

# 1 Editorial Introduction

### John Douthwaite and Ulrike Tabbert

# 1.1 Crime, Social Structure, Values and the Linguistic Approach

Crime is an important societal phenomenon. It accounts for a significant proportion of a country's gross domestic product, it represents a serious threat to normal existence in many countries (Ras, Chapter 14), and it can at times constitute a challenge to the legitimacy of the extant order (Mayr, Chapter 11). Nevertheless, crime holds an enduring fascination for the general public, as is shown by the enormous sales figures for crime fiction (underscored by the vast amount of translation occurring in what has been a global market for some time now), and the huge amount of time devoted to crime fiction on television and in the cinema.

Much of this fascination stems from the fact that few people witness or fall victim to crime first hand. Despite direct encounters with criminal activity being rare, people manifest strong feelings about criminals and punishment. Two cogent reasons account for this phenomenon: (1) crime triggers reactions determined by people's deeply instilled values and (2) people's constant 'indirect' experience of crime can affect their lives quite radically, in at least two ways.

On the one hand, problems exist which touch their everyday lives (as well as triggering their values and consequent reactions): organised crime, drugs (of especial concern to parents with young children and of indirect concern to all caused by international drug trafficking), crimes of violence in certain areas, violent crimes against women everywhere, <sup>1</sup> corruption, effects of immigration,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Currently, a woman is killed every three days in Italy, principally by her spouse or lover. In Germany 254 women were murdered in 2019. The problem is even more serious in those countries where the female is legally and/or culturally subordinated to the male. That this is ultimately a political problem worldwide is indicated by the culturally redolent diplomatic incident which took place at an official international meeting on 7 April 2021: Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission, was left without a chair by Turkish President Recep Erdoğan. Perhaps even more significant was the fact that Charles Michel, President of the European Council, made no move to rectify the situation and offered no apology to von der Leyen following the meeting.



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terrorism, war, state terrorism (Johnson 2019), all influence the day-to-day running of single individuals' lives and the global regulation of their lives. Consequences include higher taxation, greater state control over civil liberties, effects on international politics. To illustrate the latter, oil in the Middle East has produced a mix of war, terrorism and global politics which have worsened the situation, Saddam Hussein's supposed store of chemical weapons constituting a cogent exemplification. The current Russia-Ukraine war has detonated another world crisis. It is no coincidence that Chapter 6 by Ibrahim and Tabbert deals with Kurdistan. Indeed, over half of the chapters in this volume illustrate how daily lives are affected by crime: 4–6, 9, 11, 12, 14 and 15.

On the other hand, people experience crime from texts about criminality, whereby we understand the term 'text' in its widest sense, including, among others, newspaper and television reports as well as crime fiction novels, film, poetry, offenders' accounts of their own wrongdoings, legal documents, government and research institute studies and reports on crime and prisons. This point alone justifies extended research on crime in the media.

The key to understanding this enduring fascination that the phenomenon of crime holds therefore lies not only in studying real crime and criminals (as is the subject of criminology, sociology and economics) or in their detection and punishment (as falls within the realm of policing and the law), but principally in the study of the plethora of texts produced about crime, criminals and their punishment since this is where most people unwittingly acquire their knowledge about crime (Colbran 2014b), as well as gain enjoyment therefrom, another striking phenomenon requiring explanation.

Leaving crime actually occurring in the real world to be dealt with by legal, criminological and governmental agencies, there exists an immense parallel world of discourse on crime that we explore in this volume because this discourse constitutes a powerful component in determining human perception of the phenomenon itself (Colbran 2014a) and, consequently, subsequent behaviour concerning that phenomenon (such as one's attitude to punishment).

