

A Corpus-Based Analysis of Moral Agency in
Pre-Crime Narratives

Emily Katherine Powell

Centre for Language and Communication Research
School of English, Communication and Philosophy
Cardiff University

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
Cardiff University 2022

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
List of Tables.....	iii
List of Figures.....	iv
Conventions.....	vi
Glossary.....	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Overview.....	1
1.2 Rationale.....	2
1.3 Aims/research questions.....	5
1.4 Key concepts.....	5
1.4.1 Moral Agency.....	5
1.4.2 Identity and moral agency.....	6
1.4.3 Narrative, identity and moral agency.....	6
1.5 Identity Navigation.....	7
1.6 A corpus-based approach.....	8
1.7 Outline of the thesis.....	9
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	11
2.1 Introduction.....	11
2.2 Moral Agency.....	11
2.3 Moral agency and identity.....	16
2.4 Moral agency and moral responsibility.....	19
2.5 Moral agency and crime.....	21
2.6 Narrative and moral agency.....	26
2.7 Linguistic devices linked to agency and harm.....	32
2.7.1 Shared agency.....	32
2.7.2 Grammatical obfuscation of agency.....	33
2.7.3 Lexis and moral agency.....	36
2.8 Pre-crime narratives.....	38
2.9 The perpetrators.....	42
2.9.1 Lone attackers.....	42
2.9.2 The impact of these perpetrators.....	44
2.10 Other influences on the language used by these perpetrators.....	47
2.10.1 Mental Disorder.....	48

2.10.2 Gaming	51
2.11 Conclusion.....	54
Chapter 3: Method	55
3.1 Introduction	55
3.2 The corpus-based approach.....	55
3.3 The Corpus	56
3.3.1 Perpetrators and Texts	56
3.3.2 Preparing the data	61
3.4. Time and the division of the texts into subcorpora	62
3.4.1 Theoretical considerations	62
3.4.2 Dividing Breivik’s text	63
3.4.3 Dividing Rodger’s text	64
3.4.4 Dividing the Columbine Diaries	66
3.5. Analysis.....	67
3.5.1 Choice of software.....	67
3.5.2 Reference Corpora	67
3.5.3 A discussion of keyness.....	70
3.6 Analytical stages	74
3.6.1 Framing the analysis	74
3.6.2 Analysis stage 1: Diachronic analysis of language used to describe position in relation to the world and to other people	76
3.6.3 Analysis Stage 2: Positioning in relation to the self	80
3.7 Ethics & Copyright.....	83
3.7.1 Ethical Issues	83
3.7.2 Copyright	86
3.8 Conclusion.....	86
Chapter 4: Repackaging Harm.....	88
4.1 Introduction	88
4.2 Contextualising the analysis.....	88
4.3 Overpackaging in Elliot Rodger.....	90
4.3.1 Overview of analysis	90
4.3.2 Overpackaging: abstract processes and events.....	93
4.3.3 Overpackaging: Momentousness and grandeur.....	98
4.3.4 Misleading packaging: predetermined and necessary	102
4.3.5 Overpackaging: fictional harm	107

4.4 Repackaging in the manifesto of Anders Breivik	110
4.4.1 Overview of analysis	110
4.4.2 Military repackaging in Breivik's text.....	115
4.4.3 Repackaging: automation	118
4.4.5 Microscopic packaging.....	121
4.4.6 Repackaging during Breivik's Trial	125
4.5 Conclusion.....	125
Chapter 5: Positioning in relation to others	128
5.1 Introduction	128
5.2 Contextualising the analysis.....	128
5.2.1 Proximity to victims	128
5.2.2 Appealing to or neutralising condemners.....	129
5.2.3 Similarity to and difference from others who commit crime	130
5.3 Diffusion of agency in the manifesto of Anders Breivik	131
5.3.1 Overview of analysis	131
5.3.2 Sharing agency with the audience	134
5.3.3 Collective agency	144
5.3.4 Individual Agency	158
5.4 Conclusion.....	164
Chapter 6: Virtual responsibility.....	167
6.1 Introduction	167
6.2 Contextualising the analysis.....	167
6.2.3 A coherent sense of self.....	167
6.2.4 Splitting of the self	168
6.2.5 Rehearsing agency.....	168
6.2.6 Virtual agency.....	169
6.2.7 Labelling.....	170
6.3 Elliot Rodger: A mouse or a god?.....	171
6.3.1 Overview of analysis	171
6.3.3 Juxtaposition of extreme labels	172
6.3.4 Justifying the crime through coherence.....	181
6.3.5 Rehearsing agency through labelling and coherence.	183
6.3.6 Virtual self and real self: merging the two	184
6.4 Labelling in the Columbine Massacre diaries.....	188
6.4.1 Overview of the analysis	188

6.4.2 Superhuman labelling and cohesion	192
6.4.3 Two Dylans: Splitting the self	196
6.4.4 Subhuman/stigmatised labelling.....	198
6.4.5 Rehearsing agency through virtual roles	200
6.5 Conclusion.....	207
Chapter 7: Conclusion.....	210
7.1 Introduction	210
7.2 A taxonomy of moral agency	210
7.2.1 Repackaged Agency	213
7.2.2 Shared agency	214
7.2.3 Ambiguous agency	214
7.2.4 Virtual Agency	215
7.2.5 Rehearsed Agency	217
7.3 Research question 1: How is moral agency linguistically expressed in a corpus of pre-crime narratives written by mass shooters?.....	218
7.3.1 Nominalisations and abstract nouns	218
7.3.2 Unaccusative and semantically passive verbs	219
7.3.3 Use of tenses and lexical choices	219
7.3.4 Pronouns	220
7.3.5 Noun phrases referring to the self.....	221
7.4 Research Question 2: How do the perpetrators linguistically navigate their moral agency over time?.....	222
7.4.1 Diachronic patterns in Breivik’s manifesto	222
7.4.2 Diachronic patterns in Rodger’s autobiography.....	224
7.4.3 Diachronic patterns in the diaries of Klebold and Harris	225
7.5 Limitations	226
7.6 Implications	229
7.6.1 Theoretical implications	229
7.6.2 Methodological implications	231
7.6.3 Real-world implications	232
7.7 Future applications and further research	236
7.8 Concluding thoughts	237
Reference List	239
Appendices.....	261

Abstract

This thesis explores the role that moral agency plays in the narratives of offenders written before they commit crimes. Moral agency expands on more limited conceptualisations of agency by incorporating a moral dimension in the form of the way in which people reflect on and evaluate their own past, present and future actions. This is particularly relevant to criminal narratives because of the impact that such reflection and evaluation may have on whether people are likely to offend again and on whether they may act on their urge to offend in the first place.

A corpus-based approach is used to analyse a corpus of over 200,000 words of manifestos and diaries written by four lone attackers who perpetrated mass shootings and wrote accounts of their lives and the preparations they made for their crimes in the months and years before they committed them. Bamberg's (2012) identity navigation framework is used to focus firstly on how the perpetrators position themselves in relation to their crimes, secondly on how they position themselves in relation to those who they are going to harm, and finally on how they present their past, present and future selves. Through qualitative analysis of the texts using corpus tools, the way in which the style of each perpetrator changes over time is traced, starting with keywords and phrases and expanding to the analysis of the co-text and collocations surrounding them.

The thesis describes a range of lexical and grammatical features that emerge from the data as relevant to the navigation of moral agency, and demonstrates that at key points the perpetrators' use of these features changes over time along with their positioning within the text. It is argued that the complexity of moral agency as embodied in these features goes beyond levels of high or low agency and is better described in terms of complex categories relating to the sharing of agency, rehearsal of agency, virtual agency, ambiguous agency and repackaged agency, and that navigating these categories in their narratives may have a constitutive effect on the perpetrators. This has important implications for existing assumptions relating to responsibility, agency and offending, as well as the role of narrative in relation to harmful actions.

Acknowledgements

I have always had a tendency to pick up rocks to see what is underneath them. This rock was particularly heavy and so I am incredibly grateful to the many people who have helped me with it. The kindness of those people has been an antidote to the analysis of the difficult data involved and has made this project achievable. I am deeply grateful to Dr Chris Heffer and Dr Dawn Knight, for their patience and encouragement, for knowing exactly which questions to ask to set my thoughts in motion, for teaching me so much, and for always being honest but kind. I will genuinely miss our supervision sessions.

I felt incredibly supported at Cardiff University and would like to thank all of the staff in ENCAP for their words of encouragement and advice at different points, but would particularly like to thank Rhian Rattray for always having the answer, and Michelle Aldridge-Waddon for support at difficult points. Studying part-time has also meant that I had the opportunity to meet more fellow students, and share the highs and lows of this process. Particular thanks for their friendship and wisdom go to Kate Barber, Lucy Chrispin, Jessi Frasier, David Griffin, Tina Pereira, Susan Reichelt, Kate Steel, Eimi Watanabe and Piotr Wegerowski.

I would also like to thank the ESRC for funding this research through a part-time studentship, without which this project would not have been possible.

Finally, special thanks go to my family for always encouraging me in everything I do. Dylan, Ella and Mia have kept me calm throughout this process by reminding me of what is really important in life and have taught me more in the last 25 years than I could have learnt from any other source.

List of Tables


<i>Table 3.1</i> Corpus of pre-crime narratives	60
<i>Table 3.2</i> Sections of Breivik's compendium.....	64
<i>Table 3.3</i> Sections of Rodger's autobiography.....	65
<i>Table 3.4</i> Eric Harris journal entries.....	66
<i>Table 3.5</i> Dylan Klebold journal entries.....	66
<i>Table 4.1</i> Positive and negative keywords in the final three sections of Rodger's (2014) autobiography.	92
<i>Table 4.2</i> Analysis of syntactic patterns of ' <i>Day of Retribution</i> ' in Rodger: Section 7	96
<i>Table 4.3</i> Key lexical words in Breivik's compendium.	112
<i>Table 5.1</i> Positive and negative keywords referring to people in Breivik (2011).....	132
<i>Table 5.2</i> Uses of <i>you</i> in Breivik Section 5	138
<i>Table 5.3</i> Key pronouns in Breivik's text.....	145
<i>Table 5.4</i> Instances of <i>we</i> in the self-interview in Breivik Section 1	151
<i>Table 6.1</i> Key noun phrases used to describe Rodger.	174
<i>Table 6.2</i> Keywords for Harris and Klebold using BNC as a reference corpus.....	190
<i>Table 6.3</i> Key terminology generated by SketchEngine using BNC as a reference corpus..	191

List of Figures

Figure. 3.1 Illustration of reference corpus using whole text minus section under comparison.	68
Figure 3.2 Analysis flow chart	82
Figure 4.1 Random sample of instances of <i>retribution</i> in Rodger Section 7	94
Figure 4.2 Sample of instances of Retribution in Rodger Section 7	94
Figure 4.3 Random sample of instances of retribution in the COCA Corpus.....	97
Figure 4.4 Word Sketch of retribution from enTenTen 15 using Sketch Engine.....	98
Figure 4.5 Word Sketch of <i>exact</i> as a verb in enTenTen 15 using Sketch Engine	100
Figure 4.6 All instances of <i>Exact</i> used as a verb in Rodger Section 7	101
Figure 4.7 All instances of <i>destroy</i> in Rodger Section 8.....	101
Figure 4.8 Sample of concordance lines of <i>world</i> in Rodger Section 8	102
Figure 4.9 Random sample of instances of <i>kill</i> in Rodger Section 7	103
Figure 4.10 All instances of <i>shooting</i> in Rodger Section 7.....	103
Figure 4.11 All instances of <i>SUV</i> in Rodger Section 7	103
Figure 4.12 Sample of Instances of <i>kill</i> in Rodger Section 7	104
Figure 4.13 All instances of <i>handgun</i> in Rodger Section 7.....	104
Figure 4.14 Sample of instances of <i>I will</i> in Rodger Section 7	106
Figure 4.15 Sample of instances of <i>will</i> in Rodger Section 7	106
Figure 4.16 Sample of instances of <i>will</i> in Rodger Section 8	109
Figure 4.17 All instances of <i>armed resistance</i> in Breivik Section 1	116
Figure 4.18 All Instances of <i>war</i> in Breivik Section 1 that refer to his future crime. [sorte.	116
Figure 4.19 Sample of instances of <i>struggle</i> in Breivik Section 1.	117
Figure 4.20 Sample of instances of <i>operation</i> in Breivik Section 2.....	117
Figure 4.21 S2 All instances of <i>Weaponry</i> in Breivik Section 2.....	118
Figure 4.22 Word Sketch of <i>phase</i> from enTenTen 15 using Sketch Engine	119
Figure 4.23 All instances of <i>phase</i> in Breivik Section 2	120
Figure 4.24 Sample of instances of <i>phase</i> in Breivik Section 3.....	120
Figure 4.25 WordSmith Tools plot of <i>phase</i> in Breivik’s text showing use over the span of the text.....	121
Figure 4.26 Sample concordance of <i>phase shift</i> from COCA corpus extracted April 2020	121
Figure 4.27 Sample of instances of <i>weapon</i> related terms in Breivik Section 3	122
Figure 4.28 Normalised frequency of <i>phase</i> in all sections in Breivik’s text.	124
Figure 5.1 Sample instances of <i>You</i> in Breivik Section 5	136
Figure 5.2 Normalised frequencies of <i>you</i> (per 1000 words) in each section of Breivik's text.	136
Figure 5.3 Sample of instances of <i>you</i> in Breivik Section 5	137
Figure 5.4 Sample of instances of <i>you</i> Breivik Section 5.....	139
Figure 5.5 Sample of instances of <i>you</i> in Breivik Section 5	141
Figure 5.6 Concordance of <i>you</i> in Breivik Section 5	142
Figure 5.7 Sewing machine instruction manual (Singer 2010)	143
Figure 5.8 Computer game Walkthrough (Pandaplex 2017).....	143
Figure 5.9 Normalised frequencies of <i>we</i> , <i>us</i> and <i>our</i> (per 1000 words) in each section of Breivik's text	145
Figure 5.10 Sample instances of <i>we</i> in Breivik Section 1.....	146
Figure 5.11 Sample of instances of <i>us</i> in Breivik Section 1.....	146

<i>Figure 5.12</i> Uses of <i>we</i> in Breivik Section 1 to refer to communicator, audience and third parties in Section 1	148
<i>Figure 5.13</i> Normalised frequencies (per 1000 words) of <i>I</i> in all sections of Breivik’s text.	159
<i>Figure 5.14</i> Sample instances of <i>they</i> in Breivik Section 1	159
<i>Figure 5.15</i> Samples instances of <i>he/she</i> Breivik Section 4.....	160
<i>Figure 5.16</i> Sample of instances of <i>she</i> in Breivik Section 6.....	160
<i>Figure 5.17</i> Sample of instances of <i>I</i> in Breivik Sections 2, 3, 6 and 7.....	161
<i>Figure 5.18</i> Plot of <i>I</i> in Section 7 using Wordsmith Tools.....	162
<i>Figure 6.1</i> All instances of <i>mouse</i> in Rodger Section 7	176
<i>Figure 6.2</i> Sample of instances of <i>virgin</i> in Rodger Sections 5,6 and 7.....	177
<i>Figure 6.3</i> Sample of instances of <i>virgin</i> in Rodger Sections 5,6,7	177
<i>Figure 6.4</i> Sample of instances of <i>virgin</i> in Rodger Sections 5,6,7	177
<i>Figure 6.5</i> All instances of <i>magnificent</i> in Rodger Section 7	178
<i>Figure 6.6</i> Comments on Rodger’s YouTube Videos. (Moonshot 2020)	180
<i>Figure 6.7</i> Sample of instances of <i>god*</i> in Klebold’s diaries.....	192
<i>Figure 6.8</i> All instances of <i>god*</i> used to refer to Harris	193
<i>Figure 6.9</i> All instances of <i>Human</i> used to refer to Harris.....	195
<i>Figure 6.10</i> Sample of instance of <i>human</i> in Harris’ diary	195
<i>Figure 6.11</i> All instances of <i>human</i> in Klebold’s diary.....	196
<i>Figure 6.12</i> All instances of <i>zombie*</i> in Klebold’s diary	200
<i>Figure 6.13</i> All instances of <i>doom</i> in Harris’ diary	201
<i>Figure 6.14</i> All instances of <i>NBK</i> in Harris’ diary	203
<i>Figure 7.1</i> Taxonomy of Moral Agency	212

Conventions

‘.....’	non-indented quotations
<i>italics</i>	corpus query terms, keywords, collocates and linguistic forms discussed in the main body of the text
XXXX	anonymisation in concordance lines
[name]	anonymisation in keyword lists and quotations
	words redacted by Jefferson County Sheriff’s Office
_____	words or phrases highlighted in quotations from the perpetrators’ texts to make analysis clearer.

Errors in perpetrator’s texts

These will be preserved in all quotations from the perpetrators’ texts and will not be identified through the use of [sic] because of the large number of errors involved.

Glossary

Breivik

<i>acetone</i>	a colourless liquid used to make solvents and chemicals
<i>acetylsalicylic acid</i>	aspirin
<i>AL/ALU</i>	aluminium
<i>Analfo</i>	an explosive gas
<i>ANALM</i>	ammonium nitrate aluminium nitro methane
<i>ANFO</i>	an industrial explosive (ammonium nitrate fuel oil)
<i>ASA</i>	acetylsalicylic acid
<i>cryo</i>	cryogenics (utilising the effects of very low temperatures)
<i>DDNP</i>	diazodinitrophenol (used to initiate explosions)
<i>Dremel</i>	a tool brand
<i>DSL</i>	a modem used to connect a router or computer to a telephone line
<i>ECA</i>	ephedrine, caffeine and aspirin
<i>EDL</i>	English Defence League
<i>Glock</i>	a brand of pistol
<i>isopropanol</i>	liquid alcohol
<i>Keten</i>	name of a weapon shop
<i>Knights Templar</i>	imaginary group Breivik claims to be part of and working for (named after a 12 th century Catholic military order)
<i>MA</i>	Multiculturalist Alliance
<i>MC</i>	Breivik uses this to refer to an explosive device
<i>NDL</i>	Norwegian Defence League
<i>nr</i>	number
<i>NSDAP</i>	National Socialist German Workers' Party (German: Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei)
<i>PA</i>	ethanol
<i>Pelican</i>	brand of protective case
<i>picatinny</i>	a bracket used on a firearm
<i>picric</i>	an explosive acid
<i>prills</i>	material in granular form
<i>PST</i>	Norwegian Police Security Service (Politiets Sikkerhetstjeneste)
<i>RC</i>	a type of fuel
<i>Ruger</i>	a brand of firearm
<i>SN</i>	sodium nitrate
<i>SP</i>	soft point bullet
<i>stack</i>	a combination of drugs
<i>UDI</i>	Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (Utlendingsdirektoratet)

Klebold and Harris

<i>Benet</i>	Bennett (Dylan's middle name)
<i>frags</i>	Kills (videogame slang)
<i>NBK</i>	Natural Born Killers (from the film of the same name) Both Klebold and Harris use this as code for their attacks.
<i>Reb</i>	Rebel (Harris' nickname and online username)
<i>SOB</i>	Son Of a Bitch
<i>Vodka</i>	Klebold's nickname

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Overview

I didn't spend much time at all preparing for this attack. Maybe a month, probably less. I have do [sic] this before I lose my nerve. I figured that an under-prepared attack and a meh manifesto is better than no attack and no manifesto. (Crusius 2019)

In this extract from his manifesto *An Inconvenient Truth*, Patrick Crusius (who shot and killed 23 people and injured 23 others in a Walmart store in Texas on 3rd August 2019) refers to his intention to do what he seems to imply is something of a convention or expectation for mass shooters: to write a manifesto and distribute it prior to the crime. In his text, Crusius refers to the mass shooter Brenton Tarrant who, earlier the same year, killed 51 people and injured 40 in two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand. In turn, Tarrant (2019) refers to a previous attacker (Anders Breivik) as a source of inspiration in his manifesto 'The Great Replacement', which he distributed online before his attacks. This pattern of acknowledging past attackers is often a feature of such documents and may be done explicitly with a direct reference to them or in a more implicit way using key phrases, dates or coded references (Langman 2020a). We can infer from this that many high-profile mass killers inspire future attackers, either intentionally or inadvertently, and some have arguably created a web of intertextuality and agency that spans decades. There are also indications that certain high-profile perpetrators (those examined in this study) have more of an influence on potential attackers than others, possibly because of the scale or unprecedented nature of the attacks, or because of the texts accompanying the crimes that may have influenced those who copied their actions. If these texts influence the actions of those reading them, then it is not implausible that the texts could also affect the writers themselves, influencing them while they are writing them and affecting their imminent actions. The extent to which perpetrators' own narratives reflexively empower and enable them to harm others through their own narratives while they are writing them has received little attention and the role of the texts themselves in their crimes is a central focus of this study.

This study is a corpus-based analysis of the manifestos of four arguably highly influential perpetrators written before they committed mass shootings. These specific perpetrators are: Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, who committed a massacre at Columbine High School in 1999 and whose attack arguably started a wave of school shootings across the US and has inspired many more since (Langman 2019b); Anders Breivik, who bombed a

government building in Oslo and shot a large number of children on the Island of Utøya in 2011 in what he called an act of war against the Islamisation of Europe; and Elliot Rodger, who injured and killed several people in a violent attack in Isla Vista, California in 2014 in revenge for women having rejected him all of his life. There is considerable evidence that all of these perpetrators have inspired other attacks with their actions and words (Langman 2019; CCT 2021; Berger 2019) and they were all high-profile cases because of the scale and unprecedented nature of their attacks. Columbine was the largest school shooting to happen in the US to date (Cullen 2009), Breivik's attack was unprecedented in Norway, a country which had not had any terrorist attacks of this scale before (Appleton 2014) or since, and Rodger's attack was the first in a wave of an increasing number of attacks in recent years by the incel community (CCT 2021). A more detailed discussion of the multiple reasons for choosing these perpetrators for this study is included in Chapter 3.

This study explores these perpetrators' use of language over time in a 201,964 word corpus of texts that they wrote as they prepared for their attacks, and analyses the way in which they linguistically navigate their moral agency; that is, how they evaluate their own actions and those affected by them. The study applies Bamberg's (2012) identity navigation framework to examine the way in which the perpetrators position themselves in relation to: their future criminal actions; those affected by their actions (including victims, condemners and other attackers); and their past, present and future selves. This chapter details the rationale for carrying out this research, briefly outlines the key concepts and frameworks that are integral to this study, and presents the research aims that guide it and the approach that has been taken to achieve these aims.

1.2 Rationale

The motivations for conducting this research are numerous and have been further strengthened as the study has progressed. Firstly, there is a pressing need for further research into the perpetrators of mass shootings because of an increase in the frequency of such crimes in some countries. Statistics on mass shootings vary and databases relating to numbers of mass shootings are largely focused on the United States rather than providing global data. Nevertheless, in the U.S. there is evidence of an increase in such incidents. The FBI defines a mass shooting as 'three or more killings in a single incident' but provides this data within the wider category of 'active shooters', who it defines as 'an individual actively engaged in killing or attempting to kill people in a confined and populated area' (Blair and Schweit 2014:5). FBI data include lone attackers and mass shooters but specific numbers for these individual

categories are not provided. Overall, they demonstrate that the number of active shootings in the US has increased since the turn of the century (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2018). Three of the perpetrators included in this study (Rodger, Klebold and Harris) are from the US; however, Breivik is Norwegian, and while Norway has had very few mass shootings in its history in comparison to other countries, it has a higher number of fatalities per capita from mass shootings (Crime Prevention Research Center 2015), purely because of Breivik's attacks and the number of people he killed.

This study focuses on texts written by mass shooters who are also lone attackers, because according to Gill (2015), such offenders do not usually fit a standard profile that would enable them to be identified and their attacks prevented ahead of time, and therefore research offering new insight into this particular type of attacker is vital. There are also many assumptions relating to such attackers that may have previously stalled progress in identifying them before they commit their crimes (e.g. the extent to which they discuss their crimes with others beforehand [Schuurman et al. 2019]). As discussed above, related to this is the impact that the manifestos written by such perpetrators have on those who read them. There is evidence that such documents, which are often widely available on the Internet, either deliberately or inadvertently inspire others, and that the perpetrators chosen for this study were particularly inspirational to prospective attackers and had an impact that continues to this day (Langman 2020a).

Secondly, it is hoped that this study will add to existing literature relating to the linguistic features that may be linked to agency and that it will expand the study of agency in linguistics to incorporate moral agency, which encompasses how people evaluate their own actions and those affected by them (discussed in more detail in Chapter 2). It explores the way in which the perpetrators position themselves in relation to their crimes and other people, and uses this analysis to develop a taxonomy of categories of moral agency that are navigated in these pre-crime texts. It is hoped that this taxonomy may be taken forward and applied to other contexts in which harm is planned and responsibility for it navigated.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the documents under examination in this study were written before the crimes took place (thus the use of the term 'pre-crime') and this has implications for what we may discover in relation to how an offender becomes able to commit their crimes and the role that responsibility plays in this. The majority of studies on criminal narratives consider narratives that are written after crimes, whereas these pre-crime texts offer the opportunity to gain a unique insight into the perpetrator's mindset before they harm others. They provide us with the opportunity to explore the way in which an offender's moral agency

changes over time both before a crime has taken place, and away from the constraints of a legal environment (e.g. criminals interviewed in prison where they are required to show remorse) or research interview (with the effect of the interviewer). These texts provide a narrative created 'in-situ' and in the midst of events, whereas those obtained after the crime may be influenced by the distance of time and the situation in which the narrative is elicited by the researcher. This study focuses on texts that can be said to be narratives because they include 'the representation of an event or sequence of events' (Genette 1982:127); however, these events could be narrated after, before, or during the event itself and may even be hypothetical (Georgakopoulou 2006: 123). Bamberg et al. (2011) suggest that stories that are created alongside events rather than in hindsight may more accurately reveal the narrator's positioning and moral values, and provide a less edited and more immediate sense of self.

This insight is key because it may enable the researcher to see transitions in the moral agency of criminals before they commit crimes and, as a result of this, may provide more information relating to the link between responsibility and offending, besides checking existing assumptions that a greater sense of responsibility makes someone less likely to transgress. The assumption that taking responsibility reduces offending implies that an offender taking on the criminal label and accepting what they have done will enable them to move on and change their lives. What is not often considered in legal systems is that rejecting the criminal role and retelling their story may help them to reform their identity. It may seem far-fetched to view narrative as constitutive, and enabling someone to act, but this is already the basis of many decisions relating to offenders in terms of the narrative that offenders are encouraged to rehearse in relation to responsibility. There is evidence that taking on either the responsibility narrative or the victim narrative may have an impact on offending, and may have implications for how treatment programmes deal with offenders (Maruna 2004a), whether or not offending is reduced and in worst case scenarios whether or not someone is given the death sentence by a jury (Gruber 2014). What is key here is the impact that the narrative taken on by the offender has on their own behaviour, because of the way that they navigate their identity and in turn their moral agency through the narrative. Many elements of the criminal justice system are based on the assumption that taking responsibility has an impact on offenders' actions. Examining how this small group of specific offenders narrate their lives prior to a crime will therefore add to research into the constitutive nature of such narratives, besides exploring the above assumption. This research also provides an insight into the impact of such offenders' narratives on others and also the impact of their narratives on their own ability to act.

1.3 Aims/research questions

The overall aim of this study is to explore the way in which the perpetrators navigate their identity and in turn their moral agency before they commit their crimes, and specifically looks to answer the following research questions:

1. How is moral agency linguistically expressed in a corpus of pre-crime narratives written by mass shooters?
2. How do the perpetrators linguistically navigate their moral agency over time?
3. What categories of moral agency emerge from these diachronic patterns and how do these relate to the overarching themes of responsibility, desistance and the power of narrative to affect action?

1.4 Key concepts

1.4.1 Moral Agency

The definition of moral agency that underpins this research is Taylor's (1985) description of human agency as the ability to evaluate our actions, rather than simply the ability to act on the world. While there are numerous linguistic studies linking agency and linguistic features, this study seeks to expand on narrower definitions of agency by more clearly linking human agency to responsibility in the form of how someone positions themselves in relation to their actions and those affected by them. The literature review (Chapter 2) will elucidate different definitions of agency and how they can be positioned on a continuum depending on the degree to which they incorporate moral reasoning on behalf of the writer/speaker. While agency is central to research in a wide range of different fields (including disciplines such as psychology, criminology, linguistics, sociology and philosophy), moral agency is of particular relevance to the field of criminal responsibility because the study of culpability in criminal accounts elucidates the moral struggle of offenders and the likelihood of them offending again. Although agency has been analysed in the language of offenders' accounts of past crimes (O'Connor 2000; Presser 2004; McKendry 2006) and these analyses do touch on elements of moral agency, little research has been carried out into how criminals navigate their responsibility and the way they position themselves in relation to their crimes and those affected by them in texts written *preceding* crime.

1.4.2 Identity and moral agency

Identity is inextricably linked to how people position themselves in relation to other people. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), it emerges through discourse, is indexed in the labels and references people use for themselves and others and is relational in that identity partly emerges in the comparisons people make with other people's identities. Identity is therefore also key to navigating a person's moral agency, because the way in which we see ourselves in comparison to others affects the way in which we see the harm we may or may not cause them (Bandura 2005) and whether or not we acknowledge the sufferers of harm at all (Presser 2013). The way in which people perceive themselves also influences the responsibility that they take for their actions because of how they position themselves in relation to their past and future selves (Bamberg 2012) and the labels that they are given or that they give themselves (Lemert 1951). This relates to whether or not people take on the labels that others give to them, and to what extent their own sense of self influences the way in which they act, or how they internally negotiate their actions in relation to these labels. Examining the way in which identity and moral agency are intertwined in a text therefore allows us to explore what the link between identity and moral agency may mean for the constitutive role of a criminal's narrative in enabling them to commit their crimes.

1.4.3 Narrative, identity and moral agency

The dearth in research on pre-crime texts is understandable considering that such texts are generally more difficult to obtain than those written or spoken after a crime, and the manifestos of mass shooters provide a unique insight into the mindset of the perpetrators before they commit their crimes and the way in which this changes over time. These documents are often labelled as 'manifestos' by the media or the perpetrators themselves, but are not manifestos in the traditional sense of the word in that they do not take the form of a 'printed declaration, explanation, or justification of policy issued by a head of state, government, or political party or candidate' (Oxford English Dictionary 2021). However, the term 'manifesto' can also be used to describe a 'book or other work by a private individual supporting a cause, propounding a theory or argument, or promoting a certain lifestyle' (Oxford English Dictionary 2021) and these texts better align with this definition, which will be discussed further in Chapter 2. They do not take a uniform structure and vary greatly in the form that they take. Some of the texts are simply plans written in notebooks, or diary entries and autobiographies, and others are short online rants expressing their ideology or anger with those they wish to harm. Their aims (as far

as we can extrapolate them from the texts) range from reaching out to family members and friends, and explaining and justifying their crimes, to spreading their ideology to others.

