows Roof to be most frequently identified by the expansion relativizer *who*, which characterises him through his criminal action. As a transitive and transactive (Van Leeuwen, 1995: 89) material process, *killed* characterises both Roof and Mateen as the ‘one that does the deed’ against ‘the one to which the process is extended’ (Halliday, 2004: 83, 226), in this case the victims (*people*) who are numerically represented as ‘unspecified, “anonymous” individuals’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 51). However, cluster 24 includes the victim’s *black* racial attribute, presenting Roof as an individual consumed by racial hatred, consolidated by the frequent pre-modifying nomination *white supremacist* in cluster 18 which categorises him based on his hateful ideological beliefs. Tarrant is the only perpetrator occurring more as a passive goal participant in the material process *is accused*, showing the favourable characterisation to be through his criminal charges, rather than his criminal action.

The second most frequent process is the intransitive material verb *born*, which implies that the place of birth is an important identity marker. Consolidated by the prepositional phrase *in Pakistan* and *Malik* referent, the *born* verb is applied to ethnic minority perpetrators, showing the non-transactive action to be deemed as a vital characteristic of those considered non-

citizens. The use of the expansion function therefore shows what Huntington (1993) labels as a ‘clash of civilisations’ perspective, whereby Malik is presented as ‘inexorably separated from ‘the West’’, imposing an exclusionary label which discursively constructs all Muslim as oppositional and threatening to the national in-group (Nickels et. al, 2012: 351). In order to analyse these patterns of phraseology further across individual perpetrators, concordance lists were compiled and ordered into the thematic categories established in Figure 18, starting with examples from the concordance profile of *Roof*.

	A	B	C
1	Roof, who	killed nine African American worshippers at a church in Charleston in 2015.	1
2	Roof, who	allegedly shot the black parishioners at a Wednesday night Bible study on June 17, 2015, at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal	1
3	Roof, who	murdered nine people at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, S.C.	1
4	Roof, who	killed nine parishioners in a historic black church in Charleston, S.C., proved to have a fondness for Confederate iconography.	1
5	Roof, who	murdered nine black people at a church in Charleston, South Carolina, in 2015, telling his victims: "You're raping our women."	1
6	Roof, who	shot dead nine black churchgoers on 21 July 2015, faces the death penalty and 33 federal charges in federal court.	1
7	Roof, who	allegedly killed nine innocent black Americans at a church in Charleston, S.C.; or James Holmes, the terrorist convicted of murder	1
8	Roof, who	shot up a black church.	1
9	Roof, who	killed nine black worshippers at a Charleston, S.C., church, will represent himself in the penalty phase of his trial starting Tuesday.	1
10	Roof, who	murdered nine African-American people at a historically black church in Charleston, S.C	1
11	Roof, who	killed nine black churchgoers in Charleston, S.C., in 2015. Tarrant also had white-supremacist slogans scrawled on weapons, accor	1
12	Roof, who	was sentenced to death last year, had penned an online manifesto, which appeared on a website called The Last Rhodesian	2
13	Roof, who	is charged with killing eight worshippers in a church in Charleston, S.C., last year, and many more.	2
14	Roof, who	coolly confessed to the killings and then justified them without remorse in a jailhouse manifesto, was never in serious doubt during tl	2
15	Roof, who	has been charged in the killings last week in Charleston. The manifesto traced the motivation for the shootings to a twisted epiphan	2
16	Roof, who	remains behind bars awaiting execution, and tried to send him Nazi propaganda.	2
17	Roof, who	is suspected of shooting dead nine black churchgoers in South Carolina.	2
18	Roof, who	eagerly confessed that he'd hoped to start a race war, stood without apparent emotion in the hushed courtroom as the jury foreman	2
19	Roof, who	kept his head down throughout the proceeding.	2
20	Roof, who	said that "his parents were pressuring him to get a job," according to the police report.	3
21	Roof, who	was born in South Carolina, sat through nearly an hour of prayer and Bible study at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church	3
22	Roof, who	had declared in his writings that he had not been raised in a racist home or environment.	3
23	Roof, who	had previously been arrested on drug and trespassing charges.	3
24	Roof, who	is also white, at an African-American church in Charleston, South Carolina, killed nine people but received only 7.4 per cent of medic	4
25	Roof, who	is 22, could allow him to escape decades of punishment.	4
26	Roof, who	is white, told jurors, "I still feel that I had to do it".	4
27	Roof, who	may have felt in that most narcissistic of self-delusional laments that no one really "knew" him	5
28	Roof, who	noted the declining influence of hate groups like the Ku Klux Klan, said, "Nobody else is brave enough to do anything about it."	5
29	Roof, who	voiced deep hatred of blacks and other minorities in a manifesto on his website	5
30	Roof, who	had expressed his hatred of African Americans, stands accused of killing nine of them in a Charleston, S.C., church.	5

Figure 19: Sample concordance (30 out of 101) of non-defining relative clauses for Roof

With the clusters of non-defining relative clauses consolidating frequent occurrences of Roof's active agency in violent material processes, the frequency of verbs *killed*, *murdered* and *shot* (I.1-I.11) is expected, however some of these processes also include adverb pre-modifiers - such as *allegedly shot* (I.2) and *allegedly killed* (I.7) - which act as protection devices to avoid responsibility for a proposition whilst also expressing low certainty over the claims (Bednarek, 2006: 148). Whilst Roof is explicitly named and nominated in terms of his ‘unique identity’, the nameless victims ‘fulfil only passing, functional roles’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 52-3) instead being characterised by their victimization, ideologically-opposed racial identity (*black*, *African-American*, *racist rampage*) and religion (*churchgoers*, *worshippers*, *historic Emmanuel*, *parishioners*, *historical black church*). The representation of Roof's victims therefore acts more

as a symbolic referent, with the heinousness of Roof's white supremacy being elevated by the constructed innocence of these otherwise nameless victims.

Frequent concordances under the crime aftermath category 2 show the most newsworthy repercussions to be those imposed upon Roof himself, both in him being confronted by his crime as a goal participant *charged* (l.13, l.15), and through details of his imminent fate of death himself *awaiting execution* (l.16) and *sentenced to death* (l.12). The overemphasis on Roof's disturbing personality is further reiterated by the semantic discrepancy between the positive evaluative behavioural adverbs *coolly* (l.14) and *eagerly* (l.18) and the connotative criminality associated with the verbal process *confessed*, exhibiting harmful white supremacist ideologies by Roof's absence of remorse for his murders or beliefs.

Attributive relational processes in the personal traits category 4 show Roof, as a carrier, to be characterised through the identification of his white racial identity (l.24, l.26) and young age (l.25). The clausal expansion function deactivates Roof's criminal action (Wodak and Meyer, 2016: 236) and instead reduces him to a single defining characteristic, placing his sole identification either in the white racial majority or as a young adult.

Reporting sensationalist details such as a perpetrator's ideological beliefs and expressions is heavily criticised for creating a 'contagion effect': the promotion of imitating the violence that harmful beliefs create (Pescara-Kovach and Raleigh, 2017; Meindl and Ivy, 2017). As verbalization processes often trigger the ideology that journalists want to convey (Matu, 2008), the high prevalence of these processes (*expressed, confessed, noted, voiced*), grant Roof a direct participant role as the sayer in the dangerous *hatred* (l.30) of minorities and enthusiasm for *starting a race war* (l.18). Whilst not a direct promotion of these viewpoints, the use of reported speech gives Roof agency in projecting and exposing disturbing beliefs to the addressees (the readers), some of whom may emulate such racist and xenophobic beliefs.

Turning to a sample concordance profile of Tarrant, there are similar thematic patterns when compared to Roof, with the inclusion of crime and crime aftermath details showing functionalized representations of Tarrant in material processes to be most frequent, although his role as actor to these violent processes is notably backgrounded in categories 1 and 2. Examples of who-relative clauses in Figure 20 show narratives of Tarrant to encompass explicit material processes (*murdered, shot dead, killed*), placing him as an active participant in the targeting of the shocking number of victims as the goal (category 1). Similar to Roof, lexis which decreases the culpability is prevalent, through the adverb *allegedly* (l.9), passive structures *is accused* (l.1, l.4) and the mental process associated with the authorities who *believe* Tarrant is *responsible* (l.8). Yet, the reference to Tarrant's plea as *not guilty* (l.14) may additionally necessitate efforts to avoid explicit accusations of guilt before the trial has taken place.

	A	B	C
1	Tarrant, who	is accused of the massacre of 50 Muslim worshippers in Christchurch, lived on the other side	1
2	Tarrant, who	murdered 50 people in two Christchurch, New Zealand, mosques, described immigration and low white birth	1
3	Tarrant, who	murdered 51 people last March in a mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand, was found at trial not to be men	1
4	Tarrant, who	is accused of killing 51 people in a March 15 attack on two Christchurch mosques, and other acts of terroris	1
5	Tarrant, who	shot dead 51 worshippers at a mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand, earlier this year.	1
6	Tarrant, who	murdered 50 Muslim worshippers in New Zealand, as raising "genuine fears that all white people have"	1
7	Tarrant, who	had five guns including at two semi-automatic rifles, returned to his car and picked out fresh weapon	1
8	Tarrant, who	authorities believe to be responsible for both Christchurch mosque shootings, has been charged with murder	1
9	Tarrant, who	allegedly live streamed the Christchurch attack on social media, also released a manifesto	1
10	Tarrant, who	killed 41 in an earlier attack on the Masjid Al Noor Mosque, was also the Linwood Avenue gunman	1
11	Tarrant, who	was arrested and charged over the massacre.	2
12	Tarrant, who	remains in custody charged with murder, had a "severe addiction" to video games,	2
13	Tarrant, who	is to face trial for the Christchurch attack in which he is alleged to have shot dead 51 people	2
14	Tarrant, who	has pleaded not guilty to murdering 51 people in terrorist attacks at two New Zealand mosques in March	2
15	Tarrant, who	is due to appear in court on Saturday, identified himself online before livestreaming himself	2
16	Tarrant, who	had earlier said he would represent himself in court, now has lawyers acting on his behalf.	2
17	Tarrant, who	appeared in court on Saturday charged with murder, on Monday sacked his state-appointed lawyer.	2
18	Tarrant, who	is currently awaiting trial for 51 murders, 40 attempted murders, and engaging in a terrorist act,	2
19	Tarrant, who	has been charged with one count of murder and is being held in New Zealand's only maximum security pris	2