Crime is not an inbuilt, immanent, 'natural' phenomenon, but is socially defined. Thus, definitions of crime change as place, historical conditions and social structure change. Crime is thus a window on the world; it reflects the socioeconomic structure of society, its values, its attitudes and the social conflicts and social dysfunctions characterising any given society at a given time. Crime fiction is a privileged site in which society can be observed and analysed. One might object that crime fiction being fictitious, it cannot claim to constitute 'social' documentation. This is far from being the case since novels are taken from life and reflect life in some way. One crucial way in which they mirror, and so reveal, life is that texts present worldviews vying with each other to promote and buttress the value systems they champion: they are sites



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of struggle.<sup>2</sup> Our fundamental aim is to show how crime and the reaction to crime are portrayed in its various manifestations across individual texts, text types and genres, across cultures and different legal systems. An obligatory concomitant goal is, consequently, an investigation into how such portrayals affect or are intended to influence readers'/viewers' responses and how they react to the attempts made by texts to position them.

Since texts are conveyed basically through language, our aim is to show by means of a variety of linguistic methodologies how suasion actually works in those texts. Another fundamental reason why linguistics is our essential analytical tool is because language, or rather, any semiotic system, is not a neutral device which objectively describes 'the world out there', but one that has inbuilt values, one that creates a text world which necessarily conveys a worldview – as stated above, texts are sites of struggle in the battle for hegemony (Fairclough 1989). This is demonstrated either directly or indirectly in all of the chapters in this volume.

Exploring the textually constructed worldview accordingly entails dealing with ideological meaning in these texts, the major concern underlying the contents of this volume. Ideologies as 'a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs and values' (Wodak & Meyer 2009, p. 8) can be understood as values attached to the text worlds (Jeffries 2000, p. 384) with language being 'the primary instrument through which ideology is transmitted, enacted and reproduced' (Teo 2000, p. 11). This ideological approach underlines the social, historical and critical aspects of the relationship between crime, socioeconomic structures and power relations in society which the present volume sets out to examine.

This volume illustrates the application of linguistic analysis to a range of crime-related text types, always positioning the text itself centre stage. Such an approach is extremely rare in crime studies. Linguistics allows hypothesising falsifiable assertions concerning what takes place in those texts linguistically and, consequently and primarily, about how the crime discourse world under scrutiny is constructed through language, as well as about how the mode of linguistic construction affects the reader. Although texts are created through language, as in any form of communication and comprehension, they necessarily deploy our knowledge of the world. Hence, in addition to understanding how language works in crime texts, comprehending those texts concurrently requires the deployment of all our branches of knowledge. Some disciplines such as literary criticism are closely related to linguistics, while others such as music, forensic psychology, criminology or the law might at first appear to be extraneous to linguistics. As the various chapters in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Chapters 3–5 and 15 focus on this aspect. <sup>3</sup> Chapter 15 illustrates this perfectly.



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present volume will strive to show, all knowledge is interconnected. This accounts for our attempt to explore new routes of studying the societal phenomenon of crime, including the fascination it holds. Such fascination, we will try to demonstrate, is a product of the ideological functions of crime fiction, the reverse side of the coin being the psychological needs such fiction satisfies in the reader/viewer, the two functions being inextricably intertwined. Although the approach is multidisciplinary, the methodological starting point for each chapter, however, is always a linguistic one.

Among the various linguistic approaches deployed in this book, stylistics prevails. Stylistics understands itself as a 'systematic analysis of style in language' (Jeffries & McIntyre 2010, p. 1). By its very nature, stylistics embraces all domains of knowledge and deploys an extremely broad range of methodological tools. Above all, its crucial goal is not only that of identifying what a text means, but, even more vital, how a text means what it means, since attributing an effect to a linguistic construction is what makes stylistic hypotheses falsifiable.

While some critics argue that stylistics is a sub-discipline of linguistics, others claim that stylistics is much broader than linguistics, since it draws on other linguistic methodologies as well as subjects which are not specifically linguistic, such as sociology, psychology, anthropology and literature. Though stylistics began life investigating the language of literature, seen as a 'special' type of sub-language, stylisticians now analyse any form of communication, linguistic and non-, in all and every domain. The long-standing debate on whether language is a general phenomenon with general rules, or whether literature, economics, law, religion and so forth are 'special' languages, each with their own characteristic sub-rules, continues heatedly.