As discussed above, the particular texts focused on in this study mostly take the form of narratives, as defined by Genette (1982:127) as ‘the representation of an event or sequence of events’. However, the texts do not always take the form of neatly organised narratives that align with Labov’s (1975) narrative stages. Other genres such as instruction giving and interviewing are interspersed and combined with narrative passages in these texts and are less obviously narratives themselves but align with Bamberg’s description of ‘small story’ narratives that are created as events unfold. These complex written negotiations of identity and moral agency, which describe past, future and hypothetical events, provide us with an opportunity to analyse the perpetrators’ sense of self and sense of responsibility over time and examine how this changes as they move closer to committing their crimes and how this may influence their actions. Bruner (2004: 694) describes the way in which narrative is integral to our sense of self and argues that we ‘*become* the autobiographical narratives by which we “tell about” our lives’, using narrative to rehearse agency and in turn affect our actions. The implications of this for work on recidivism and the role of narrative in therapeutic work towards preventing reoffending are obvious and have been discussed by O’Connor (2000), and Maruna and Ramsden (2005). The relationship between narrative and action in terms of the former’s ability to enable or inhibit action is also the focus of the nascent field of Narrative Criminology; Presser (2018) & Sandberg (2010) argue that narrative has a powerful role to play in offending, albeit alongside other factors that cause people to commit crime.

By exploring the relationship between moral agency, identity and narrative diachronically in these texts I will consider whether these relationships impact on the subject’s ability to harm others. For this reason, Bamberg’s framework of identity navigation is used as the focus of the analysis because it provides a lens that combines the three concepts of narrative, identity and moral agency through which to view the texts written by these perpetrators and to see how they linguistically navigate their identity and in turn their moral agency through their narratives.

1.5 Identity Navigation

According to Bamberg (2012:111-112) ‘diachronic and synchronic navigation of agency...are imperatives for a healthy sense of self’. He posits that people navigate their identity in narrative along three dimensions or ‘dilemmas’, using ‘navigate’ figuratively to mean that people are moving with some degree of difficulty between different positions along each dilemma.

1. **‘Constancy and change across time’**: How the narrator creates a sense of a coherent self from their past and present identities (Bamberg 2012:103-104).
2. **‘Sameness and Difference’**: The way in which the narrator synchronously positions themselves in relation to others. This can be explored through ‘category ascriptions or attributions to characters’ (Bamberg 2012:104).
3. **‘Agency’**: Whether or not the narrator presents themselves as a ‘victim’ or ‘undergoer’ who is unable to act on the world or as ‘heroic’ and ‘self determined’ (Bamberg 2012: 106).

Bamberg here explicitly links the third dimension to agency; however, the first two dimensions can also be linked to the broader concept of moral agency and this link will become clearer in Chapter 2 where the reasons for using this framework will be discussed.

This study also expands on Bamberg’s framework and extends its application. Firstly, it will demonstrate that all three dimensions can be linked to agency and that by looking at all three under the lens of agency, moral agency can be incorporated in the study of identity navigation and the three different dilemmas can be combined to create different categories of moral agency. In addition, each dilemma will be applied diachronically (Bamberg only describes the first dilemma as diachronic in nature), and finally, the constitutive impact of this navigation will be discussed in terms of how navigating these different elements of identity may influence and affect the way that people act.

1.6 A corpus-based approach

This study can broadly be categorised as corpus-based, using what McEnery and Hardie describe as a broad definition of the term as the use of corpus techniques to analyse language in a corpus of texts (McEnery and Hardie 2012:151). Various different terms have been used to categorise different types of corpus analysis in recent years, with the terms ‘corpus-based’ and ‘corpus-driven’ often being juxtaposed and more specifically applied in terms of whether the theory forming the basis of the study emerges from the data itself or whether pre-existing theories are applied to the corpus analysis. In reality, many studies in fact use a combination of these two approaches and this will be discussed further in Chapter 3. Where ‘corpus-based’ is used in this study it relates to the broader definition rather than implying a choice between data driven or theory driven.

This corpus-based study also borrows elements from corpus stylistics. While usually applied to literary works, stylistic analysis can be applied to other, non-fictional texts (Hunt

and Carter 2012). Corpus stylistics involves combining literary theory with corpus analysis (Mahlberg 2013:1), and sets out to ‘describe the features that make a text distinctive’ (Mahlberg 2013:8). For example, it has been used to look at style changes in relation to different characters in Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* (Culpeper 2009), authorial style in relation to other contemporaneous authors (Fischer-Starcke 2009), and the language used to describe affective states in Sylvia Plath’s work (Demjén 2015). Such studies explore style changes that are intuitively noticed when reading a text but become clearer and more empirically supported when repeated patterns are looked at using corpus linguistic techniques. This study looks at individual texts in terms of what Leech (1985) describes as ‘internal deviation’, comparing changes in the style of the authors over time by looking at diachronic patterns in the linguistic features within their texts. Crucial to stylistic analysis is the effect on the reader in terms of how others might be affected by the linguistic features, but what is unique about this study is that it also considers the impact on the writer themselves and their actions, and in this way combines features of corpus stylistics with the field of narrative criminology (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2).

1.7 Outline of the thesis

The main body of this thesis begins (Chapter 2) by exploring the literature relating to the key concepts of moral agency, identity and narrative which are central to this study. It then outlines existing research into the application of these concepts to those who offend, discussing the role of narrative in harming others, the debate concerning the effect of taking responsibility on those in the criminal justice system, and the ways in which criminals and others who harm are thought to neutralise and morally disengage with their actions and those affected by them. The chapter then explores existing literature relating to the linguistic features that may be linked to agency and examines the way in which people who cause harm to others have linguistically positioned themselves in relation to this in a range of different contexts and in relation to different types of harm. Finally, literature relating to the specific perpetrators included in this study and others like them will be critiqued, together with the context surrounding them including the impact of mental disorder, and gaming. Overall, the literature review aims to establish why research into these particular perpetrators is so vital and what has been explored so far in relation to this kind of crime and in relation to moral agency and recidivism, besides setting out the theoretical framework behind this research.

Chapter 3 describes the method applied at each stage of this corpus-based study and explains some of the issues that arose in the analysis and the rationale behind decisions that

were made. These relate to the construction of the corpus, the tools chosen for the analysis, the corpus techniques applied, the statistics chosen (where relevant), and the steps taken to analyse the data, besides options for analysis that were not pursued and the reasons for this. Finally, it looks at the ways in which any limitations of the method were overcome.

The subsequent analysis chapters each take different strands of Bamberg's framework and present the results relating to them. The texts of all four perpetrators were analysed according to all three dimensions of the framework but each chapter focuses on a particular perpetrator and a particular strand of the framework. Where the inclusion of another perpetrator contributed something new to a chapter, another perpetrator was also included in that chapter. Chapter 4 analyses the way in which Rodger and Breivik view the world in terms of whether they are victims or able to act on the world, with a particular focus on how they position themselves in relation to their future crimes. This chapter also explores how the way in which they describe their future plans may indicate their own feelings of responsibility and provide an insight into their navigation of moral agency in relation to their crimes, besides how this changes over time through the text. Chapter 5 looks at the way in which Breivik positions himself in relation to other people (victims, the audience, condemners, other attackers), and how this impacts on the sense of responsibility that emerges in different sections of his text over time. Chapter 6 presents an analysis of Rodger's, Klebold's and Harris's self-labelling and the reactions they have to ascribed and avowed labels, and explores their navigation of these labels in relation to Bamberg's (2012:103) dilemma relating to 'constancy and change across time'.

Finally, the thesis concludes by exploring the implications of these results in terms of the way in which these perpetrators navigate their moral agency over time, what the key linguistic features are that are involved in this, and what categories of agency are navigated. This enables us to assess how their sense of moral agency changes diachronically and what the implications of this are for the impact of narrative and identity on action and assumptions relating to responsibility and crime.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The central focus of this study is moral agency and how it is expressed linguistically. As this chapter progresses it will become clear that moral agency is inseparable from identity and from narrative, and therefore this section of the thesis begins by exploring the literature relating to these three key concepts. The intersection of these concepts in practice will then be examined by looking at the way in which the moral agency of criminals is approached in the criminal justice system and in research relating to offending. This will include exploring criminological theories that are relevant to moral agency, and literature relating to the language surrounding examples of harm and those who cause it, including the way in which different types of agency may be expressed linguistically. The chapter concludes by looking more closely at research that has already been carried out on both the specific texts focussed on in this study and other pre-crime narratives, which will include looking at possible influences on the language of these perpetrators such as intertextuality with other mass murderers, mental disorders, and gaming.

2.2 Moral Agency

Agency, though a complex concept, is an integral part of the human condition (Johansen 2011; Haggard and Tsakiris 2009; Bandura 2001; Taylor 1985) and it is therefore not surprising that many philosophers, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists and criminologists have tried to simplify it, organise it and define it. Ahearn (2001:112) expresses frustration with either too vague or too narrow definitions of agency and argues that it is often confusingly explained and underdefined. However, in her more recent work she seems to see this complexity and the different lenses through which people see agency as a strength, suggesting that ‘all of these attempts to define, subdivide, and categorize types of agency are very useful for scholars interested in analysing language’ (Ahearn 2011:281) and suggests that ‘meta-agentive discourse’ (Ahearn 2011:284) is worth analysing to examine how people talk about agency. Definitions of agency in the literature appear to be on a continuum from narrow views of mechanical agency to definitions in which moral evaluation is central. On one end of the continuum is grammatical agency, which simply defines agency as belonging to the part of the sentence that carries out an action (Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman 1983). Whether or not grammatical agency is hidden or unclear can then be linked to whether or not a writer or speaker is trying to obfuscate agency and avoid responsibility, and this mechanical definition of agency often forms part of linguistic studies of agency. Duranti (2005) explores this understanding of

agency in his descriptions of the ways in which different languages have different ways of expressing agency (discussed in more detail in Section 2.7).

However, a broader view of agency is worth pursuing because it enables us to consider the way in which agency is approached in different fields and to consider the context surrounding this linguistic agency in a text. Carter and Charles (2013) argue that agency is not just related to whether or not someone acts and that this definition of it confuses agency with action. Action theory (Davidson 1980) posits that agency belongs to anything that has an effect on someone or something else and Carter and Charles (2013) challenge this, arguing that agency is inextricably linked to a sense of self and the ability to change things through action, rather than simply being related to whether a person acts or not. The consensual view is that the concept of agency extends beyond mere action and further along a continuum of moral evaluative involvement in agency towards having control over these actions and therefore being responsible for them. For example, Giddens (1984:9) defines agency as referring not to ‘the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place’ and argues that an agent has the power to act and change existing social situations or practices. Duranti (2005:3) also describes agency as ‘having control over your actions’, and Ahearn (2011: 261) defines it as the ‘socio-culturally mediated capacity to act’. Anders Breivik killed 77 people in Oslo and Utøya in 2011 and was arrested shortly afterwards. In his trial Anders Breivik stated (BBC 2012) that he admitted his actions but did not take responsibility for them, and it is this tension between acting and assuming responsibility for it that raises questions about how we evaluate actions and the moral agency of those carrying them out.

The fundamental sociological distinction between individual agency and societal structure is also crucial to this discussion. Debates around the role of society in constraining individual agency have something to offer in terms of defining and conceptualising agency and this is relevant to criminal narratives because of the debate around the effect that an offender’s upbringing and environment may have on their actions. Ahearn (2011:279) argues that there has been a pre-occupation, particularly in the field of anthropology and in feminist literature, with defining agency as ‘free will’, and explains that one of the reasons for this is because of attempts since the 1970s to emphasise that despite social constraints people have individual agency and are able to resist the control of social structures. Giddens’ (1979:69) theory of structuration sees structure not only as constraining, but also enabling, and argues that structure and agency are ‘mutually dependent’. Archer (2003) explores the dialectic between societal structure and agency and to what extent individuals are able to act creatively or are limited by the societal structures (e.g. class, family, education, government) that exist around them.

Central to this dialectic is the idea that people are conditioned and constrained by society, but that they use their internal conversation to act creatively within these parameters, and by doing this change the structures that constrain them. Reflection is key to this ability to have control over action. Fleetwood (2016) explores Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' ('lasting, transposable dispositions' which are built up throughout our lives and which are shaped by our social and cultural experience of the world [Bourdieu 1977:72]) as affecting the way in which people respond to structural constraints. Fleetwood (2016) agrees that there is a dialectic between structure and agency and criticises the way in which different criminological theories assume that these are dichotomous and therefore that only one or the other can be at play (e.g. rational choice theory [Cornish and Clarke 1987] assumes individual agency, and subculture theory [Cohen 1955]) assumes that structure is the main influence on a person's actions). This notion of the extent to which people's actions can be excused because of external factors has in fact been applied to many acts of harm. For example, Moses (1998:204) discusses whether German soldiers were responsible for killing in the Second World War and disputes Goldhagen's (1997) assertion that German soldiers had agency because they were not just carrying out orders but instead had individual agency and their individual anti-Semitism led them to do it. Moses (1998: 204) also argues that the systemisation of the killing of Jews by 'desk perpetrators' removed those giving orders from 'reality and the concrete', and meant they were removed from the atrocities that they had ordered, and their sense of agency was obscured. He suggests that in a similar way soldiers were induced to kill by the systems that were put in place rather than because of their own individual agency and so responsibility for the killing was evaded by all involved in it, which potentially made it easier to carry out.

Linguistic agency is also linked to the debate concerning individual agency and societal constraints. Duranti (2005: 454) divides linguistic agency into two categories: 'encoding of agency' and 'performance of agency' and it is here that we can begin to see the link between moral agency and its linguistic manifestation. Performance of agency is explained as the use of language in a text or speech to exercise our agency. For example, by writing a manifesto or publishing a life story we are asserting our own agency, and many of the perpetrators studied in this project describe being unable to influence others and being frustrated at their lack of ability to change things. It is possible that writing their texts may be a way of attempting to assert their own agency. Lillis (2013:125) points out that writing is a 'highly consequential social activity' that is tied up in debates around structure, agency and identity, because who is allowed to write and in what way is highly regulated. She suggests that where writing is less regulated, writers have an opportunity to assert agency and develop their identities (Lillis

2013:136). Langman (2020b) argues that the perpetrators who write manifestos may be using this chance to prove they can act by writing them in a world in which they feel they have very little power. Certainly, there are examples in the texts of those attempting to regain a sense of agency through writing. For example, Dedaić and Dale (2012) describe the use of blogs by incarcerated prisoners in the United States to position themselves as heroes rather than villains, and Arduser (2014) explores illness narratives written by people with diabetes, and suggests that in some cases they enable them to have a voice, but in others they are simply a continuation of existing power imbalances.

The encoding of agency in language is central to language use and key to the study of agency (the ways in which it may be encoded will be explored in more detail below in Section 2.7), and Duranti (2005) highlights the fact that that most languages have ways of increasing or reducing/mitigating agency in some way, thereby implying that there are differing levels of agency. Darics and Koller (2019) argue that this is what distinguishes action from agency, in that action is binary (someone either did or did not act) whereas agency is gradable, and O'Connor (2000) describes higher and lower levels of agency in language rather than seeing it as dichotomous, and relates this to the sense of responsibility that someone has. Brockmeier (2009:230) also explores levels of agency but without the empirical evidence that strengthens O'Connor's (2000) model, and sees narrative as the 'ultimate form of human agency', suggesting that narrative increases human agency by providing the opportunity to rehearse it in hypothetical situations (O'Connor also sees a link between agentive narratives and action and this will be discussed in Section 2.6). All of these discussions around agency include the link between action, control over action, and ability to act on the world. However, it is the taking of our ability to act one step further towards the evaluation of our actions that is key to moral agency and which is the focus of this thesis.

The categorisation of agency into different types rather than levels seems to better reflect the complexity of moral agency. Bandura (2001) explores different types of agency such as personal agency, proxy agency (influencing someone else to act) and collective agency, and Seilonen et al. (2012) also explore different categories of agency (e.g. egotistical agency [placing the blame for their actions on others], akratic agency [acting against their own moral values]), but categorise drink drivers' narratives according to these in a way that could in fact be distilled down to levels of agency. Furthermore, some of their examples would arguably be labelled differently if the analysis had been linguistic. Ahearn (2001:122) strongly opposes measuring agency in terms of having more or less of it, arguing that it is 'not a quantity that can be measured' and suggests applying categories of agency such as 'oppositional agency,

complicit agency, agency of power, and agency of intention' (Ahearn 2001:130). She describes the need to explore collective agency, and even agency within parts of the individual that reflect an inner dialogue or turmoil, arguing that agency cannot be simplified as being located in one person and measured in varying degrees, because it is usually shared and is complex (Ahearn 2011). Certainly, analysing linguistic features and labelling them as more or less agentive is problematic because it assumes that there is always a clear and direct link between a linguistic feature and agency. Alternatively, categorising agency in terms of types seems to be an approach that acknowledges the complexity of agency and may be more applicable to the range of different ways in which agency could be expressed.

Discussions of different types of agency add a more moral dimension to the study of agency because the different types reflect how an act is viewed and how it is reflected on (e.g. 'diachronic agency' may relate to evaluations of past and future selves, and 'collective agency' may mitigate agency because it is diffused among a group). Duranti (2005:454) argues that self-evaluation is a key part of agency, and Ahearn (2001:113) states that 'it is important to ask how people conceive of their own actions and whether they attribute responsibility for events to individuals, to fate, to desires, or to other animate or inanimate forces'. Taylor (1985:43) describes this 'human agency' as the ability to evaluate our desires in a way that is not encapsulated within the more narrow consensual view of agency as the ability to act, and argues that this moral agency is what differentiates humans from animals. He states that this evaluation is inseparable from identity because 'we are reflecting on our desires in terms of the kind of being we are in having them or carrying them out'(Taylor 1985:26). We are not simply acting, or taking responsibility for our actions; we are reflecting on our actions and are able to change our evaluations based on external input or insight. Ahearn (2011) acknowledges Taylor's elucidating broader theory of agency, but argues that it needs to go further and acknowledge the social nature of agency and cultural influences on individual agency.

Moral agency is more complex than the capacity to act. Kennett (2009) explores this and gives the hypothetical example of children and animals being held responsible for crime if agency is simply related to causation and the ability to act. He then discusses diachronic agency in relation to an awareness of the way in which our actions may affect the future and argues that individual agency requires someone to have a sense of their own agency through time. Haggard & Tsakiris (2009) explain this more clearly as the ability to be aware of the effect of one's actions over space and time. Wallace (1996:13) also explains that an agent is not only capable of acting, but is 'subject to moral requirements' and that the 'experience of agency'

(Wallace 1996:3) involves deliberating over our actions, and acting on the basis of reasons or choices. He argues that it is:

not enough merely to be subject to desires and capable of acting to promote the ends set by such desires. Moral agency requires, in addition, the capacity to step back from one's given desires and to assess the ends they incline one to pursue in light of moral principles. (Wallace 1996:13)

In other words, having moral agency involves the ability not only to act but to reflect on our actions and alter them based on that reflection. Continuing with this broader definition of agency, Haggard and Tsakiris (2009:242-243) divide the human experience of agency into two parts. They argue that the first element is having control over actions and events in the world, but that along with this simpler form of agency, we also have what they call a 'sense of agency' and that this is related to differentiating between ourselves and others. Where this is impaired in some way, responsibility for an action is harder to assign to an individual, and they give the example of a neurological disorder called Anosognosia for Hemiplegia in which sufferers experience their agency but are unable to evaluate the effects of it. Bandura (2002:101) also highlights the role of self-reflection in moral agency, arguing that 'a complete theory of moral agency must link moral knowledge and reasoning to moral conduct'. Bandura (2001) also describes the temporal element of moral agency (see Wallace and Kennet above) as an integral part of moral agency because it requires the ability to have forethought and to reflect on future actions rather than being embedded only in the present moment. It is this concept of moral agency as the capacity to act and to reflect on one's actions and all elements impacted by them which is the focus of this thesis and which, because of its link to our evaluation of our own past, present and future actions and how they impact on others, is also inextricably linked to identity.

2.3 Moral agency and identity

It is difficult to separate agency from identity and the way in which we position ourselves in relation to other people. Goffman (1981) explores the transitory nature of identity and explains the use of 'footing' to describe the switching or changing from one role to another. This transition is indexed through a change of language or tone and Goffman asserts that a person may activate different footings or identities depending on who they are speaking to, while also navigating the identities of others. Harré and van Langehove's (1991; 2009) theory of

positioning leads on from this and explores how a person may position themselves and others and use this to explain their own actions and those of others. They give the example of the way in which civilians are positioned in war as passive objects or impediments to military operations, and we will see further examples in Section 2.6 of the way in which victims may be positioned in a certain way to make harm easier to carry out.

Different types of positioning have been developed since the theory first emerged. Forced positioning (Harre and van Langehove 1991:402) can be applied to the way in which criminals are forced to take the position of remorseful criminal when other positions may possibly be more helpful (discussed in Section 2.5 below). In addition, Moghaddam (1999: 76) explores the idea of reflexive positioning and the way in which people position themselves in relation to themselves as an ‘appraisal of their own performance’ or provide ‘justification for having taken a certain course of action’. This recalls Ahearn's (2011:278) discussion of ‘sub-individual’ agency, which she asserts may lie within a person in the form of internal arguments or dilemmas. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) define identity as the ‘social positioning of the self and other’ and describe it as emerging through linguistic interaction rather than only being reflected by it. They outline five principles for analysing identity, including the way in which it emerges through interaction (emergence) and the way in which people position themselves (positionality) in ‘transitory interactional positions’ (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:592) that are not necessarily broad identity categories such as age, sex or gender but are more nuanced and localised. They also outline the ways in which people linguistically index their identity (indexicality), the construction of identity in relation to others (relationality), and the partial nature of identity (the partialness principle relates to the agency that a person has to construct their identity and argues that identity is only partially internal to the self and is partly dictated by external social factors and ideologies).

The way in which others position and label people is also relevant to identity. Sacks (2010 [1964]) talks about the limitations on individual identity of labels or categories being binary and the fact that such binary labelling makes social control easier and removes individual agency to some extent. Sacks (2010 [1964]) also looks at the fact that categories are relational and asserts that the categories that we give to others change depending on how we position ourselves in relation to them, giving the example of labelling someone as ‘old’ depending on where we see them in relation to our own age (Bucholtz and Hall [2005] call this the relationality principle). Chen and Collier (2012) describe the difference between the way people see themselves and the way in which people categorise others as their avowed and ascribed identities and, although they apply this to a business context, it can be related to other

environments (e.g. Cornejo and Kam [2020]). In addition, labelling theory (Lemert 1951), which relates specifically to offenders, and which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, is focused on the impact of labels on those who they are given to. It applies to ascribed labels in the criminal justice system and the impact of these labels on limiting offenders' ability to develop new identities and find and acknowledge other sides of themselves that do not fit these labels.

Our sense of agency is also dependent on how we see and position others in relation to ourselves. According to Haggard and Tsakiris (2009:242) 'agency plays a major role in distinguishing oneself from non-self' and Bandura (2002) argues that if we see ourselves as different to others then we may feel less of an obligation to adhere to moral obligations towards them. Presser (2013) notes the way in which recipients of harm may be diminished in narratives in ways that attempt to make them less deserving of the same moral rights as others. Cohen (2001: 90) describes the training of torturers to see their victims as different to them, and Moses (1998) discusses the dehumanisation of victims by police in the Second World War. Comparisons to other offenders are also thought to form part of an offender's evaluation of harmful actions. Ugelvik (2015), for example, describes the way in which inmates in an Oslo prison compare themselves to other inmates who have committed what they see as worse crimes, and see themselves as morally better than them in a way that enhances their own sense of a moral self. This positive comparison to others is also highlighted in offender narratives by O'Connor (2000) and Bandura (2001:9), who describes an 'exonerating comparison with worse humanities'.

However, it is not just the differences between ourselves and others that are relevant to moral agency, but also our similarities. Schachter (1959) studies the way in which anxiety can trigger a desire to be affiliated with others who are of a like mind and who are in a similar situation because it enables them to check their own opinions and feelings and validate them. A sense of shared agency and a form of collective identity is something which may also enable people to act or to reduce their responsibility for something by sharing it with a co-agent, and this is a theme in much of the literature on agency. For example, Moses (1998) discusses the difference between individual and collective responsibility in times of war and whether countries or states can have agency, and Osofsky et al. (2005) give examples of those involved in conducting executions in the United States and describe each person's agency as being diffused as they each take on a small task in the execution so that nobody is solely responsible. Diener et al (1975) researched the ability to harm others in an experimental situation and found that participants were more likely to be aggressive if they were working in a group. Hill and

Zepeda (1993) give examples of the sharing of agency across characters through the use of reported speech, albeit in the less high stakes context of a conversational account of personal experience. Ahearn (2001:130) suggests ‘complicit agency’ (shared by a group) as a possible category of agency and Archer (2000) also argues that we may be more likely to change society by joining with others and becoming corporate agents (where agency belongs to an organised group) rather than only primary agents (whose agency is not coordinated and belongs to individuals). Carter and Charles (2013) argue that animals may have individual agency but not collective agency and that it is the latter which may give humans the ability to act and change the world around them (although the collective activity demonstrated by bees and ants to ensure survival could be used to dispute this argument). By sharing agency, it may be possible to diffuse responsibility for an action, and this link between types of agency and levels of responsibility will be discussed in the next section.

2.4 Moral agency and moral responsibility

Traditional definitions of moral responsibility describe it very simply as ‘the obligation to make up or compensate for’ your actions (Ricoeur 2000:11). However, there is a wealth of literature exploring why moral responsibility is in fact far more complex than this. A central focus of the debate around responsibility relates to free will and its impact on whether or not someone is responsible for what they do. Davidson (1980) differentiates between actions and events, arguing that only the former involves intentionality on the part of an agent. Strawson (1982) also highlights the importance of intentionality in the apportioning of blame to someone, but explores responsibility in terms of ‘reactive attitudes’ (the reactions that we have) towards a person’s act because of the relationships and obligations that people have towards their fellow humans and how these are integral to what responsibility means. Wallace (2004 [1996]) disagrees with the idea that intentionality is necessary for someone to be responsible for their actions, arguing that someone can still be held responsible even if they did not deliberately do an act, because of the obligation that people have to meet the standards expected of them by others. However, Watson (1975) argues that it is necessary for someone’s actions to be aligned with their values and intentions for responsibility to be assigned, and presents the idea of ‘two faces’ of responsibility: attributability and accountability. The former describes someone being responsible for their actions, and the latter the requirement for that person to fulfil demands or face sanctions as a result of their behaviour. Scanlon (2000) gives a slightly more nuanced version of this, asserting that someone can be responsible for their actions, but should only face

the burdens and consequences associated with that responsibility if they chose to act. Shoemaker (2015) develops this further, expanding the two faces model by adding the third element of ‘answerability’ to create a more comprehensive model of responsibility, arguing that in some cases not all elements of responsibility will apply (e.g. those suffering from dementia or other mental disorders), and Wolf (2015:135) also argues that whether or not someone is accountable should be based on to what extent their actions are aligned with their ‘deeper self’.

The complexity of theories relating to responsibility may have resulted in a disconnect from reality. Ricoeur (2000:30-35) laments the way in which a contemporary sense of responsibility has emerged which means that individuals can now be responsible for people and things rather than only actions, and argues that as a result there has been a tendency to lose the link between agent and action, for example, in cases of collective responsibility or vicarious responsibility, and that agents are no longer as easy to identify. Ricoeur’s insight is also reflected in the theorising of responsibility described in the literature above, which has become fine-grained, circular, and difficult to apply to real life situations. Smith (2015) agrees that identifying different types of responsibility may have resulted in its actual meaning being lost. There is generally a lack of clarity in these debates relating to moral responsibility in relation to what theorists think responsibility is, and Smith (2015) summarises this well when she argues that moral responsibility may be being made overly complex and that the concept has been deconstructed to such an extent that it may no longer reflect people’s lived experience. She attempts to simplify the debate by describing answerability as encompassing all of the different elements that others have dissected and links this to arguments about free will and quality of will. Certainly, much of the literature has a theoretical rather than empirical focus.

The literature relating to strategies taken to avoid being answerable for actions are similarly complex and links can be drawn between these and the elements of neutralisation and moral disengagement discussed in Section 2.5 below. Scott and Lyman (1968) assert that there is a difference between excuses and justifications, explaining that excuses involve someone admitting an act but denying responsibility, and justifications occur when someone accepts responsibility but does not see their actions as problematic. Wallace (1996) extends this by outlining an excuse framework that features such defences as something being done by accident, coercion, and involuntary bodily movements. Again, much of the literature is theoretical, although there are examples of theory being empirically tested (e.g. see Sterponi’s [2003] analysis of excuses and justifications in family conversations).

Cohen (2001) explores the denial of responsibility in more depth and less theoretically by looking at a person's positioning in relation to their acts and their own sense of responsibility resulting from this. Those theorising on responsibility discussed above describe mostly hypothetical and harmless acts and avoid looking at detailed and genuine situations, whereas Cohen's (2001) examples are taken from real acts of particularly violent and far-reaching harm such as genocide and torture. Included in the ways in which people may seek to reduce their sense of responsibility for their actions is obedience. This involves the claim that one is simply following orders, which Cohen argues is easier the lower down the hierarchy a person is but is also utilised in reverse for those at the top of the hierarchy who can reduce their sense of responsibility for harm by distancing themselves from it because they 'don't carry out or even see the atrocity' (Cohen 2001:89), and are simply ordering others to do it. Cohen also describes other ways of denying responsibility, such as: arguing that you were conforming to the actions of everyone else; claiming that it was self-defence; and means-end dissociation such as focusing on one small task or step in the process because 'In organizations with a clear division of labour, many fragmentary tasks seem harmless in themselves' (Cohen 2001:94). Such examples are moving us into the realm of the way in which the navigation of moral agency is linked to the sense of responsibility that a person has and also the extent to which others may hold them responsible. In terms of retrospective responsibility, this will affect the extent to which a person blames themselves or is blamed by others for a past act. However, where this positioning and evaluation takes place before an act of harm is carried out it is possible that the sense of responsibility arising from their navigation of moral agency may impact a person's future actions, or may lead them towards excuses and justifications that remove their inhibitions towards their acts of harm. This will be explored further in the following sections relating firstly to moral agency and the criminal justice system, and secondly relating to moral agency and the language of harm.

2.5 Moral agency and crime

Many of Cohen's (2001) examples in Section 2.4 describe the negotiation of responsibility to preserve a sense of a morally good self despite harmful actions, and both Seligman (2006) and Maruna (2004) argue that this is a normal, healthy approach to our own responsibility and may in fact enable us to have happier and more positive lives. Harre and van Langehove (1991:402) discuss the way in which people may be forced to position themselves in a certain way by others, and Covington (1984) gives examples of where court ordered therapy that requires heroin addicts to take responsibility for their addictions is less effective than medicalised

treatment programmes that allow addicts to see themselves as sick and their actions as a result of their sickness rather than being voluntary. There are numerous other examples of the forced taking of responsibility in criminal justice systems and in offender treatment programmes (McKendy 2006; Gruber 2014; Maruna 2004) and this will be explored in more detail in the following section.

Levels of agency and whether or not criminals demonstrate that they have taken responsibility for their actions is key to many of the processes in the criminal justice system of many countries (McKendy 2006; Guo 2012). To some extent this includes restorative justice, which has been applied in several jurisdictions and is now seen as a progressive way of encouraging criminals to change their ways because it is focussed on reconciliation and rehabilitation rather than retribution. One of the premises that is central to this is that criminals face their victims and that this encourages them to acknowledge the effect that their actions have had on people. There is some evidence that this restorative approach is effective at reducing offending (Bouffard et al. 2016). However, the reliability of studies claiming the effectiveness of the approach has been questioned for a variety of reasons (Piggott and Wood 2019; Weatherburn and Macadam 2013), one of which is the fact that many of the offenders offered restorative justice are more likely to be amenable to the process because of the eligibility criteria (Piggott and Wood 2019), and there is some evidence that in some cases it has even increased re-offending (Sherman and Strang 2007). Despite being less retributive than other approaches to criminals and their victims, there is still a large focus on taking responsibility for actions, and in order to be eligible offenders must at least outwardly express this (Restorative Justice Council 2014). In the UK prison system offenders are also required to show that they are aware of the effect their actions have had on their victims in order to be granted parole (Parole Board 2015) and to be able to access treatment programmes (Maruna 2004a).