Figure 20: Sample concordance (19 out 64) of non-defining relative clauses for Tarrant for categories 1 and 2

Non-defining clauses relating to the aftermath of the crime, most notably the police investigation and trial, are frequently presented as passive structures such as *was arrested* (l.11), *is to face trial* (l.13) and *has been charged* (l.19) to 'emphasize the person or thing acted on' (Moaddab, 2014: 1415) and fulfil the informational purpose of reporting Tarrant's status as an accused person in the judicial system. However, extracting examples of the crime and crime aftermath category in their fuller clause structures, nominalised constructions (underlined) show frequent instances of violence-related processes being turned into nouns:

(30)...Tarrant, who is accused of the massacre of 50 Muslim worshippers in Christchurch, lived on the other side of a thin dividing wall.
(*The Times*, March 17 2019)

(31)...Tarrant, who authorities believe to be responsible for both Christchurch mosque shootings has been charged with murder.
(*The Canberra Times*, March 17 2019)

(32)...Tarrant, who allegedly live-streamed the Christchurch attack on social media also released a manifesto where he claimed he was not a member of any group.
(*The Daily Mail*, March 23 2019)

(33)...Tarrant, who was arrested and charged over the massacre.
(*The Independent*, March 24 2019)

The above examples show the backgrounding of Tarrant as the actor participant to violence-related processes, suppressing his individual agency and instead 'objectifying, stratifying and depersonalising the event' into a more abstract narration (Downing, 2000: 356). Argued by

Halliday to be the 'single most powerful resource for creating metaphor' (1994: 352), nominalisation allows the journalist to 'hide the agency or responsibility for (especially negative) action' (Van Dijk, 2008b: 822), with the alternative placing of Tarrant as the goal to being *accused*, *arrested* and *charged* further contributing to his role in the 'elision' or displacement of agency' (Dunmire, 2005: 491). However, in noting the dates of these examples being straight after the shooting, the use of process nouns may also be due to the '(pragmatic) context model of news production'. In this case, reporting restrictions ensure news reports do not affect a fair trial of those perpetrators who do not die at the scene (Van Dijk, 2008b: 826), with the use of process nouns limiting the risk of hindering the 'many facets of the journalistic objectivity norm' (Cramer, 2011: 72). Turning to the latter three categories, identifications realised through relational and mental processes are more prevalent in the personal traits and beliefs category than for *Roof*.

20	Tarrant, who	never went to college, became a personal trainer at a gym in Grafton between 2009 and 2011.	3
21	Tarrant, who	was not on a terrorism watch list, "transited" through the UK and stayed "for a few weeks".	3
22	Tarrant, who	had lived on and off in New Zealand in recent years.	3
23	Tarrant, who	had described himself as a "regular white guy from a regular family" in a "manifesto"	4
24	Tarrant, who	has also gone by Barry Harry Tarry, ferretbiter and ferretlicker.	4
25	Tarrant, who	she said, "obsessively worked out".	4
26	Tarrant, who	was blameless, remained completely unflappable.	4
27	Tarrant, who	posted a rambling 74-page manifesto on a Twitter account he created three days before the attack, as the o	5
28	Tarrant, who	describes himself as an "eco-fascist", said he had been inspired to kill Muslims while travelling in Europe.	5
29	Tarrant, who	said he was a communist by some definitions, said he, too, hated America's drug culture	5
30	Tarrant, who	wanted to "crush immigration and deport those invaders living on our soil".	5

Figure 21: Sample concordance (10 out of 64) of non-defining relative clauses for Tarrant for categories 3, 4 and 5

Post-modifying clauses relating to Tarrant's personal traits (lines 23-26) are highly particularized, with his self-proclaimed description as a *regular white guy* (l.23), his *Barry Harry Tarry* nickname (l.24) and details that he *obsessively worked out* (l.25), acting as narrative digressions, instead attributing him with normalized traits. The relational attribution of Tarrant as *blameless* (l.26) further exhibits a semantic incongruence with the expected vilification of murder, indicating the author's attempt to suppress Tarrant's negative functional role of criminal doing and instead, foreground his innocence. Finally, verbalization processes in category 5 grant an opportunity for Tarrant's dangerous ideologies to be projected in direct quotations, such as describing himself as an *eco-fascist* (l.28) and wanting to *crush immigration and deport those invaders* (l.30), whereby 'an exact replication of a speaker's words' (Gibson and Zillman, 1993: 793) gives Tarrant linguistic power in influencing the minds of his addressees: the readers. Both concordance profiles of Roof and Tarrant show the characterisation of these white perpetrators in terms of their violent actions and mental instability in addition to granting the perpetrator's a (re)contextualised linguistic voice in projecting their white supremacist ideologies. The concordance profile of Muslim perpetrator

Mateen consolidates the quantitative findings of Figure 18, with the background category 3 frequently including references to the perpetrator's family background, place of birth and previous involvement with crime.

	A	B	C
1	Mateen, who	committed the deadliest mass shooting in U.S. history, sometimes attended.	1
2	Mateen, who	massacred 49 people at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Florida, in 2016, had a long history of domestic violence.	1
3	Mateen, who	pulled the trigger, again and again, in a nightclub whose name connotes life, not death:	1
4	Mateen, who	killed 49 people in Orlando, claimed unsubstantiated links to other attackers	1
5	Mateen, who	killed 49 people in a gay nightclub in Orlando on Sunday	1
6	Mateen, who	shot and killed 49 people in a gay nightclub in Orlando in June, was also not an ISIS member.	1
7	Mateen, who	killed 49 people at a nightclub in Orlando, terrorists.	1
8	Mateen, who	shot dead 49 people at a nightclub in Florida in June 2016, pledged allegiance to the leader of Isis before the attack	1
9	Mateen, who	was shot dead by police when they stormed the club, was reported to have exhibited Islamic extremist sympathies.	2
10	Mateen, who	was killed in a shootout with police on Sunday morning, was placed on a terrorism watch list and interviewed twice	2
11	Mateen, who	passed many background checks through the years, was authorised to carry weapons in his job as a security guard,	3
12	Mateen, who	had been under investigation for 10 months.	3
13	Mateen, who	apparently had been on security officials' radar screen for some time but not enough to do anything about it.	3
14	Mateen, who	had a son aged three with his Uzbekistani wife, was dead.	3
15	Mateen, who	was born in New York and worked as a security officer in Port St. Lucie, Fla., was armed with an A-AR-15-style assault rifle	3
16	Mateen, who	was divorced, had two licences to carry a concealed weapon.	3
17	Mateen, who	was born in New York, whose parents were from Afghanistan and who was married to his second wife.	3
18	Mateen, who	had previously been investigated for extremism by the FBI, held hostages for three hours until SWAT teams blew a hole in the	3
19	Mateen, who	court records show was briefly married and then divorced, was inspired by the group	3
20	Mateen, who	was born in New York and whose parents are from Afghanistan, had declared his allegiance to the Islamic State.	3
21	Mateen, who	he called a "whack job".	4
22	Mateen, who	who was 29 and who was killed by the police after the shooting, received any specific training or support from the Islamic State.	4
23	Mateen, who	posted selfies in which he wore shirts with the NYPD logos, had wanted to become a cop.	4
24	Mateen, who	was a Muslim, was not very religious and gave no indication that he was devoted to radical Islam.	4
25	Mateen, who	was overweight, often got picked on.	4
26	Mateen, who	had ambitions to become a policeman, in 2007.	5
27	Mateen, who	as a teenager cheered on the destruction of New York's twin towers in the 9/11 -attacks, was taken off the FBI's terror watchlist	5
28	Mateen, who	pledged allegiance to ISIS in a 911 phone call before the attack, was working alone, or had any outside help.	5
29	Mateen, who	he said had "talked about killing people all the time".	5
30	Mateen, who	is said by the FBI to have "leanings" towards extremism and Islamic State, was involved with a stand-off with officers	5

Figure 22: Sample concordance (30 out of 71) of non-defining relative clauses for Mateen

Similar to Roof and Tarrant, lines 1-8 in Figure 22 reinforce Mateen's role as an active participant in material processes pertaining directly to the crime, with frequent violence-related lexis sculpting the shocking nature of the event (*killed, wounded, massacred, shot*) and exhibiting Mateen's relentlessness in pulling the trigger *again and again* (l.3). Yet, Mateen is most notably categorised by his background (lines 11-20), with clauses focusing on three main sub-topics deemed essential in Mateen's identification: his place of birth (*born in New York*), his failing marriage (*divorced, briefly married*) and previous causes for suspicion (*on security official's radar screen, under investigation*). Intertwined within these topics, Mateen's relatives are distanced from a citizen 'in-group' through racial references, with his *Uzbekistani wife* (l.14) and *parents from Afghanistan* (l.17) indicating attempts to characterise Mateen as part of the foreign 'other' and therefore as 'different (strange), aggressive (threatening) and inferior' (Tekin, 2010: 162). Examples of relative clauses relating to Mateen's personal traits show the features deemed most important for his characterisation to be his age (l.22), his Muslim religion (l.24), his *overweight* physique (l.25), his mental instability as a *whack job* (l.21) and implied strange behaviour in posting *selfies* in police uniforms (l.23), detaching Mateen from identity or behavioural traits deemed to be collective positive-representation norms.