The present volume constitutes a cogent illustration of the breadth of approaches stylistics employs. Thus, from the 'traditional' stylistic toolkit employed in Chapters 4–6 by Douthwaite, Gregoriou and Ibrahim/Tabbert, and applied to translation studies by Zupan in Chapter 7, we move to Critical Discourse Analysis as covered by Ras in Chapter 14, Relevance Theory as dealt with by Furlong in Chapter 8, Text World Theory used by Thomas in Chapter 9 and Multimodal Analysis deployed by Statham in Chapter 10. Recent times have witnessed the 'cognitive turn' (Statham & Montoro 2019) in linguistic studies, which we endorse by opening this volume with an overarching cognitive metaphorical approach to the construction of the (deviant) Other (Chapter 2 by Kövecses and Douthwaite) and an investigation into metaphors used for prisons and prison-like everyday situations (Chapter 3 by Fludernik). Mayr (Chapter 11), employs the Appraisal framework to explore favela funk lyrics.

In order to shed full light onto the complexity of the crime and its textual representation, the present volume embraces the fields of criminology and



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sociology (Douthwaite in Chapters 2, 4 and 15), forensic psychology and criminology (Tabbert in Chapter 12), law and rhetoric (Ponton and Canepa in Chapter 13), thereby ensuring a wide-ranging interdisciplinary approach is brought to bear on our topic. Interdisciplinarity overrides the confines of the professions as well as those of knowledge domains in order to achieve depth and breadth so as to avoid, as far as possible, the limitations brought about by the blinkers of one's own and sometimes small area of expertise. Having forewarned the readers, it will come as no surprise to them to learn that Canepa is a judge, Tabbert is a public prosecutor, Ras is a criminologist and Douthwaite a criminologist by training.

Recent developments in linguistic studies of crime fiction have witnessed a significant broadening of the realms of investigation, including explorations of the cultural and social criticism inherent in important sectors of crime fiction novels, films and television series. The volume by Stougaard-Nielsen (2017) demonstrates that a great deal of recent Scandinavian crime-related texts deal with social concerns over globalisation, increasing poverty, concentration of power, and the crisis of the welfare state, issues which cause worldwide alarm, as our volume will bear out. Many of the articles in another collection entitled *Crime Fiction as World Literature* (Nilsson et al., 2017) show the same trend at work from Mexico to Thailand. We are in accordance with these approaches and pay attention to the social criticism that is inherent in discourse on crime (e.g., in Chapters 4–6, 9, 11, 14 and 15).

# 1.2 An Overview of the Volume

The lexemes 'crime' and 'criminal' of their essence suggest difference. Hence Kövecses and Douthwaite open the volume with a cognitive linguistic investigation of the concept of Otherness. Starting from the objective fact that people belong to different social and cultural groups, Kövecses notes that human beings distinguish people 'who belong to our group from people who do not in a rigid way'. This results in classifying people as either belonging or not belonging to a given category. Kövecses hypothesises that this 'container' logic of categorisation is a property of the human cognitive apparatus. Categorisation is a process of inclusion/exclusion. We include or exclude people from a given category on the basis of whether or not they possess certain defining features deemed essential. We thereby create the Other on the basis of difference, often stigmatising such difference. We then metonymically take a typical representative of that category as standing for the entire category, despite the variations within a category. In this, the cognitive process

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Stigmatisation is generally related to dominance and exploitation, and is treated in several chapters in this volume: 4–6, 11–13.



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of metonymic thinking bolsters dichotomic categorisation and stigmatisation. Kövecses then identifies a number of cognitive or conceptual metaphors which typify Otherness, such as

THE OTHER IS AN ENEMY
THE OTHER IS A PRIMITIVE MAN/BARBARIAN/WILD ANIMAL

One crucial function of cognitive metaphors is that they perform ideological functions (Kövecses 2010). They do so by highlighting certain features and hiding others. Significantly, as Kövecses points out, the cognitive metaphors employed to 'refer' to Others generally underscore their supposed negative qualities, as in the previous example: THE OTHER IS A WILD ANIMAL. He then proceeds to apply his theoretical constructs to texts to demonstrate the validity of his argumentation.