The assumption here is that if an offender takes greater responsibility for their crimes, they are less likely to reoffend. O'Connor (2000) agrees with this assumption and suggests that where the narratives of offenders are lacking in agency there is an opportunity to encourage more agentive language that in turn will affect their likelihood of reoffending because they take more responsibility for their crimes. She gives examples of points at which offenders' narratives become evaluative and reflective and suggests that these are more likely to be sites where therapeutic work on agency can be done. However, the idea that greater agency in a narrative increases desistance (abstinence from offending) assumes not only that agency is directly indexed in language but that deliberately increasing agentive language can in turn

increase agency. Brockmeier (2009) also argues that agentive narratives can increase agency but indicates that this may mean that a narrator can practice agency in hypothetical situations. It therefore needs to be considered that increasing agentive language could have the opposite effect to that suggested by O'Connor.

In fact, empirical evidence does exist which throws some doubt on the assumption that increased agency results in increased desistance. McKendy (2006) analyses the narratives of 13 prisoners and looks at how they navigate agency when talking about their crimes and how they covertly position themselves as victims whilst also overtly fulfilling the need (imposed on them by the Canadian justice system) to show that they take responsibility for their crimes. This analysis highlights the tension between the 'responsibilization' (McKendy 2006:477) required by the prison environment and parole boards, and the need for offenders to work through the external factors that may have influenced their actions. It is possible that the requirement to show full responsibility leaves little space for discussing these external factors in the prison environment. In many of the narratives elicited by McKendy (2006) the narrators directly take responsibility but invite the listener to infer the ways in which they have been victims of external events rather than stating them directly. Maruna (2004) provides empirical evidence from his study of a large sample of offenders' self-narratives that in fact taking responsibility may have the opposite effect and may encourage reoffending by embedding the criminal label and causing the offender to internalise their responsibility (although Presser [2009] argues that his study is yet to be replicated). Maruna (2004) argues that the way in which taking responsibility is integral to criminal justice systems in the form of treatment programmes, parole requirements, and harsher punishments for those who do not take responsibility is counterproductive and needs to be challenged. He explores the stigmatisation caused by this and gives numerous examples of where resistance against blame may in fact be necessary for someone to transform their behaviour. Maruna's argument is that the treatment of offenders is still largely based on religious practices of obtaining confessions and condemning people rather than helping them to transform their lives. He asserts that there are a worryingly high number of cognitive treatment programmes that are based on the idea of taking responsibility, despite the fact that there is little evidence that it impacts positively on recidivism and that taking responsibility is often forced from offenders to help them to get more lenient punishments/earlier parole. Maruna (2004) looks at the stigmatising impact of labels and explores derealisation (distorting perception of the world) as a tool to help offenders to accept what they have done but not internalise the criminal label. As mentioned above, Seligman (2006:4-5) has something to offer here in the form of his theory that optimism can

be learned, and that pessimism can be self-fulfilling and draw us towards feelings of helplessness and a lack of self-control. Believing that things are our fault may lead us into a state where we feel we are unable to act to improve things, whereas people who are optimistic see a problematic situation as a 'temporary setback, that its causes are confined to this one case' (Seligman 2006: 4-5) and see these causes external rather than internal.

Criminological and sociological theories relating to how people enable themselves to commit a crime and yet still maintain a moral code also contribute to this debate, because they relate to how someone may maintain a positive sense of self despite their crimes. Sykes and Matza's (1957) theory of neutralisation is centred on the notion that people neutralise the factors that would normally stop them from committing a crime. These neutralisations include denying responsibility for an action, denying that there is a victim, condemning those who will condemn their crimes, and appealing to higher loyalties and therefore legitimising their actions because they are in aid of a greater good. Cohen (2001:77) also suggests that two further neutralisations, denial of knowledge and moral indifference, should be added to the theory. There is some debate over whether neutralisations take place before or after a crime. Maruna and Copes (2005) summarise the interpretations of the theory over the last 50 years and suggest that this key criminological theory has been wrongly interpreted by some as relating to cognitive processes before a crime. They argue that it has been interpreted as confirmation that criminals should take responsibility because this will help them to move away from committing further offences. They ask, 'how can one neutralise something before they have done it?' (Maruna and Copes 2005: 221). However, their latter argument seems to ignore the impact that moral disengagement and neutralisations might have on offenders' future actions in that elements of a crime could be neutralised before it takes place and may enable the criminal to offend rather than being a way of dealing with their guilt after the event. Maruna and Copes (2005:221) provide evidence for their assertions, but many of the empirical studies discussed were not only carried out after crimes had been committed rather than before (partly because pre-crime narratives that describe and discuss future crimes are difficult to obtain or elicit) but they all use self-reporting by offenders and this does not necessarily indicate cognitive processes that criminals are not aware of or that they do not wish to share.

Information relating to the circumstances in which neutralisation techniques are likely to be used also emerges from Maruna and Copes' (2005) summary. There is evidence that different techniques are used for different types of crime, and that they are more likely to be used for less serious crimes (Mitchell and Dodder 1983). Therefore, looking for evidence of neutralisations in the pre-crime narratives of mass murderers will add something to this debate

in terms of neutralisations before a crime and in the case of violent offences. Neutralisation theory posits that a lack of moral agency is linked to offending, but despite having evidenced the importance of neutralisations in enabling people to re-offend by neutralising past crimes, Maruna and Copes (2005:227) also add that neutralisations are natural and healthy thought patterns. They suggest that, as a result of this, taking responsibility for all of our actions would in fact have a negative impact on our mental health, and that labelling ourselves as criminals, offenders, rapists or thieves may mean that we are more likely to continue to live up to these roles than if we see our crimes as momentary lapses in otherwise 'good' lives. This would seem to support McKendy (2006) and Maruna's (2004) argument that there is value in exploring different roles and acknowledging external influences on offending rather than requiring offenders to fully embrace the role of criminal.

Neutralisation allows us to mitigate our own agency because it means that we do not have to take responsibility for the effect on our victims (there are no victims, or no harm has been inflicted) and allows us to diminish recriminations against us and justify our conduct as being something that had to be done rather than us choosing to do it. However, it could also be possible to have a sense of agency and take full responsibility but repackage our actions as morally good. Bandura et al. (1996: 364) argue that people live by their own moral code and 'refrain from behaving in ways that violate their moral standards, because such behaviour will bring self-censure' and that in order to avoid self-sanction we have to disengage our actions from this code. According to Bandura et al. (1996:364) this could be achieved by 'reconstruing the conduct, obscuring personal causal agency, misrepresenting or disregarding the injurious consequences of one's actions, and vilifying the recipients of maltreatment by blaming and devaluating them'.

Both theories of neutralisation and moral disengagement involve the maintenance of a moral code. However, neutralisation theory involves diminishing certain elements whereas moral disengagement focuses on the conversion of victims and effects into more morally acceptable elements. The narratives of offenders in O'Connor's (2000) study of inmates in a US prison certainly indicate that these processes are at work, as do the accounts of female prisoners in Guo's (2012) study, and similar processes are discussed in relation to mass harm in acts of genocide (Cohen 2001). However, there is also evidence to support the use of these cognitive processes in everyday life, for example in family dinner conversations (Johansen 2011) and accounts of parenthood (Hill and Zepeda 1993). In addition, Järvinen's (2000:382) study of recovering alcoholics demonstrates how people may legitimise their own acts by focusing on the impacts that others' actions have had on them. Järvinen (2000:374) also argues

that explanations of negative acts are largely focused on excusing or defending the self against potential accusations, and so pre-crime narratives (accounts written before a crime) that explain future actions are therefore likely to be worth analysing from the point of view of both neutralisations and moral disengagement. It is also possible that people carry out these cognitive processes differently (whether consciously or subconsciously) when they are preparing for a crime than when they are reflecting on a past crime, and little work has been done on this to date.

2.6 Narrative and moral agency

The need to tell stories is widely considered to be an integral part of the human condition (Hardy 1968; Linde 1993; Bruner 2004; Schiffrin 2006; Presser 2009). Linde (1993) argues that this is particularly relevant to self-narratives because they allow us to express our identity and fulfil ‘our own desire to understand our life as coherent, as making sense, as the history of a proper person’(1993:17), and posits that narrating our lives ‘permits the narrator to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created’ (1993:122). Bruner (2002:86) argues that identity is a ‘product’ of our own storytelling, and that selfhood is something that is ‘created and recreated’ through narrative and that ‘self-making through narrative is restless and endless’ (Bruner 2002:84). Bruner goes further than stating that there is a relationship between identity and narrative and in fact argues that without narrative, a sense of identity cannot be developed. Although much of his argument is theoretical, he does give some evidence in the form of the example of sufferers of ‘dysnarrativia’ (an inability to construct narrative) showing signs that they have a lack of sense of self. Bruner (2002:69) argues that we use narratives to work out who we are and why we are doing what we do, and that we develop our sense of self by comparing our narratives to others, arguing that:

selfhood involves a commitment to others as well as “being true to oneself”.
Selfhood without such commitment constitutes a form of sociopathy – the absence
of a sense of responsibility to the requirements of social being.

This corroborates the earlier argument that identity is related to how we position ourselves in relation to others and develops this further by arguing that narrative in fact enables us to position ourselves in this way.

The complexities of positioning (discussed in detail in 2.3), and the way in which it is inextricably linked to moral agency and identity, particularly in narrative, are effectively

combined within Bamberg's model of identity navigation, making it a particularly useful tool for the analysis of narratives. He offers empirical evidence of the inseparable nature of narrative and identity by applying his identity navigation framework to narratives embedded in interaction and using it to illustrate the ways in which people being interviewed about their life stories navigate their position in relation to their actions, their past selves and others in their narratives. Bamberg (2012: 103-106) describes three 'dilemmatic spaces' which are navigated as identity is constructed in interaction. The first is constancy and change in relation to the self, the second is how we see ourselves as the same as or different from others, and the final dimension is how we position ourselves in relation to the world: as victims or as able to act on the world. Bamberg's framework has been effectively applied to the narratives of adolescents (Deppermann 2013; Schofield and Kupiainen 2015) and refugees (Greenbank and Marra 2020), and has also been applied to clinical settings such as interviews with sufferers of aphasia (Taubner et al. 2020) and people with Acquired Brain Injury (Glintborg 2015). These studies demonstrate that the model is particularly applicable to the narratives of those whose identities may be challenged or vulnerable in some way, because it relates to identities that are under construction. Although it can be argued that identities are always in flux and under construction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), these particular groups of people are arguably more likely to be in the process of reconstructing their identities because of changes in their lives. Brookman (2016) applies the third dilemma in the analysis of interviews with violent offenders in the United Kingdom and demonstrates how they navigate between two poles in terms of whether they see themselves as victims or able to act on the world, and also demonstrates how offenders compare themselves to others whom they see as worse than themselves in relation to the second dilemma (Brookman 2016:221). Heffer (2012) also applies the framework to identities in a forensic setting (in adversarial trials), but demonstrates that the framework can be effectively applied to the rhetorical navigation of someone else's identity rather than one's own.

The majority of studies that use Bamberg's framework apply it to oral interaction, rather than written narratives, and the application of his framework to the former is prioritised by Bamberg (2012; 2011). He argues that the model relates to the *way* in which a person tells their narrative rather than *what* is said, and that by examining oral narratives, multi-modal features such as gesture and gaze can be included in the analysis. However, in Bamberg's own analysis these features are only very briefly analysed (2012; 2011) and the framework has in fact proven to be effective for identifying the development of identity and agency in students' written essays (Schofield and Kupiainen 2015). Bamberg's (2012) argument is that identity is constructed through narratives formed in interaction and is informed by work on 'small stories'

(Georgakopoulou 2006; Bamberg 2006). ‘Small stories’ differ from what Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) call ‘big stories’ in that they are not elicited, may be fleeting, may emerge in interaction, are not necessarily temporally coherent, and may concern ongoing, future or hypothetical events. While many of Bamberg’s examples of small stories are oral interactions, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) do in fact include written self-reflections in their data, and it could be argued that the perpetrators’ texts included in this thesis are small stories, despite the lack of oral interaction. Klebold, Harris, Rodger and Breivik’s texts are not elicited, they contain fleeting moments of narrative in amongst other reflections, are not coherent temporally, and discuss hypothetical and future events. In addition, they are arguably written with the addressee in mind, whether that be a future attacker, a family member, or someone who they feel wronged by, and are therefore not simply reflections written for themselves but respond to past texts and imagined addressees (Bakhtin 1986) and could be said to interact with past and future texts. Besides this, it could be argued that within a self-narrative, a reflexive internal dialogue is taking place which is used by the author to position themselves (Moghaddam 1999), and therefore internal interaction is where the identity is being constructed.

Besides applying Bamberg’s framework to written as well as spoken narratives, there are also other ways in which Bamberg’s model might be expanded. According to Bamberg, the final dimension is key to agency if defined in simple terms as the capacity to act because it relates to whether the narrator sees themselves as a victim or a powerful actor. However, it could be proposed that all three of the dimensions in Bamberg’s model are related to moral agency. The way in which we position ourselves in relation to others (the second dimension) directly relates to our own sense of agency (see Section 2.3), including whether or not we share others’ views and actions or distance ourselves from them, and how we describe our past actions (the first dimension) is also linked to whether we see ourselves as having a coherent life story that justifies who we are now or whether we want to distance ourselves from responsibility for past actions. In addition, exploring our own capacity to act on the world also involves exploring how we view our own actions from a moral standpoint that stretches beyond the mere capacity to act (dimension three). In this way all three of the dimensions seem to be integral to moral agency. An additional modification of the model relates to the diachronic or synchronic nature of each dilemma. Bamberg describes the first dilemma, which relates to constancy and change, as being diachronic and while the creation of coherence (or a semblance of it) over time is widely thought of as key to a healthy identity (Linde 1993; Ochs and Capps 2001), it is possible that a coherent or non-coherent sense of self in the present may mean that

this dilemma can also be applied synchronically. This application of the model will become clearer in Chapter 6 and will be returned to in Chapter 7.

Besides the argument that narrative is key to developing identity, the power of narrative to affect a person's agency, in that it influences action, may sound implausible, but is widely and convincingly asserted in the literature. Bandura et al. (1996) argue that use of language is key to reframing elements of a crime into something more acceptable. If language is key to moral disengagement, and moral disengagement enables harmful action, then the implication is that language has a role to play in enabling a person to commit crime or encouraging them to desist. Certainly O'Connor (2000) argues for the use of therapy to encourage criminals to increase agency levels in their narratives as a method for reducing reoffending, and Bandura (1996:365) cites several studies that demonstrate the effect of euphemisms on reducing inhibitions. Conversely, Brockmeier (2009) argues that a narrator can increase their own agency by practising agency in a hypothetical situation because it 'enables the subject to probe his or her "action possibilities" ' and this may be of relevance when the narrator is describing hypothetical or future events. Bruner (2004) asserts that narrative may influence people's actions ('In the end, we become the autobiographical narratives by which we "tell about" our lives'[Bruner 2004: 694]), and even argues that the Roman empire may have been so successful because the Roman art of rhetoric was used in self narratives to build up the 'resoluteness so characteristic of Roman masculinity' (Bruner 2002:67). This assertion is taken further in the nascent field of narrative criminology by Sandberg (2010), who suggests that narrating stories about our future selves may affect our future conduct, and Presser (2018b), who argues for a constitutive view of narrative and explains that criminals could write themselves into their stories and use their stories to reinforce their world view, arguing that narratives are arousing and that this is why they have an impact on our sense of self and the way we act. She suggests that self-narratives may have even more of an impact on a person because we are more affected by a narrative when we identify closely with the protagonist and are invested in the outcome (Presser 2018:4).

The link between narrative and the ability to act remains largely theoretical, but it could be argued that narratives before a crime could in fact be used to strengthen neutralisations or elements of moral disengagement. Järvinen (2000) suggests that we could write narratives in a way that strengthens certain elements of our personalities and weakens others and that this may enable us to act in certain ways than we would otherwise, and Fleetwood (2016) argues that our narrative identity may encourage us to act in real life in ways that are consistent with this identity. Certainly, the foregrounding or backgrounding of characters in a narrative could be

linked to the way in which we portray victims. Bandura (2002) asserts that we are more likely to commit crimes against those who we see as different from ourselves and be sympathetic and empathetic towards those whom we are similar to (see the second dimension of Bamberg's [2012] model of identity navigation). There are differing opinions on how this narrative impact on actions might be interpreted. Whereas Presser (2018) and Sandberg (2010) see narratives as enabling harmful conduct, O'Connor (2000) sees the potential of this in providing an opportunity to encourage an offender to rewrite their narrative, positioning themselves in a more agentive position and therefore encouraging them to take responsibility for their crimes, as do Seilonen et al. (2012) in relation to the narratives of recovering alcoholics. However, Brockmeier's (2009) assertion that narratives provide the opportunity to practise agency may mean that agentive narratives make offenders more likely to act in accordance with their narratives of harm.

Changing the positioning of the self in a narrative may have an influence on changes in behaviour. Moghaddam (1999:78) focuses on reflexive positioning and suggests that where our internal storylines have become too salient, they 'conceal possibilities of choice' and mean that people are less able to change their lives for the better. However, where O'Connor (2000) talks of encouraging agency, others give examples of where rewriting narratives in a more self-positive and less agentive light may conversely have more of an impact on reducing offending. As discussed in Section 2.5, Maruna (2004) provides evidence that offenders who reject the position of criminal and adopt or explore more of a victim role may be less likely to offend, and Maruna and Ramsden (2005) discuss the benefits of rescripting crimes (reconstructing them in a different light) in ways that redeem criminals and manage shameful feelings relating to their actions. Seligman (2006) also argues that viewing events as caused by external forces can improve depression and encourage a more positive sense of self. Duranti (1997) argues that expressions relating to social identities 'actively shape' the world around us and there is much in the literature relating to the impact of certain expressions on people's sense of self. Labelling theory (Lemert 1951) has something to offer to this debate because it is centred on the idea that the labels that we give criminals have an impact on their self-esteem and their ability to rebuild their lives, as does Sherman's (1993:445) defiance theory, which relates to the way in which some sanctions may in fact increase offending because they cause 'unacknowledged shame'. Essentially, by encouraging criminals to take responsibility for their crimes, we are asking them to take on stigmatised labels that may in fact make them worse and yet this is threaded through many elements of the criminal justice system. The pre-crime narratives included in the present

study provide us with a unique opportunity to look at this narrative impact because of when they were written.

Genette (1982:127) defines narratives as ‘the representation of an event or sequence of events’, and most analyses of narrative focus on complete narratives (as defined by Labov [1975]) that are recounted with the benefit of hindsight and with distance from the events themselves. However, these events could be narrated after, before, or during the event itself and the analysis of narratives written in the midst of the action, during both mental and physical preparations for crimes, provides a unique opportunity to look at both actions and language alongside each other, and to trace changes in how criminals are navigating all of the elements of agency and responsibility. Both approaches to narrative analysis have value because, as Presser (2009) explains, we are not analysing the narrative for whether or not it reflects real life but are looking at the performance of the narrative and what it may tell us about the person narrating. Bruner (2002:74) suggests that narratives are like ‘Doppelgangers’ because they are not exactly the same as real life but allow us to create an alternative version of ourselves. Bamberg et al. (2011) and Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) suggest that stories that are created within the action itself rather than after the event are more likely to accurately indicate the narrator’s positioning and moral values, and provide greater insights because the narrative is immediate and unedited. Georgakopoulou (2006: 123) also points out that these ‘small stories’ may refer to past, present, future and even hypothetical situations and therefore provide richer data for analysis because of the narrator’s proximity to the event and because the narrator is less likely to put a coherent spin on the narrative in the way that they could if they were able to create their narrative as a complete and finished representation of an event.

Big stories are often elicited from narrators in formal interviews, as is the case in much of the research into criminal narratives that has been done so far. The interviewer will inevitably have an impact on the way in which the narrator presents themselves in the narrative according to how they want the narrator to see them. Presser (2004) gives examples of how criminals negotiate their identities in research interviews, and criminals being interviewed by those who may play a part in decision making about their future may avoid exploring their victim role and ensure that they show remorse in their narrative, whether or not they genuinely feel it (e.g. Gruber 2014). However, ‘small story’ narratives that emerge in situ will still have an audience and the nature of this narrative will still be influenced by who the narrator intends to read their story, but the audience are also in situ and more likely to be part of the narrative in terms of the way in which the narrator frames their text in anticipation of the response they will get from them (see Bakhtin 1986).

2.7 Linguistic devices linked to agency and harm

A wide range of linguistic features have been discussed in the literature in relation to the way in which a person's sense of agency might be expressed linguistically, and key areas include the sharing of agency through linguistic choices, the grammatical obfuscation of agency, and lexical choices.

2.7.1 *Shared agency*

If the way in which people position themselves in relation to others is a key element of their identity (Bamberg 2011) and the way in which offenders portray their victims, others who may be involved in a crime, or those who condemn their crimes helps them to neutralise the impact of their actions, then language features that directly index these people are likely to be indicative of this positioning and potential neutralisation. O'Connor (2000:79) demonstrates that pronoun usage is a key indication that moral agency is being diffused in some way. She explains that the use of an exclusive *we* can be used to share agency with those who Schiffirin (2006:310) describes as 'co-agents', rather than being solely responsible for an action. Many of the offenders in O'Connor's (2000) study of the narratives of inmates also use a generic *you* to invite the reader into their world and indicate that they have something in common with the audience, and are sharing agency with them. They are inviting them to understand the narrator's actions and put themselves in the narrator's shoes and argue that the reader would have done the same were the roles reversed. However, the analysis of pronouns also needs to be approached with caution and the reasons behind choice of pronoun carefully considered. Many pre-crime narratives take the form of diary entries, and a common feature of this genre is to miss out the pronoun *I* altogether in a sentence when the narrator is the subject of the sentence (Haegeman 2013). In addition, O'Connor (2000:56) finds examples of narrators using the more agentive first-person pronoun, but deflecting their responsibility in other ways, and van Leeuwen (2008: 33) suggests that an increase in the use of the more agentive *my* usually coincides with an increase in less agentive sentences using nominalisations (these will be discussed in more detail below). In addition, there is evidence that those who are depressed may be more likely to use first person pronouns (Pennebaker and Lay 2002; Wiltsey Stirman and Pennebaker 2001). All of these influences on pronoun usage will need to be considered, and this will be explored in further detail at the beginning of Chapter 5.

Besides pronoun usage, the use of reported speech has also been linked to the way in which a narrator may position themselves as closer to or further away from others and their

actions and views, or even from their own past actions or views. Schiffrin (1996) gives examples of how reported speech in narratives between mothers and daughters can be used to give autonomy to the person who the speech is attributed to, or to distance the narrator from the views presented in the reported speech. Hill and Zepeda (1993:198) also demonstrate the use of constructed dialogue to share responsibility with others in accounts and distribute agency among different characters, diffusing their moral responsibility for actions and opinions. Goffman (1981) describes this as a 'participation framework' in which the person quoting someone else's speech is the animator and is therefore distanced from the opinions of the 'author' whose words they are animating. According to Hill and Zepeda (1993) this also implies that there is an audience watching the action and that the events or opinions are being presented as part of a story world rather than the real world and the narrator therefore has less responsibility for them.

2.7.2 Grammatical obfuscation of agency

The way in which grammatical agency is expressed in a sentence may also tell us something about a writer or speaker's moral agency relating to their own or other people's actions because it can be manipulated to make the agent more or less obscure. A narrator may distance themselves from their actions by failing to describe themselves as the agent in grammatical terms and may obfuscate the agent of the sentence by using the passive voice (he was shot), nominalisations (he died in a shooting), impersonal structures (there was a shooting), or by using an instrument as an agent (the bullet killed him). These mechanical ways of blurring agency will be discussed below.

The assumption that the passive voice is used to hide agency is problematic. Fairclough (2001) states that it is often used to avoid agency and gives convincing examples of this, and Duranti (2005) includes it in his analysis of the ways in which different languages mitigate agency, as does Bandura (2002). However, there are many reasons for the use of the passive that are unrelated to agency and these include foregrounding action, avoiding redundancy, and considerations of style (Partington 2014). Baker (2010:144) suggests that the constraints of the text type may also affect whether or not the passive is used; for example, imposed word limits or a formal register. In addition to this, Weiner and Labov's (1983:52) quantitative analysis of passive structures illustrates that the passive is more likely to be used if it has been used in the previous five clauses and suggests that this may be related to the use of parallelism. Despite other reasons for its use, the passive is widely suggested to be indicative of attempts to obfuscate agency. It does allow the agent to be hidden but the analysis of it in relation to agency

needs to be treated with caution and analysed alongside other features. Equally, the use of active sentences does not necessarily mean that the agent is clear or that responsibility is being taken for an action. O'Connor (2000:39) finds examples where inmates use active sentences but also use verbs which are passivizing e.g. 'I caught a charge', or use phrases that imply that they had no choice but to act as they did e.g. 'I had to', as discovers Rymes (1995) in her analysis of students excluded from high school for violent acts. Although a person may have agency in the grammatical sense, the obligation to act may still be presented as coming from elsewhere, or there may be an appeal to the audience that they had no choice or were in some way a victim of their environment.

Nominalisations are also frequently mentioned in the literature, because they allow the agent to be obscured (Fairclough 2001: 103; Baker and Ellece 2010: 76) and turn an action into a process, thereby taking the focus away from who is involved in this process or who caused it. As with the passive, nominalisations may be used because the agent is not known or because it genuinely is irrelevant in comparison with the process itself. However, they could also be used to avoid placing the blame and to divert attention from the agent (van Leeuwen 2008), and there are several convincing examples of accounts of harm in which such nouns affect the way in which an act is presented. For example, Ehrlich (2003) describes levels of agency ranging from the agent as the subject in a transitive sentence, to passive constructions with an agent included, then agentless passives, and finally argues that nominalisations are the least agentive structure with the least clarity of agency. She gives the example of a university tribunal and criminal trial relating to a case of rape, and illustrates the ways in which the complainant and defendant descriptions of a rape differ. Where the complainant uses more agentive sentences, the defendant uses more agentless passives. In fact, the defendant rarely puts himself as the agent in subject position with a transitive verb, but when he does so, he mitigates it with 'perhaps' or 'maybe', frequently uses agentless passives (e.g. 'all our clothes at one point were taken off'), and also uses passives with an expletive *it*, resulting in a lack of information relating to who did the deciding or establishing (e.g. 'it was decided', 'it was established' [Ehrlich 2001: 48]. Ehrlich (2001: 41) describes this as a 'grammar of non-agency' and explains that it is left to the lawyers to question the defendant to tease out who did the deciding, who did the removing of the clothes and who caused the 'the insertion of his finger into your vagina' (Ehrlich 2003: 52). Ehrlich (2003: 36) argues that this non-agency confirms and reinforces discourses of rape and influences those adjudicating the case because 'language shapes and constructs our notions of reality rather than labelling that reality in a transparent or straightforward way'.

van Leeuwen (2008: 46) argues that focusing our analysis of agency on particular grammatical features in this way is too simplistic as it assumes that there is a 'neat fit between sociological and linguistic categories'. Accordingly, he focuses his analysis of social action primarily on sociological categories, albeit centred around linguistic ones. For example, van Leeuwen (2008: 46) describes the use of instruments as agents in a way that allows agents to be hidden by the tools that they use. Two of the examples given are 'instrumentalism', in which agency could be given to an object or tool (e.g. a weapon in a criminal context), or 'utterance automatism', where the speech act rather than the person speaking or writing does the action. Stubbs (1996: 132) similarly points out that when an intransitive structure is combined with an instrument as the subject of a sentence, the agent is hidden because the 'intransitive structures do not allow the agent to be expressed'. Schlesinger (1989) also alerts us to this but argues that it sometimes seems natural for this to be used for reasons that do not necessarily relate to obfuscating agency and provides a thorough account of the different conditions necessary for an instrument to be used as the agent in a sentence in the English language. These conditions include there being genuinely no human or known agent (e.g. 'the rust has eaten away at the lock' [Schlesinger 1989:190]) and the action being dependent on a characteristic of an instrument (e.g. 'This spray kills cockroaches instantly' 1989: 191). Schlesinger (1989: 197) also points out that some inanimate objects are more likely to be used as agents than others for various reasons, including whether or not there was deliberation involved (compare 'the bullet killed him' to 'the bullet murdered him') and whether the inanimate object is mechanised (compare 'the fork picks up the potato' to 'the crane picks up the crate' [1989: 193]), and also illustrates that natural forces can also be used as agents ('the wind broke the window': [1989:197]). What can be gleaned from this is that the use of instruments as agents is a normal part of the use of English and may not be related to any conscious or subconscious obfuscation of agency, but that this may depend on the context surrounding its use.

In addition to this, the use of other impersonal structures such as those starting with 'there is' and 'it is' can be used to give opinions without taking full responsibility for them. Diani (2004) describes these as infinitive sentences and they are widely used to make writing more objective and cautious in academic contexts, but can also be used to avoid taking full ownership of a statement or opinion. In a similar way, Bybee et al. (1994) remind us that modality may be linked to agency because it can be used to express the obligation to do something (in the case of deontic modality) or to distance the writer or speaker from an opinion (epistemic modality).

Transitivity is also frequently mentioned in the literature as being linked to agency. Duranti (2005) describes the way in which different languages have different ways of marking their subjects and objects in sentences and that languages other than English (e.g. Samoan, Basque) mark agency more clearly by having different forms for transitive and intransitive subjects. However, he argues that where one language may mark agency clearly in some elements, agency may be less clear in other elements (e.g. pronouns) and therefore makes the point that all languages have ways of mitigating agency. Pinker (2007: 71) describes the way in which passive forms hide the agent, whereas constructions that use transitive verbs intransitively e.g. ‘this glass breaks easily’ mean that there is no agent to find. van Leeuwen (2008) also gives examples of constructions where material processes (activity-based) are described in ways that give an action the air of a natural event which no one has control over. Similarly, the use of unaccusative verbs have a similar effect because the use of a verb intransitively where it has a transitive counterpart has the effect of making an action seem as though it happened automatically, without an agent initiating it. Ehrlich (2003: 50) describes the impact that this can have on the way an act is presented in high stakes situations: ‘while agentless passives suggest that an agent is lurking in the background, unaccusative constructions completely eliminate the agent from the representation of the event’, and gives examples of where nominalisations are used with unaccusative verbs to ‘depict their referents as spontaneous sexual events, or happenings that have taken their natural course without any particular cause or agent’ (Ehrlich 2003:50). Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983: 230) note that sometimes the use of such agentless verbs can in fact be caused by factors other than a desire to obfuscate responsibility, for example, to create an air of mystery (e.g. ‘the floorboards creaked’), when the patient is fragile and likely to change state on its own (e.g. an egg, a balloon), or when there are multiple causes and therefore no single agent (e.g. ‘standards improved’). Ehrlich's (2003) examples are embedded in existing discourse around rape and agency and illustrate that the context is key to assessing whether agency is being mitigated in such structures in a way that manipulates moral agency and responsibility. Analysis of grammatical agency, then, needs to be combined with a broader examination of moral agency for it to be reliable, and this includes exploring lexical choices surrounding these grammatical structures.