Concordance lines of relative clauses relating to beliefs present frequent characterisations of Mateen as an ISIS supporter in having *pledged allegiance* (28) to IS before the shooting. Yet despite Mateen *having passed many background checks* (l.11), frequent references draw upon presumptions of Mateen's past beliefs – in having *cheered on the destruction* (l.27) of the twin towers and having *talked about killing people all the time* (l.29) - indicating an inevitability and expectation of Mateen's murders due to his engrained beliefs and actions. In contrast to Roof as an active participant in verbal processes, Mateen's hateful beliefs are *said by the FBI* (30) and by his former colleague (29) thus, making these more liberal structures 'problematic to determine literalness and accuracy of their rendering' (Smirnova, 2009: 82) through their roles as transmitters, rather than direct speakers, of the information. With Malik occurring in the most frequent clusters of non-defining relative clauses in table 9, sample concordances reveal the background category (3) to be similarly frequent to Mateen.

	A	B	C
1	Malik, who	opened fire on a San Bernardino holiday party earlier this month, were	1
2	Malik, who	killed 14 people in San Bernardino, Calif., four years ago, pledged their allegiance	1
3	Malik, who	killed 14 people with her husband, pledged allegiance to Isis on	1
4	Malik, who	were armed with AR-15 assault rifles, handguns and ammunition	1
5	Malik, who	were both shot dead.	2
6	Malik, who	was born to a prosperous family in Pakistan and studied pharmacology	3
7	Malik, who	was born in Pakistan and spent most of her life in Saudi Arabia	3
8	Malik, who	was born in Pakistan, had ties to Islamabad's Red Mosque	3
9	Malik, who	was born in Pakistan, and extremists groups, he said.	3
10	Malik, who	moved from Pakistan to Southern California and had a daughter with him.	3
11	Malik, who	entered the US on a K-1 visa.	3
12	Malik, who	was born in Pakistan but spent at least some time in Saudi Arabia	3
13	Malik, who	entered the country on a K-1, or fiancée, visa on her Pakistani passport	3
14	Malik, who	were Muslim.	4
15	Malik, who	were sympathetic to the Islamic State.	5

Figure 23: Sample concordance (15 out of 32) of post-modifying relative clauses for Malik

Figure 23 consolidates the high frequency of the intransitive material process *was born in Pakistan* in the above cluster analysis. Although line 6 positively presents Malik as being *born to a prosperous family* (l.6), the frequent placing of her outside of national boundaries reiterates her 'otherness' whose absence of citizenship constructs an imposing immigrant identity and therefore stigmatises her obtainment of a *K-1 visa* (l.11, l.13) as a facilitator of terrorist threat. The identifying relational process of Malik (and Farook) as *Muslim* (l.14) shows the prioritised expansive function to highlight her religion, reducing her (and his) ideological sympathy *to the Islamic State* (l.15) as a facet of the homogeneous Islamic identity: an indistinguishable and therefore equal justification for blame.

5.5 Conclusion

In exploring the linguistic similarities and differences of white versus ethnic minority mass shooters laid out in research question 1, an investigation into nomination and predication devices reveals prominent differences in the referential strategies used to represent a shooter's characteristics and actions. Whilst *terrorist* as a functionalization naming strategy refers to those inciting violence and intimidation for political means, the attribution of this nomination is largely determined by its character identifying pre-modifications. A racial line is prevalent along the *domestic* versus *foreign terrorist* dichotomy; the former of which is most commonly attributed to white perpetrators deemed part of the national in-group whilst the latter presumes a Muslim perpetrator's affiliation with international organizations. The most frequent religious left collocate *Islamic* shows the term's dominant presumed affiliation with the Muslim identity, with the singling out of the Islamic religion imposing a collective responsibility upon the Muslim community when a Muslim perpetrator commits a mass shooting.

Uncovering the semantic prosody of *loner*, *fanatic* and *maniac* through qualitative and concordance analysis in section 5.3, it is clear that 'near synonyms are normally not collocationally interchangeable' (Xiao and McEnery, 2006: 120). Instead, each term semantically fluctuates in relation to the racial identity of the referent or within the narrative focus of the perpetrator's actions or persona, although predominantly structured within relational processes to often create sensationalised narratives. As dysphemisms have 'the potential to produce stylistic discord' (Allan and Burridge, 2006: 240), the *loner* nomination, used predominantly to label white perpetrators, evokes a more sympathetic response from the audience by softening the perpetrator's 'potential face' (Crespo-Fernandez, 2014: 8). On the other hand, *fanatic*, a term connoting collectivised mental instability, is overwhelmingly used to incite fear against the religious beliefs of ethnic minority perpetrators. Dysphemistic *maniac* serves to intensify the degradation of perpetrators through violent and dramatic narrative frames, placing mental instability at the forefront of responsibility for white perpetrators whilst connecting dangerous ideologies, or religious beliefs to ethnic minority perpetrators.

Finally, as non-defining *who*-relative clauses allow the journalist 'to stress one point about a person or thing over another' (Barnas, 2013: 132), the types of thematic categories used to depict white and ethnic minority referents in section 5.4 reveal underlying attitudes towards the culpability of the perpetrator, the degree of expected criminality and personal characteristics deemed most essential. Qualitative analysis into the concordance profiles of Mateen and Malik shows their religion and background to be notably frequent in their identification, with the placing of them outside of national boundaries and the construction of Islamic fear contributing to the presumed expectations of their criminality. Comparatively, the emphases on Roof and Tarrant's personality, beliefs and verbalizations sensationalize their

crimes into extraordinary cases, notably through a perceived incongruence between their white racial identity and the horror of their crimes, whilst often providing an insanity defence for this discrepancy between innocence (their being) and evil (their crime).

Linking this chapter's three sets of analyses together, the frequent labelling of ethnic minority perpetrators as Islamic terrorists and fanatics and the prioritised thematic expansions of Mateen and Malik's 'foreign' background routinely conflates their Islamic identity with violence and extremism. Comparatively, the use of the domestic pre-modifier when white perpetrators *are* referred to as terrorists, the higher frequency of sensationalist and sympathetic mental health nominations and the normalization of personal traits in expansion relative clauses individualize white perpetrators as unexpected criminal anomalies from the positive national status quo. Connecting these findings to the linguistic effect on communities (research question 3), the focus on an ethnic minority perpetrator's foreign attributes contributes to the otherness of wider Muslim communities whilst white and Christian communities of white supremacist perpetrators remain detached from a cognitive association of fear and violence.

Chapter 6: (Re)contextualizing political voices

6.1 Introduction

Whilst expected to maintain the principle of objectivity in news (Garretson and Ädel, 2008), the journalist's power in framing, legitimating and (re)voicing an original authoritative utterance reveals ideological agreement or disagreement towards the verbalized argument. As political voices are 'crucial in the reproduction of power abuses in discourse' (Allani, 2019: 40), an investigation into the reported speech of national leaders addresses the ideological comparative parameter in research question 2 and the effects that these ideological arguments have on the representations of victims and communities laid out in research question 3. Analysis into the journalist's (re)contextualisation of political voices reveals different purposes of evidentiality, legitimization and/or deconstruction in narratives of mass shooters. Evidentiality refers to the function of presenting information about what was said to 'specify the nature of the source of information' (Li, 1986: 41) and increase the reader's confidence that the information is accurate and trustworthy (Garretson and Ädel, 2008: 167). Legitimization occurs when the reader is induced to show 'support and approval' (Reyes, 2011: 782) towards the truth or moral validity claims, often motivated by ideological agreement, whilst deconstruction 'problematizes the validity of the original voice' (Chaemsaithong, 2018: 97) to question the truth or moral value of the statement, often motivated by ideological disagreement. All three purposes occur in the framing of national leaders to show that reported speech is not only an 'utterance within utterance' but an 'utterance about utterance' (Bakhtin in Clark and Holquist, 1984: 233).

The reported speech of the former US President Barack Obama, US President Donald Trump and New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern was investigated: the national leaders of the countries in which mass shootings during the selected time frame had occurred. The methodological decision to exclude the reported speech of British and Australian national leaders was due to minimal instances of their speech occurring in the corpus, even less on the topic of mass shootings, thus detracting from the analytical focus of how leaders construct narratives on mass shooters in times of national crises. Two types of sub-corpora were created for the following analysis, with the (manual) collection of all speech frames for each political leader first making up three sub-corpora, before being further divided into left-centrist and centrist-right sub-corpora for comparisons of ideology.

6.2 Reported Speech Types

Before turning to quantitative analysis, it is important to distinguish between direct and indirect reported speech and the implications that these differing ‘double-voiced discourses’ (Bakhtin, 1986) have on the replicability and therefore, reliability of the original utterance. Using only the relevant reported speech types identified by Leech and Short (1981) and adding ‘strategic quotation’ (Richardson, 2007: 102), Table 10 shows the prominent speech frames within the newspaper corpus and their linguistic features.

Table 10: Linguistic features of newspaper reported speech types

DIRECT SPEECH (DS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Exact words of utterance <input type="checkbox"/> Reflects speaker’s original context (Cummings, 2016: 32) <input type="checkbox"/> First person pronoun <input type="checkbox"/> Quotation marks <input type="checkbox"/> Reporting clause 	<p>e.g. “As we’ve seen in a whole range of incidents with mass shooters, they are, by definition, troubled,” Mr. Obama said. (The New York Times, July 10 2016)</p>
STRATEGIC QUOTATION (SQ)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Indirect speech with direct quotation <input type="checkbox"/> Quotation of original words or phrases within reporter’s current context <input type="checkbox"/> Reflects reporter’s current context <input type="checkbox"/> Time and place deictics usually aligned with original speaker. 	<p>e.g. US President Donald Trump condemned “racism, bigotry and white supremacy” in his first formal remarks since 31 people died in back-to-back mass shootings. (The Age (Aus), August 7 2019)</p>
INDIRECT SPEECH (IRS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Reporter’s paraphrased words of speaker <input type="checkbox"/> Reflects reporter’s current context <input type="checkbox"/> Third person pronoun <input type="checkbox"/> Often with subordinating conjunction to introduce reporting clause e.g., that <input type="checkbox"/> Shifted tenses (McArthur et. Al, 2018) <input type="checkbox"/> Time and place deictics aligned with original speaker 	<p>e.g. Ardern says that she is sure the students will feel as she does, that they want to make sure everyone feels safe, creating an environment where racism cannot exist. (The Guardian, March 19 2019)</p>
NARRATIVE REPORTED SPEECH (NRS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Reporter’s summarised report of speech act <input type="checkbox"/> None of the original words may be reported <input type="checkbox"/> Third person pronoun <input type="checkbox"/> No reporting clause 	<p>e.g. Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern has reassured the Dunedin Muslim community over concerns the mosque shooter – accused once lived in the city. (The Dominion Post, March 29 2019)</p>

Freestanding forms of speech do not appear in Table 10 nor are they included in quantitative and qualitative analysis due to their low frequency in newspaper genres (Van der Houwen, 2012). With direct speech most closely replicating the reported utterance ‘to mimic, reproduce, or resemble’ (Harry, 2013: 1041) the original utterance, quotation marks act as the boundaries for recontextualization (Van Leeuwen, 2008) and grant the reporter an ‘implicit claim to the faithfulness to the original’ (Fairclough, 2003: 51). Less literal than DS, SQ facilitates the reporter’s insertion of their evaluation whilst inserting some of the original utterance in quotation marks, as shown by the differentiating levels of embedded quotation in examples 34 and 35.