Douthwaite continues the chapter by illustrating how the concepts work in a significant crime text where Otherness is the key variable, the material and ideological centre around which all the characters and events revolve.

The enormous importance of metaphor in communication (Douthwaite 2011; Kövecses 2010) is witnessed by the fact that the topic is taken up directly (i.e. as *the* object of investigation) by Fludernik (Chapter 3) and Ponton/Canepa (Chapter 13), and indirectly (i.e. as one of the analytical tools deployed) by Douthwaite (Chapters 4 and 15), Gregoriou (Chapter 5), Ibrahim/Tabbert (Chapter 6), Zupan (Chapter 7), Mayr (Chapter 11), Tabbert (Chapter 12) and Ras (Chapter 14).<sup>5</sup>

In Chapter 3, Fludernik goes directly to the key feature of metaphor in communication: metaphors express point of view, they have an ideological function. She demonstrates this quite neatly by pointing out that in these coronavirus-ridden days, out of the manifold possible ways of defining clinics, it is significant that they have often been labelled as 'prisons', rather than life-saving institutions, given the highly curtailed liberties reigning in those establishments. Fludernik illustrates how metaphors work (ideologically) by examining carceral metaphors, thus tackling a key component in crime – punishment – a topic which is heavily value-laden and consequently ridden with conflict. She takes up Foucault's view that prisons are heterotopias, parallel worlds, a variant of the binary dichotomy traditionally associated with prisons (prison is hell constituting the implicit opposite of the heaven of the outside world). Based on her previous study on English Middle Ages to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Given its theoretical and practical importance, as witnessed by the number of contributions in this volume dealing with the topic, Otherness might be said to be one of the main, albeit indirect, topics of the volume. Kim (2010) has edited a volume of essays devoted to Otherness in crime fiction. What distinguishes our volume is the linguistic approach employed and the concurrent concentration on topics such as ideology, point of view and suasion.



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contemporary Anglophone literature and on essays from newspapers from the last 150 years, Fludernik carries out a search in the LION (Literature Online) database for occurrences of key words such as 'prison', 'fetter', 'shackle', 'manacles', 'chains' which 'directly or metonymically invoke the prison scenario'. The metaphorical expressions obtained are then analysed and a complex classificatory system developed in order to identify social groups (such as (1) conservatives who view incarceration as retribution and (2) prisoners expressing their own viewpoints on the subject) in order to identify the precise worldviews and ideologies the metaphorical systems implicitly or explicitly propound, thereby linking ideology to social identity and historical situation.

Douthwaite's focal concern in Chapters 4 and 15 is also with the central topic of ideology. His underlying aim is to demonstrate that, like all texts, crime fiction texts are sites of struggle. Ideology and suasion are thus his two overarching themes. He divides crime texts into two main ideological camps, conservative and critical. He identifies the manifold linguistic features that are constitutive of each camp, showing how they are often diametrically opposed, reflecting their ideological opposition. Douthwaite also pinpoints the linguistic techniques deployed in the texts in order to position readers, demonstrating that such techniques are common to both camps, since suasion is a general category which is not directly dependent on specific content. He achieves his goals by examining a representative for each camp: Midsomer Murders, in the form of one of Caroline Graham's novels, Written in Blood (Chapter 4), to illustrate the position of the conservative camp, and the Inspector George Gently television series (based on Alan Hunter's eponymous novels, which, however, vie more towards the conservative camp), as a whole to elucidate the critical position (Chapter 15). Other novelists and television series are referred to when relevant to expanding the argument. A panorama is offered of the works produced in both the Midsomer works (Graham's novels and the TV series based on those novels) and the Gently artefacts in order to establish a general historical and contextual framework as well as furnishing production details for the products analysed relevant to identifying and accounting for their stances and their differences. This is followed by detailed close readings of selected excerpts to explicate the previously identified technical and linguistic differences in operation and to exemplify the suasive mechanisms at work. The methodology is stylistic, employing all the tools provided by that approach. Other scientific domains such as criminology are called on where necessary. The two chapters are thus complementary and meant to be read together. Given the limitations of space and in order to offer as wide a thematic and methodological panorama as possible, the chapter on Gently is provided online, which also accounts for its non-standard length.