2.7.3 Lexis and moral agency.

Lexical choices may be key indicators of levels or categories of agency in narratives but there is little linguistic research relating to this. What does exist is revealing. Schlesinger's (1989)

examination of choices relating to inanimate objects and how these may influence grammatical structures was discussed above, and Paltridge (2014:185) suggests that the connotations of particular words or phrases are an important area to focus on. In addition, Stibbe (2001) looks at words in industry magazines that are used to describe animals to portray them as resources rather than living beings in a way that makes them easier to harm (e.g. cows are referred to as ‘beef’ and chickens as ‘broilers’ (Stibbe 2001:154). These indicate that lexical analysis may be fruitful for examining agency, and sociological and criminological studies of harm have something to offer here.

For example, as discussed above, O’Connor (2000) describes phrases that are grammatically active but semantically passive in the narratives of criminals, and Gruber (2014:68) provides numerous examples of what she calls ‘semantic bleaching’ in the allocutions of convicted criminals in US courts during sentencing hearings. The language these offenders use often takes the form of vague descriptions of what they have done (e.g. ‘what I caused’; ‘I made a mistake’ : 2014: 77) and formulaic phrases (e.g. ‘I’m sorry’: 2014: 72), which, by repetition, have lost their meaning and either do not sound sincere because they are not novel, or link the criminal to all of the other past criminals that have used similar language in the eyes of the judge. Gruber applies Bakhtin's (1981) dialogic take on language here, particularly relating to utterances borrowing from their predecessors, and her study is also relevant to Bakhtin's (1986) discussion of addressivity, and the effect of imagined responses on how an utterance is constructed. Gruber highlights the fact that any remorse at this stage is difficult for individuals to make sound sincere because the audience are aware that any linguistic responsibility taken is forced by the fact that taking it may result in a reduced sentence.

Other studies relating to lexical agency include the analysis of euphemistic language used by Nazi doctors in the Holocaust to medicalise the killing of Jews (Mitchell 2000) and Lutz's (2017: 2-6) examples of ‘double speak’, which demonstrate the way in which language can be used to avoid responsibility through the use of euphemism, jargon, bureaucratic language or inflated language. Cohen (2001) also catalogues a range of ways in which harm may be described to make it easier to carry out and, as part of their framework for moral disengagement (discussed above in 2.5), Bandura et al. (1996) explore the use of euphemism to morally disengage from harmful actions so that people can maintain their moral standards while harming others.

What is clear is that it is not just a case of looking at moral agency and how it is *represented* in language, but also the impact that the language may have on the narrator’s sense

of moral agency. The linguistic features above, and further studies relating to them, will be examined in more detail in the analyses in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, alongside this approach to the language of moral agency as constitutive.

2.8 Pre-crime narratives

Existing research into the narratives of criminals has focused almost entirely on narratives elicited after crimes have taken place (e.g. Presser 2004; Ugelvik 2012; McKendy 2006). This is partly because texts written before a crime, particularly those relating to the crime itself, are difficult to obtain, but is also because the way in which a criminal reflects on their crime is usually seen as key to whether or not they will reoffend. It has been argued above that narratives written *before* a crime offer a very different insight into how a person who is going to harm others navigates their identity and sense of responsibility for future or hypothetical crimes. This is because the narrative is often produced in the midst of the perpetrator's preparations or ruminations about the crime, without the benefit of hindsight or any institutional requirement to take responsibility or alter their narratives, and with a different audience in mind to those narratives elicited after the event by an interviewer.

It could be argued that narratives elicited from offenders after a crime could in fact be classed as a form of pre-crime narrative if the offenders being interviewed offend again after the interview has taken place, but such interviews usually dwell on the details of past transgressions rather than potential future ones (e.g. Presser 2004; Guo 2012). Other areas of research that could be considered to relate to narratives written before harm include the analysis of Jihadi texts (see the exploratory analysis by Prentice et al. [2012] of automated identification of beliefs and motivations in such texts) and the analysis of suicide notes (in relation to self-harm rather than harm to another person). Suicide is no longer illegal in the United Kingdom (*Suicide Act. 1961. C60.*) but is considered a crime in many other countries (e.g. Malaysia, Nigeria and Pakistan [United for Global Mental Health 2021]). Regardless of its legal status, it is an act of harm (albeit on the self) which is frequently combined with a note left behind to say goodbye or explain why the person taking their own life has taken this course of action. In some ways such notes have a similarity to texts written by perpetrators before they harm others. Much of the focus on suicide notes has been on whether there is a difference between genuine suicide notes and notes written by those who did not intend to go through with the act. In the first large scale study of suicide notes, Schneidman and Farberow (1956) identify the existence of more practical details relating to arranging affairs once they are gone in genuine notes, and Henken's (1976) study focuses on whether machine learning can be used to identify genuine

suicide notes from fake ones. Galasinski's (2017) more recent analysis is perhaps more relevant to the current study because it explores the way in which masculinity is navigated in these notes. Galasinski analyses the way in which those killing themselves linguistically distance themselves from the act of suicide through vague and neutral words for the act itself, but portray it negatively through their apologies and adjectives (e.g. 'I am taking this horrific step to free you all from the evil I spread around' [Galasinski 2017:69] and portray suicide as a gift to those who are left behind. Such notes have a clear linguistic link to perpetrators who harm others and then kill themselves, leaving a text of some description (frequently called 'manifestos') behind to explain their actions, and Kalish and Kimmel (2010) in fact describe these mass shootings as 'murder suicides'. They argue that a fatal suicide attempt is seen as stigmatising for a woman but a sign of masculinity for a man, and therefore killing themselves enables these perpetrators to regain their masculinity, having previously been emasculated by the communities that they feel rejected by.

'Manifestos' written before mass murders take place increasingly accompany acts of violence by lone attackers (Ware 2020). Recent examples include: Ted Kacsynski, Dylan Roof, Christopher Dorner, Sueng-Hui cho, Brenton Tarrant, Patrick Crusius, Elliot Rodger, Anders Breivik, Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold (the last four being those focused on in this study) and such texts remain the largest source of pre-crime or pre-harm narratives. These provide a source of data concerning individuals who want to harm others. They are often distributed before a crime and range from short notes or statements to lengthy documents such as those written by Breivik and Rodger. The term manifesto is often applied to such texts, despite the fact that they sometimes take the form of letters (Jiverly Wong, Mark Lepine), Internet posts (Vester Lee Flanagan, Alek Minassian), diaries (Mark Colborne, Sebastien Bosse) or notebooks with illustrations and fragmented plans (James Holmes), many of which have what Yanoshevsky (2009:274) calls a 'manifestary style'. Yanoshevsky (2009:264) describes the manifesto as a document which 'asserts and defends a thesis and invites the reader to take a stance' and explores the history of research into the manifesto genre. She explains that such documents come in many forms (political, utopian and artistic), are usually written by marginal groups, and were originally performed or even screamed and therefore had a theatrical element. Yanoshevsky (2009: 276) does not mention the more recent use of a manifesto to accompany an act of harm but much of her review is relevant to this usage. For example, she describes manifestos as 'halfway between self-identification and knowledge', which is relevant to the fact that the reasons for committing such acts are usually a mixture of ideological and personal aims (Spaaij 2010) and justifies our search for clues concerning the

way in which the perpetrators navigate their identity in these documents. Yanoshevsky (2009:275) also points out that manifestos often generate responses in the form of other manifestos. According to Berger (2019), the first high-profile perpetrator to publish his motives was Ted Kaczynski (frequently referred to as the ‘Unabomber’) and such documents have increased in usage since then and often reference previous attackers. Langman (2020a and 2019) tracks such references within a large number of such manifestos starting with the diaries written by Harris and Klebold before the Columbine massacre, tracing overt or covert references to past killers in each new perpetrator’s text. Berger (2019) suggests that these manifestos are as harmful as the crimes themselves because they inspire other attacks, and argues that the fact that they are freely available on the Internet is a source of concern.

Shrestha et al. (2019) take a preventative approach to their analysis of such texts and introduce their PRAT (Profile Risk Assessment Tool), and Digital 7 tools (Shrestha et al. 2020), the latter of which builds on the former. The former is fully automated, whereas the latter uses a combination of computerised analysis using pre-decided lexicons and additional manual analysis to detect the likelihood that the author of the text is going to commit an act of harm and are based on the idea that there are seven key indicators that someone is likely to carry out an attack (these include military lexis, othering, fixation and leakage among others). Certainly, the usefulness of such tools is clear, and in tests the latter tool has shown there to be significant increases in these key indicators with a small number of lone attacker manifestos in comparison to a group of ‘normal’ texts. Some of the features flagged by PRAT are convincing and logical (for example they flag up any fixation with certain topics e.g. weapons/incels/other offenders, and references to harm). However, the tools calculate the frequency of individual words from particular semantic fields and therefore do not take into account the context surrounding the words, multiple meanings of words, and the way in which meaning is built up in the sentence rather than residing within a word itself (Sinclair 2004), something which Hunt and Brookes (2020: 238) criticise as being a ‘bags of words’ approach. In addition, Shrestha et al. (2020) are not explicit about the words their dictionaries contain or how they have been assigned to the key indicators. They do, though, acknowledge that the tool is only in its early stages of development and that it should only be used as one of many tools to assess threat in communication. However, there are other fundamental issues with the development of such tools. Firstly, many of the manifestos that accompany lone attacks are distributed just before the crimes and therefore the window of opportunity for identifying whether or not there is a genuine threat is likely to be too short to allow such a tool to be used. Secondly, caution needs to be applied with tools that are presented to law enforcement in ways that simplify and

automatise the linking of language with cognition (Heffer and Powell 2015), particularly when the tools are still under development and their reliability and validity still being researched. Recent studies such as Gales' (2011) examination of the language of commitment in threatening texts, and Hurt and Grant's (2019) analysis of pledges to harm, are more convincing because they include more detailed analysis and do not claim that the results can be used to predict attacks. Hurt and Grant's (2019) study compares non-realised and realised violent fantasies, and the results in fact contradict some of the red flags used in the automatised tools, because they show that the texts with non-realised pledges are more likely to contain violent lexis (e.g. *kill, shoot*) than those that are not realised. However, there is a question mark over Hurt and Grant's use of Rodger's text for both realised and non-realised fantasies because it interprets his text as relating to several different violent fantasies rather than fantasies that may in fact relate to his final, realised act of harm.

Other linguistic analyses of the texts used in this study also exist, but are small in number. For example, Mykietiak (2016) conducts a critical discourse analysis of Rodger's text by exploring themes that exist in the text relating to racism, sexism and hegemonic masculinity, and concludes that Rodger uses weapons and violence to try to restore his masculinity because he feels emasculated by his lack of sexual activity. The idea that an act may give someone agency (akin to Duranti's [2005] performative agency) is key to this, and Mykietiak's (2016) argument relating to the restoration of violence through masculinity is convincing, but there is little detail of how the analysis was carried out or the conclusions drawn. Sandberg (2013: 76-78) analyses Breivik's text in terms of narrative coherence and presents us with four different characters that Breivik gives himself. The first is the 'professional revolutionary', who describes the optimum way of making weapons. The second is the 'evangelist' who emerges in emotive and religious language and directly addresses the audience. The third is the 'social and likeable person' who can be seen in emojis and acronyms more akin to text messages (e.g. 'LOL') besides references to musical preferences and attempts at humour. Finally, Sandberg suggests that Breivik's fourth persona is the 'pragmatic conservative' who appears reasonable, open-minded and willing to negotiate. Sandberg (2013:80) argues that Breivik's narrative is 'chaotic' and 'comical' and that he uses these personas to anticipate responses to his actions. Constantly considering how he will be viewed by others, Breivik wants to avoid being labelled as mentally unstable or an extremist by presenting himself in other ways. This very much aligns with the idea of avowed and ascribed identity labels (Chen and Collier 2012) and the way in which people position themselves in their narratives in response to their future addressees (Bakhtin 1986), and this will be explored further in Chapter 6. Wollenberg (2014) also explores

some of the inconsistencies in Breivik's text, pointing out that Breivik claims, towards the beginning of his text, to be writing a fictional story. Part of this story is his membership of what he says is the hypothetical 'Knights Templar' (a name that he uses for the terrorist group of which he claims to be a part of, which is taken from the name of a medieval religious order and is often used on computer games, by drug cartels and in fictional texts [Wollenberg 2014:23]). However, according to Hemmingby and Bjørge (2016), Breivik then claimed that this was in fact a real paramilitary group even when no evidence of the group was found by police investigating whether or not he worked alone. Wollenberg (2014) also highlights Breivik's paradoxical claims to be against multi-culturalism but to desire an alliance across Europe, and argues that his nationalism is not nation-related but is linked to Western Europe and Christendom and as such has similarities to medieval nationalism. Mykietiak (2016), Sandberg (2013) and Wollenberg (2014) all manually analyse these texts that are arguably too lengthy for such a manual approach, and select specific examples relating to the particular focus of their research. It is possible that a broader approach which allows the key features of the text to emerge will allow us to more objectively, empirically, and thoroughly mine the whole of the text through the aid of corpus software. This study aims to add to existing research on these particular texts in this way.

2.9 The perpetrators

Before embarking on a detailed analysis of the way in which the perpetrators included in this study navigate their agency over time in their pre-crime texts, the context surrounding their crimes needs to be explored in order to ensure that possible influences on their language are considered in the analysis. Ahearn (1999) argues that studies of moral agency need to take into account the social context surrounding that agency, and this is particularly important to the exploration of moral agency because it is so inextricably linked to the way in which people position themselves in relation to others and within the society in which they exist.

2.9.1 Lone attackers

The perpetrators included in this study can be categorised as lone attackers. Such attackers are difficult to apprehend before their crimes because they are not part of a homogenous group of people who can easily be identified (Gill 2015), and because the lack of group membership results in fewer chances to trace their activity through communications with others and monitoring of the group involved (Hemmingby & Bjørge, 2016). However, recent research by Schuurman et al. (2019) indicates that many lone attackers do in fact have a

tendency to leak information about their planned attacks online or to close friends or family and that the assumption that this is not the case may be a missed opportunity by law enforcement. The majority of those researching such perpetrators label them ‘lone wolves’ (e.g. Spaaij 2010; Pantucci 2011; Appleton 2014). This term is thought to have been coined by the far right originally (Hemmingby and Bjørge 2016), and some researchers (Gill 2015:11; Hemmingby and Bjørge 2016:89-90) avoid this label to avoid glorifying the attackers because of the term’s mythical and powerful connotations and instead use ‘lone actor terrorist’ and ‘sole terrorist’ respectively (The FBI definition of terrorist is someone who commits a violent criminal act to ‘further ideological goals’ [FBI 2022]). Although related to rape rather than mass murder, Clark (1992) also problematises labelling offenders as subhuman entities because it allows society to distance itself from them rather than dealing with any social responsibility for them, and because it also results in less responsibility being placed on the perpetrator rather than the victim. Such labelling does this by positioning the former as a role rather than as an individual, and by presenting them as a non-human creature that is innately violent and has no control over this (see Chapter 6 for a discussion of labelling and its impact on identity and agency).

For these reasons this study will use the term ‘lone attackers’; however, definitions of such attackers vary. Spaaij (2010) describes them as perpetrators who work alone, and does not include groups of two or above, however; Hewitt (2003) defines them as a group of four people or less. Corner and Gill (2015) argue that the key element and rationale behind categorising such killers in a separate group is that they work without the direction or resources of a wider terrorist group, which causes them to be more difficult to detect and apprehend before they have caused harm, and they therefore include small groups in their definition. Another complication is that there has been an increase in recent years in people being inspired to carry out attacks by organisations but planning and carrying them out alone and with no contact with the organisation, which has blurred the boundaries between lone attacks and group terrorism (Hemmingby and Bjørge 2016; Beaumont 2016). For example, in October 2020 a man who was not a member of a terrorist group killed three people at a church in Nice in response to a message sent by an Islamic State operative to ISIS sympathisers on a messaging app asking them to behead people in retaliation for the stance of the French government in relation to cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed (Trew 2020). Schuurman et al. (2019) argue that a continuum from lone attacker to group terrorism may be more appropriate than assuming that a perpetrator fits into one category or the other because of the influence or inspiration that

wider groups may have on those who carry out their attacks alone, and Basu (2021) argues that the term ‘self-initiated terrorist’ is a term that better reflects this changing nature of attacks.

There is a growing need for research into those who attack alone, and according to Gill (2015), most research to date has been conducted on group terrorism. In the search for antecedent behaviours, there are some areas that may be fruitful for further research but little that has assisted with preventing any attacks to date, and as discussed above, predicting such attackers ahead of time is problematic because of the diverse factors in each case resulting in a lack of a homogenous group (Gill 2015). However, some common elements do emerge in studies attempting to create a typology of lone attackers. Difficulty socialising and fitting into their communities is frequently highlighted as a common trait (Gill 2015; Kalish and Kimmel 2010), and there is evidence that lone attackers are more likely to suffer from some form of psychological disturbance (Spaaij 2010), which will be discussed further in 2.11. Lone attackers may be more likely to feel rejected and emasculated by their communities (e.g. Kalish and Kimmel 2010) and need to demonstrate their masculinity in some way. Langman (2020b) claims that many of the perpetrators have issues being accepted socially because of physical impairments that affect their self-esteem and leave them with a desire to prove their masculinity and strength through the use of violence, although some of Langman’s evidence for these impairments are anecdotal and he only covers a small number of perpetrators. Gill (2015) conducts a wide-ranging analysis of behaviours and factors relating to 111 lone actors and compares them to other studies trying to develop a typology of lone offenders. He finds that these attackers tend to be male, are on average older than other criminals, are less likely than group terrorists to be married and have children, and tend to be well educated. Although they are less likely to be flagged up through any communication with a wider group, they are in fact more likely to ‘leak’ details of their plans to a close family member or friend. However, it should be noted that much of Gill’s research compares lone attackers to group offenders and so does not tell us how lone attackers might be distinctive from the general population.

2.9.2 The impact of these perpetrators

There is also evidence that lone attackers are more likely to imitate others than other criminals are (Hemmingby and Bjørge 2016; Gill 2015), and there is certainly evidence within the manifestos/notes left by many lone attackers that they were inspired by other offenders (for a long list of attackers inspired by others, see Gill [2015:59-61]), and also that they hope to inspire others in the future. The reasons behind the choice of perpetrators for this study will be

explained in detail in Chapter 3, but it is worth exploring here the literature relating to the impact that these particular attackers have had on other mass shooters.

Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold carried out what many refer to as the ‘Columbine massacre’ on April 20th 1999 and killed 12 students and one teacher at Columbine High School before killing themselves. The scale of this attack was unprecedented at the time and Blommaert (2019: 200) argues that it has become a template for other attacks because of this. According to Langman (2019), the Columbine massacre has inspired more subsequent attacks than any other mass shooting and he evidences this by analysing overt and covert references to Columbine in the details of subsequent killings, demonstrating the links between the Columbine massacre and at least 26 other attacks that have taken place since then. He notes that the Columbine inspired attackers then inspired at least another 17 killers to carry out similar attacks in a perpetual chain of attacks (this influence is discussed further in Chapter 6). Examples given by Langman (2020a) include: Alex Hribal, who stabbed 21 people at a school in Pennsylvania in 2014 and carried out his attacks on Harris’s birthday (he originally aimed for the anniversary of the massacre but changed his plans because it fell on a Sunday), and Alvaro Castillo, who copied Harris by naming his gun ‘Arlene’ and killed his father and injured two students at a school in 2010. Castillo is also thought to have written to the headteacher of Columbine High School after his attacks (Associated Press 2006).

The urgency with which research into such attackers is needed has become more pressing as this study has progressed. In 2014, Elliot Rodger killed 6 people and injured 14 by stabbing and shooting them, and driving his vehicle into them. He was motivated to carry this out because he was enraged at women for having rejected him and since then has been cited as the inspiration for several other acts of violence and has also been canonised by the incel (involuntary celibate) community. A recent report by the Centre for Countering Terrorism into the legal gaps that are exploited by extremists (CCT 2021:30) describes incels as ‘an overwhelmingly male online community, whose members understand society as a three-tiered hierarchy dictated by physical appearance’ and who see themselves as being at the bottom of that hierarchy and therefore forced into celibacy. The investigative report into Rodger’s crimes mentions him accessing and posting on PUAhate.com, which was a forum for incels to ‘commiserate about their frustrations with women’ (Santa Barbara County Sheriff’s Office 2015:42) and which was taken down after Rodger’s attack. He is now synonymous with the incel community and very little research relating to incels fails to mention him (e.g. Nagle 2017; Baele et al. 2019; Hoffman et al. 2020). Kelly et al. (2021) highlight that those writing on incel forums often use coded language that is only understood within the group and also

describe women in ways that dehumanise them. They draw our attention to the Dangerous Speech Project (2022) and its assertion that such dehumanising language can encourage violence against those being dehumanised (something which is also suggested by Bandura [2002]). The content on such forums is disturbing and violent, and there is evidence that such violence does not end on the Internet.

The CCT report (2021) argues that content that glorifies past violence should be illegal because it inspires further acts of violence and in fact argues that the Columbine massacre still inspires current killers, some of whom are part of the incel community. The report states that 47 incidences of violence can be attributed to incels since 2014 (CCT 2021). There are also thought to be large overlaps between incels and far-right forums with young men being recruited for right wing groups from such forums (Nagle 2017). Other incels have also committed violent attacks, and several of these have cited Rodger as their inspiration (e.g. Alex Minassian who carried out the Toronto van attack in 2018 and declared online ‘All hail the Supreme Gentleman Elliot Rodger!’ prior to his attacks [Witt 2020]). Rodger is now regarded as a saint in the incel community, with religious memes created about him, phrases coined after him such as ‘going ER’ (Wright 2018) and the capitalisation of his initials in certain words e.g ‘hERo’ (Witt 2020). He is frequently glorified in incel forums using terms from his manifesto such as the ‘supreme gentleman’ phrase used by Minassian. Witt (2020) draws parallels between Rodger’s manifesto and the hagiograph of a saint, and highlights the stark difference between the saint who is revered in the incel community and the real Rodger who carried out the attacks and who struggled with social rejection and emotional turmoil, arguing that Rodger ended up being revered in this way because of the manifesto. It echoed with other incels and gave a voice to that particular community, who engaged with it as if it were a religious text. However, there were also other factors at play in Rodger’s life. Although he was known to have frequented incel chat rooms, and his ideology relating to women aligns with others in that online community, he had social ineptitude before he began to focus on women and sexuality, having found social situations difficult from a young age (Santa Barbara County Sheriff’s Office 2015), and research into his incel connections is often focused on at the expense of other areas. This study aims to redress the balance while keeping this element of the crime in mind.

Anders Breivik’s attack had a unique impact in Norway because of its scale and because it was unprecedented in a country that had very little experience of terrorist attacks (Appleton 2014). In 2011, Breivik killed eight people with a bomb outside a government building in Oslo, and then travelled to the island of Utøya where he shot and killed 69 people, many of whom were children. Unlike many other lone attackers, he did not kill himself but was arrested and

found guilty of murder and sentenced to preventive detention (a prison sentence that can be extended indefinitely [Hemmingby and Bjørgo 2016]). According to his manifesto, he killed those whom he saw as traitors to his country because they were proponents of multiculturalism and he saw his crimes as the first act in a campaign to prevent the Islamisation of Europe. He claimed to be working as part of the ‘Knights Templar’, referenced other right-wing commentators from online forums (who distanced themselves from him after the attacks [Meldalen and Meland 2011]) and writes his manifesto as a call to arms for others of a like mind, distributing the manifesto mostly to people with far-right views (although most of the e-mails did not reach their intended recipients [Hemmingby and Bjørgo 2016]). As was the case with Rodger, his manifesto (which was written in proficient English despite this not being his first language) ensured that his message and ideology was still being circulated many years after the crime itself and the death toll and nature of the attacks gave him international infamy and inspired others. Amongst a backdrop of a decrease in deaths from terrorism globally, far-right attacks in Western Europe, the US and Oceania increased by 250% between 2014-2019 (Institute for Economics and Peace 2020), and there are numerous examples of far-right attackers who have expressed admiration for Breivik (Berger 2019). These include Brenton Tarrant, who named Breivik as his inspiration in his own manifesto, written before shooting and killing 51 people and injuring 40 in March 2019 in two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand. In August of the same year, Patrick Crusius killed 23 and injured 23 others in a Walmart store in El Paso and credits Tarrant with inspiring him to change his target and the purpose behind his attack. It would seem that Gill (2015); Langman (2019); and Hemmingby and Bjørgo (2016) are right to argue that despite such varying contexts and ideologies, one thing that such perpetrators do have in common is that they imitate their predecessors and in turn inspire others, and Berger (2019) is justified in arguing that the way in which the texts associated with these crimes are disseminated through the media needs to be challenged. The aims of the CCT (2021) relating to the legality of the glorification of violence online are a step in this direction.

2.10 Other influences on the language used by these perpetrators

In addition to the influence of other attackers, other possible influences on the language of the perpetrators included in this study include mental disorder, and their use of video games, and these will be discussed below.

2.10.1 Mental Disorder

The mental health of lone attackers is frequently discussed in the aftermath of their attacks and is relevant to debates around moral agency and also to the analysis of their language, because of how both may be influenced by an individual's mental state. Corner and Gill's (2015) extensive research into the differences between lone and group attackers reveals that those attackers working in a group are less likely to have mental disorders than those who work alone. They argue that this may be because terrorist organisations screen recruits for signs of mental disorders and do not enlist those with evidence of such disorders because of the requirement to conduct complicated operations with skill and calmness. Corner and Gill acknowledge that this is surprising given the paradox of being capable of killing others but being mentally well enough to carry this out methodically, but their findings have also been replicated by Spaaij (2010) and Hewitt (2003).

Whether the mental illness of such perpetrators should be focused on is debated because of the impact that this may have on the level of responsibility levelled at them. Kalish and Kimmel (2010) argue that focusing on an offender's mental wellbeing is a reductionist way of looking at their actions which absolves them of responsibility, although they do acknowledge that any mental disorder that is present needs to be taken into account. Langman (2020b) argues that the fact that many lone attackers suffer from psychological problems indicates that improving education relating to mental health and reducing the stigma associated with accessing mental health services may have an impact on reducing the number of such attacks in the future. In the case of Breivik, mental health became a particular focus of his trial because his first psychiatric evaluation after the attacks concluded that he was suffering from paranoid schizophrenia and was psychotic at the time of the attacks (Hemmingby and Bjørgo 2016). Part of Breivik's legal team's initial defence focused on the argument that a mental disorder had affected his actions and therefore he could not be held responsible for what he had done. However, according to Hemmingby and Bjørgo (2016), Breivik was unhappy with this defence because it weakened the message that he wanted to disseminate. According to Sandberg et al. (2014) he also wanted to avoid the unstable school shooter trope despite the fact that many elements of his crime resembled school shootings (e.g. listening to music during the attack, shooting children). Breivik wanted his beliefs to be taken seriously, and to ensure that his message was perpetuated after the crime. His legal team changed their approach, he toned down some of his references that had been assessed as delusional, and he also retracted some of his demands such as asking to wear a mock soldier's uniform in court (Hemmingby and Bjørgo

2016). In addition to this change of approach by his legal team, the court was under pressure to authorise a new medical report because of conflicting opinions among experts about whether he was mentally unwell and because of public debate on the issue. The second report found him to have narcissistic personality disorder rather than schizophrenia and this was well received by the media (Hemmingby and Bjørge 2016). Despite this second report being carried out many months after the crime, whereas the first one was in the weeks immediately after the attacks, it was accepted as the overriding diagnosis. According to Bortolotti et al. (2014: 378) the first diagnosis did not take into account the right-wing context of Breivik's delusional claims and beliefs, but the second diagnosis was also problematic because it did not take into account the fact that Breivik had toned down some of his delusions and that the assessment took place sometime after the attacks.

Inherent in these decisions and arguments is the assumption that if someone has a mental disorder then they are less responsible for their actions. If someone does not have the ability to morally reflect on their actions and if they do not have the choice to act in any other way because of a disorder, then the extent to which they have moral agency and can therefore be held responsible is frequently debated and is used as a defence in law (Bortolotti et al. 2014: 378). Linde (1993:101) explains that people with personality disorders are more likely to have a disturbed sense of self in relation to continuity of the self over time, but it is not clear how this lack of sense of self would affect rationality or intention. Kennett (2009) argues that while mental illness does impact on a person's ability to weigh up an act and that a lack of continuity of the self over time may mean that their diachronic agency may be particularly affected by their illness (they are less able to see the consequences of their actions over time), by not holding people who are mentally ill responsible, we remove their agency from them and render them inhuman. Bortolotti et al. (2014) examine the Breivik case in detail and raise concerns regarding the way in which the Norwegian legal system links schizophrenia with a lack of accountability for actions, and bases this on diagnostic criteria. In the United Kingdom the decision about whether or not someone is accountable is not based on a diagnosis, but on the M'Naghten rules (Bennett 2009). These rules state that it has to be determined whether or not a mental disorder has affected someone to the extent that they do not realise the nature of their actions or do not realise that they are wrong. Bortolotti et al. (2014:379) argues that in the case of schizophrenia, people's experiences are so heterogenous that it is impossible to decide whether or not someone's disorder means that they are not responsible for their actions and that, particularly in the case of the Norwegian legal system, a more 'local and nuanced' approach is needed when examining the link between mental disorders and criminal

responsibility. They assert that delusions should not necessarily mean that someone is not in control of their actions, pointing out that the direct link that is often made between mental disorders and a lack of criminal responsibility is because of the tension between an inability to imagine other reasons for someone committing such violent crimes, and the desire for such offenders to be punished rather than treated for a mental disorder.

In addition to issues relating to responsibility and mental disorders, when analysing the language of the perpetrators included in this study, research into the linguistic features that are characteristic of certain mental disorders will be considered. However, this will be done with caution. As discussed above, Breivik was diagnosed with two different disorders in two different assessments, while Klebold and Harris were not diagnosed in their lifetime. Psychiatrists have sought to diagnose them posthumously; for example, Fusilier, a psychiatrist working on the case after the attacks, assessed Klebold as depressive and Harris as psychopathic (Cullen 2009), and Langman (2020b) argues that Klebold was in fact schizotypal, but agrees that Harris was psychopathic (N.B. psychopathy is described as Antisocial Personality Disorder in the DSM 5 [American Psychiatric Association 2013:659]). However, it is difficult to take such diagnoses as certain when they were carried out without access to the individuals themselves and these diagnoses are disputed by some psychiatrists (e.g. Immelman 2004). In the case of Rodger, he was diagnosed as having Pervasive Development Disorder (Santa Barbara County Sheriff's Office 2015), which is now recategorized as being in the Autism Spectrum Disorder in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM 5 [American Psychiatric Association 2013]). This caution is necessary, firstly because this is not a psychiatric study and therefore it is important not to make any diagnostic claims based on their language without the expertise to do so. Secondly, diagnostic criteria or language features that are known to be characteristic of certain disorders are not designed to be used independently to analyse an offender's intentions or used in a forensic analysis (American Psychiatric Association 2013: 25). In addition, the reductionist linking of disorders to offending needs to be avoided in order to avoid stigmatising those who suffer from them.