DRS

(34) "This massacre is therefore a further reminder of how easy it is for someone to get their hands on a weapon that lets them shoot people in a school or a house of worship or a movie theater or a nightclub," Mr. Obama said.

(The New York Times, June 13 2016)

SQ

(35) But does that really prove the terrorists aren't truly Muslim? That, as US President Barack Obama claims, they merely "distorted" a "great religion"?

(Herald Sun (Aus) June 29 2015)

Through a complete quoted utterance, example 34 uses evidentiality to relay an authentic and accurate piece of information (Li, 1986). Whilst the exact replicability of the quotation remains limited by the inevitable alteration in the context of reporting (Clift and Holt, 2006: 6) – such as the controversial inclusion of the less formal title *Mr* (Corbett, 2017) - the publicity of the original utterance influences the journalist’s level of reframing due to the risk of relaying inaccurate information of the President’s speech. In contrast, the placing of strategic quotations in example 35 shows the journalist’s (re)contextualisation of Obama’s original defence of the Islamic religion, to instead indicate ‘some criticism, perhaps only implicit, of the words flanked by quotation marks’ (McCullagh, 2017: 7). This contextual shift shows the journalist’s deconstruction of Obama’s authority, with the combined interrogatives indicating a lack of faith in, or even ridicule towards Obama’s original utterance.

In comparison, indirect speech may follow the pattern of the original utterance, but ‘renders the quoted utterance from the viewpoint of the author’ (Smirnova, 2009: 84), thus transforming the grammatical structure of the original utterance (see Table 9). NRS, as the most liberal or freest form, ‘renders only the general content or macrostructure of the quoted utterance’ (Smirnova, 2009: 82, 84) and encourages greater distance from the original utterance (through pronoun, tense and deictic adaptations). NRS offers the journalist the most opportunity to show subjective and attitudinal representations of the original speaking event,

enabling a process of 'rewording, condensing and inferencing' (Waugh, 1995: 129) through the selection of writer-oriented lexical and semantic choices.

IRS

(36) Why Donald Trump claimed he was right about Islam after Orlando while Obama didn't mention Muslims at all.

(The Independent, June 13 2016)

NRS

(37) Trump Condemns White Supremacy but Stops Short of Major Gun Controls.

(The New York Times, August 5 2019)

In examples 36 and 37, the reformulation of the original utterance into indirect quotation and narrative reported speech (Leech and Short, 1981) grants the reporter 'interpretive autonomy' (Harry, 2013: 1052) to 'summarise whole stretches of reported speech' (Simpson, 2004: 33) by either paraphrasing or re-voicing the actual words originally spoken. The third person pronoun *he* in example 36 distances the journalist from Trump's original divisive claim in 'othering' *Islam*, externalising the perspectivisation of the reporter to fulfil their analytical claim of differentiating political responses. Semantically signalling Trump's argument on Islam, *claimed* as a report verb becomes contextually negatively evaluative, realised by the indirect structure that distances the journalist from Trump's original utterance.

The NRS style of indirect reporting in example 37 generalizes the subsequent authorial comments, placing 'epistemic responsibility' for the accuracy and the reliability of the re-assertion onto the reporter (Harry, 2013: 1055). It also further facilitates a process of personalisation through the journalist's choice of the negative evaluative speech verb *condemns*, an example of what Bamgbose (1986: 91) labels as a marked report verb, meaning the word choice 'semantically represents the reporter's description of the content of the speech'. The other verb *stops short* indicates an abrupt end before an expected completion of information and therefore implies the journalist's disapproval towards Trump's deliberate exclusion of discussions on gun control.

6.3 A quantitative comparison of evaluation in report verbs

In 'opening up an evaluative space' to reflect their ideology, a journalist's choice of positive, neutral or negative evaluative lexis works to 'maximize the likelihood' of fulfilling their argumentative goal (Charles, 2006: 493, 514; Thompson and Ye, 1991). Whilst neutral verbs may enable the journalist's attempt to maintain impartiality or accuracy over the original utterance, reporting verbs were also considered neutral if they conveyed (re)contextualised

strong assertions (e.g. *claim*, *urge*) due to the verbs themselves not carrying positive or negative evaluation when removed from their context. Table 11 shows the most frequent neutrally evaluative verbs, calculated by quantifying and calculating the relative frequencies of the verbs out all the total speech frames used to report each leader's speech. To identify keywords, the speech frames of each political leader were collectivised and created into three sub-corpora to compare one reported speech corpus (e.g. Obama) against the other two as reference corpora (e.g., Trump and Ardern).

Table 11: Most frequent neutral reporting verbs for Obama, Trump and Ardern

	Obama		Trump		Ardern	
	Report Verb	Freq. (%)	Report Verb	Freq. (%)	Report Verb	Freq. (%)
1	SAID	8.18	SAID	4.80	SAID	16.0
2	SAY*	1.80	SAY*	1.04	SAY*	5.32
3	CALL*	1.17	CALL*	0.92	CALL*	1.87
4	TOLD	0.83	TOLD	0.69	ANNOUNCE*	1.70
5	SPOKE	0.60	CLAIM*	0.33	TOLD	1.52
6	ISSUE*	0.40	ANNOUNCE*	0.27	CONFIRM*	1.35
7	ASK*	0.36	RESPOND*	0.27	SPOKE	1.00
8	SPEAK*	0.36	SPOKE	0.24	DESCRIBE*	0.93
9	DESCRIBE*	0.34	SUGGEST*	0.17	REPL*	0.53
10	EXPRESS*	0.20	URG*	39	ADDRESS*	0.53

* means multiple inflectional morphemes

Bold indicates keyness

Favourable reporting verbs (Floyd, 2000) *said* and *say** are the most frequent lexical items, with these semantically neutral verbs having the highest combined relative frequency in reporting frames of Ardern (21.32%), followed by Obama (9.98%) and comparatively less frequent with Trump (5.84%). Lexical items in bold are keywords, in that they are 'repeated to a statistically significant extent' (Bondi, 2010: 3) for one particular leader in comparison to the others. For example, strong report verbs *claim* and *urg** are key in the reporting frames of Trump which can 'help to convey strongly felt opinions' whilst weak report verbs *suggest** and *ask** are key in the report frames of Trump and Obama, both of which tend to express 'a weaker belief that the information is true' (Frodesen and Wald, 2016: 201). Both *repl** and *address* as keywords in reporting frames of Ardern allude to an audience participant who 'is known, ratified and addressed' (Bell, 1984: 159) and therefore, indicates the journalist's

maintaining of closeness between Ardern and her audience: a discursive strategy discussed in the following section.

With the evaluation of a lexical choice being ‘where the point of a story [...] is conveyed through the story itself’ (Clift and Holt, 2006: 7), positive and negative evaluative verbs were quantified and categorised as positive if the journalist represented the utterance as optimistic, for example through the conveyance of hope or confidence in the leader. Negative evaluative verbs were categorised based on the journalist’s representation of the utterance as pessimistic, either through the journalists’ portrayal of the leader’s disapproval or distrust or through the journalists’ recontextualized disapproval or distrust towards the leaders. It is important to point out these discrepancies in negative evaluative speech verbs and note the limitation in categorising the following report verbs as positive and negative, as a negative report verb does not necessarily equate to a negative representation of the political leader. For example, the verbs *condemn* and *denounce* can be used positively when the noun is negative e.g. *Obama condemned the rampage*. Figure 24 provides a clearer insight into the differentiating percentages between positive and negative evaluative verbs in left-centrist and centrist-right newspapers, again quantified and calculated into relative frequencies out of all the speech frames in the left-centrist and centrist-right sub-corpus.

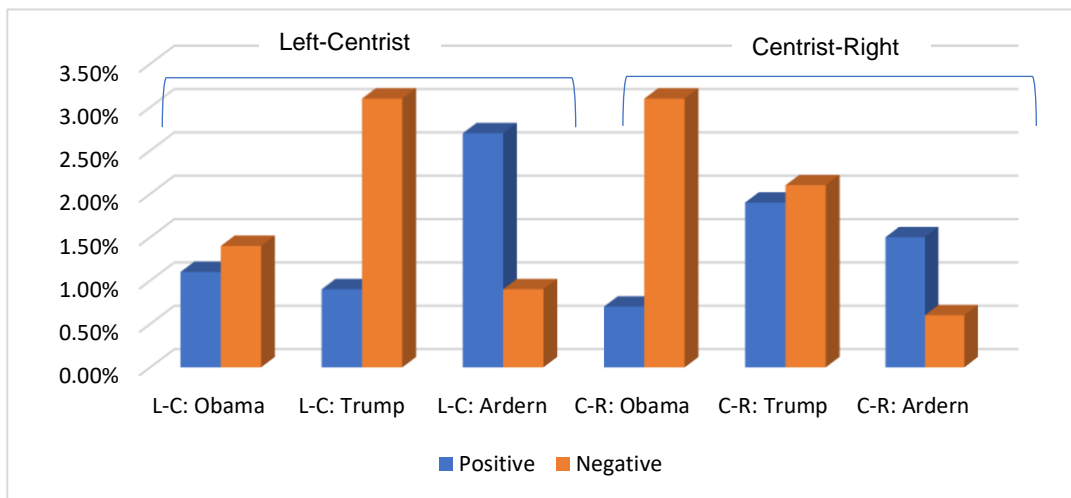


Figure 24: Positive and negative evaluation of reporting verbs in left-centrist (L-C) and centrist-right (R-C) newspapers either as L1 or R1 collocates

Figure 24 shows clear distinctions along left and right ideological boundaries, with positive evaluative report verbs occurring most frequently in left-wing speech frames of left-wing leader Ardern (2.70%), followed by right-wing speech frames of right-wing leader Trump (1.90%) and right-wing speech frames of Ardern (1.50%). Whilst the low occurrence of positive evaluative verbs in left-wing reporting of Trump (0.90% v. 1.90%) is expected, it is interesting that right-wing press also use more negative evaluative report verbs to frame Trump’s utterances (2.10%). Negative evaluative report verbs are also used in left-centrist report frames of liberal

leader Obama (1.40 and 1.10%), showing a clash between the expected ideological alignment of newspapers and political leaders. Using the same calculation procedure as neutral evaluative verbs for relative frequency and keywords, Table 12 below shows the ten most frequent positive and negative evaluative verbs for each national leader, with keywords highlighted in bold.