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Gregoriou (Chapter 5) analyses a novel about human (child) trafficking, an important crime involving global factors such as poverty, immigration, culture conflict and racism. A young African called Muna girl is kidnapped by an African family living in London and kept in a cellar as a domestic and sexual slave. She is regularly beaten and tortured, not simply as a means of subjugation, but also as a whipping horse for family members to work off their frustrations and jealousies. Four aspects are of especial importance to the cohesion of this volume. First, Gregoriou offers a stylistic analysis of the novel, employing speech presentation, naming strategies, metaphor, transitivity and (deontic) modality as her analytical tools. This enables her not simply to identify whose point of view is being propounded at various points in the text, but also, and crucially, to make the reader experience the events, thoughts and feelings of the characters, thereby positioning the reader. In addition, Gregoriou indicates the communicative effects achieved by the linguistic tools she identifies as having been deployed by the writer, making the results obtained reliable since falsifiable. Second, a social critique is offered by the chapter. Immigration is a topic of great relevance since in recent decades it has become a significant social phenomenon, not only because of the numerous wars creating refugees, but also because it is a rich source of organised criminal exploitation. The novel also deals with possible dire consequences of slavery, including the destruction of personality, with the extreme result, in this particular case, that in the end the victim becomes the persecutor wreaking terrible vengeance on her former oppressors, a phenomenon which is not new in human history. Third, Gregoriou points out that the novel deals with Africans exploiting Africans, totally ignoring the crucial role played by whites in trafficking. Finally, the ideology of the social groups involved is highlighted, relating each ideology to its culture of origin.

Chapter 6 (Ibrahim/Tabbert) continues on the topic of victims of crime introduced by Gregoriou and crosses cultural borders into Iraqi Kurdistan with an exploration of Iraqi Kurdish poet Sherko Bekas and his collection of poems known under the title *The Small Mirrors*. The selected passage under scrutiny has at its core the (Kurdish) victims of genocide but deliberately avoids naming explicitly those responsible for the atrocities. One effect of this strategy is to bestow upon the experience global significance, crucially so, since genocide and other 'political' crimes are given scant treatment, when not neglected completely, in crime fiction. By addressing this issue they draw attention to the sociopolitical situation worldwide and see this genocide in a row with fascism, the Balkan wars, the Rwandan genocide and many more. In the passage under scrutiny one highly significant aspect that receives critical attention is the fact that the linguistic construction of the victims automatically brings about the construction of the respective offenders even though the latter are not talked about, again bestowing global significance to the single



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instantiation. The authors employ the framework of Critical Stylistics (Jeffries 2010) that is particularly suited to detecting ideological meaning in texts and employ ten textual-conceptual functions of texts which, on the level of ideation as world creation in texts, unravel the world projected by the text and the values attached to this world, that is, the ideological meaning. Bekas' political statement and his tireless work to give a voice to the Kurdish people in their ongoing struggle against oppression emphasises the fact that victims of genocide might be numerous and anonymous but their suffering is as tragic as that of an individual victim of crime like (fictive) Muna in the previous chapter.