However, according to Kramer and France (2001), communication is affected by our worldview and looking at the language of these perpetrators may indicate something about these perpetrators which may or not be linked to a worldview that is partly influenced by mental disorder. For example, Fine (2008:264) describes more of a focus on the self in the speech of people with personality disorders, which he says is sometimes reflected in an increased use of first-person pronouns. Other examples in the literature include fixed expressions and intonation patterns in the speech of people with Asperger's (Fine 2008: 170), the use of language used to

describe delusions ('fixed beliefs that are not amenable to change in light of conflicting evidence' [American Psychiatric Association 2013:87]) by sufferers of schizophrenia (Fine 2008: 205), grandiosity in the language of those with narcissistic personality disorder (American Psychiatric Association 2013: 669) and the use of idiosyncratic words and phrases in those with schizo-typal disorder (Fine 2008:268). However, most research, including Fine's, is based on verbal rather than written communication and does not take genre or context into account. For example, if we were to apply Fine's research to the texts included in this study, an increased focus on the self may be a result of the fact that a personal diary is being written rather than being the result of a personality disorder, as might be an increased use of personal pronouns. There are also many overlaps in the language features that may be found in the speech of those with different mental disorders (Fine 2008). For these reasons, linking these perpetrators' linguistic features to particular mental disorders is problematic and does not necessarily inform us about their sense of moral agency. Therefore, where a perpetrator has been assessed and diagnosed with a disorder and does use linguistic features that are listed in the literature for this disorder then this will be highlighted and reflected on. However, their language will be analysed for their sense of moral agency regardless of whether or not a particular linguistic feature may be caused by a worldview that is potentially influenced by a mental disorder, because a picture of their sense of moral agency over time is being built up through their navigation and construction of their identity, which is likely to have been influenced by many different elements of their lives, of which possible mental disorders are just one.

2.10.2 Gaming

The impact of playing violent games on aggression is debated extensively in the literature with convincing research on both sides of the debate (Anderson et al. 2017; Ferguson and Kilburn 2010). Ultimately no consensus has been reached concerning whether there is a significant link between playing violent games and increased aggression. The American Psychological Association published a meta-analysis in 2015 (APA 2015:11) that intended to clarify the issue, and found that there was a 'consistent relation between violent video game use and increases in aggressive behaviour, aggressive cognitions, and aggressive affect and decreases in prosocial behaviour, empathy, and sensitivity to aggression'. However, the findings of the study have since been criticised on the basis of the studies that were included and how they were conducted, and the meta-analysis was replicated with different results by Ferguson et al. (2020), who found that there was evidence of desensitization as a result of playing violent

games, but not a significant link with aggression. Studies of violence and gaming are plagued by issues relating to how aggression is measured, the types of games that are studied, whether lab-based studies are included, and whether other co-variants are taken into account, besides accusations of publication bias (although Prescott et al. [2018] find no evidence of the latter) and this may be why there is such debate surrounding whether or not there is a link. The issue has also been tested in the Supreme Court of the United States in a ruling that prevented limits being placed on the sale of violent games to children (Prescott et al. 2018), despite the APA report. The report has since been reiterated by the APA (American Psychological Association 2019), but with a change to the resolution that emerged as a result of the report. This resolution now encourages the consideration of other factors besides gaming when considering the complex causes of violence.

Whether or not gaming causes violence, there is some evidence that elements of a game may merge with a person's experience of and interaction with the real world. For example, Ortiz de Gortari and Griffiths (2014) found that intensive playing of video games resulted in players temporarily visualising elements of the game in their real lives. This also extends to the use of language, although scant research into this exists: Ivory and Kaestle (2013) demonstrate a link between the use of profanity in video games and increased aggression, and Decker and Gay (2011) found that participants who regularly play *World of Warcraft* (Blizzard Entertainment 2022) have a cognitive bias towards gaming-related words.

More tangible connections between gaming and those who harm others have developed in recent years and have begun to change the relationship between gaming and harm, and research has expanded from a focus on the effect of video games to the use of elements of gaming in other contexts, particularly in relation to the far right. For example, links exist between gaming chat rooms and misogynistic and far-right forums (Bown 2018; Nagle 2017), many of which condone violence and glorify those who carry it out (see Figure 6.1 below from Moonshot [2020]).

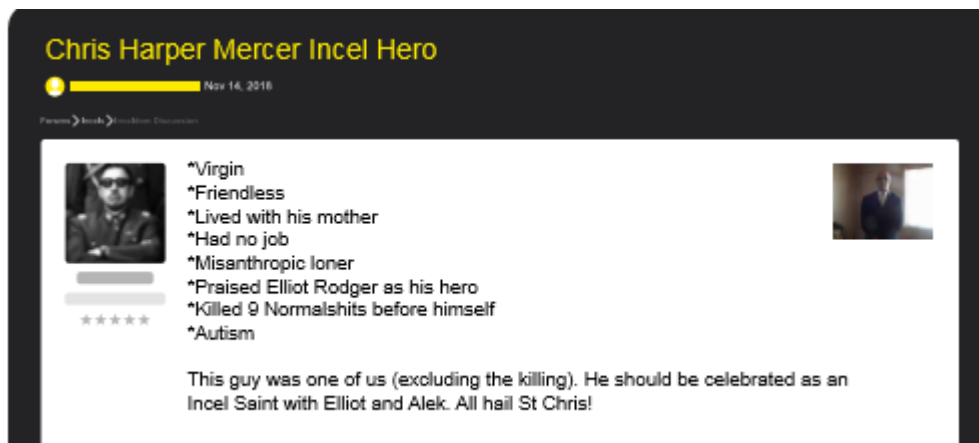


Figure 6.1. Posts from Incels.co, cited in Moonshot (2020)

Further confirmation of a link between gaming and violence is the more specific example of the killings that took place in a Christchurch mosque in April 2019. The mass murder was livestreamed by Brenton Tarrant on the Internet in the style of a first-person shooter game, by using a camera that was mounted on his helmet (Mattheis 2021, para 4.) and besides his arrest for the killings, charges were also brought against those who tried to turn the live streaming of the killing into a mock computer game by distributing it on the Internet after editing it to make it look like the Call of Duty first person shooter game dashboard (Bayer 2020). According to Macklin (2019) the livestreaming of violence originates from Jihadi practices, and Breivik is quoted as saying during his trial that he had intended to behead the former Norwegian Prime Minister and live stream it in the style of an execution perpetrated by Al Qaeda, but he had not had time to purchase an iPhone. Mattheis (2021, para 1.) argues that this ‘gamification’ is used particularly by right wing extremists in propaganda in order to radicalise targeted groups through the ‘addition of gaming elements to non-game contexts’, such as the use of gaming imagery, reward-based systems, skills development and the use of memes, and argues that these are used to encourage a change in behaviour and a personal connection with the ideology/group that they are being radicalised into. Given Breivik’s far right ideology (Hemmingby and Bjørgo 2016), Rodger’s link to incels (Hoffman et al. 2020), and the fact that all of the perpetrators in this study played computer games extensively (Hemmingby and Bjørgo 2016:30; Blommaert 2019), the possible impact of this on both the language they use in their texts and the way in which they navigate their moral agency will need to be considered.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter has given an overview of the many different concepts and theories relating to agency, narrative, identity, and harm that intersect within this thesis. It has argued that the analysis of moral agency incorporates identity, narrative and responsibility in a way that goes beyond examining whether or not someone acts or as has the capacity to act, and explains why examining the moral agency of the perpetrators included in this study in this way before they commit crimes offers a unique insight that has not been explored before, besides outlining some of the context surrounding these types of perpetrators. The following chapter explains how this moral agency was examined, the methods that were applied, and the rationale behind them.

Chapter 3: Method

3.1 Introduction

This study used a corpus-based approach to examine the ways in which four mass murderers linguistically negotiate their moral agency over time in a corpus of their pre-crime narratives. This involved building a corpus for each perpetrator and analysing each corpus stylistically and diachronically for linguistic evidence relating to their moral agency using Bamberg's (2012) identity navigation framework to structure the analysis. This chapter will discuss the methodological approach taken in the study and the rationale behind it, with a particular focus on the selection of perpetrators and texts, the division of the corpus into subcorpora, the methods used to analyse the corpora, and considerations relating to ethical issues and copyright.

3.2 The corpus-based approach

A corpus-based approach can be defined narrowly or broadly, and this study takes a broad approach in that it uses corpus techniques to analyse language (as defined by McEnery and Hardie [2012]). More narrow interpretations of the term have defined it as being in opposition to corpus-driven approaches, with some linking this distinction to whether or not the texts are annotated with pre-existing categories (Hunston 2002) or whether decisions relating to what will be searched for in the corpus are decided upon based on the data or based on pre-existing theory (Mahlberg 2013:13). McEnery and Hardie (2012) describe these two different schools as 'corpus as theory' (corpus-driven) and 'corpus as method' (corpus-based), but also argue that the distinction between the two is in fact not particularly useful because 'corpus as method' studies would be likely to choose another theoretical framework if the one they had pre-chosen did not apply, and in the case of 'corpus as theory' approaches, it would be very difficult to conduct a corpus driven study without existing theoretical knowledge influencing the study, whether consciously or subconsciously. They argue that most studies in fact use a combination of these approaches. This study is no exception in that it uses existing knowledge of linguistic features that have been previously linked to agency, and an existing framework to structure the analysis, but the decisions relating to which framework to use was decided on as a result of having read the texts manually to see what might work, and the focus of the analysis was led by what emerged in the data. Therefore, where the term 'corpus-based' is used in this study it relates to McEnery and Hardie's (2012:151) broader definition rather than implying a choice between data driven or theory driven.

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, this corpus-based study also adopts elements of corpus stylistics, because it uses a corpus linguistic approach to enable patterns to emerge in the text which may be difficult to see when a text is read manually, and to empirically confirm features that may have been intuitively noticed or more traditionally analysed (Adolphs 2006:65). According to Mahlberg (2007:221), a corpus stylistic approach can ‘help with the analysis of an individual text by providing various options for the comparison of one text with groups of other texts to identify tendencies, intertextual relationships, or reflections of social and cultural contexts’. Corpus stylistics tends to be applied to fictional texts (Culpeper 2009; Mahlberg 2013; Fischer-Starcke 2009), but has also been used to analyse non-fiction (e.g. Demjén 2015; McIntyre and Walker 2019:281). Leech and Short (1981:55) point out that in order to see what is distinctive in a text, the text has to be compared to norms, and they describe the deviation from norms within a text as ‘internal deviation’. However, Adolphs’ description of this as ‘intratextual analysis’ (2006:65) is less imbued with the study of difference (see discussion of similarity and difference in Section 3.4.3), and Mahlberg (2013:9) suggests the term ‘variation’ should be used. This study applies this study of variation by looking at the ways in which different sections of a text have features that are distinctive from or similar to the other sections of text. In addition, a key element of corpus stylistics is the effect of stylistic patterns on the reader (Mahlberg 2013:27), but in the case of this study the impact on the writer themselves is also considered, and this pushes the boundaries of corpus stylistics into a new application and combines it with the field of narrative criminology and increases its impact.

3.3 The Corpus

3.3.1 Perpetrators and Texts

A lengthy list can be compiled of mass shooters who have left linguistic trails such as suicide notes, social media posts or notebooks detailing their plans, and many of these are widely available on the Internet, having been distributed before the crimes themselves. In many cases the perpetrators use the combination of the crime and the text to try to spread their particular ideology (Gill 2015:35). The aim of this study was to look at the way in which the perpetrators navigate their moral agency over time in these pre-crime texts and therefore the texts that were included in the corpus needed to fulfil the following three criteria:

1. They were written over a sustained period of time so that they could be analysed diachronically by looking at changes in style over time.

2. They were self-narratives ('the representation of an event or sequence of events' [Genette 1982:127]) so that it was possible to analyse the way in which they presented their identity in relation to the three dimensions of identity navigation proposed by Bamberg (2012).
3. The perpetrators were offenders who were not part of a wider terrorist group but could be described as 'lone attackers', because of the urgent need for research to be done into such attackers (See Chapter 2) and because it would enable exploration of the way in which lone attackers navigate agency without the agency of a higher authority (such as a being part of a wider organisation or group or following out the orders of others).

Two of the attackers included in this project in fact worked together, and the choice to include these perpetrators is informed by how the term 'lone attacker' is defined. As discussed in Chapter 2, this varies considerably between researchers. Spaaij (2010) only includes those who work individually, whereas Gill et al. (2014) include those who work in a small group but without the higher authority of an organisation to guide them. For the purposes of this study Gill et al.'s (2014) definition is used, and those included in this study worked alone or in a small group, but had no direction from a wider terrorist organisation or other group. This decision was made because of the focus of this study on each individual's sense of moral agency, and centred on those navigating this without any direction from an organised group.

Attacks by those working alone or without instruction from an organised group have historically been viewed as difficult to prevent because the plans for their crimes often go unnoticed as they are less likely to be on any watch list and therefore there are fewer communications to intercept. More recently, Schuurman et al. (2019) have questioned this and identified that such attackers may in fact be likely to reveal hints or details of their planned attacks either on the Internet or to friends and family and therefore the assumption that there are no clues concerning their plans before their attacks may be false. However, the lack of homogenous characteristics with which to identify them does mean that they are less likely to be profiled and identified ahead of their acts of harm. As discussed in Chapter 2, Gill (2015:128) conducted a thorough study of the characteristics of lone attackers and concluded that it is not currently possible to use these to predict future lone attackers. Analysing how lone attackers are motivated to act and how they negotiate their individual responsibility without sharing it with a wider terrorist organisation therefore contributes to this gap in knowledge concerning such perpetrators.

A list of all texts written before mass shootings and available online was therefore compiled and only those that fitted the criteria were selected. Some examples of texts that were excluded from the dataset include: the ‘Unabomber’ manifesto, which was written over time, but contained very little narrative and took the form of an explanation of Ted Kaczynski’s ideology (Kaczynski carried out a bombing campaign between 1978-1995); the manifesto written by Dylan Roof (who carried out the Charlestown Church shooting in 2015), which was not written over a sustained period of time; and the notebooks left behind by James Holmes (who opened fire in a cinema in Colorado in 2012), which mostly contain notes relating to self-diagnosis of his mental health and diagrams relating to the attacks. More recent texts have been written since this study began; for example, by Brendon Tarrant, who carried out a mass shooting in Christchurch in 2019 and wrote a manifesto to accompany it, and Patrick Crusius, who killed 27 people in 2019 in El Paso, Texas. These more recent attacks were not incorporated into the corpus partly because analysis was almost completed when their attacks took place. However, they would not have satisfied the above criteria in any case, because they were neither narratives nor written over a sustained period of time. Nevertheless, these two attacks serve to illustrate the continued relevance of this research.

Four perpetrators emerged who met the criteria above and these were, in order of the dates of their attacks: Dylan Klebold and Eric Harris, whose diary entries were written over a period of almost two years before their massacre in 1991 and who worked together but, as discussed above, have still been included as ‘lone attackers’ because they worked without the direction of an organised group; Anders Breivik, whose account of his preparations for his attacks in 2011 spanned three years from 2008-2011; and Elliot Rodger, whose autobiography describes the first 22 years of his life leading up to the murders he committed in 2014. Besides the lengthy texts that were written over time and therefore included in this corpus, other types of data also written by these perpetrators were identified (including videos, schoolwork, and Internet posts). Only texts that enabled diachronic analysis were included in the analysis, but other data for each perpetrator has been included in Table 3.1 below to provide context and because these were read for background understanding of each case. This table shows brief details relating to their crimes, the details of the amounts and types of data being used, and the ways in which they fulfil the three criteria. It should be noted that when quoting from the perpetrators’ texts in the analysis chapters, page numbers will not be used because there were no page numbers on the original documents.

It is necessary to consider the genre of the texts being analysed because this may have an influence on the linguistic features being used. Swales describes genre as ‘a class of

communicative events, the members of which share some common purpose' and argues that this purpose 'constrains choice of content and style' (Swales 1990:58). Some of these texts (Breivik and Rodger's) have been labelled as 'manifestos' in the media, and there are elements of the texts that could be described as such, depending on the definition used (see lengthy discussion of this in Chapters 1 and 2). However, although the overall purpose of some of these texts matches that of a manifesto, in terms of their style and content, these particular texts take the form of diaries (Klebold and Harris), an autobiography (Rodger), and a self-interview followed by a log of daily preparations (Breivik himself describes this as a 'compendium'). During the analysis it was necessary to consider stylistic features that can commonly be found in particular genres of text to ensure an awareness of which linguistic features might be more common in a particular genre related to a sense of responsibility. For example, as discussed in Chapter 2, alongside other examples, ellipsis of the subject is a common feature of diary entries (Haegeman 2013:89), and therefore needs to be kept in mind when analysing key features of a journal or log (for example, if 'I' is unusually infrequent then this may be the reason for it), as does the use of the imperative when a writer is giving instructions (Norrick 2011: 2741). What became clear during the analysis was that some of the texts also contain other genres within them (this will be discussed in more detail in relation to Breivik below) and that the features of these genres were central to the consideration of linguistic features in the analysis.

Furthermore, the texts included in this study and the different sections within them were not always immediately recognisable as narratives. However, in Chapter 2, the benefit of looking at narratives that take place in situ and which may be fragmented, or describe future or hypothetical events, was asserted (see Georgakopoulou 2006). These texts do not contain neatly staged narratives consistently throughout, but consist of fragmented narratives, past, future and hypothetical narratives, and narratives that are embedded within other genres of writing, or which are sometimes not obviously narrative until they are analysed in more detail. For example, there are points where a perpetrator may be describing how they would like the world to change, which may not initially seem to be a narrative turn, but is in fact the description of a future or hypothetical event. Similarly, a perpetrator may offer instructions which also describe how they have carried something out and what happened when they carried out the same steps, embedding their narrative in their instructions to the reader.

Table 3.1 Corpus of pre-crime narratives

Perpetrator	Crime	Data included in diachronic analysis	Other data (not included in analysis)	Language	Versions used in diachronic analysis
Anders Breivik	Oslo bomb and Utøya massacre, Norway 22 nd July 2011	Compendium: 81,260 word self-interview and log (final two sections of manifesto) Written 2009-2011	The 1500-page compendium (<i>2083: A European Declaration of Independence</i>) is written in English and comprises of three sections. The first two parts are largely plagiarised (van Gerven Oei 2011) from other sources (1405 pages) and have therefore not been included in the analysis. The final 95 pages of the document (included in this corpus) take the form of a self-interview and a journal/log of his preparations.	English	1. Original typed version as distributed by Breivik (Breivik 2011) 2. Plain text version of (1.)
Eric Harris	Shooting at Columbine High School, Colorado, United States 20 th April 1999	Diary: 6736 words Written April 1998-April 1999 20 entries (10 of which were written between Oct-Dec 1998.)	Website entries (dates disputed) Selection of school assessments including: Essay on the Nazis (N.D.) 'Guns in School' essay (1997) 'Hitmen for hire' business plan (1998) Video: Hitmen for Hire (1998) Fictional video featuring Klebold and Harris as hitmen All available at Cullen (2019).	English	1. Handwritten scanned originals (Harris 1999) 2. Digitized versions including transcriber comments (Langman 2014b) 3. Plain text version of (2.) without comments
Dylan Klebold	Shooting at Columbine High School, Colorado, United States 20 th April 1999	Diary: 6041 words Written March 1997-April 1999 (14 entries)	Notebook entries (994 words). Date unknown but indications are that they were written shortly before the attacks. Dylan's comments from Eric's yearbook (476 words) Selection of school assignments including: Story about a man killing 'preps' (1999) Essay on future predictions for senior year (1998) Video: Hitmen for Hire (1998) Fictional video featuring Klebold and Harris as hitmen All available at Cullen (2019).	English	1. Handwritten scanned originals (Klebold 1999) 2. Digitized versions including transcriber comments (Langman 2019a) 3. Plain text version of 2. without comments
Elliot Rodger	Shooting, Isla Vista, California, United States 23 rd May 2014	Autobiography: 107,927 words Titled <i>My Twisted World</i> , it describes Rodger's life from age 0-22.	8 Vlogs uploaded to YouTube between April and May 2014. It is unclear when they were recorded. (3266 words) Brief description of each vlog added by Rodger Small number of posts from PUAhate.com (Rodger 2013)	English	1. Original typed version as distributed by Rodger (Rodger 2014) 2. Plain text version

3.3.2 *Preparing the data*

In order to ensure that the texts could be processed effectively and accurately by the corpus analysis software, it was necessary to remove headers, footers, and pictures from the documents and convert them to text (.txt) files. However, a version of the original texts with original features preserved was retained and used to refer to for contextual information to complement the corpus analysis (see Table 3.1 for the different versions). Breivik and Rodger's texts were typed by the perpetrators themselves, but the Columbine texts took the form of handwritten notes and diaries, and the electronic versions of these texts were digitised by the author of the website that they were retrieved from (Langman 2017). Because they were originally written by hand, these were compared with the original versions of the diaries available on Cullen's (2019) 'The Columbine Guide' website to check for accuracy. Footnotes that had been added by Langman and Cullen to elucidate unusual references or acronyms were also removed because they were not part of the original documents, but they remained available to refer to if necessary. Besides redactions by the Jefferson County Sheriff's Office in the handwritten versions of the texts, in their digitisation by Langman, the Columbine texts had undergone a process of re-contextualisation (e.g. removal of images and changes in formatting), and a small number of illegible words had been guessed at, all of which had to be kept in mind when analysing the data. Therefore, the original handwritten originals were returned to where necessary.

The texts in the corpus were not annotated before undergoing analysis because this would have meant that the focus of the analysis was pre-decided rather than emerging from the data. Hunston (2002) asserts that annotations can limit the questions that are asked of a corpus because the categories for annotation are pre-determined before the analysis begins. Tognini-Bonelli (2001:66) also gives examples of how using corpus approaches to validate existing hypotheses means that there is no 'methodological or theoretical space' to challenge the hypotheses. As discussed above in relation to different approaches to corpus analysis, in reality there are few studies that use only data driven theory or pre-decided hypotheses and there is often a dialectic between the two. This study combined these approaches by both allowing the theory to emerge from the data, and looking at how existing theories could be applied to the texts. It began with an approach that did not use pre-determined categories, but then developed a more specific analytical focus as it progressed.

3.4. Time and the division of the texts into subcorpora

3.4.1 Theoretical considerations

Besides creating corpora for each perpetrator (see Table 3.1), these corpora were then divided into subcorpora in order to enable the analysis of the texts over time by looking at differences in the style of each section of the texts. This involved dividing each perpetrator's text into key time periods in the events leading up to their crimes. Baker (2010:60) argues that it is important to limit other types of variation that may be influencing the data other than time when analysing a corpus diachronically and this suggests that it is beneficial to divide the data using external measures of time, with equal periods of time for each section and without taking the context of what was happening during these periods of time into account. However, this assumes that the only factor that we want to examine the effect of is the passing of time and not the context of each time period and the way in which it might have influenced the language being studied. Baker's approach is therefore more suited to studies where the context surrounding the time periods is not part of the analysis (e.g. Millar 2009; Baker 2011). In later research, Baker et al. (2013a) acknowledge that arbitrary and simplistic time divisions ignore the fact that events may overlap such time periods, and in their study of the way in which Muslims are represented in the British press they try to incorporate the context of key events by dividing the data according to calendar year but also mapping key events that occurred over multiple time periods or that started in one and ended in another. Keywords relating to these events were also compared across time periods, but Baker et al.'s analysis may still have overlooked keywords that could have arisen had the data been divided from the point of view of events. Gries and Hilpert (2012:135) suggest that using information from the data itself to divide it into sections is less arbitrary and more useful, and Marchi (2019:183) argues that decisions relating to the division of data in a diachronic study depend on the aim of the analysis and the focus of the research, illustrating that even where standard time periods are used, the choice of time periods and spans still needs to be informed by the context and the events taking place. Although it may seem more objective to use top down and standardised segmentation to divide the data, the choice also depends on how we view time itself and whether we see such divisions as still arbitrarily imposed on our experience of the world by human beings (Marchi 2019:183). Data divided by external time divisions alone may not allow the situational context of the data to emerge in the analysis. In the case of this study the events taking place while the texts are being written are an important part of the analysis of moral agency for each perpetrator, because of the way in which their moral agency may align with the extent to which they take responsibility

at different stages in their lives before the carrying out of the attacks. It is acknowledged that this may affect the analysis because the divisions are imposed on the data by the researcher as a result of their interpretation of the data, but the rationale behind all divisions is done transparently and explained in each case. The texts were therefore divided according to significant events or changes in focus and activity on the part of the perpetrator.

3.4.2 Dividing Breivik's text

The process involved in the creation of subcorpora differed slightly for each perpetrator because of the different contexts in which the texts were created and the dates that they were written, the details of which can be seen in Tables 3.2-3.5. Breivik's text has three parts. The first part is historical, and the second describes his ideology, but both are largely plagiarised from other sources (van Gerven Oei 2011) and so only the final part is included in this study. He divided this third part of what he called his 'compendium' into short sections by date in what is essentially a diary that was written daily at some points and monthly at others. Given that his corpus consists of 81,260 words and he wrote frequent entries, using these original time-based sections would be an arbitrary division of the data in terms of the events taking place that might be influencing the language used, and the corpus would contain too many sections than could be analysed diachronically. However, after manually reading the document through and noting key events and steps in the three years during which he wrote the compendium, seven clear key stages emerged in his preparations in which he changed location or focus or both. These were then used to divide the data into the smaller subcorpora described in Table 3.2. Although genre was not the basis of the division of the data into sections, in some cases the change of location and focus in his preparations also coincides with a change in genre, and where this is the case it has been noted in italics in the table. It should be noted that the sections are not evenly divided because the change of focus was used as the basis for division rather than arbitrary but equal sections being created. As a result, the first section of Breivik's compendium is considerably longer than other sections, and although frequencies will be normalised to ensure that sections can be more effectively compared, the length needs to be taken into consideration when analysis is carried out.

Table 3.2 Sections of Breivik's compendium

Section	Dates	Summary	Words
1. Interview	Prior to 2009	This takes the format of a <i>self-interview</i> concerning his views on multiculturalism, what he thinks will happen in the future if he does not take action, events from his childhood, and how he has come to be at the point that he now finds himself.	36551
2. Compendium	April-May 2009	During this section, which takes the form of <i>diary entries</i> , Breivik has just completed the part of the manifesto that is borrowed from numerous other sources and begins 'farming' e-mail addresses of what he sees as like-minded individuals in order to distribute the compendium to them at some point in the future.	4588
3. Acquirement	July 2010	In this section Breivik focuses on acquiring weapons and preparing to obtain chemicals by listing what he will need and how he will go about getting it. The majority of entries in this section take the form of <i>diary entries</i> but there is also a <i>log</i> of purchases and equipment including methods of acquirement.	8614
4. Reflection	December 2010	A <i>reflective account</i> of Breivik's family, social life, his approach to maintaining his morale and physical strength and how he thinks he will be viewed after the event.	3800
5. Blueprint	March 2011	A lengthy description of the optimum approach to manufacturing explosives. It takes the form of an <i>instruction manual</i> for those wishing to replicate his production of bombs.	12862
6. Farm	April-June 2011	By this point in time, Breivik has decided to move to a farm on the outskirts of Oslo in order to manufacture explosives without arousing suspicion. This section describes the move to the farm and his preparation once there from April-June in the form of <i>diary entries</i> . At this time he is manufacturing explosives and testing bombs.	8710
7. Final	July 2011	In the final month before the attacks. Breivik has now created the explosives he needs, has weapons ready and is making the final preparations for the attacks. This section, which takes the form of <i>diary entries</i> ends just 3 hours before the attacks take place.	6135
Total			81,260

3.4.3 Dividing Rodger's text

In the case of Rodger, when writing his text, he divided it into sections relating to different periods of his life, starting from birth and ending on the day of his crime (see Table 3.3), with different subheadings indicating the topic of each section. These sections have been kept and taken forward in the analysis because they relate to definable stages in his life rather than

arbitrary points in time. The start of each new section coincides with a change in his life such as a move to a new area or starting a new period in his life (e.g. going to college) and therefore the context of each new part of his life could be considered in the analysis. However, there were some issues relating to when his text was written. Unlike Breivik, who wrote his log as his preparations progressed, it is not clear when Rodger wrote his narrative. In the case of Breivik, it is clear that he is writing a running commentary on his current actions, and this is indicated by the way that his plans change from one entry to the next, and in the tenses used to refer back and forward to events in the text, besides time markers suggesting that he was reporting on actions that had recently taken place. However, Rodger's text was written retrospectively and although it spans from birth to the day of the attacks, there are clues in the tenses used that the childhood sections were written sometime after the events (e.g. 'This period of my life, aside from my early childhood in England, was one of the best periods. Life was fair and life was satisfying.' [Rodger 2014]). However, given the length of the text (107,927 words) it is highly unlikely that the text was written at one sitting and therefore although the analysis does not tell us about his linguistic sense of agency during the years of the events described, it is still possible to look at variation in style over the time of writing it, ending with the final entry written in the month before the crime. This also allows analysis of any variation in style in his writing, when pre-occupied with particular events in his life.

Table 3.3 Sections of Rodger's autobiography

Section	Words
Section 1: Introduction and A blissful beginning	2525
Section 2: Growing up in America	10525
Section 3: The last period of contentment	17012
Section 4: Stuck in the void	14395
Section 5: Hope and hopelessness	18567
Section 6: Santa Barbara	20418
Section 7: 21 years old	22821
Section 8: Epilogue	1664
Total:	107,927

3.4.4 Dividing the Columbine Diaries

The diaries written by Harris and Klebold were analysed using a different approach because they were much shorter. Dividing them into sections would have resulted in very short subcorpora (around 100-300 words each) which would not have lent itself to effective corpus analysis. Tables 3.4 and 3.5 show the different diary entries in the corpus by month in order to provide information relating to how many entries the texts are constructed of and in which months Harris and Klebold wrote them, but it should be noted that the texts were treated as a whole and were not divided into external dated sections for analysis. Instead, the two whole texts (Harris' and Klebold's) were analysed in comparison to an external reference corpus and then coded for diachronic patterns using NVivo (QSR International Pty Ltd. 2020). This approach will be explained in more detail below.

Table 3.4 Eric Harris journal entries

Section	Entries	Words
April 1998	3	1659
May 1998	3	972
June 1998	2	404
July 1998	1	521
Oct 1998	1	374
Nov 1998	5	1994
Dec 1998	4	596
April 1999	1	216
Total	20	6736

Table 3.5 Dylan Klebold journal entries

Section	Entries	Words
March 1997	1	636
April 1997	1	545
Date Unclear	1	550
July 1997	1	347
September 1997	1	348
October 1997	1	399
November 1997	1	472
January 1998	1	172
February 1998	1	1143
June 1998	2	399
January 1999	1	593
April 1999	2	437
Total	14	6041

Once the corpora were compiled and divided into subcorpora, they were analysed using corpus software, and the following section details the decisions that were made relating to this analysis and the process that was followed.

3.5. Analysis

3.5.1 Choice of software

The corpora were analysed using WordSmith Tools (Scott 2016) and Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014). These were chosen because of the analytical tools available within these programmes and because of the level of detail and accuracy required for the study. This will be discussed in more detail below.