Table 12: Most frequent positive and negative reporting verbs for Obama, Trump and Ardern

POSITIVE VERBS

	Obama		Trump		Ardern	
	Report Verb	Freq. (%)	Report Verb	Freq. (%)	Report Verb	Freq. (%)
1	OFFER*	0.31	DEFEND*	0.13	PROMISE*	0.47
2	DEFEND*	0.27	ENDORSE*	0.03	VOW*	0.47
3	PROMISE*	0.13	PROMISE*	0.03	PRAISE*	0.30
4	PLEDGE*	0.09	ASSURE*	0.03	OFFER*	0.23
5	ENDORSE*	0.07	VOW*	0.03	ENCOURAGE*	0.12

NEGATIVE VERBS

6	CONDEMN*	0.50	CONDEMN*	0.23	CONDEMN*	0.23
7	DENOUNCE*	0.36	BLAME*	0.20	DECRIE*	0.18
8	BLAME*	0.16	ATTACK*	0.18	DEFLECT*	0.18
9	CRITICISE*	0.11	DECRIE*	0.12	REFUSE*	0.12
10	DISMISS*	0.11	DENOUNCE*	0.11		

*means multiple inflectional morphemes

Verbs which convey strong epistemic commitment are prevalent for all three leaders, although more frequently for Ardern, with lexical items such as *promise**, *vow**, *endorse** and *encourage** conveying hope and a dedication for change. In the below example, the journalist reaffirms the certainty of Ardern's commitment to divert attention away from the perpetrator and thus de-sensationalise the crime.

(38) After the attack New Zealand's prime minister, Jacinda Ardern, vowed never to mention the attacker's name in public.

(*The Guardian*, July 8 2019)

Negative report verb *condemn** occurs for all leaders, although it is particularly frequent in speech frames of Obama. Presenting a negative vilified goal participant within the original assertion, example 39 shows the legitimization of Obama's moral argumentative claim by

strategically quoting the contrast between the negative *act of terror* and positive *common sense* attribute, conveying Obama's commitment in preventing future violence and enacting effective legislative change.

(39) US President Barack Obama condemned the rampage, calling it an "act of terror" and demanding "common sense" gun laws.

(The Advertiser (Aus), June 14 2016)

As a 'key element in the journalist's evaluative intrusion into source-revoicing' (Harry, 2013: 1044), the aggressive verb *attack** is key in the narrative report speech of Trump, contributing to a depiction of him as perpetrating violent speech, exhibited in example 40.

(40) Trump attacks his critics on Twitter before visiting cities in mourning.

(The New York Times, August 7 2019)

A semantic conflict is apparent between an expectation of Trump's presidential role in showing deference to those in *mourning* and his reported display of aggression, indicating the journalist's disapproval of Trump's unpresidential response. Comparatively, the report verb *deflects* internally criticizes Ardern by indicating her evasive response.

(41) Ardern deflects a question about how concerned New Zealanders should be about threats from Islamic State and calls for retaliatory attacks against New Zealand.

(The Guardian, March 19 2019)

Example 41 shows negative evaluative verb *deflects* and neutral evaluative verb *calls* used to depict Ardern, in this case exhibiting the journalist's strategic highlighting of Ardern's choice to purposefully avoid the topic on the threat of the Islamic State. However, in general, analysis into the evaluation of report verbs shows Ardern to be framed most positively in liberal and conservative newspapers, through verbs which legitimize her commitment to positive change such as *vow* and *promise*. Whilst negative verbs are more frequent in conservative and liberal newspapers in report frames of Obama, the high frequency of the word *condemn** suggests that they are frequently used positively to legitimize Obama's role in asserting moral claims about what should be done in the future. In contrast, Trump is much less frequently reported with positive evaluative speech verbs and is instead often framed as aggressive towards another goal participant, as exhibited in the keyness of *attack*.

6.4 Legitimization or Deconstruction?

Having established the patterns of positive, neutral and negative report verbs used in left-centrist and centrist-right newspapers, qualitative analysis into the journalist's (re)contextualization of four discursive strategies was undertaken to show how reported

speech, as a 'pervasive form of intertextuality' (Fairclough, 2003: 219) produces and reproduces arguments pertaining to the representation of white and ethnic minority mass shooters. As central components to the discourse-historical approach (Wodak, 2001), validity claims of truth and normative rightness reveal themselves within the following political discourses on mass shootings, with the former including factual-based 'discourses about national identities (e.g. referring to national stereotypes)' and the latter centring upon moral critique i.e. 'the question of what should be done or shouldn't be done' (Reisigl, 2018: 50). Both are prevalent through the journalists' factual or moral critiques of the original argument proposed by Obama, Trump and Ardern.

The following analysis considers the journalists' (re)contextualization of four different discursive strategies, realised through frequent occurrences in concordances, to fulfil purposes of either legitimization or deconstruction in alignment with editorial ideological viewpoints. In addressing the repercussive effects on victims and communities laid out in research question 3, the legitimization or deconstruction of Trump's understatement of white perpetrated attacks and the process of 'othering' Muslims will first be discussed. This will be followed by the positive and negative (re)contextualisation of Obama's refutation of 'othering' Muslims and the legitimization of Ardern's close positioning with the victims by liberal and conservative newspapers.

6.4.1 Reporting Trump's understatement

Frequent reporting of Trump's use of understatement was qualitatively observed in the corpus either through the deconstruction and, therefore, problematization of the President's use of irony in white-perpetrated shooting narratives or through further replicating the effect of understatement. As a 'trope of deferral' (Frus, 1994: 221), understatement is 'the use of mild language to describe sensational events' (Peet and Robinson, 2004: 202). As a rhetorical device, Trump uses understatement to downplay or soften the representation of white mass shooters and (re)employed by the journalist to either shock the reader in relation to the discrepancy between topic and tone or further emphasise the rhetorical tactic to evoke a positive reader reaction, both exhibited in examples 42-45.

(42) "He was a war veteran. He was a Marine. He was in the war. He served time. He saw some pretty bad things, and a lot of people say he had PTSD, and that's a tough deal," Trump said after describing the shooter as a "very sick puppy" who had a lot of problems.

(The Washington Post, November 10 2018)

(43) Donald Trump said white nationalism is "not really" a growing threat when asked about the issue in light of the deadly mosque shooting in New Zealand, according to Voice of America.

(The Guardian March 15 2019)

(44) TRUMP CALLS SHOOTING 'A SHAME' and says the synagogue should have had its own security.

(The Daily Mail, October 27 2018)

(45) Rising in the polls in the wake of the Paris and California attacks with his tough talk, Trump insisted a solution to mass shootings is more guns for good guys.

(The New York Post, December 7, 2015)

The inclusion of a full and direct reporting clause in example 42 shows the reporter's 'claim to truth' (Baynham 1996: 64) by replicating Trump's original utterance that cannot be refuted as having been spoken. Although framed with neutral reporting verbs *said* and *describing* to consolidate its evidential purpose, this combined direct and strategic quotation highlights a semantic incongruence between the expected condemnation of a mass shooter and Trump's subsequent framing of sympathy towards his characterisation of a reputable *war veteran* who *served time* and suffered from *PTSD*. Whilst direct quotations often convey 'epistemic commitment' to 'a claim to authority on the topic at hand' (Hart, 2011: 760), this utterance conveys an ironical echo - an attitude of disapproval (Wilson and Sperber, 1992: 41) - especially through the inclusion of the strategic quotation, *very sick puppy*, disassociating the journalist from a nominal reference that connotes concern, or even affection, towards the shooter. Another strategic quotation occurs in example 43 through the reporter's selection of Trump's use of litotes *not really*, de-selecting the rest of his utterance to highlight the President's denial of white supremacy as a substantial issue.

Comparatively, the strategic quotation in example 44 reiterates 'the foreignness of the quoted words' (Smirnova, 2009: 83) to display irony and disapproval towards the understatement that 'minimizes the severity of the situation' (Crespo-Fernández, 2014: 19), in this case that the shooting committed by white shooter Robert Bowers was *a shame*. Describing the 'relative' and 'too little' amount of information (Van Dijk, 1997: 35), the journalist detaches this understatement in the strategic quotation format to highlight the phrase's 'contentious nature' (Richardson, 2007: 102). Thus, the journalist (re)contextualises Trump's original amused or even sympathetic reaction by the listener to one of surprise or shock by the reader over 'the discrepancy between the tone of voice and the subject-matter' (Peet and Robinson, 2004: 202). However, a contrasting argumentative goal emerges in example 45 with the reporter's reference to Trump's increasing popularity, *rising in the polls*. Aligned with the conservative bias of *The New York Post*, this example highlights the journalist's

subjectivised intrusion of political agreement with Trump, endorsing his *tough talk* as a reason for his popularity and replicating Trump's similar use of understatement, a light-hearted line of argument on the seriousness of gun crime: *more guns to good guys*.