Translation might at first appear a strange component in a book on crime. Yet, as Zupan (Chapter 7) cogently demonstrates, translation of English crime fiction has played a fundamental role both in stimulating the development of crime fiction writing in non-English-speaking countries and in expanding the market for foreign as well as local crime fiction in those countries. More importantly for the main concerns of the present volume, as translation studies have demonstrated, translation raises issues regarding two interrelated levels: (1) the nature of equivalence and how equivalence may be achieved, given the diversity between languages, cultures and literary systems, and, indeed, if equivalence is a goal of translation, as classic theory would demand, and (2) how linguistic and social differences affect translators' decisions as to the type of translation to be effected and reader response to the translation and how the latter is affected by the receiving culture. Zupan thus deals with issues such as the market, the influence exerted by texts, how such influence is connected to culture and the social situation of the target audience/culture, all core questions addressed in various chapters in the volume, and further developed by Furlong in her discussion of adaptations in the next chapter.

Zupan tackles these questions by examining Slovenian translations of Edgar Allan Poe's short story *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*. After first tracing Poe's influence on market sales and on the development of world crime fiction and then providing an overview of stylistic theory on translating detective fiction, Zupan presents Poe's short story and its Slovenian translations. There follows the main part of the chapter, a meticulous stylistic analysis of an excerpt from the target text and two of its Slovenian translations. Zupan identifies differences between source and target texts and offers an account of the origin of those differences. He then links readerly response to the specific linguistic selections made by the author/translator, showing, where relevant, how such choices are related to the translator's attempt to nativise the text and how such choices are embedded in the target culture.

In Chapter 8, Furlong moves one step further than Zupan. If equivalence is impossible, and if, in addition, there are as many interpretations of a text as there are readings of that text, then adaptation necessarily produces a 'new' text, reflecting the adaptor's interpretation (or novel creation) of the original.



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One reason accounting for novelty is that film and television adaptations invariably provide much richer visual signals than the original (written) text. Adaptations thus embody the intentions of the adaptor and not those of the original author. Furlong investigates the nature of such intentionality by examining adaptations in their historical and cultural target settings, taking crime texts as her subject matter. Due to the inherently ideological nature of the genre, it may be predicted to provide copious significant material. Furlong selects late nineteenth-century Russian and Japanese adaptations since at that time these countries were undergoing profound economic, social and political transformations, changes which also involved the issue of national identity (such as a reaction against British imperialist values). Furlong opts to scrutinise versions of Conan Doyle's works because of the range and variety of adaptations produced. She examines the 1981 Russian television production of The Hound of the Baskervilles because it was the acme of both exoticism (the life of the British bourgeoisie) and domestication (national culture). Furthermore, the investigation into intentionality is aided by director, producer and writer having outlined their goals and commented on the value of the film. Since the adapted texts vary little from the original, analytical attention is concentrated on the abundant visual signals. Setting, events, people, clothes and objects are carefully analysed to identify the relevant cultural behaviour they represent in the Russia of the time. Furlong underscores that the need to satisfy Russian censorship and protect the values of the status quo led to the lampooning of Doyle's original. However, Furlong demonstrates how domestication of Holmes to respect this political requirement produced contradictory effects in which national identity was both reinforced and destabilised. Furlong extends her analysis to present times by investigating the nature of British Sherlock and American Elementary, comparing the two works and then scrutinising the Japanese adaptations. Ideology, culture, goals are central topics in this chapter as they are in the entire volume.

Chapter 9 (Thomas) concludes the triad of Chapters 7–9 by adding the topic of parody to the previously examined topics of translation and adaptation. It develops Furlong's turn to multimodality. Thomas analyses an (American) YouTube video titled 'Bed Intruder', reporting on an attempted rape. The video has gone viral and inspired countless parodies. Thomas approaches the topic of race within US society that is a most pressing societal issue given the social unrests following the death of George Floyd and many other, mainly African Americans in police custody, inspiring a #BlackLivesMatter movement worldwide. Thomas employs Text World Theory (Gavins 2007; Werth 1999) to analyse the multimodal video sequence and three selected parodies. There ensues a highly detailed account which tracks processes, enactors, speech presentation modes in order to identify switches in text worlds and the nature of the text world that has been turned to so as to identify the