Before deciding on the above software, a trial was carried out using samples from all of the texts used in this study to assess the suitability of different corpus analysis tools for the project. The trial looked for features in the software that extended beyond the creation of keyword lists (the reasons for this will be discussed below) and included AntConc (Anthony 2011), SketchEngine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014), WMatrix (Rayson 2008) and WordSmith Tools (Scott 2016). WordSmith Tools had the most flexibility in the sorting of concordances and the viewing of the original text from a node (i.e. search term) and also had the widest range of statistical options for analysis. Both WordSmith Tools and SketchEngine provided explicit information concerning what calculations were being applied (this was not the case with all tools) and a degree of researcher control over how the calculations were used. Besides this, the choice of software was influenced by fact that the accuracy of frequency counts varied considerably between tools. For example, a simple word frequency count for each text on Microsoft Word was compared with the number of tokens identified by each corpus tool and only WordSmith Tools and AntConc had the same frequencies as Word, even when the search parameters of the other tools were adjusted to take punctuation that may have affected this into account (such as apostrophes in contracted forms, and hyphens). For these reasons WordSmith Tools was used for the majority of the analysis and SketchEngine was applied in one of the stages as an additional tool (the points at which each tool was applied will be explained in Section 3.6).

3.5.2 Reference Corpora

In order to analyse the texts diachronically, each perpetrator's text was divided into subcorpora and each section of each perpetrator's text was compared to a reference corpus which consisted

of the whole of their text, minus the section under analysis (see Figure 3.1). Rayson (2008:527) suggests that there should be no overlap between the corpus being analysed and the reference corpus, and therefore the relevant section of each corpus was not included in the reference corpus of all of that perpetrator’s writings (see Figure 3.1). This is also exemplified by Culpeper (2009) in his division of a corpus of characters’ speech in *Romeo and Juliet* in which he compares each character’s subcorpus to a reference corpus of the speech of the characters being studied minus the subcorpus. According to McEnery (2016:20) this approach is ‘useful at presenting what is important in the subdivisions of the corpus relative to other parts of the corpus’.

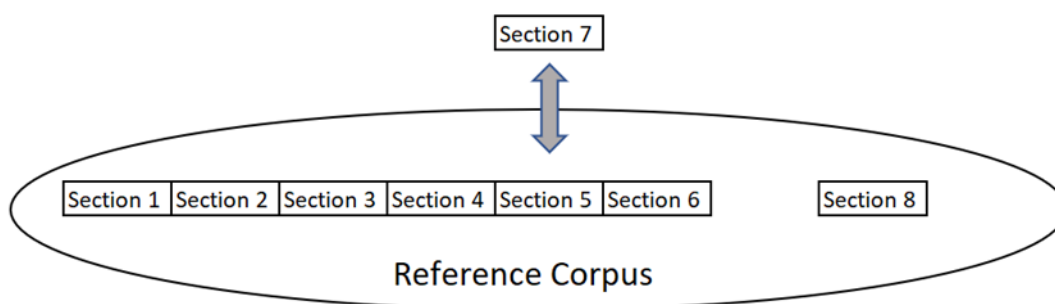


Figure. 3.1 Illustration of reference corpus using whole text minus section under comparison.

However, in the case of Harris and Klebold, a different approach was taken. As discussed above, their diary entries are short (approximately 100-300 words each) and written sporadically over time. It was therefore not a worthwhile exercise to compare the style of a small section of text with little space to build up linguistic patterns and compare it with surrounding text. Instead, an external reference corpus of general English was used to compare the text as a whole, and then the diaries were manually examined for changes over time using NVivo. According to Baker (2010:125) ‘a key way that we make sense of things is by casting them in relationship to something else’, and comparing the journals against a norm of general English from the period in which they were written, combined with manual analysis of any changes in style, still allowed salient features to emerge.

The BNC (XML Edition [BNC Consortium 2007]) was chosen as the reference corpus for Klebold and Harris, and this decision was largely informed by the fact that the BNC is a corpus of English from the 1990s, and they carried out their attacks in 1999. According to Aston and Burnard (1998:40), one issue with using a corpus of texts written in a different period to the focus corpus is that the list of keywords generated may be affected by ‘buzz words’ that are indicative of the period of the reference corpus. However, the BNC corpus does have its

limitations. Firstly, it is a corpus of British English and therefore it could be argued that it is not representative of American English (Klebold and Harris were American). However, according to Aston and Burnard (1998:38) many conversations with unknown speakers were included in the BNC corpus and many texts within it had inaccurate metadata recorded and therefore it cannot be guaranteed to feature only native speakers of British English. In addition, according to Burnard (2016) the majority of texts in the written part of the BNC are published texts and periodicals and are therefore unlikely to contain informal language which would have been more ideal to compare personal diaries to. More informal conversational English was included in the spoken portion of the BNC, but this only made up 10% of the corpus (Aston and Burnard 1998:31). Other limitations such as the lack of finer grained categorisations of text types (Lee 2001) and errors in transcription, were improved extensively for the BNC XML Edition used in this study (Burnard 2016).

Finding a suitable reference corpus is difficult and, according to Culpeper (2009:34), ‘there is no magic formula’. This is also acknowledged by Scott (2009) who subsequently suggests that finding the perfect corpus is not actually necessary. His 2009 study attempted to find a poor reference corpus of general English usage by creating keyword lists with corpora that varied slightly in length or composition and found that similar keyword results were found with each one. However, Scott and Tribble (2006) also experiment with different reference corpora in their study of *Romeo and Juliet* and find that the composition of the reference corpus does make some differences to the keywords generated, but that these are small. McEnery (2016:20) also highlights the need to be aware of the effect on keywords of using a reference corpus of a different register to the focus corpus. The BNC is a multi-genre corpus, and it needs to be borne in mind that some keywords may be generated as a result of the fact that the corpus is not compiled only of pre-crime narratives or journals. Equally, if a corpus of pre-crime journals was used, there may be keywords not generated that would in fact have given us useful information about the style of the specific texts written by Klebold and Harris.

Being aware of the potential impact of the choice of reference corpus is key. The COCA corpus (Davies 2008) and the AME06 (Potts and Baker 2012) were both considered for this because Klebold and Harris were American and therefore an American English reference corpus would have been the most suitable. However, the AME06 only includes texts that have been published and this therefore limits the genres within it and is not contemporaneous with the Columbine texts. The COCA corpus does have a wider range of genres and spans the years 1990-2019; however, aside from obtaining a word frequency list to use in other software, it can only be accessed through its own interface and so could not be used effectively in other tools

to compare, for example, multi-word expressions or key terminology. The choice to use a corpus of general English usage rather than a more specific corpus of narrative was made because although narrative corpora do exist (e.g. Ruhleman & O'Donnell 2012 created a narrative corpus from the BNC) the narratives in this corpus of pre-crime narratives are not always neatly or predictably structured. They often emerge from within other types of text or do not fit the traditional definition of a narrative and are formulated 'in situ' (See Chapter 2 for a discussion of 'small story' narratives).

In addition to the use of a reference corpus, when analysing the data, it was sometimes necessary to consult large corpora of general English in order to check the current usage of a word (its semantic, syntactic and grammatical behaviour across a variety of contexts and time periods) in order to compare this to its usage in a perpetrator's texts. The COCA corpus and the enTenTen15 (Jakubicek et al. 2013) corpus were used for this purpose because they both cover a wide range of contexts and genres and are large enough (the enTenTen15 has 13 billion words and the COCA corpus has over one billion words) to provide a broad picture of a word's usage. The enTenTen15 does not cover as broad a time period as the COCA corpus (which has texts from 1990-2019), but has the advantage that it can be accessed through SketchEngine, which provides detailed information about semantic, grammatical and syntactic usage. Bearing this in mind, both corpora were used for this purpose in order to triangulate findings in relation to usage.

3.5.3 A discussion of keyness

Key item analysis (the analysis of which items are unusually frequent or infrequent in a text in comparison to a reference corpus [Scott 1997:236]) has been usefully employed in numerous corpus studies to allow patterns to emerge in the data (Fischer-Starcke 2009; McEnery 2009), but is often used as the first step in analysing the data, rather than the only step. Stubbs (2005) stresses the importance of combining keywords with additional analysis, and Hunston (2002:68) describes keyness analysis as a 'useful starting point'. According to Baker (2004:347) keywords 'direct the researcher to important concepts in a text (in relation to other texts)' and act as 'signposts to ...underlying discourses' (Baker 2009:130) that need further investigation once identified. However, issues have been raised in relation to the keyness approach and these will be discussed below before explaining how these limitations have been addressed in this study.

Perhaps the most widely discussed limitation of key item analysis is that it tends to be oriented toward the study of difference. Taylor (2013:83) draws our attention to the fact that

many tools used in corpus analysis focus on difference and create a ‘blind spot’ in the analysis. Taylor (2018:21) suggests addressing this by looking at similarity to ensure that the researcher is ‘looking in both directions’. She demonstrates this through a study of the consistent collocates of the term ‘refugees’ in newspaper articles and parliamentary debates, and also outlines existing tools that may assist the researcher in ensuring that similarity is also examined. These include the use of Sketch Difference (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) to compare collocates of different words, the creation of consistency lists, and key keywords (both of which provide information relating to words that are used with similar frequencies in different sections of a corpus) in WordSmith tools, to look at similarities between texts, and the generation of ‘lockwords’ (a term suggested and exemplified by Baker [2011:66] in his study of consistent words across time periods). Corpus analysis tools are beginning to include more functions that enable the researcher to focus on similarity as well as difference, but Taylor (2018:22) argues that the popularity of keyness analysis and the focus on difference in many of these tools means that research has tended to include similarity less frequently and is attempting to redress the balance. Baker (2004:349) also proposes that when two corpora are being compared the introduction of a third reference corpus will highlight similarities in the original two corpora’s keyword lists. This final suggestion by Baker was employed in this study to ensure that similarity was included and was applied through the comparison of each section of a perpetrator’s corpus with the perpetrator’s text as a whole, which meant that the keywords for two individual sections of a corpus as compared to the whole text could be analysed in terms of similarity and difference.

In a related way, Partington (2014) highlights that while there is a tendency in corpus studies to focus on what is present in a text rather than what is absent, the study of absence can be incorporated in keyness analysis. Duguid and Partington (2018) demonstrate the use of corpus analysis to reveal absence as well as presence and highlight the importance of considering whether or not an absence is meaningful. The corpus analysis in the present study ensures that not only negative keywords (words that are unusually infrequent) are included in keyword lists, but also words that are absent in one corpus but not in another. It should be noted that not all corpus tools automatically include words that are absent in their negative keyword lists. It is possible in some tools to manipulate settings so that these are included (e.g. by changing zeros for absent words to very low numbers below 1), but in WordSmith Tools it was necessary to generate a list of absent words separately by carrying out keyness analysis in two directions. This was because the keyword tool only picked up words that were present in the corpus under analysis and absent in the reference corpus, but not present in the reference corpus

and absent in the corpus under analysis. An additional step was therefore added to elicit absent keywords in each section of the text by swapping the reference corpus for the section under analysis and running the keyness analysis a second time.

Other limitations of keyword analysis include keywords resulting in a focus on lexical rather than function words (Rayson 2008). However, this can be addressed by looking at clusters of words (Baker 2004) or phrase frames, which are clusters that are identical except for one word (Fletcher 2021), and by ensuring that any analysis of keyword lists includes function words that emerge in them, besides exploring the grammatical context surrounding keywords (both of which were employed in this study). Several researchers (Baker 2009; Rayson 2008) also point out that words that are infrequent and do not emerge in keyword lists alone, but would do if they were grouped semantically with other words on a similar theme, may be missed from the analysis. One approach to this is to combine keyword analysis with key concept analysis, which would involve grouping words semantically and then calculating which semantic groups are key in comparison to a reference corpus. This approach is possible using the tool WMatrix (Rayson 2008) and has the advantage that all words are tagged and then grouped semantically and so the resulting keyness lists include all words in the text but clustered according to key concepts. Archer et al. (2009:138) point out that this allows words that are only key when considered with other semantically similar words to be included. There are many examples of work in which this approach has been effective (e.g. Prentice et al. 2012) and it seems to be particularly useful in the analysis of metaphor (Archer et al. 2009; Semino et al. 2018). Culpeper (2009) also combines keyword analysis with key domain analysis and key part of speech analysis using WMatrix and concludes that the addition of semantic tagging can allow additional lexical patterns to emerge that might not be picked up in a keyword analysis alone. However, Baker et al. (2020:1) suggest that where specialised corpora are being analysed the ‘surface level meaning’ identified by WMatrix is less suitable than developing categories based on the data. They also query the accuracy of automatic tagging. According to Rayson (2008), the semantic tagger on WMatrix is only 91% accurate and, in addition to this, many words in the data involved in this study were marked as unknown by the tool. For example, 753 words (0.9%) in Breivik’s text were not recognised and therefore this may have meant that important patterns were missed. Although this may seem like a small percentage, many of the words that were not picked up were relevant to the analysis (e.g. *zombie*, *warcraft*, *multiculturalist*, *massacring*, *justiciar*, *sub-human*). Removing hyphens from the document and reformatting apostrophes did reduce the number of unrecognised words slightly, and there is an option in WMatrix to create a tailored dictionary to enhance the tagging process. However,

given the number of words that were unmatched by WMatrix, this would have become too onerous and would have meant that the tagging for key semantic domains for the new dictionary was potentially not done as consistently as the rest of the text because it would have been done manually by the researcher rather than automatically by WMatrix.

Another solution to the issue of not wanting to exclude less frequent keywords is the approach to downsampling suggested by Gabrielatos (2018). This involves the creation of Candidate Key Items (CKI's) that include items that are low in frequency and those that have a zero frequency in the reference corpus and then making these more manageable for analysis by conducting hierarchical cluster analysis to create clusters of words with similar effect size values rather than using arbitrary cut offs to reduce the number of words under consideration. Gabrielatos (2018) argues that many decisions relating to downsampling are arbitrary and often mean that keywords that are only slightly below a certain threshold are left out of the analysis. Baker (2009) also suggests using higher p-values to generate a longer list of keywords and to then look for connections between them. He further suggests combining the frequencies of words that are similar in meaning and recalculating log likelihood values.

The cluster analysis suggested by Gabrielatos (2018) is recommended where a large number of CKIs are generated, but he suggests another approach for cases where a smaller number of CKIs has been generated. This involves filtering out words that have an approximate Bayes Factor or Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) score of less than two in which keywords are sorted by effect size (a measure of the size of the frequency difference between two corpora), and this has been employed in this study using Log Ratio (Hardie 2014) as a measure of effect size. Gabrielatos (2018:231) argues that statistical measures of significance alone are 'not an appropriate metric for keyness' because they tend to be less accurate with larger corpora and higher frequency words. As a result of this he concludes that key item analyses should combine two measures of keyness (in the case of this study, BIC scores and Log Ratio), because these measure both the amount of evidence available against the null hypothesis (a BIC score of 2 indicates positive evidence against the null hypothesis [Gabrielatos 2018:240]) and the strength of the difference that we have found (Log Ratio).

Finally, there are concerns that a keyword search does not differentiate between different senses of a word and therefore a word may only be key because more than one sense has been conflated in the calculations (Baker 2004). In addition, some words may emerge in keyword lists but only occur in certain parts of the text (Baker 2004). This can be overcome by using dispersion plots showing the distribution of words within a text, although there are issues with ensuring that such plots are interpreted effectively because text lengths tend to be

normalised in the plots and this alters the way in which the dispersion is represented (Anthony 2018:213). Another option is to look at key keywords to see how keywords are distributed across a corpus (possible in WordSmith Tools). In this study, concordance lines were carefully studied to check the meaning of each keyword and the extent to which each sense of the word was used.

In reality, it is rare for key item analysis to be used alone without the results leading on to other types of analysis. Once keyword lists have been generated, it is necessary to then look at themes that connect these keywords, and delve into the context surrounding such words by expanding concordances and analysing and examining the textual context around the keywords to analyse their semantic preference ('the collocation of a lexical item with items from a specific...semantic sub-set' [Bednarek 2008:219]) and semantic prosody (defined as both 'the implied attitudinal meaning of a word' and the 'discourse function of a unit of meaning'[Hunston 2007:249], and discussed in more detail in Section 3.6.2). The way in which this was systematically carried out in this study will be discussed in below.

3.6 Analytical stages

3.6.1 Framing the analysis

As introduced in Chapter 1, this study aimed to answer the following three research questions:

1. How is moral agency linguistically expressed in a corpus of pre-crime narratives written by mass shooters?
2. How do the perpetrators linguistically navigate their moral agency over time?
3. What categories of moral agency emerge from these diachronic patterns and how do these relate to the overarching themes of responsibility, desistance and the power of narrative to affect action?

In order to answer all three of these questions, the corpora were analysed diachronically using the following subquestions from Bamberg's (2012) identity framework for each section of each perpetrator's texts.

- a) Do they present themselves as victims or able to influence the world? (Chapter 4)
- b) How do the perpetrators position themselves in relation to others (including the reader/audience)? (Chapter 5)

- c) How do they position themselves in relation to their past and future selves?
(Chapter 6)

A detailed discussion of Bamberg's framework outlining the way in which identity is constructed in narratives through the navigation of these three dilemmas can be found in Chapter 2. The framework has been applied effectively to forensic settings previously (see Heffer [2012] and Brookman [2016]), and while Bamberg proposes that the framework should be primarily applied to oral interactions in which narratives emerge, the narratives in this study are still unelicited, and are not neat and coherent. They describe ongoing, future and hypothetical events and so can still be said to involve identities that are under construction, and to some extent these pre-crime texts are also a response to past and future addressees (see Bakhtin 1986) and so can still be said to be the 'small stories' (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008) for which Bamberg intended it to be used.

Alternatives to Bamberg's framework were considered as possibilities on which to base this analysis. Deppermann (2013) points out that Membership Categorisation analysis (Sacks 2010 [1964]) goes some way towards looking at positioning, but only in terms of the sameness/difference dimension; consequently, Deppermann instead applies Bamberg's model as a more comprehensive framework. Other possibilities included van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor and social action frameworks (discussed in Chapter 2), but while some elements of these frameworks, particularly those relating to agency, are useful, they are used to examine social practices and how they are reconstructed in discourse in a way that reinforces power relations, rather than being related to the way in which individuals construct their own identities by describing their actions. Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) model of identity may also have partially achieved the aims of this study, but while indexicality and agency form part of their model, Bamberg's framework has a greater focus on narrative and agency and so was more suitable for the specific research questions of this study given the focus on moral agency and how it is navigated in narrative. In addition, with regard to the positioning of the self in relation to others, Bucholtz and Hall (2005:598) move the focus away from sameness and difference and towards genuineness and artifice, authority and delegitimacy. The way in which offenders see themselves as the same or different to others has been widely claimed in the literature (see Chapter 2) as being integral to their sense of moral agency and so the reduced focus on this in Bucholtz and Hall's model means that Bamberg's model was more suitable for this particular study. Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005) has also been applied to texts written before crimes (Gales 2011) to examine the way in which authors position themselves, but this

approach involves applying a fine-grained framework for analysis which is not suitable for looking at large quantities of text diachronically and which may constrain the analysis because it uses pre-established labels.

Finally, while not a framework, Tausczik and Pennebaker's (2010) Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) analysis tool was briefly considered for use because it combines theory and analysis by applying psychological categories to groups of words, and may have provided an insight into linguistic manifestations of psychological patterns in the texts of these perpetrators. However, while evidence is provided from the literature of the links between certain linguistic features and certain psychological states, by Tausczik and Pennebaker's (2010:30) own admission, such automatic tools are 'crude' and should be treated with caution. The automatic categorisation of words in their tool into certain categories isolates each word from its context and does not take into account the way in which the word is being used in a particular text and the way in which meaning is built up over a wider co-text rather than residing within an individual word (Sinclair 2004). Bamberg's (2012) model combines all of the different elements of the research question that are inextricably linked (identity, narrative, and agency) in a way that reflects the focus on moral agency in this study and is a broad enough framework that fine-grained and pre-decided categories will not constrain the analysis in terms of what emerges from the data and means that large quantities of text can be analysed.

In addition to Bamberg's framework, existing knowledge from the literature (discussed in Chapter 2) regarding criminological and sociological theories relating to how people present acts of harm (e.g. neutralisation, moral disengagement, narrative criminology), besides linguistic features suggested as potentially fruitful areas to consider in relation to agency (e.g. transitivity, nominalisation, pronouns) all influenced the analysis, and this influence will be discussed further in subsequent chapters (4, 5 and 6). However, it was also hoped that new insights would be found in relation to these areas and that this study would also add to and expand on the existing literature. Before embarking on the corpus analysis, all of the texts were read by the researcher in order to gain an initial impression of them (as suggested by McIntyre and Walker [2019:119]) and to develop the following stages of analysis according to potential areas relevant to Bamberg's framework.

3.6.2 Analysis stage 1: Diachronic analysis of language used to describe position in relation to the world and to other people

Subquestions a and b were answered using the procedure outlined in Figure 3.2. Firstly, each subsection of a perpetrator's text was compared with a reference corpus constructed of all other

sections of the text minus the one under analysis (see Figure 3.1). Positive and negative keywords were then calculated using WordSmith Tools and these were downsampled using a BIC score of >2 and then placed in descending order of effect size using Log Ratio (Hardie 2014) for the reasons discussed in the Section 3.4.3 above. It should be noted that in the case of Klebold and Harris, SketchEngine was used instead of WordSmith Tools, because of the integration of the former with the BNC (XML) which, for reasons explained above, was used as a reference corpus instead of the perpetrators' whole texts. This meant that 'Simple Maths' scores (Kilgarriff 2009) were applied (discussed below) rather than BIC scores. In addition, once patterns had been identified in the keyness analysis, these patterns were examined diachronically by coding the texts with these patterns on NVivo.

The keywords generated for each perpetrator were then categorised according to those that were used to describe the crime (to answer subquestion a) and those that were used to describe people (to answer subquestion b). The decision to categorise the keywords in this way was made after reading the texts through to become familiar with themes that were recurring in them and by looking at the lists of keywords to see what themes were emerging that would assist with answering the research question. Decisions around which words were being used to describe the crime and which were being used to describe people were sometimes complex and had to be made by studying the context of each word to see how it was being used. This will be explained in more detail in each analysis chapter.

The next step was to examine how the keywords identified in the steps above were being used by the perpetrators and to analyse concordances for these keywords using a technique proposed by Sinclair (1999; 2003) which involves looking at a manageably sized random sample of concordances for a particular word, sorting words alphabetically to the right or left (depending on the word in question), noting any patterns, and forming hypotheses before moving onto the next random sample. This is repeated with further random samples until new patterns are no longer yielded. Although many researchers do not explicitly state how they sample concordance lines or work through large numbers of them to form hypotheses, this approach is used by Hunston (2002), Baker et al. (2013b) and Wright and Brookes (2019). Hunston (2002) emphasises the need to be careful not to disregard those concordances that disprove the hypothesis and to be cautious about assuming a link between a pattern and what it tells us about the world. Instances of words that were not relevant were discarded (e.g. *May* for the month of May rather than a modal). Concordance lines were also sorted to the left and right depending on the node word in order to allow new patterns to emerge (Baker 2006), and were then sorted diachronically to see how the word occurred through a particular section of

the text. In order to do this, it was usually necessary to expand the concordance lines to examine the context around a word to ascertain how it was being used. This became a useful way to locate sections in the text where the crime or the people affected by it were discussed and the words that were used to describe it, rather than only looking at the word that had arisen in the keyword analysis. Rather than specifying exact parameters in advance for expanding concordance lines by a certain number of characters, they were expanded until the way in which a word was being used was clear, and this varied depending on the node word being investigated.

The co-text of each word was analysed to manually search for patterns of collocation, semantic preference and semantic prosody to search beyond the word for its meaning and purpose in the text. Louw (1993:157) describes semantic prosody as ‘a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates’. Rather than merely looking at the connotations of a word, which Partington (2004:131) describes as having ‘obvious in-built favourable or unfavourable speaker evaluation’, semantic prosody relates to the evaluative sense of a word that is less accessible to reader intuition and cannot be ‘retrieved reliably through introspection’ (Louw 1993:30) and which is made more retrievable by looking at the surrounding context of a word and the way in which it is used. Different interpretations of some elements of semantic prosody exist in the field of corpus linguistics. There is agreement that prosody is different to preference in that prosody relates to evaluation, and preference relates to the semantic field of the words that a node prefers to co-occur with (Hunston 2007:266). However, whether semantic prosody is simplified in a binary way (Louw 1993) or is more broadly attitudinal (Sinclair 2004:34; Hunston 2007) is debated, as is Louw’s (1993) assertion (in his use of the word ‘consistent’ above) that semantic prosody belongs to the word and is therefore transferable across different texts. Hunston (2007:261) asserts that prosody can be specific to particular registers or even individual texts and gives the example of the word ‘cause’ only being used negatively when it refers to the actions of people rather than always having a negative semantic prosody with which it is endowed, and which applies in all cases. According to Hunston, semantic prosody can be ‘observed’ and used to explain reactions to certain words in particular contexts rather than being used to ‘predict’ the evaluative qualities of a word. Finally, whether a word is only imbued with meaning by its collocates or by a wider unit of meaning that includes semantic preference, semantic preference, colligation and collocation (as exemplified by Sinclair [2004]) is also debated. Stubbs (2007:179) uses the term ‘discourse prosody’ rather than ‘semantic prosody’ to account for prosody that can be found in a wider co-text rather than only in the collocates of a word. However, McEnery and Hardie

(2012:138) point out that although the term discourse prosody has been adopted in some studies (e.g. Baker et al. 2008), the term semantic prosody is still the term that is predominantly used to apply to all of these interpretations of it. Having examined the various debates, this study uses the term ‘semantic prosody’ broadly to mean attitudinal qualities of words (not limited to negative or positive evaluation), that are created through collocates *or* built up through the wider co-text surrounding a word. Hunston’s (2007:261) suggested ‘observation’ and ‘explanation’ application of semantic prosody is applied to these particular texts, to ascertain how words are being used by these individuals rather than seeing it as something that is only built up over time in numerous texts in a way that is predictive.

In addition to searching concordance lines manually for collocations, collocates were also examined using a word association measure. Collocates are words that regularly co-occur (Baker 2006:96) and word association measures can be used to look at the strength and confidence we can have in the relationship between words (Baker 2016:142). Brezina (2018) points out that different collocation measures create different results, as do the other parameters involved in statistical collocation analysis such as the collocation window used (span), the minimum word frequency applied, and the minimum word length of collocates included. In this study these are clearly stated where collocation analysis is carried out. Brezina (2018:67) also highlights that because word association measures will elicit different lists of collocates, the measure used should be carefully chosen based on the focus and aims of the research being undertaken. In this study, Mutual Information (MI) scores are used as a measure which calculates the ‘strength of collocation’ (Hunston 2007:71) by comparing the number of times that two words co-occur in a text with the number of times they are expected to co-occur based on corpus size and their relative frequencies. This measure was chosen firstly because it measures the strength of collocation rather than hypothesis testing (the validity and usefulness of which is questioned by Durrant and Doherty [2010:131] and is strongly advised against by Brezina [2018a: 273]). Another reason for choosing this word association measure is the fact that MI scores are more likely to enable lexical items to emerge, and although this study also considers grammatical and syntactic patterns, the points at which collocations are examined are predominantly in relation to lexical choices following or preceding particular node words. In addition, Baker (2016:142) point out that MI scores favour low frequency collocates and Brezina (2018a:274) describes the collocates it elicits as ‘rare and unique’. While more frequent collocates might be more visible in the manual analysis of concordance lines, unique and exclusive relationships may not be, and this study has tried not to exclude lower frequency items at all stages of the analysis, because of the links that may be made when words or phrases

or relationships that are low frequency are salient when grouped together with other semantically related items.

Only those collocates with an MI score of greater than three were included as this is an indication of a strong collocate (Hunston 2002). Durrant and Doherty (2010) conduct experiments studying the link between psychological priming (where ‘recognition of a word is facilitated by its preceding context’ [Durrant and Doherty 2010:128]) and collocations and suggest that only those collocates with MI scores greater than six are likely to indicate that the relationships between these words are psychologically real, and higher scores have begun to be adopted in recent corpus linguistic studies (e.g. Baker 2016; Heritage and Baker 2021). However, Durrant and Doherty's (2010) study looks at collocates in relation to identifying those that may be useful for learners of English to learn and so look at collocates that are more widely used than in just one text in the case of one individual writer. They are concerned with priming that may exist in relation to common collocates in English rather than in one deviant text. They also highlight that their study only looks at one approach to testing whether a collocation is ‘psychologically real’ (Durrant and Doherty 2010: 146) and that their research is based on an artificial test for priming rather than it being tested in the real world. For these reasons, a score of more than three was used in this study.

In terms of the span being chosen, this depended on the focus of the collocational analysis being undertaken. A span of $n-5$ (five words to the left of the node) and $n+5$ (five words to the right of the node) was used as suggested by Brezina (2018a: 273). Baker et al. (2013a: 36) also apply this span on the basis that it provides a good balance between eliciting enough words to analyse and allowing those with a strong relationship to emerge. However, McEnery and Hardie (2012), and Brezina (2018a) also point out that more tailored spans can be used for individual searches where specific syntactic structures are being analysed, and this proved to be a particularly useful technique to use in this study when analysing collocates in specific positions where focused information concerning words in particular positions was sought. For example, in the case of Rodger, verbs to the right of *will* ($n+1$) were examined in order to look at future intended actions.

3.6.3 Analysis Stage 2: Positioning in relation to the self

To answer subquestion c, relating to the third dimension of Bamberg’s framework (how they position themselves in relation to their past and future selves) the keyness tool on Sketch Engine allowed an additional element to be added to the analysis in the form of its Terminology Extraction tool (see Figure 3.2). This tool enables key noun phrases to emerge from the data

and it was here that patterns emerged in relation to how the perpetrators positioned themselves in relation to their past, present and future selves because it revealed the labels that they used to describe themselves.

While it would have been possible to analyse key clusters in WordSmith Tools, the Sketch Engine Terminology Extraction Tool is particularly adept at retrieving noun phrases that have structures that are more likely to reveal terminology (SketchEngine identifies key multi-word expressions based on the following patterns [N= noun, J = adjective]: N+N, N of N, J+N, J+J+N, J+N of N, J+N of J+N.), and uses ‘Simple Maths’ scores (Kilgarriff 2009). These scores are achieved by calculating the difference in frequency of a word between a target corpus and a reference corpus to generate a ratio representing the size of the difference, and also use an additional parameter (N=1, where N is the number added to the frequency of a word in a corpus), which can be varied depending on the researcher’s focus on rarer words or more frequent words. In the case of this study, N+1 was chosen because it allowed less frequent words that were still key to emerge that may be part of wider semantic patterns when grouped with other words. Kilgarriff argues that significance measures are not appropriate for the calculation of keyness because they test a null hypothesis which does not apply to language usage (Kilgarriff 2005) and instead recommends a Simple Maths score of >1 for positive key items. When this measure was applied to the data, patterns emerged in relation to phrases that the perpetrators used to describe themselves and this provided information concerning how they labelled themselves in the past and the future, but also in the present, and how this changed over time (the rationale for this focus on self-labelling will be discussed in more detailed in Chapter 6). As with the keyword analysis in stage 1, once the list of key terminology was created, these noun phrases were then analysed through the inspection of concordance lines and by expanding these concordance lines to look at the surrounding co-text for each of them to search for the meaning behind each label that they used for themselves. The final step in the analysis was the development of a taxonomy of moral agency that incorporated the patterns identified in relation to subquestions a, b and c and which described the way in which the perpetrators navigate their moral agency in their texts.