6.4.2 Reporting Trump's 'othering' argument

Whilst the reporting of Trump's understatement predominantly vilifies his presidential response to white-perpetrated shootings, the reporting of his 'othering' argument shows the legitimization or de-construction of Trump's response to be largely determined by the ideological leaning of the newspaper. Examples 46-48 show the employment of negative evaluative frames by liberal newspapers in their reporting of Trump's 'exclusion of the demonized 'other'' (Wodak, 2015: 26).

(46) But after the San Bernardino shootings, Mr. Trump called for closing mosques and barring Muslims. (He recently amended his statement, saying it was "just a suggestion.")

(The New York Times, June 2 2016)

(47) Trump accused American Muslims of harboring terrorists and blamed them for the Orlando attack as well as for last December's shooting in San Bernardino, Calif.

(The Washington Post, June 14, 2016)

(48) At a rally Tuesday night in Greensboro, N.C., Trump attacked Obama for criticizing him and defended barring foreign Muslims.

(The Washington Post June 15 2016)

Having shown in Figure 24 that negative evaluative speech verbs were more prevalent in liberal newspaper framings of Trump (as in 44 and 45), examples 46-48 additionally demonstrate journalistic attempts to portray Trump as aggressive and dominating in his process of 'othering' Muslims. Structured to 'make the reported material distant from the actual speech used' (Simpson, 2004: 31), the inclusion of past tense and third person forms, such as *called*, *accused* and *attacked*, 'hold a[n important] status as a specific illocution' (Brendel et. al, 2011: 22). In these instances, they exhibit the journalist's distant and negative stance against Trump's original divisive objectives. Whilst the report verb *called* is not in itself semantically aggressive, the reassertion of Trump's solutions in *closing mosques* and *barring Muslims* contributes to the creation of an antagonistic image which sees him as an active participant in targeting and homogenising Muslims as responsible for the mass violence. The strategic quotation that it was *just a suggestion* is structured as a mockery of his original understatement, showing disbelief towards the sincerity of Trump's backtracking of such hostile political measures. The marked report verbs in 47 and 48 combine with evidence of othering to paint him as an intimidating or at least, divisive leader who opposes and is opposed

by many, in this case *American Muslims* and his political opponent *Obama*. Whilst fewer examples of the reporting of Trump's 'othering' argument exist in conservative newspapers, examples 49 and 50 show two instances of journalistic strategies in (re)contextualising Trump's us versus them rhetoric in right-wing papers.

(49) "The Muslims have to work with us," Mr Trump said. "They know what's going on. They know that (Mateen) was bad. They knew the people in (the) San Bernardino (terror shooting last December) were bad. But you know what? They didn't turn them in? And you know what? We had death and destruction."

(*The Australian*, June 15 2016)

(50) After the shooting in San Bernardino, California, in which 14 people were killed in an attack by supporters of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant and in response to the growing refugee crisis, Mr Trump responded by calling for all Muslims to be temporarily banned from the United States.

(*The Daily Telegraph*, February 8 2016)

Neutral evaluative speech verbs *said*, *responded* and *calling* frame Trump's original verbalization, with example 49 utilising a direct quotation structure – although altered by bracketed contextualised inserts – and 50 employing a more distanced indirect speech frame. Notably, despite Trump attributing responsibility for *death and destruction* to Muslims, there is little obvious journalistic attempt from *The Australian* to deconstruct Trump's rhetorical strategies of discrimination as contentious. These include the maintenance of the definite article in the nominal phrase *The Muslims* as a referential function to pick them out of from the national us in-group whilst the anaphora of *they* gives the othered and opposed position of Muslims 'special emphasis' (Block de Behar, 1995: 229). The inclusion of the *we* collective pronoun also re-affirms Trump's consolidation of the national 'us' status. Instead, the journalist adds to the coherence of the statement by inserting contextual details of the perpetrator's name (*Mateen*) and the description of the shooting and its particular heinous type (*terror shooting last December*) as well as inserting the definite article (*the*) to maximise the syntactical flow, and therefore understanding of Trump's othering argument.

(Re)contextualising Trump's justifications for anti-Muslim policies in the preceding subordinate clause in example 50, the journalist's inclusion of the attack's terrorist affiliation and the identification of the refugee crisis as a catalyst to Trump's claims subsequently provides justification for Trump's exclusionary response against the collectivised group *all Muslims*. Comparing this reported speech frame with liberal newspaper narratives (examples 46-48), representations of Trump's Islamophobic attitudes in conservative newspapers are softer, not only through the use of neutral rather than negative evaluative speech verbs, but through the inclusion of the adverb *temporarily* weakening the severity of the proposed Muslim ban.

6.4.3 Reporting Obama's refutation of 'othering' minorities

Whilst neutrally evaluative speech verbs are expectantly dominant in speech frames of Obama, Figure 24 found negative evaluative speech verbs to be more frequent than positive ones in liberal and conservative newspapers (although much higher in conservative newspapers). Qualitative analysis into the reporting of Obama's speech reveals journalistic tendencies to legitimize or de-legitimize his participation in refutation, a counter-argumentation role 'that is a species of rebuttal' (Walton, 2013: 61), in this case the reporting of Obama's oppositional strategies to Trump's and other political leaders' 'othering' of minorities. Therefore, high frequencies of negative evaluative speech verbs place Obama in 'a variety of confrontational settings in which arguments are being attacked or denied, contradicted and/or rejected' (Ilie, 2009: 37). Whilst not explicitly mentioning individual perpetrators, the following speech frames demonstrate whether the writer deems race and religion to be important factors within mass shooting narratives.

	A	B
1	Obama	said , 'It's our responsibility to reject proposals that Muslim-Americans should somehow be treated differently.'
2	Obama	delivers devastating speech criticizing Donald Trump's Muslim ban
3	Obama	denounces Donald Trump on policy towards Muslims, "Where does it stop?"
4	Obama	takes on Trump: 'Are we going to start treating all Muslim Americans differently?'
5	Obama	angrily rejects Trump's Muslim ban: 'Do Republicans agree?'
6	Obama	eruption comes one day after Trump called into question his commitment to defeating terrorists
7	Obama	attacks Trump rhetoric and 'racist ideologies'
8	Obama	insists the Islamic State "is not Islamic"
9	Obama	condemned Republicans who used faith as "a tool of attack".
10	Obama	urged rejection of policies that 'target people because of religion'

Figure 25: Reported speech frames of Obama's refutation of 'othering' minorities (liberal newspapers)

Figure 25 shows the journalists' representations of Obama's forceful and oppositional moral critique to the exclusionary practices and ideologies against minorities. Line 1, as a direct speech quotation with neutral *said*, reduces the opportunity for authorial evaluation instead enhancing the 'status and visibility' (Teo, 2000: 18) of Obama, with the replication of Obama's reference to *Muslim-Americans* consolidating his nomination power (Hodges, 2007: 83) in aligning the Islamic religion with the national in-group. The journalist's maintaining of Obama's inclusionary argument is reiterated by the plural possessive determiner + noun phrase *our responsibility* used to promote the refutation of racially hostile policies thus maintaining closeness to the 'deictic centre' of Obama's collective reference (Ali et. al, 2017: 170) and away from Trump's exclusionary discourse.

The reporter's inclusion of Obama's direct rhetorical interrogatives (1.3-5) to deconstruct the Muslim 'othering' argument (re)contextualises their functions to the reader in

presupposing 'that the propositional content is already part of the opponent's commitments' (Henkemans, 2009: 21), in this case that Trump's exclusionary practices are boundless (I.3), unjust (I.4) and divisive within his party (I.5). Furthermore, the strategic quotations in lines 7-10 enable the journalists' 'deviance from the requirement of precision' (Predelli, 2003: 2), facilitating the manipulation of the original utterance to highlight Obama's speech segments on Trump's moral violence such as his inflictions of *racist ideologies* (I.7) and instigations of religious hatred (I.9 and I.10).

Yet, the majority of negative evaluative reporting verbs paint Obama as positively confrontational, with lexical choices including forceful refutation, *angrily rejects* (I.5) and *urged rejection* (I.10), and aggression, *takes on* (I.4), *eruption* (I.6) and *attacks* (I.7) supporting Obama's role in de-valuing Trump and his ideas. The journalist's inclusion of the high intensity speech verb *insists* (I.8) with the scare quotation that the Islamic state *is not Islamic* employs epanalepsis repetition of the first and last word, presenting a paradox in supporting Obama's confrontation whilst ironically highlighting his contradiction of the term's denotative meaning.

Whilst journalists often place Obama in confrontational settings, the above concordance lines predominantly show liberal newspapers to justify his moral confrontation of Trump's 'othering' of minorities. Turning to the sample concordances of Obama's refutation in conservative newspapers, both legitimization and deconstruction strategies are employed by journalists to show editorial alignment or misalignment with Obama's refutation of the 'othering' argument.

	A	B	C
1	As the US commander-in-chief,	Obama	says: 'The US is not and, never will be, at war with Islam'.
2	Barack	Obama	attacks Donald Trump's rhetoric in wake of El Paso and Dayton mass shootings
3	Bad as it is that President	Obama	refuses to use the words "Islamist terror," it's far worse that he's put blinders on everyone
4	Too bad	Obama	placed more emphasis on more gun-control blather and defending Muslims
5	Predictably	Obama	refuses to use the words "Islamic terrorism" or "radical Islam,"
6	In his remarks today, President	Obama	disgracefully refused to even say the words "Radical Islam".

Figure 26: Reported speech frames of Obama's refutation of 'othering' minorities (conservative newspapers)

Different attitudinal evaluations appear in Figure 26 with line 1 being the most positive. The report verb *says* frames the full quoted utterance with a nomination (*US commander-in-chief*) that boosts Obama's authority; 'a legitimizing device [which] relies solely on their [Obama's] reputation as a reliable source of information' (Hart, 2011: 759). The high intensity negative report verb *attacks* (I.2) in the narrative reported speech structure allows the journalist to highlight Obama's aggressive tone, with the details of Obama's original utterance 'subdued, subordinated, and virtually eliminated' (Harry, 2013: 1052) by the journalist's reconstruction.