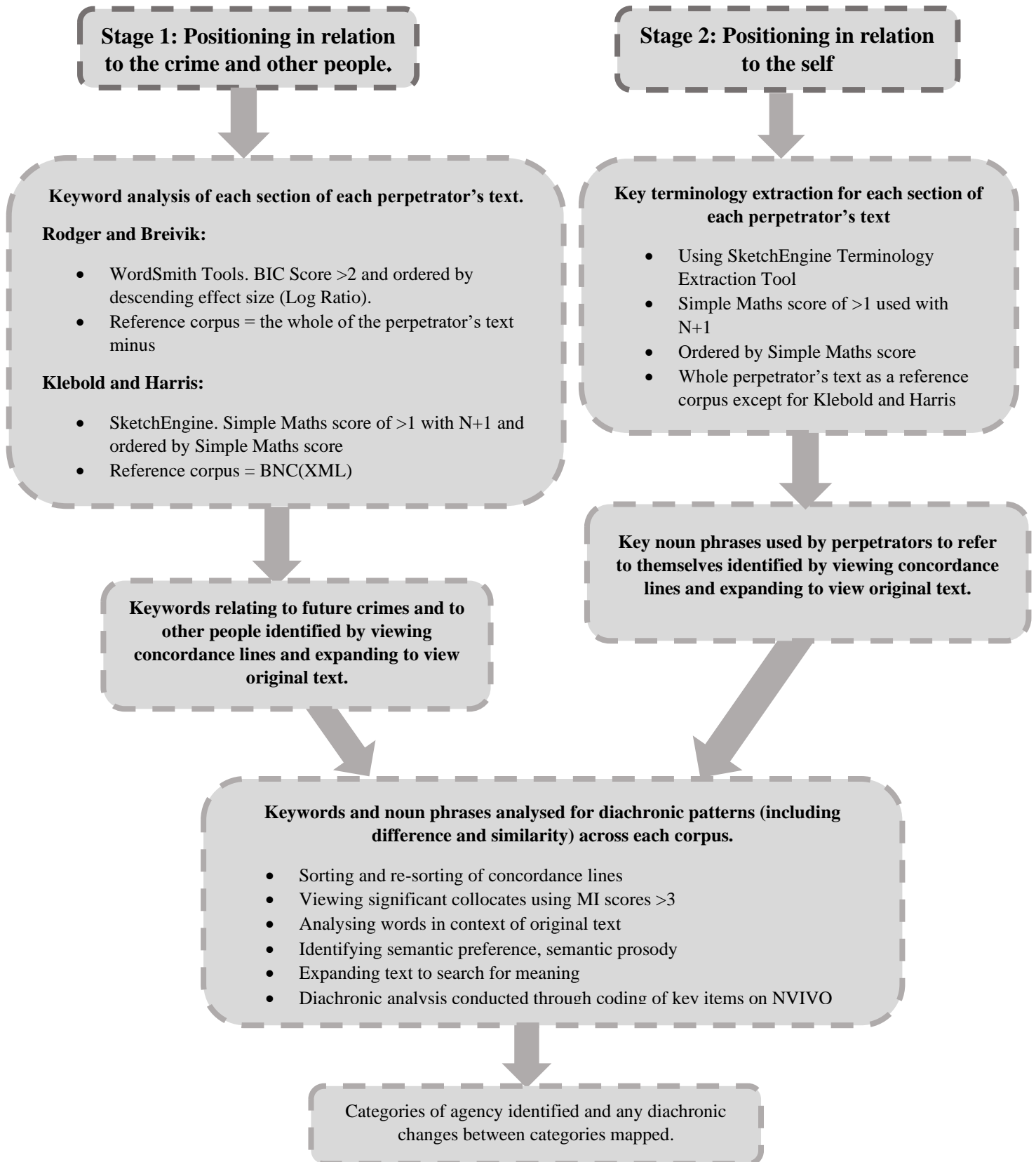


Figure 3.2 Analysis flow chart

3.7 Ethics & Copyright

3.7.1 Ethical Issues

The nature of the crimes that these texts are associated with meant that it was necessary to consider a range of ethical issues while conducting this research, and to ensure that these were carefully considered when designing the research and seeking ethical clearance from Cardiff University. These issues related to risks to the researcher, risks to those being exposed to the research and consideration of the potential impact of the work on those involved in the attacks.

Firstly, the texts included in the corpus describe violent crimes and severe mental angst, and therefore expose the researcher to potentially traumatic content. The Ethical Guidelines of the Association of Internet Researchers (Franzke et al. 2020) highlight the issue of researcher safety as a result of exposure to difficult materials, and Williamson et al. (2020) highlight the danger of researchers experiencing secondary trauma as a result of this and advocate that steps are taken to mitigate the impact of this. These steps include incorporating protocols to deal with the impact of sensitive data on the researcher into ethics procedures and policies at research institutions and putting additional support and coping strategies in place. For example, it may be helpful to view exposure to these sensitive texts or data as ‘a toxic substance that has a dose dependent effect’ and to reduce unnecessary or prolonged exposure by limiting the length of time spent looking at such data in one session and taking regular breaks (The Dart Center 2014). Ostrowski (2019) also suggests that researchers conduct checks on their own resilience before embarking on research and that counselling or psychological monitoring should be put in place (whether formally through official channels or by monitoring each other where a research team is involved).

Overall, there is a wealth of research into the potential impact of research on participants (e.g. Decker et al. 2011; Draucker et al. 2009), but very little on the impact on the researcher, and when this study commenced, ethics procedures and university policies did not include a specific consideration of this; but this has now changed. The Researcher Security, Safety and Resilience Project (The REASSURE Project 2021) is a widescale study into the effect of traumatic content on researchers, with the intention of creating a Charter for Researcher Ethics and Safety (CARES). In addition, ethics processes and policies at higher education institutions are now starting to include questions relating to the type of material being analysed and its impact on the researcher. Attention in research institutions has also begun to focus on ensuring that researchers are protected from legal issues such as the dissemination of terrorist materials, checking the risk that a researcher could be drawn into terrorist activity, and

having a duty of care to protect the researcher from this risk, besides the development of policies stipulating that such research is registered centrally in an institution so that in the event that a researcher's web activity is flagged up to authorities a university can support them in an effective and timely way (Cardiff University Security Sensitive Research Policy 2018). The acknowledgement that trauma may result from such research may also encourage researchers to seek help where they may not have done before for fear of being seen as incompetent or unable to cope (Williamson et al. 2020:62). Were this study to start now, more structured support would have been put in place in the form of resilience checks, risk assessments, and formal and regular discussions with trained counsellors as a matter of course. Instead, informal mechanisms were put in place such as learning about resilience and ways to increase it (advocated by Ostrowski 2019). Advice was also sought from more experienced colleagues working with similarly sensitive data to explore the kind of response a researcher might have to such data and at what stages in the research this would be more likely. Regular discussions also took place with colleagues conducting similar research with the purpose of discussing our responses to the data, sharing coping strategies and monitoring each other's wellbeing (as suggested by Ostrowski 2019). Access to counselling was available where needed, and once the documents under analysis were downloaded, online searching was conducted on equipment provided by Cardiff University (suggested by BAAL [2021] to protect the researcher's IP address) and was kept to a minimum once documents had been downloaded and added to the corpus.

In fact, there is a risk of secondary trauma to anyone reading the data involved in this study, not only the researcher. Many of the texts are widely available on the Internet and this availability may be considered surprising given the evidence that others may copy the perpetrators (see Chapter 2), but it is very difficult to prevent dissemination once the texts have been initially published. In addition, it is illegal to distribute extremist material under the Terrorist Act 2006 and the Public Order Act 1986 (Commission for Countering Terrorism 2021) if the purpose is to encourage others or incite hatred. Therefore, the decision to analyse this data and potentially publish excerpts from it bears with it some responsibility for not perpetuating the attackers' desire to spread their ideology, instigate other attacks or play any part in disseminating material that incites violence. For this reason, it was important to only select extracts that supported the points being made when disseminating the research and to avoid the unnecessary sharing of unpleasant sections of the texts. Markham and Buchanan (2012) suggest that dissemination of research should be assessed for whether or not it causes harm, and one way of mitigating harm may be to give trigger warnings before work is presented

(BAAL 2021). McEnery and Hardie (2012: 58-59) strongly assert that all corpora should be widely available in order that research can be replicated and see this as ‘an ethical imperative for the researcher’. However, in this case making the corpora available to other researchers seemed to be a way of redistributing the words of the perpetrators, and in light of the decision to limit dissemination of the documents themselves the documents have not been included in the Appendix. Nevertheless, all of the documents are available on the Internet if a researcher wanted to create their own corpus and replicate the study and links to these can be found in the reference list.

Dissemination of extracts from the data also required anonymization of those mentioned in the texts. Du Bois et al. (1993) suggest using pseudonyms in order to ensure the privacy of those mentioned, particularly if extracts are to be presented publicly. It would have been ineffectual to anonymise the perpetrators because all of the cases are high-profile, but any other names occurring in the data (e.g. of victims or family members) and any other information that would identify them (as suggested by McEnery and Hardie 2012:62) was replaced in order to protect the victims and their families, and the family and friends of the perpetrators. Adolphs and Knight (2022:27) point out that anonymisation may be unnecessary if sources are in the public domain, but it seemed unethical to make this information even more accessible than it already was. Rock (2001) also highlights arguments that anonymisation may mean that the data is skewed in some way because it has been altered, and that attention needs to be paid to over anonymisation as well as under anonymisation. With all of this in mind, the approach taken in this study was to anonymise at the point of writing and dissemination only. While data in the appendices are not anonymised, wherever a name emerges in concordance lines, key word lists, or quotations from the texts in the main body of the thesis, these have been anonymised.

Finally, it was necessary to refer to the perpetrators carefully. While not wishing to allow my own feelings towards the perpetrators to influence my research, Rüdiger and Dayter (2017) argue that the way in which we react emotionally to the people we are researching is something that we ‘habitually crop from the picture’, and that it is important to acknowledge the way in which our reactions may alter the argument that we construct in our research and the lens through which we view the data. Rüdiger and Dayter (2017) suggest finding a balance between not judging and stigmatising ‘unlikeable’ subjects in our research but still acknowledging the criminality of what they have done and our own reactions to the data and the perpetrators, in order that we can then be aware of their influence on our interpretation of the data and be more open to other possible lenses through which it could be viewed. One example of how this works in practice is to be aware of the terms that are used to describe the

perpetrators and acknowledge underlying discourses that may be present. The decision to avoid the term *lone wolf* because of its mythical and powerful connotations is discussed in Chapter 2.

3.7.2 Copyright

The law concerning copyright and Internet data is far from clear, and although guidance concerning this does exist (BAAL 2021; Markham and Buchanan 2012), it mostly focuses on the use of data from social networking sites. McEnery and Hardie (2012:59) suggest that texts retrieved from the Internet should be treated in the same way as any other text and that copyright should be sought where texts are to be distributed as part of a corpus. However, Hawtin (2018: 224) suggests that although this may be best practice ethically, it may in fact not be legally necessary. Whether or not something is in the public domain is seen as indicative of whether it can be legally used, but there are grey areas relating to this in the form of what people originally intended their online contributions to be used for and therefore the original purpose of the text is relevant. All of the texts used in this study are in the public domain and are widely available on the Internet in a range of different formats and on many websites, having been distributed by the authors themselves (with the exception of the Columbine diaries which have been made accessible by the Jefferson County Sheriff's Office and are now available on numerous websites [e.g. Cullen 2019]). This corpus will not be distributed but used for the sole purpose of this study and therefore acknowledging the source of the documents written by the perpetrator as would be the case with any other document was sufficient. However, where the copyright holder could be identified then permission to use a text was obtained. For example, the Columbine texts had been transcribed and annotated from handwritten journals by Langman (2017) and permission was sought and granted for these transcribed versions to be used in this study. In the analysis, only small extracts were presented, and this was partly to comply with fair use laws (Weisser 2016:33) but also to ensure that I am not redistributing material that may incite violence or encourage extremism as discussed above.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methods used in this study, in relation to the choice of texts, the construction and division of the corpora, the corpus tools used, and the process of analysis: from examining key items, to examining the text qualitatively. The rationale and existing research behind the decisions made in relation to all of these elements has also been discussed, as have the unique ethical issues that had to be considered when undertaking the study. The

following three chapters will present and discuss the results of this analysis in relation to the three elements of Bamberg's framework, beginning with the way in which the perpetrators position themselves in relation to their crimes as victims or as able to act on the world.

Chapter 4: Repackaging Harm

4.1 Introduction

The description of harm in ways that legitimise, motivate, and blur or reconstrue the detail of suffering enables the perpetrator to avoid taking responsibility for that harm (Cohen 2001). The suffering is *repackaged* by being minimised, or described in terms of something else more acceptable, mundane, or so systematic that the agent is difficult to locate. The subconscious or conscious use of such repackaging before harm takes place, besides potentially motivating offenders to commit the crime being described, gives us an insight into an offender's moral evaluation of his or her future actions and the extent to which they take responsibility for what they are planning to do. The third dimension of Bamberg's framework is particularly relevant here, because it relates to the extent to which the perpetrators position themselves as 'undergoers' or as 'agentive self-constructors' (Bamberg 2012:106). In this chapter, the way in which Rodger and Breivik describe the harm they intend to inflict on others will be analysed in terms of how they position themselves in relation to it, to what extent they repackage it, and what this may indicate relating to their sense of moral agency and how it changes over time. Firstly, the analysis will be contextualised through a discussion of key literature relating to the reconstrual of harm, and then the results of the analysis will be described and discussed in terms of *overpackaging* (reconstruing something in a way that makes something seem larger or more valuable than it is and hides the true nature of something) in Rodger's autobiography, and *repackaging* in Breivik's 'compendium'.

4.2 Contextualising the analysis

The portrayal of harm as less serious and those who inflict harm as less culpable than they are in reality is key to legitimising and justifying criminal acts to others. Conscious or subconscious reconstrual of harm may also play a key role in enabling offenders to convince themselves that their actions are acceptable and are in line with their own moral code (Bandura et al., 1996). O'Connor (2000: 42) notes that criminals may describe their past offences using language that is grammatically active but semantically passive (e.g. 'I caught a murder charge') in order to reconstrue the crime as something that they were unable to control and to deflect agency. Presser (2009) similarly explores the narratives of prisoners and argues that narratives about crime are often used to attempt to legitimise actions but may also motivate offenders to offend again, and one of the key tenets of the criminological theory of neutralisation (Sykes and Matza

1957) includes the denial of injury by reframing the crime and enabling offenders to act in a harmful way.

This notion that the language used to describe a harmful act may not only affect the reader or hearer's reaction to that act, but also influence the perpetrator of that harm has been explored in many different fields and in relation to many different social contexts. These include the sociological theory of moral disengagement (described in Chapter 2) proposed by Bandura et al. (1996: 365), which posits that people morally disengage from the harm they inflict on others by using 'sanitising language' to allow them to maintain their moral code, and argues that this can have a disinhibiting effect. Military situations in particular are frequently described using what Lutz (2017) describes as 'doublespeak'. Such language avoids the use of descriptions that assign responsibility or overtly describe what has happened and instead euphemistic language or technical jargon is used to hide the detail. For example, the phrase 'collateral damage' is frequently used to mean the death of civilians in war, and according to Lutz, the US military used the term 'pre-dawn vertical insertion' (2017:191) to describe their invasion of Grenada from the air in 1983. The phrase 'servicing the target'(2017:184) is also frequently applied in military contexts to describe killing the enemy. Similarly, the avoidance of specific details relating to genocide has been recorded extensively (e.g. Presser 2013; Cohen 2001; Mitchell 2000). Cohen (2001: 80) describes the vague and misleading terms used in Nazi texts to enable 'the author to disavow its meaning, and the audience to claim that they did not understand it', such as the term 'special treatment' (*sonderbehandlung*) to describe killing, and 'final solution' (*endlösung*) to describe the systematic execution of Jews. More recently, Vladimir Putin used the term 'Special Military Operation' to reconstrue the invasion of Ukraine and the bombing of civilians as an operation designed to 'protect' those living in predominantly Russian speaking areas of Ukraine (BBC 2022). Not only do these labels describe the harm using vague descriptions that could be misunderstood because they are ambiguous, left open to interpretation, and allow others to more easily delude themselves that harm is not taking place, but they also lend the actions an air of systematism or legitimacy. This latter effect is achieved by making the harmful acts sound systematically planned and by placing them as part of a larger decision-making process by those in authority. Such re-labelling or repackaging also enables those causing the harm to avoid assigning responsibility to any particular person in the chain of command because by their very nature these noun phrases hide the agent of the action by packing meaning into an abstract phrase, and by *overpackaging* and construing the harm as being conducted on a large scale with no specific individual agent. The blame for the harm is

therefore hidden by being part of a system of killing rather than being attributable to an individual.

Torture is another type of harm which is often described using euphemistic language, but rather than using vague terms, here there is a tendency to talk about it in terms designed to make it seem less serious and more 'mundane' or trivial. (Cohen 2001:83) gives the example of describing the tying up of prisoners into painful positions as the 'banana', and the fire used by the Argentinian Junta to burn dead bodies as 'Assado (a barbecue).' Such misleading repackaging and reframing can also be seen in the language used to refer to meat-eating. Presser's (2013) study of how language may enable people to harm other living creatures provides examples of the way in which we describe meat using words that have no relation to the animals themselves (e.g. seafood, steak), and Stibbe (2001) explores the euphemistic language used in poultry industry magazines; examples of which are the description of injury to chickens as 'bird damage' (2001:156) and the use of the word 'housing' to describe chicken cages (2001:153). Finally, accounts of capital punishment include many examples of attempts to hide reality through terminology. Osofsky et al. (2005) give examples of this in their analysis of accounts given by those implementing the death sentence (e.g. by using the term 'capital punishment' or breaking the task of killing down into smaller parts so that each person is only responsible for their particular task). There is also a tendency in jury instructions in cases involving the possibility of capital punishment to repackage the decision to take someone's life as something that is purely technical. See, for example, the instructions below cited in Dumas (2002:258):

You are further instructed that if the jury returns an affirmative finding on each of the two issues submitted, this Court shall sentence the defendant to death. If the jury returns a negative finding on either issue submitted, the Court shall sentence the defendant to confinement in the Texas Department of Corrections for life.

4.3 Overpackaging in Elliot Rodger

4.3.1 Overview of analysis

Analysing the way in which Elliot Rodger describes his future massacre and how this changes as the day he has allocated for it approaches provides an insight into how he presents his crime and to what extent he repackages it, whether consciously or subconsciously. As a starting point,

keywords provide an introductory overview of where in the text he talks about the crime, and how he evaluates his own role in it and the effects it will have on others. As described in Chapter 3 (Table 3.3 and Appendix 1), Rodger's autobiography was divided into 8 sections and the keywords for each section were calculated in comparison with the whole of the rest of the text (minus the relevant section). Table 4.1 shows all significantly positive, negative and absent keywords with a BIC score greater than 2¹ (words that are unusually frequent or infrequent in each section in comparison to the rest of the text as a whole) for the final three sections of the autobiography, with those words that are either used to describe the crime or are probes that lead us to sentences in which he describes the crime (e.g. *will*) marked in **bold**. Keywords for all sections of the text can be seen in Appendix 3, but the final three sections are where Rodger discusses his future crimes. In order to decide which words describe the crimes or could be used as probes that would enable us to locate descriptions of the crime, concordances of each word were analysed. The nature of euphemistic language meant that there was a risk that keywords being used to 'repackage' the crimes could be missed if their link to the crime was not immediately obvious, and therefore exploring the context of each word was vital. The final three sections of the text have been chosen for closer analysis at this point because it is only in these later stages that Rodger begins to write about his plans to kill people. It should be noted that these final three sections represent approximately two thirds of the overall text.

¹ As explained in Chapter 3, BIC scores greater than 2 indicate positive evidence against the null hypothesis

Table 4.1 Positive and negative keywords in the final three sections of Rodger's (2014) autobiography. BIC Score >2 (scores are in brackets) and ordered by effect size (Log Ratio). Words in boldface are those that Rodger uses to describe his future crimes.

Section 6	
Positive	math (21.71), [name: friend] (11.72), [name: housemate] (11.72), starbucks (8.39), housemate (8.39), [name: friend] (5.06), splashed (5.06), latte (5.06), hugo (5.06), concert (5.06), boss (5.06), armani (5.06), [name: housemate] (5.06), [name: male] (6.11), unit (6.14), carpet (9.32), shirt (3.42), wealth (5.48), name: male (5.48), type (3.92), jackpot (7.55), sitting (3.46), city (5.35), housemates (8.21), month (13.02), classes (18.06), college (33.02), barbara (24.95), santa (19.52), beautiful (14.66), could (22.74), I (19.16)
Negative	<i>game (12.42), play (12.05), father's (23.89), wow (4.70), grade (5.45), mother's (10.10), really (3.74), house (55.39), played (2.48), parents (2.40), school (23.23), world (8.14), mother (2.16)</i>
Absent ²	<i>cyber (3.51), planet (3.09), [name: friend] (2.25)</i>
Section 7	
Positive	police (41.26) , crutches (25.72), arizona (25.72), powerball (19.50), 2013 (16.39), 2014 (13.28), dr (10.17), youtube (7.06) , phase (7.06) , ledge (7.06), handgun (7.06) , [name: friend] (7.06), cops (7.06) , surgery (3.95), sorority (3.95), [name: doctor] (3.95), numbers (3.95), cane (3.95), bmw (3.95), leg (34.01), playa (10.36) , [name: counsellor] (10.36), del (10.36) , shooting (7.48) , counsellor (7.48), website (4.62), mercedes (4.62), cast (4.62), retribution (121.72) , videos (6.91), asian (4.22), kill (46.36) , suv (6.88) , vengeance (4.32) , vista (67.60) , isla (67.60) , planning (2.24) , enemies (16.07) , plans (3.38) , final (12.62) , exact (7.16) , women (18.42) , are (15.83), will (71.73) , young (9.38), barbara (4.07) , santa (4.24) , beautiful (5.35), if (8.22), have (27.29) , their (2.18), all (23.86), them (11.15), had (6.75)
Negative	<i>school (86.10), grade (18.72), movie (4.54), game (16.79), birthday (7.91), [name: friend] (25.35), games (4.62), remember (2.60), play (8.18), played (5.91), kids (8.24), our (13.19), together (2.85), class (9.16), became (2.13), us (8.53), friends (13.99), started (2.65), father (18.33), we (46.50), new (5.37), he (3.78), at (5.16), was (34.41), a (10.28)</i>
Absent	<i>wow (20.69), topanga (13.10), cool (8.82), elementary (8.82), warcraft (7.40), later (6.45), cyber (5.50), planet (5.02), [name: friend] (4.07), skateboarding (3.13), [name: friend] (3.60), character (2.65), morocco (2.65), [name: friend] (2.65), huge (2.18)</i>
Section 8	
Positive	sexuality (21.81), generations (13.46), ruler (5.11), oversee (5.11), government (5.11), exists (5.11), degeneracy (5.11), concentration (5.11) , civilization (5.11), camps (5.11) , breeding (5.11), bred (5.11), race (12.34), pure (10.84), human (37.58) , desired (4.02), degenerate (4.02), control (4.02), depraved (8.53) , exist (7.60), cannot (6.78), order (24.39) , destroy (9.29) , women (70.72) , evil (4.75) , pleasure (10.55), men (31.33), humanity (4.96), are (25.30), is (59.90), will (63.44) , sex (18.01), world (18.48) , such (9.62), be (20.66), have (6.00)
Negative	<i>on (3.85), was (32.21), had (3.48), I (5.34)</i>
Absent	<i>we (2.63)</i>

² Absent key words were absent in the target corpus (the section of the text under analysis) but present in the reference corpus (the whole text of the perpetrator minus that section of the text).

A first analysis of the positive keywords in particular demonstrates that the way Rodger talks about the crime changes as time passes. In Section 6 (Santa Barbara) he has just started college and still feels hopeful that his life can change and that he will be able to turn his sex life around and lose his virginity. Many of the positive keywords for this section are those related to his life at college (*classes, math, housemates*), but also those related to winning the lottery (*wealth, jackpot*) as he is convinced that becoming rich will enable him to attract women. In Section 7 (21 years old) he has not won the lottery and has had no success with women, and is therefore beginning to lose hope. He has decided that he has no choice but to kill those who have rejected him, and this is reflected in the predominance of keywords relating to violence and harm (e.g. *shooting, kill, handgun*). 24 of the 54 keywords in this section refer to his crime. Section 8 (the final section) does not initially appear to describe his future crimes, but once the keywords for this section are explored further it becomes clearer that it is being discussed, but in a very delusional and abstract way.

4.3.2 *Overpackaging: abstract processes and events.*

While initially there seem to be several positive keywords in Section 7 which directly describe the crime without repackaging it or sanitising it, the context of these words provides a more detailed picture of a complex and inconsistent portrayal of his role in his future crimes. For example, the words *kill, vengeance, and retribution* in Section 7 immediately conjure up images of violence and harm, but if we look at them in more detail then a more complex picture emerges. By describing his actions using a noun that is vague, and that hides the agent of the harm, he is able to remove himself from the picture and overpackage the crimes as events that are larger and more complex than a simple case of him killing numerous people in a rage. For example, the concordance lines in Figure 4.1 demonstrate that he uses the term *retribution* to convert his actions into a noun describing a process or event, and as a result hide them behind this label. He is able to obfuscate his agency by saying that this retribution is something he possesses (Line 8), and something that will ‘happen’ (Line 9), or come about (‘when the Day of Retribution came’: Line 10).

1	the score. The Second Phase will take place on the Day of	Retribution	itself, just before the climactic massacre. The
2	was no way I'd be well enough to prepare for the Day of	Retribution	by November. There was too little time. I made a
3	at my mercy, and in turn I will show them no mercy at all. My	Retribution	will be so devastating that it will shake the very
4	I will sneak into their house at around 9:00 p.m. on the Day of	Retribution	, just before all of the partying starts, and
5	Pleasurable life to those males instead of me. On the Day of	Retribution	, I will finally be able to punish them ALL. When I
6	see this. I am like a god, and my purpose is to exact ultimate	Retribution	on all of the impurities I see in the world. The
7	to my stomach. I concluded that I would have to set the Day of	Retribution	during a time when my father is out of the
8	I can go anymore. There is no more life to live. The Day of	Retribution	is all I have. It is the final solution to all of the
9	girl had shown some form of attraction to me, the Day of	Retribution	would never happen. I'd never even consider it.
10	pleasant than these two idiots. I knew that when the Day of	Retribution	came, I would have to kill my housemates to get

Figure 4.1 Random sample of instances of *retribution* in Rodger Section 7 [not sorted: 10/61]

Fairclough (1992: 182-183) reminds us that nominalisation (the process of deriving a noun from a verb or adjective) turns ‘processes and activities into states and objects, and concretes into abstracts’. In a similar way, in these concordance lines Rodger’s use of nominalisations and other nouns enables him to avoid describing the process of killing other people and instead use a nominalisation that has to be unpacked, and therefore hides the details and the person responsible for these details. There is also a tendency to describe the retribution as having a life of its own that is out of his control and happening of its own volition. van Leeuwen (2008:66) argues that depicting an action as an event that simply ‘happens’ may be a way of obscuring human agency because it implies that it happens without human intervention. Out of 65 instances of *retribution* (derived from the noun *retribute*) in Section 7, the noun phrase *Day of Retribution* is used 45 times (69%). This adds to the sense that this is an event rather than an action, besides increasing the vagueness of the term *retribution* by packaging his actions using a grandiose label (note also the use of capitals to lend it further importance), which does not detail what this day entails. In the following examples, (see Figure 4.2) the noun phrase *Day of Retribution* seems to be something that he has no power to control. He presents himself as a victim of this unstoppable event rather than the person making it happen. The Day of Retribution ‘will play out’ (Line 24), and rather than him being able to act on the world, this event ‘will take place on the Day of Retribution’ and ‘the tables will indeed turn’ (Line 12), rather than him turning them, and he will simply be part of this event rather being the key actor.

12	treated with disdain, as if I'm an inferior mouse. On the Day	of Retribution	, the tables will indeed turn, I mused to myself. I will
13	, and planned to reupload them a few days before the Day	of Retribution	. This incident made me realize that I needed to be
14	over my enemies was to destroy them, to carry out my Day	of Retribution	, to exact my ultimate and devastating vengeance
15	I made a new plan to set the ultimate and final date for the Day	of Retribution	to be at the end of the Spring of 2014. This would
16	to use the Mercedes SUV as one of my weapons on the Day	of Retribution	, since Isla Vista on weekend nights was always
17	. I will sneak into their house at around 9:00 p.m. on the Day	of Retribution	, just before all of the partying starts, and slaughter
18	even the score. The Second Phase will take place on the Day	of Retribution	itself, just before the climactic massacre. The
19	of 2013, I began to seriously think about planning the Day	of Retribution	. My next step towards planning for it was to buy my
20	thinking and consideration, I concluded to bring about the Day	of Retribution	on Saturday, April 26, 2014. In the first months of
21	was the knowledge that I will soon rectify everything on the Day	of Retribution	. My mother told me that I can have one bottle of wine
22	I will be the predator. I considered setting the date for the Day	of Retribution	to be the next Halloween of 2013. That would give
23	see who the superior one really is! The Final Phase of the Day	of Retribution	will be my ultimate showdown in the streets of Isla
24	, I started to detail all of my exact plans for how the Day	of Retribution	will play out. On the day before the Day of Retribution,

Figure 4.2 Sample of instances of Retribution in Rodger Section 7 [sorted n-1: Lines 12-24/61]

The inevitability in the patterns of usage of this noun phrase can be seen more clearly if we look at how the phrase is used grammatically. Table 4.2 provides examples from the analysis of syntactic patterns used with this phrase and illustrates that *Day of Retribution* is frequently used in an adverbial phrase (36% of the time) to describe when the act will happen (as though it is a day that is fixed in the calendar, or a vague and foreboding event). In addition, it is twice as likely to be the subject of a clause than the object of someone's actions (see percentages in Table 4.2). When it is used as the object of Rodger's actions, the verbs used with it are vague (e.g. *plan, set, bring about*) and have a sense of him setting something in motion which he then has no control over once instigated. Other examples of his lack of a sense of control over events also show his conviction that the day of retribution could have been stopped, but not by him. Note that page numbers are not included in extracts from the perpetrators' texts in this study, because there were no page numbers in their original documents:

That alone would have prevented the Day of Retribution, if one girl had just given me one chance. (Table 4.2: Example 4.3)

Furthermore, where *Day of Retribution* is used as the subject of a sentence, in forty-five percent of these instances it is used with an unaccusative verb. Such clauses are syntactically active, but semantically passive, and describe something that happens of its own volition rather than being carried out by an agent (Ehrlich 2001:43). The *Day of Retribution* is something that will 'play out' (Table 4.2: Example 4.6) or 'come to pass' (Table 4.2: Example 4.5). In the remaining instances where it is used as the subject, it is described using a state verb. This again lends volition to the day and portrays it as an event rather than something that he can control or prevent from happening. The person responsible for making it happen is left obscured ('The Day of Retribution was very possible now'. [Table 4.2: Example 4.4]).