Explicit deconstruction of Obama's refutation is prevalent in lines 3-6 with attitude markers employed to 'express a position and pull readers into a conspiracy of agreement'

(Hyland, 2005: 180) such as through negative stance markers *predictably* (1.5) and *disgracefully* (1.6), attitudinal adjectives *bad* (1.3) and *worse* (1.3) and attitudinal nouns *blindness* (1.3) and *blather* (1.4). The journalist's insertion of the words *Radical Islam* (1.6) deliberately avoided within Obama's original utterance shows the editorial ability to transform the intended refutation of the 'othering' of Islam argument into the journalist's (re)contextualised endorsement of it. Linguistically reconstructing the language to achieve their right-wing political goals, the journalist contributes to the reproduction of 'power abuse, dominance, and inequality' (Van Dijk, 2001: 36) that perpetuates the entirety of the Islamic religion as the radical enemy, thus legitimizing the us versus them rhetoric.

6.4.4 Reporting Ardern's close positioning with the victims

With Figure 24 showing Ardern to be the only political leader with more positive evaluative speech framings than negative, qualitative analysis into the reported speech of the New Zealand prime minister shows the legitimization of her attempts to maintain a close positioning with the victims, rather than centring public attention onto the perpetrator.

(51) Those directly affected were migrants, possibly refugees here. "They have chosen to make New Zealand their home, and it is their home," Ardern said. "They are us. The person who has perpetuated this violence against us is not. They have no place in New Zealand."

(*The New Zealand Herald, March 16 2019*)

(52) Ms Ardern condemned the attacker, saying: 'You may have chosen us, but we utterly condemn and reject you.'

(*The Daily Mail March 15, 2019*)

(53) Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern has promised never to utter the alleged Christchurch shooter's name.

(*The Dominion Post (NZ), March 20 2019*)

In examples 51 and 52, the journalists' employment of direct quotation frames claim 'some faithfulness to what was originally said' (Fairclough, 2003: 51), producing a similar argumentative goal to the reporting of Obama by maintaining the inclusive pronominal *us* and *we* against the exclusive *they* and more targeted *you*. In example 51, the direct quotation of Ardern's utterance elevates her power in redefining New Zealand away from *us* and *them* national identity boundaries, echoing the collective in-group inclusion of victimized *migrants* and *refugees* against the violent, negative other. Whilst a conservative newspaper from New Zealand, the journalist's attempt to maintain the literal structure of the quoted utterance and refrain from 'signal[ing] disagreement with a voice through pragmatic implicature' shows their

alignment with Ardern's constructed view of their shared nation embedded within the in-group and out-group narrative (Chaemsaithong, 2018: 100). In example 53, the positive evaluative speech verb *promised* expresses the journalist's epistemic commitment to Ardern's distancing attempts *never to utter* the perpetrator's name, whereby the reproduction of 'the speaker's attitude to the truth-value' (Palmer, 2001: 24) signals the writer's confidence in her declaration. Additionally, showing that social action is not 'restricted to human, or humanised referents' (Jucker, 1992: 69), examples 54-56 show Tarrant's inactive role in violent material processes, instead maintaining Ardern's distance from the perpetrator through nominalised constructions:

(54) New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern said the attacks fell on 'one of New Zealand's darkest days' and has vowed to tighten gun laws.

(*The Daily Mail*, March 17 2019)

(55) We have essentially received the same outcome but by looking at the specific weapons used for legitimate use by farmers but are not designed to undertake the kind of horror and attack we saw on Friday," she says.

(*The Guardian*, March 21 2019)

(56) Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern branded the killings a well-planned terrorist attack.

(*The New York Times*, March 15 2019)

Exhibiting how nominalisations can hold 'enormous ideological potential' (Richardson, 2004: 58), the use of process nouns in the reported speech of Ardern replace the agentivity of Tarrant, silencing his role as perpetrator and legitimizing Ardern's moral claim to anonymise him. Therefore, the use of process nouns decreases the sentence's maximal potential for human agentivity in transitivity, affirming the 'doing' of the event as separate and eliminated from the activation by the agent to de-sensationalize and decrease the recognition of Tarrant (Opara, 2012: 110).

6.5 Conclusion

With the 'pragmatic purpose of persuasion' (Reisigl, 2014: 73), free, indirect reporting structures and evaluative speech verbs in the reported speech of Obama, Trump and Ardern facilitate journalists' fulfilment of their evidential, legitimization and/or deconstruction argumentative goals. Liberal newspapers tend to legitimize and show admiration towards Obama's confrontational refutation of othering minorities and Ardern's close positioning with victims through positive evaluative verbs or negative evaluative verbs used positively such as *condemn* and *denounce*. Deconstructing Trump's 'strategic (prejudiced) argumentation in the

characterization of the out-groups' (Khrosravinik, 2010: 58) after ethnic minority shootings, Trump is most frequently framed with negative evaluative report verbs by liberal newspapers, often constructed as aggressive, such as through the keyness of *attack**. However, conservative newspapers show some tendencies to uphold Trump's male aggression stereotype (although they still employ more negative evaluative speech verbs) whilst simultaneously utilising direct quotations to legitimize, or at least evidence, his understatement of white-perpetrated mass shootings. On the other hand, conservative newspapers frequently use negative evaluative report verbs to deconstruct Obama's refutation of associating Islam with Muslim perpetrators. Thus, whilst left-wing and right-wing newspapers employ different strategies to align with their ideological goals, the (re)contextualisation of political narratives tend to present white mass shooters as individualised exceptions to criminality whose racial or religious identity poses no wider threat to the national status quo. In contrast, the causation for shootings by Muslim perpetrators rests upon the presumed threat, radicalization and danger of their perceived homogenous Islamic identity, catalysing the physical and legislative 'othering' of Muslims out of national boundaries.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Newspaper representations of white and ethnic minority mass shooters construct and reflect the stereotypical evaluative traits commonly associated with a perpetrator's wider racial and religious membership categorization. Having examined the linguistic similarities and differences between white and ethnic minority perpetrators set out in research question 1, it is argued that the presumptive association of terrorism, criminality and foreignization of ethnic minority perpetrators shape exclusionary social prejudices to perpetuate representations of otherness and fear towards wider non-white or Muslim communities. Comparatively, the representations of mental illness and a 'loner' persona create an insanity defence to white perpetrators, sensationalizing hate-fuelled narratives towards the individual and detaching their crimes from a collective racial community.

Overall, this study's findings corroborate with previous literature from the US context by confirming that racial and religious identities are disproportionately emphasised in reports of ethnic minority perpetrators by newspapers (Leavy and Maloney, 2009) who, in routinely presuming them as terrorists (Beydoun, 2018), impose hostility and burdens upon their wider non-white communities (Chuang, 2012). Expanding research into the context of UK, Australian and New Zealand newspapers and dissimilarly taking a corpus-based CDA approach, this study expands upon these smaller-scale qualitative investigations that compare one white-perpetrated and one ethnic minority-perpetrated mass shooting, instead granting a quantitative-based macro-perspective of mass shooter representations that also considers, in differing levels, the role of political leaders, victims and communities. In its contributions to the field of corpus-based CDA research, this study confirms the integral role of quantitative data (McEnery and Wilson, 1996; Mautner, 2009) in identifying linguistic patterns of discriminatory discourse towards minority groups, yet differs in exploring repeated patterns of ethnic bias in crime-oriented narratives where negative representations are expected. Yet, representations of non-white perpetrators have been shown to constitute and be constituted by shared social prejudices in white-dominated, majority English speaking countries, as theorised by Van Dijk (1991) and Wodak (2001), particularly in the maintaining and constructing of the white national in-group against the negative other-presentation of Islam and Muslims (Baker et. al, 2013).

Similarities between representations of white and ethnic mass shooters are intertwined within the ideological, geographical and formatting comparative parameters of research question 2. Tabloids construct more emotionally-fuelled, identity-oriented narratives of mass shooters whilst broadsheets focus on reporting authoritative voices of national leaders, more frequently considering the effects of mass shootings upon victims and indirect victims: wider (ethnic minority) communities. In addressing the geographical parameter, US and Australian

newspapers show greater tendencies to maintain the ‘perspectives and ethnic biases of white group speakers’ (Van Dijk, 1993a: 93) whilst UK and New Zealand newspapers more frequently consider the repercussive effects of ethnic biases on wider communities. However, discriminatory discourses towards ethnic minority communities follow a stronger pattern along ideological, rather than geographical boundaries, with right-wing newspapers (re)producing a process of othering against minorities whilst left-wing newspapers across all countries often challenge such processes.

In addressing the effects of perpetrator-oriented narratives on victims and communities laid out in research question 3, journalists prioritise the characterisation of perpetrators whilst simultaneously suppressing mass shooting victim representations to create shock values and attract readers rather than paying tribute to the victims. However, exceptions to this trend include victimization frames in liberal newspaper headlines, the quantification, although anonymisation, of victims in relative clauses (e.g. Mateen who killed 49) and most notably, the reported speech of Ardern. Indicating ‘how those who have power control discourse’ (Sarfo and Krampa, 2013: 380), qualitative analysis shows the positive influence of Ardern in shaping media discourse to fulfil her own argumentative goals, with the liberal press and newspapers particularly from New Zealand echoing Ardern’s close positioning with the victims and often silencing the perpetrator’s name. Conversely, through the racialization of nominations and exclusionary us versus them strategies, the corpus’ findings consolidated the negative persuasion and manipulation (Van Dijk, 2006) of Trump’s anti-Islamic discourse on right-wing newspapers, constructing fear, scepticism and hate towards minority and immigrant communities. In contrast, perpetrator-oriented narratives remain largely detached from the stigmatisation of white or Christian communities.

Analysis of headlines as ‘macrosemantic markers’ (Van Dijk, 2014: 245) grant a microcosmic overview of the dominant themes of race, religion, terrorism, mental health and sensationalism found in the corpus. In addressing the first research aim of investigating linguistic similarities and differences of white and ethnic minority mass shooters, concgram analysis reveals the frequent inclusion of racial and religious identity markers in character-oriented narratives, with the phraseological patterns of these racialized lexis conveying oppositional relationships between white and black and white and Muslim perpetrators and victims. The phraseological profile of *white* reveals frequent collocational relationships with *supremacist* and *supremacy*, a negative evaluative ideological identifier, yet, also collocates with nouns relating to authoritative figures such as *Trump* and *officer*. Comparatively, black participants are placed as the target in victimization frames to white perpetrators. From the headlines, the frequent antonymic relationship between Trump and Muslims shows a key thematic strand of race - the projection of guilt upon the homogeneous Muslim ‘other’ by a

dominant white authority, notably after the committing of mass shootings by Muslim perpetrators.

Intertwining this analysis with the comparative component of broadsheet and tabloids in research question 2, transitivity analysis between these two newspaper types shows the former to include higher frequencies of authority participants whilst descriptive information about perpetrators is more frequent in tabloid headlines. Relational processes in broadsheet headlines frequently characterize white perpetrators as mentally troubled introverts whilst ethnic minority perpetrators are identified in terms of their affiliation with terrorist organizations and presumed criminality. Generally, evaluations of both white and ethnic minority perpetrators follow a similar pattern in being more intense, negative and emotionally arousing in right-wing tabloids. Yet whilst pejorative lexis relates to the loner personality of white perpetrators, tabloidization strategies such as expletives, dysphemisms and violent nominations (e.g. *Muslim killers*) not only help to construct and maintain overt hate speech towards the individual ethnic minority perpetrator but in addressing research question 3, construct indirect fear towards their associated Muslim community as ‘a more indirect, nuanced and intricate forms of hate speech’ (Sindoni, 2018: 284).

Exploring research question 1, Chapter 5 demonstrates distinct naming strategies and devices by employing the nomination and predication analytical strands of Wodak’s Discourse-Historical Approach (2001). Quantitative analysis reveals the frequent conflation of the Islamic identity with the terrorist identification, confirmed by the most frequent racialized left collocate of *terrorist* to be *Islamic*, constructing followers of Islam as a violent and foreign ‘suspect community’ (Nickels et. al, 2012). In representations of white perpetrators, the terrorist identification is frequently altered by the *domestic* pre-modifier, reinforcing the perpetrator’s shared identity with the national in-group. Comparatively, the attribution of the *foreign* pre-modifier contributes to the construction of Muslims as a homogeneous international threat, with its attribution in the characterisation of Mateen and Farook placing them outside national boundaries, despite having been US citizens. Demonstrating how ‘synonyms can be ideologically created within texts’ and consequentially not be ‘semantically compatible’ (Salama, 2011: 321), dysphemisms relating to mental health show the softer *loner* nomination and high intensity *maniac* nomination to be more frequently attributed to white mass shooters to create sensationalised character-oriented narratives. Comparatively, *fanatic*, a term which connotes a mental obsession based on an ideology or belief, is more frequent in representations of ethnic minority mass shooters, implying a wider collectivised cause for violence often associated with Islam.

Examining the expansion function of *who*-relative clauses through cluster and concordance analysis, a closer comparative investigation into individual perpetrators shows the background of ethnic minority perpetrators Mateen, Malik and Farook to be more

frequently prioritised, with frequent references to their place of birth, foreign heritage and immigration status acting as ‘the generalization of negative attributions’ (Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2009: 13). In addressing research question 3, the inclusion of these details constitutes cognitive associations between the construction of the evil mass shooter and their ‘out-group’ characteristics, incorporating fear towards their wider foreign membership communities and reproducing hostility towards immigrants and minorities in society.

Comparatively, relational processes of being and verbal processes sensationalise intrusive details about the personalities and beliefs of white perpetrators including the attribution of normalized characteristics (*regular white guy*), and the (re)contextualisation of their hate speech (*voiced deep hatred of blacks*). The incongruence between the constructed white innocence and subsequent criminal behaviour constructs social fear towards ‘extraordinary’ white perpetrators, whilst contributing to the contagion effect (Pescara-Kovach, 2017) of mass shooting media narratives by repeating their white supremacist desires and goals within society whilst simultaneously silencing victims.

Finally, the investigation of all three research questions reveals the differences between the journalists’ ideological agreement or disagreement with political arguments relating to both white and ethnic minority mass shooters and the victims and communities in left and right-wing newspapers. Whilst neutral evaluative speech frames are most frequent in purporting to fulfil the editorial purpose of evidentiality in reported speech frames of all political leaders, the use of more negative evaluative speech verbs in left and right-wing newspapers suggests a general press antagonism towards Trump. Qualitative analysis into the (re)contextualisation of Trump’s understatement and ‘othering’ of minorities shows liberal newspapers to use much higher frequencies of negative evaluative report verbs (e.g. *blame*, *attack*) to deconstruct his attempts to downplay the severity of white perpetrated shootings whilst showing disagreement with his exclusionary discursive practices towards Muslims. Whilst more subtle attempts to legitimize Trump’s othering of minorities are found in conservative newspapers, the deconstruction of Obama’s defence of minorities is prevalent in right-wing newspapers through the journalist’s strong markers of disapproval e.g. *Obama disgracefully refused to even say the words ‘Radical Islam’*. Liberal newspapers, which also employ more negative speech verbs, show a combination of legitimizing and deconstructive strategies in Obama’s defence of Muslims. As the only political leader with more positive evaluative speech verbs, the reporting of Ardern’s close positioning with victims shows both left and right-wing newspapers to show ideological agreement with the silencing of perpetrator-oriented narratives triggering the journalist’s focus on framing support towards the Muslim victims.

Whilst, Islamophobia and discrimination towards Muslim perpetrators and wider non-white communities is a general trend, it is important not to overstate the press as being

'monolithic' (Baker et. al, 2013a: 254) by attributing xenophobic and Islamophobic attitudes to all journalists. In addressing the research aim in comparing left-wing versus right-wing newspapers, it was found that liberal (left-centrist) newspapers more frequently steered mass shooting narratives away from perpetrator-centred, sensationalist discourses and when they did, employed referential devices such as *domestic terrorist*, *supremacist* and *extremist* to characterise perpetrators in terms of their ideology, rather than racialized or intensely evaluative nominations. The exception to this was the left-wing newspaper *The Daily Mirror*, which, as a tabloid, showed a typical selection of 'a style of discourse which is communicatively appropriate' (Fowler, 1991: 42) to their goals: to their entertainment-focused aims of achieving more sensationalist narratives.

In addressing the geographical component of research question 2, discrepancies between representations of mass shooters are found to broadly exist along geographical lines, with the UK as a country with strict gun laws, showing greater tendencies of broadsheets to critique Trump's and Obama's political responses to the shootings in the US, rather than providing perpetrator-focused narratives or political responses from British leaders. However, with headlines such as *SYNAGOGUE COWARD SLAUGHTERED GRANS* and the nomination of Tarrant as a *WELL-TRAVELLED GYM FANATIC*, British tabloids such as *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail* sensationalise mass shooting narratives around the condemnation of the perpetrator. Comparatively, newspapers from the United States – the country experiencing the majority of mass shootings - frequently situate perpetrators in relation to their wider nation, reinforcing an in-group status with shared national audiences to construct hate and fear towards domestic white supremacist individuals and ethnic minority perpetrators they frequently deem outside national boundaries. With New Zealand experiencing its biggest mass shooting in history in 2019, the country's newspapers representations of the Christchurch shooting show frequent attempts by its newspapers to silence perpetrator-oriented narratives, instead employing victimization frames which emphasise the effects upon the Muslim community and aligning themselves with Jacinda Ardern's political response to never utter his name. More closely aligned with US newspapers, Australian newspapers frequently report on ethnic-minority perpetrated shootings, with narratives constituting non-white violence as an Islamic problem whilst often reinforcing the representation of white perpetrators as loners.

It must be noted that the imbalances of data, determined by the availability of articles, means that there is a limitation in making generalisations about geographical patterns, with UK newspapers making up a considerably larger section of the corpus, notable right-wing newspapers such as *The Wall Street Journal* in the US being absent and a much smaller collection of Australian and New Zealand newspapers comprising the full corpus. Thus, further study into mass shootings narratives should encompass a broader range of newspapers to

facilitate more quantitative findings about geographical differences and enable more substantiated claims to be made about how the political and social context of countries - such as their gun laws - construct newspaper representations of mass shooters.

Employing the 'dialectal reasoning' of CDA as a form of political argumentation, this study seeks to advocate 'action to change the existing state of affairs' (Fairclough, 2018: 16) by urging newspaper outlets to shift away from the current double-standards that frame Muslim violence as terrorism and white violence as a mental health issue. This study calls for journalists to acknowledge the negative cumulative impact that perpetrator-oriented narratives have on social reality, both from sensationalist representations of white perpetrators generating a contagion effect for future mass shootings and collectivised representations of ethnic minority perpetrators constituting discriminatory attitudes and exclusionary practices towards non-whites and Muslims. However, this study's paradoxical dimension is acknowledged, with the frequent silencing of victims contributing to the continued narrowed interest in victim-dominated representations. Instead, the media's narrative focus on a mass shooters' identity further steers linguistic research down the same perpetrator-oriented path. This study not only encourages additional linguistic research to focus on victim representations but in recognising the influence of national leaders in shaping media narratives, advocates for the public promotion by politicians, such as Jacinda Ardern, to limit the notoriety that perpetrators seek to gain. However, whilst victim representations continue to be suppressed in newspaper articles, the ability to carry out in-depth linguistic research is limited by how much data can actually be collected. With the re-emergence of the Black Lives Matter Movement in May 2020, it is hoped that greater journalistic attempts will be made to recognise and challenge the discriminatory and exclusionary discursive practices constructed by dominant white groups against non-whites when an ethnic minority perpetrator commits a mass shooting. Only when we recognise and respond to ethnic biases within media institutions can we build a more tolerant and equal society.

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