Also noticeable is the way in which many of the verbs (60%) used alongside *Day of Retribution* are frequently used in the past tense ('was very possible now'). Rodger is writing the autobiography before the attacks and talking of a future act that he is still planning, but he describes a point in time in the past when he *was* planning it and creates a sense of distance between his current self and his past self, even though his goal is still the same. The use of the historical present to foreground past events and make them more dramatic and vivid, and the switch to this tense from past tenses as an indicator of key junctures in narratives has been widely written about (Schiffrin 1981; Fludernik 2003). Similarly, the use of the past tense can

be seen as a way of distancing an event from the time of narration and making it less real. For example, past tenses are deployed in hypothetical sentences such as conditionals to indicate the level of likelihood that something is real or is possible (Schulz 2014:118), and although referring to fiction rather than self-narratives, Fludernik (2003:221) posits that the use of the past tense in narrative is related to distancing from events, arguing that ‘the pastness of the traditional past-tense narrative signifies a kind of unspecified past whose relation to the present moment of reading is one of distancing rather than of precise location’. In the examples in Table 4.2, a switching between the past tense and future form (e.g. ‘I started to...will play out’ [Example 4.6]) can be seen that describes past decisions resulting in future events but does not mention Rodger’s current role in this. These descriptions seem to skip the time of narration. His past self made the decision to act, and the event will ‘take place’ (Example 4.7) in the future because of those actions, but his narrating self in the present moment has no part in this and no responsibility for it.

Table 4.2 Analysis of syntactic patterns of *Day of Retribution* in Rodger: Section 7

	Frequency (Total: 45 instances)	Examples
Object	9 (20%)	<p>4.1 I concluded that I would have to set the <u>day of retribution</u> during a time when my father is out of the country</p> <p>4.2 I concluded to bring about the <u>day of retribution</u> on Saturday, April 26, 2014.</p> <p>4.3 That alone would have prevented the <u>day of retribution</u>, if one girl had just given me one chance.</p>
Subject	20 (44%)*	<p>4.4 The <u>day of retribution</u> was very possible now</p> <p>4.5 When the <u>day of retribution</u> ultimately comes to pass</p> <p>4.6 I started to detail all of my exact plans for how the <u>day of retribution</u> will play out.</p> <p>*(Accompanied by an unaccusative verb in 9/20 (45%) of these instances)</p>

Adverbial	16 (36%)	<p>4.7</p> <p>The second phase will take place on the <u>day of retribution</u> itself</p> <p>4.8</p> <p>On the <u>day of retribution</u>, everyone will be at my mercy.</p> <p>4.9</p> <p>On the <u>day of retribution</u>, the tables will indeed turn.</p>
------------------	----------	--

The connotations of the word *retribution* and the ways in which it is used in corpora of general English usage are also important to consider. The Collins English dictionary (2021) defines *retribution* as ‘...punishment which is carried out by someone other than the official authorities’, and Rodger argues that he is seeking to punish those who have harmed him and therefore implies that they deserve this, and that the crime is justified. This usage of *retribution* is further confirmed by a search of instances of *retribution* in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (Davies 2008: see Figure 4.3 for a small sample) which demonstrates that the word may be used in the legal profession to refer to punishment (see Line 4), in a religious context in relation to divine retribution (Line 1), in non-legal contexts to describe a kind of revenge which is brought by different factions or groups rather than official authorities, particularly in times of war (Line 8), and there are also several instances of it in gaming texts (e.g. Line 7).

1	1994	NEWS	NYTimes	A	B	C	that Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush escaped just	retribution	only by mounting a "stonewall" defense that the press
2	2011	ACAD	AmerIndianQ	A	B	C	. Each animal concocted a disease to afflict people with in	retribution	for their cruel and unjust behavior . # When the Plants ,
3	2007	ACAD	AmerScholar	A	B	C	them have gone into hiding out of shame or fear of	retribution	. " That does n't hide their original identity . They can
4	2003	ACAD	AmerStudies	A	B	C	of the US penal code emphasize rehabilitation rather than	retribution	. Criminals are viewed as " victims of society " in need
5	2009	SPOK	Fox_Hannity	A	B	C	. You know , follow the money | There is no	retribution	. I do n't think anybody 's going to worry about that
6	1990	ACAD	HispanicRev	A	B	C	strings of his harp is a despairing recognition of the foretold	retribution	. evil raised up against him out of his own house "
7	2001	FIC	FantasySciFi	A	B	C	. urgent bulletins concerning zombie sightings and karmic	retribution	were being received | warnings that came too late to save
8	2012	NEWS	NYTimes	A	B	C	. he would not give his full name for fear of	retribution	. Rebels are also managing to create supply chains that
9	2009	SPOK	Fox_Hannity	A	B	C	a little unethical that they would come up with some legislative	retribution	because they came out with a study that contradicted it
10	2009	NEWS	NYTimes	A	B	C	they speak out , they fear , it could lead to	retribution	for them or their relatives in Pakistan . Some exiles who

Figure 4.3 Random sample of instances of retribution in the COCA Corpus extracted April 2019 [10/1648]

Figure 4.4 shows some elements of a Word Sketch (summary of a word’s grammatical and collocational behaviour) of *retribution* generated from the enTenTen 15 corpus of 15 million Internet texts written in English (Jakubíček et al. 2013) using Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014), which also shows the use of the word in religious contexts (*divine retribution*, *God’s retribution*, *retribution by governments*, and *nature’s retribution*) and again shows the use of the term in video games (*blacklight retribution*, *retribution paladin*). In fact, a quick Internet

search of gaming websites (e.g. Fandom 2019) reveals that the term occurs in several different elements of the game *World of Warcraft* (played frequently by Rodger) and this will be discussed further below. When we read the word in Rodger’s text it conjures up the idea of an event that is organised, inevitable, possibly divine and large scale, rather than an act by one man which he has control over.

modifiers of "retribution"	nouns modified by "retribution"	verbs with "retribution" as object	adjective predicates of "retribution"	possessors of "retribution"
karmic ... karmic retribution	paladin ... Retribution Paladin	exact ...	swift ... Retribution was swift	government ... victims of the government's retribution against the Ahwazi
blacklight ... Blacklight Retribution	paladins ... DPS rotations for Retribution Paladins in WoW WoD	fear ... fear retribution	harsh ...	nature ...
vengeance ... vengeance , retribution	deterrence ... retribution , deterrence , prevention and	mete ... retribution meted out to	inevitable ... that retribution is inevitable	god ... God's retribution for
divine ... of divine retribution	vengeance ... retribution , vengeance	vow ... vowed retribution	severe ...	
karmic ... Karmic Retribution	pvp ...	divine ...	quick ...	
disproportionate ... Disproportionate Retribution	retribution ...	inflict ...	enough ... Retribution Is Not Enough	
deterrence ... deterrence , retribution and	restitution ... retribution , restitution	risk ...	3d ...	
swift ... swift retribution	concordance ...	escape ... to escape retribution	common ...	
fated ... Fated Retribution	retaliation ... without fear of retribution , retaliation or brutality	seek ... seek retribution		
relentless ... Relentless Retribution	revenge ... for retribution , revenge or	misplace ...		
		merit ... merited retribution		
		demand ...		

Figure 4.4 Word Sketch of retribution from enTenTen 15 using Sketch Engine [29,777 instances].

4.3.3 Overpackaging: Momentousness and grandeur

The use of *retribution* to describe the killing of others lends a misplaced importance, grandeur and legitimacy to Rodger’s crimes, and indicates that this is how he perceives them. In 8 out of the 61 sentences in Section 7 containing the word *retribution*, Rodger refers to himself as a god, as god-like or as a predator who has the power to seek retribution, and the justification to seek revenge for the way he has been treated.

Many of the significant collocates of *retribution* also indicate a tendency to scale the crime up into something more dramatic and powerful, and something legitimate and deserved, besides depicting it as something that he is simply a part of rather than in more basic terms as his decision to go and kill people on a given day. The significant collocates of *retribution* in Section 7 (n-5 and n+5 MI scores 3.16-7.96, min. frequency 3, min. length 3) five places to the

left and right of *retribution* are: *day, happen, ultimate, choice, exact, date, plan, now, place, before, just, very, will, isla, the, for, but, when, would, about, time, out, this, and have.*

Besides words referring to the plan for the day of retribution and what will ‘happen’, there are also words here that indicate something on a large or unprecedented scale. For example, Rodger describes his planned crime as his ‘ultimate retribution’ and the ‘ultimate showdown’ (see Figure 4.2 Line 23) and through manual analysis of concordance lines we can also see other phrases depicting an extreme event, which may not emerge as significant in collocational analysis, but when grouped together with similar phrases, form a pattern of a semantic preference of *retribution* in this particular text for words and phrases that describe extremes such as ‘climactic massacre’ (Figure 4.1: Line 1) and ‘final solution’ (Figure 4.1 Line 8), the latter of which brings to mind language used by the Nazis to describe the holocaust. Breivik also talks about ‘exacting’ his retribution (*exact* is the fourth most significant collocate of retribution and is used as a verb). Exacting something on someone else is usually done by someone who has more power over that person and the details of how it will be exacted are usually vague and lack detail, distancing the actor from the action. The following examples are from the COCA corpus (Davies 2008: extracted April 2019): ‘a superhero using her powers to exact payback on the man who jilted her’, ‘Across the country, citizens elect a range of representatives to exact taxes’. The word sketch in Figure 4.5 from the enTenTen 15 corpus also confirms that *exact* has negative connotations and a semantic preference for modifiers that are negative (*forcibly, illegally, horrifically*) and nouns that have to be forced upon those who are weaker than the person doing the exacting. For example; objects of *exact* include: *revenge, punishment, retribution and obedience.*

modifiers of "exact"	objects of "exact"	subjects of "exact"	"exact" and/or ...
horrifically ...	revenge ...	noauth ...	overbear ...
rigorously ...	toll ...	pbb ...	demand ... demanding and exacting
illegally ...	vengeance ...	servitude ...	require ...
forcibly ...	retribution ...	caregiving ...	challenge ...
inevitably ...	punishment ...	consul ...	receive ... exact or receive
likewise ...	price ...	modernization ...	pay ...
surely ...	tribute ... exacted tribute	steeler ...	accept ...
	recompense ...	interrogation ...	collect ...
	obedience ...	toll ... toll exacted	
	ransom ...	batch ... environment for small batch extracting applications FREE addresses	
	penalty ...	capitalist ...	
	payback ...	isolation ...	
	▼	▼	

Figure 4.5 Word Sketch of *exact* as a verb in enTenTen 15 using Sketch Engine [428,873 instances].

Not only does Rodger see the act as deserved, but he sees himself as being entitled to make it happen and in some way more powerful than those who he wants to harm. The term *exact* emerged in the keyword search in Section 7 as well as in the list of significant collocates for *retribution*, and the concordances for this keyword in Figure 4.6 suggest that he does use it in a way that indicates his sense of power over his enemies. In Line 4 he describes himself as ‘like a god’ and in Lines 1 and 2 he talks about exacting revenge on the whole of society rather than only on those people who have rejected him.

The way in which *exact* is used also adds more evidence to the idea that he packages his crime as a momentous event. In Figure 4.6 he talks about his crimes as ‘catastrophic’ (Line 7), describes his ‘ultimate vengeance’ (Line 3) and states that he will exact revenge on ‘all of the impurities of the world’ (Line 9). *Revenge* also emerges here as another noun with a similar meaning to ‘vengeance’ and ‘retribution’ that is used to repackage the crime. He does use the personal pronoun *my* to own the revenge and the retribution but still uses a nominalisation to avoid stating his own role in it directly. Exacting something on someone else is a way of distancing himself from the crime by avoiding specific descriptions of the act and portraying himself as a powerful authority in a grand event, but whose exact role in it is blurred.

1	I'm unable to have such a life, then I will have no choice but to	exact	revenge on the society that denied it to me. My new	7%
2	age in order to be worthy enough to attract beautiful women, or	exact	my revenge upon the world and die in the process to	9%
3	was to destroy them, to carry out my Day of Retribution, to	exact	my ultimate and devastating vengeance against all of	18%
4	intelligence to see this. I am like a god, and my purpose is to	exact	ultimate Retribution on all of the impurities I see in the	36%
5	. For a while, I had been deciding on whether I would	exact	my Retribution on Isla Vista or at Santa Barbara City	39%
6	kids walking to their parties. What better place is there to	exact	my Retribution on my enemies? Every time I walked	40%
7	intelligence and philosophical insight, with the willpower to	exact	the most catastrophic act of vengeance the world will	60%
8	person, but the cruelty of this world gives me no choice but to	exact	my Retribution. I tactfully told XXXX that I had no	71%
9	them. I would have been thrown in jail, denied of the chance to	exact	revenge on my enemies. I can't imagine a hell darker	96%

Figure 4.6 All instances of *Exact* used as a verb in Rodger Section 7 [sorted diachronically: 9/9]³

Rather than sanitising or euphemising his actions, he inflates the crime into an occasion that is world changing in its importance, and will have far reaching reverberations. He presents it as a large-scale inevitable event that cannot be stopped and therefore which he has no ability to control thereby avoiding responsibility for it and hiding the individual harm that will come to others. This continues in Section 8 in which he does position himself as the subject and agent of his actions ('I will destroy' Figure 4.7: Lines 4 and 5), but describes his orchestration of the 'Day of Retribution' as something that he possesses rather than carries out (see concordance lines of the keyword *destroy* in Figure 4.7: Line 2).

1	If humanity will not give me a worthy place among them, then I will	destroy	them all. I am better than all of them. I am a god.	15.2%
2	of it all my life. If I cannot have it, I will do everything I can to	DESTROY	IT. My orchestration of the Day of Retribution is my	83.6%
3	Day of Retribution is my attempt to do everything, in my power, to	destroy	everything I cannot have. All of those beautiful girls I've	84.9%
4	life, but can never have because they despise and loathe me, I will	destroy	. All of those popular people who live hedonistic lives of	86.6%
5	of those popular people who live hedonistic lives of pleasure, I will	destroy	, because they never accepted me as one of the. I will	87.5%

Figure 4.7 All instances of *destroy* in Rodger Section 8 [sorted diachronically]

Rodger describes the destruction of sexuality and humanity rather than the more realistic killing of individuals that he actually carries out. In concordance lines for the keyword *world* in Section 8 (Figure 4.8), he claims to have a clarity that others do not have about the world and to have created the 'ultimate and perfect ideology' (Line 8). He contrasts the *world* that he knew as a child ('innocent' [Line 2], 'good and happy' [Line 1]) with the world that he is now experiencing ('twisted and wrong' [Line 6], 'unfair' [Line 13]) and the world that he wants to create ('pure' [Line 15], 'fair' [Line 13], 'without sex' [Line 11]) and describes the 'eradication' of women, but in these examples it is unclear who will carry this out. It becomes clearer that it is him in the last few paragraphs of the text (see Section 4.3.5).

³ Percentages indicate the position of each instance in the text. Content in square brackets indicates how the concordances were sorted and the total number of instances.

1	out this way? I didn't. There was a time when I thought this	world	was a good and happy place. As a child, my whole	1.7%
2	world was a good and happy place. As a child, my whole	world	was innocent. It wasn't until I went through puberty	2.3%
3	such a pathetic, miserable life. That is not my place in this	world	. I will not bow down and accept such a horrific fate.	13.8%
4	my Retribution is my way of proving my true worth to the	world	. In the midst of my suffering, I have been able to	16.6%
5	. In the midst of my suffering, I have been able to see the	world	much clearer than others. I have vision that other	17.4%
6	, I have been able to see just how twisted and wrong this	world	really us. The current state of humanity is what	19.0%
7	woman, he probably feels like he is in heaven. But the	world	is not supposed to be heaven. For some humans to	25.8%
8	be treated as such. In fully realizing these truths about the	world	, I have created the ultimate and perfect ideology of	45.9%
9	the ultimate and perfect ideology of how a fair and pure	world	would work. In an ideal world, sexuality would not	46.7%
10	of how a fair and pure world would work. In and ideal	world	, sexuality would not exist. It must be outlawed. In a	47.1%
11	world, sexuality would not exist. It must be outlawed. In a	world	without sex, humanity will be pure and civilized.	47.7%
12	this. Women represent everything that is unfair with this	world	, and in order to make the world a fair place, they	66.3%
13	that is unfair with this world, and in order to make the	world	a fair place, they must all be eradicated. A few	66.6%
9	in the human psyche. It is the only way to purify the	world	. In such a pure world, the man's mind can develop	74.4%

Figure 4.8 Sample of concordance lines of *world* in Rodger Section 8 [sorted diachronically: 1-14/18]

4.3.4 Misleading packaging: *predetermined and necessary*

The use of euphemism to reduce the negative elements of an action, to avoid stating the details of it and to distance the perpetrator from their crimes may enable those who harm others to blur the link between them and their actions and in turn avoid others evaluating their actions negatively (Bandura et al. 1996; Cohen 2001; Lutz 2017). The use of abstract noun phrases and the choice of semantically passive lexis described so far in this chapter demonstrate that Rodger does position himself some distance from the crime. However, this is not done by using the sanitising language described in much of the literature, but through the use of linguistic features that aggrandise rather than minimise his actions, and the portrayal of the crime as an inevitable event that is out of his control.

In contrast to this distancing, there are also points at which Rodger directly describes what he is going to do in great detail, with what initially seems like no repackaging at all, and no attempt to avoid the fact that he is the perpetrator of the harm. The keywords for Section 7 in Table 4.1 show that alongside the overpackaged nominalisations and abstract nouns already discussed (e.g. *retribution*, *vengeance*), there are also several keywords that describe the violence more directly (*kill*, *shooting*), and the weapons that he will use (*SUV*, *handguns*). The word *kill* is a particularly direct and unambiguous verb describing what he plans to do, and Figure 4.9 (e.g. Lines 1-3 and 6-9) shows typical examples of his use of *kill* to describe who he is going to kill and in what order, using *I* as the subject of the sentence and agent of the action.

1	in both places, and those were my targets. I wanted to	kill	as many attractive young couples as I possibly
2	If they were pleasant to live with, I would regret having to	kill	them, but due to their behaviour I had no regrets
3	driveway, pushing and hitting me. I wanted to fight and	kill	them all. I managed to throw one punch toward the
4	doing so, they took many years of my life away. I cannot	kill	every single female on earth, but I can deliver a
5	on one of his business trips. It would be too risky to try to	kill	him. I might hesitate at the last second. When I
6	morning before, I will drive down to my father's house to	kill	my little brother, denying him of the chance to grow
7	some form of trickery. The first people I would have to	kill	are my two housemates, to secure the entire
8	and having a good time on the day I was supposed to	kill	them all would be too much to bear. I immediately
9	be thousands of people crowded together who I could	kill	with ease, and the goal was to kill everyone in Isla
10	people I could before the police arrive and I'd have to	kill	myself. I felt so shocked and overwhelmed upon

Figure 4.9 Random sample of instances of *kill* in Rodger Section 7 [not sorted: 10/30]

Similarly, agentive grammatical structures are used as he discusses the weapons and methods that he will use. At the beginning of Section 7, *shooting* is predominantly used to describe his visits to the shooting range before committing the crime (Figure 4.10: Lines 1-5), but towards the end of this section it is used agentively to describe how he intends to kill people. (Figure 4.9: Lines 6 and 7).

1	laptop for me, and while I waited I decided to go to the	shooting	range in Oxnard. I had the knowledge, in the	5%
2	Day of Retribution was very possible now. Going to the	shooting	range while I waited for my laptop gave me the	5%
3	me the perfect opportunity to gain some initial training	shooting	guns, which will be the main weapons I use	5%
4	the ugly old redneck cashier, and started to practice	shooting	at paper targets. As I fired my first few rounds,	5%
5	was actually turning out this way. There I was, practicing	shooting	with real guns because I had a plan to carry	6%
6	as many of my enemies as I can with the SUV, and	shooting	anyone I don't splatter. I can only imagine how	91%
7	come to their rescue, I will drive away as fast as I can,	shooting	and ramming anyone in my path until I find a	92%
8	and tell them that they think I'm going to perpetrate a	shooting	, and the police will be coming to my door	98%

Figure 4.10 All instances of *shooting* in Rodger Section 7 [sorted diachronically]

Similarly, towards the end of Section 7 he uses an agentive *I* and the active voice to talk of his plan to run people over using his *SUV* (Figure 4.11: Lines 5-10) and paints a picture of what he is going to do, which seems to position him firmly as the perpetrator and the one responsible for the act.

1	my little brother XXXX. My father let me drive his Mercedes	SUV	while I was in town, and I often took XXXX on	30%
2	around Malibu and L.A. I bought my father's Mercedes	SUV	to use as our mode of transportation. First, we	33%
3	, I wanted to run them all over with my father's Mercedes	SUV	. I fantasized about how delightful that would be. To	33%
4	terrible injury. I took them out in my father's Mercedes	SUV	, and we went on another one of our adventures	69%
5	act of revenge. I already planned to use the Mercedes	SUV	as one of my weapons on the Day of Retribution,	70%
6	and stepmother, I will switch over to the Mercedes	SUV	, and drive it back up to Isla Vista. I will use it as	91%
7	as one of my killing machines against my enemies. An	SUV	will cause a lot more damage than my BMW cope	91%
8	girls at the Alpha Phi House, I will quickly get into the the	SUV	before the police arrive, assuming they would	91%
9	, splattering as many of my enemies as I can with the	SUV	, and shooting anyone I don't splatter. I can only	91%
10	. I can only imagine how sweet it will be to ram the	SUV	into all of those groups of young popular people	91%

Figure 4.11 All instances of *SUV* in Rodger Section 7 [sorted diachronically]

However, these direct and agentive structures are in fact accompanied by semantically passive phrases that are difficult to see initially. By sorting the concordances in different ways

(diachronically, n-1, n-2), patterns begin to emerge that present the violent acts as actions that he had no choice over, and that he sees as an unavoidable result of him being rejected by others. He positions himself as the victim rather than as someone with the ability to choose another course, and repackages the crime as something necessary, unavoidable and not his fault. For example, by sorting the concordance lines for *kill* at n-2, a tendency to describe the crimes in terms of obligation and *having* to carry them out emerges. The word *kill* is used to describe the crime thirty times in Section 7, and although in 14 instances (47%) he talks of his desire to kill (e.g. ‘I wanted to kill as many attractive couples as I could’, ‘I want to kill both UCSB and SBCC students’) or uses an active structure with himself as the subject (‘I will torture some of the good looking people before I kill them’), four instances (13%) describe being unable to kill people (either because of a lack of opportunity or a lack of courage) or are less agentive (e.g. ‘...the plan was to kill’), and 12 instances (40%) describe an obligation to kill others rather than it being his choice. Eleven of these expressions of obligation use the auxiliary verb *have* + infinitive (see Figure 4.12) with the remaining instance using ‘supposed to kill’. Although he describes the act of killing in detail and places himself as the subject of the sentence, at the same time he tries to justify his actions by linking their necessity to the story that he has told us so far concerning his rejection by women throughout his life, and presents it as an unavoidable ending to it.

15	the way. If they were pleasant to live with, I would regret having to	kill	them, but due to their behaviour I now had no regrets about
16	whole plan because of my fear that I might hesitate if I have to	kill	him. Once I've taken care of my brother and stepmother, I will
17	.I knew that when the Day of Retribution came, I would have to	kill	my housemates to get them out of the way. If they were
18	. But what if father is in the house to stop me? Would I have to	kill	too? That would be too much. I remember, when I was a
19	through some form of trickery. The first people I would have to	kill	are my two housemates, to secure the entire apartment for
20	of my enemies That was the day that I decided I would have to	kill	him on the Day of Retribution. I will not allow the boy to
21	him put my legacy to shame. In order to kill [name], I would have to	kill	XXXX too, but that will be easy. All I would need to do
22	young people I could before the police arrive and I'd have to	kill	myself. I felt so shocked and overwhelmed upon realizing

Figure 4.12 Sample of Instances of *kill* in Rodger Section 7 [sorted n-1 and n-2: 15-22/30]

This is also the case when concordances relating to weapons are examined in further detail (see Figure 4.13). These concordances are sorted diachronically, and we can see that in Lines 1 and 2 he is renting a handgun for the first time. At this earlier stage in his preparations, he is still questioning whether or not this is the right thing to do.

1	ultimately comes to pass. I walked into the range, rented a	handgun	from the ugly old redneck cashier, and started to	5%
2	have to be this way, I silently questioned myself as I looked at the	handgun	I was holding in front of me. I paid my fee and left the	6%
3	would be. My first act of preparation was the purchase my first	handgun	. I did this quickly and hastily, at a local gun shop called	19%
4	was planning on staying in Santa Barbara till. After I picked up the	handgun	, I brought it back to my room and felt a new sense of	19%
5	. My next step towards planning for it was to buy my second	handgun	, a Sig Sauer P226. It is of a much higher quality than	29%
6	Supplies that were vital to my plans. First, I needed to buy a third	handgun	, just in case one of them jams. I needed two working	87%

Figure 4.13 All instances of *handgun* in Rodger Section 7 [sorted diachronically]

The extended context of Line 2 shows that he clearly has some hesitancy about carrying out the act, but he looks at the gun in his hand as if he had woken up to find it there and is surprised to see it rather than taking responsibility for having put it there:

I felt so sick to the stomach. I questioned my whole life, and I looked at the gun in front of me and asked myself "What am I doing here? How could things have led to this?" I couldn't believe my life was actually turning out this way. There I was, practicing shooting with real guns because I had a plan to carry out a massacre. Why did things have to be this way, I silently questioned myself as I looked at the handgun I was holding in front of me. (Rodger 2014: Section 7 [expanded concordance from Line 2])

There is a sense that this is a point in the narrative at which Rodger could choose not to go any further, and is observing the path that he has gone down with some horror and disbelief. He is clearly reflecting on his intentions, morally evaluating them, and showing some evidence that he knows that his plans are wrong. There are also many clauses in this extract which exempt him from responsibility for his actions. In the phrase 'my life was actually turning out this way', he places his life as the subject of the sentence and again uses an unaccusative verb to express that the action of 'turning out this way' has no agent and is just something that has happened. Obligation also emerges again in the phrase 'Why did things have to be this way?'. The use of the inanimate subject 'things' and the verb 'be' imply that this is inevitable and not of his making.

The use of the word *will* also provides more evidence of this repackaging and provides a useful probe into descriptions of the crime. This auxiliary verb emerged as key in Sections 7 and 8 (see Table 4.1) and is an indication that in these sections the autobiography begins to focus on the future rather than the past. It is at this point that he begins to plan and describe the crime and therefore *will* can be used as a probe to elicit examples from the text of passages in which Rodger writes about the crime he is going to commit. The example concordances in Figure 4.14 provide more evidence that he describes the crime directly and in detail. Of 129 instances of *will* in Section 7, 64 of them (53%) are preceded by *I* as the subject of the sentence. Many of these sentences describe the crime clearly and explicitly and position him as the agent and perpetrator of harm.

1	ever tried to ask one on a date, they would reject me cruelly.	I will	sneak into their house at around 9:00 p.m. on the Day
2	singly one of them with my guns and knives. If I have time,	I will	set their whole house on fire. Then we shall see who
3	. The Second Phase will represent my War on Women.	I will	punish all females for the crime of depriving me of sex.
4	that will shake all of them to the core of their wicked hearts.	I will	attack the very girls who represent everything I hate in
5	over to the Mercedes SUV, and drive it back up to Isla Vista.	I will	use it as one of my killing machines against my
6	I have killed all of the sorority girls at the Alpha Phi House,	I will	quickly get into the the SUV before the police arrive,
7	showdown in the streets of Isla Vista. On the morning before,	I will	drive down to my father's house to kill my little brother,
8	kill him. Once I've taken care of my brother and stepmother,	I will	switch over to the Mercedes SUV, and drive it back up
9	myself as my personal torture and killing chamber. After that,	I will	start luring people into my apartment, knock them out
10	, knock them out with a hammer, and slit their throats.	I will	torture some of the good looking people before I kill
11	a normal Isla Vista party weekend, and once I set that date	I will	never change it. After a lot of thinking and
12	will play out. On the day before the Day of Retribution,	I will	start the First Phase of my vengeance: Silently killing
13	form of torture I could possibly think of. When they are dead,	I will	behead them and keep their heads in a bag, for their
14	to suffer. Things will be fair once I make them suffer as I did.	I will	finally even the score. The Second Phase will take
15	had the best sex lives. All of that pleasure they had in life,	I will	punish by bringing them pain and suffering. I have
16	was time to bring that pain to people who actually deserve it.	I will	cut them, flay them, strip all the skin off their flesh, and
17	video until minutes before the attack, because on that video	I will	talk about exactly why I'm doing this. I titled one of the
18	to all of the injustices of this twisted world. By doing this,	I will	set right all of the wrongs I've had to face in my sorry
19	of hard liquor. Immediately after imbibing this mixture,	I will	shoot myself in the head with two of my handguns

Figure 4.14 Sample of instances of *I will* in Rodger Section 7 [not sorted:19/64]

However, there are also thirty five instances in which an inanimate subject or nominalisation is used to portray a sense of inevitability by being positioned as the subject of a clause and combined with an unaccusative verb (see Figure 4.15: ‘My plans will come to fruition’: Line 29; ‘the final dark chapter of my life will commence’: Line 37, as though these vaguely described things (‘plans’, ‘phase’, ‘blow to his enemies’) have been set in motion and will just happen, rather than being caused by him as the agent.

29	is now my sole purpose on this world. My plans	will	come to fruition, and I mustn't let anyone stop
30	I did. I will finally even the score. The Second Phase	will	take place on the Day of Retribution itself, just
31	play a major role in the final phase. This first phase	will	represent my vengeance against all of the men
32	before the climactic massacre. The second Phase	will	represent my War on Women. I will punish all
33	to do it. If I can't live a pleasurable life, then neither	will	he! I will not let him put my legacy to shame. In
34	. All of the tall, hunky jocks that girls love so much	will	be having all of the sex and all of the fun, while
35	dollars for it, with the assurance that my mother	will	drive up to bring me a reimbursement in a few
36	took hold of me, knowing full well how my life	will	turn out if I don't get what I want. I went out
37	, fully recovered, the final dark chapter of my life	will	commence. I dreaded what will come of it. After
38	a blow to my enemies that will be so catastrophic it	will	redefine the very essence of human nature. It

Figure 4.15 Sample of instances of *will* in Rodger Section 7 [sorted n-1: 29-38/129]

In this way Rodger navigates his moral agency by moving from agent and person responsible, to observer of events, and repackages his actions by framing them as unstoppable and impossible to prevent. His sense of agency is in flux and is complex and this is also demonstrated in stretches of the narrative in which his descriptions of the crime are not only direct, but are *so* graphically and directly described that they resemble fictional harm.

4.3.5 Overpackaging: fictional harm

In a similar way to the aggrandisement used in sentences containing retribution and vengeance that distanced Rodger from his crime, there is also a sense in many of the above references to the massacre that he is painting a more graphic picture than the violence that he actually carries out. Certainly, the massacre was extremely violent and devastating, and this analysis is not intended to diminish the suffering experienced by the victims and their families in any way, but some of the acts he describes did not take place (there is no mention in police or media reports of him removing the flesh of his victims, slitting their throats, or hammering them to death [See Figure 4.14: Line 10]). The factual, rational and unemotive report of the investigative summary of the case (Santa Barbara County Sheriff's Office 2015) unsurprisingly tries to downplay the horror in the same way that Rodger attempts to upscale it and the contrast between the two makes his attempt to exaggerate, and make his actions sound even more horrific than they were, even more evident. One example of this is the way in which he describes the use of an SUV to kill people in Figure 4 (Line 9):

I will make my way to Del Play, splattering as many of my enemies as I can with the SUV, and shooting anyone I don't splatter. (Rodger 2014: Section 7)

He then committed a series of drive-by shootings and deliberately struck numerous people with his car, killing three additional victims and wounding fourteen more. (Santa Barbara County Sheriff's Office 2014: 3)

His use of the word 'splatter' to describe what will happen when he runs people over conjures up images of a comic book killing with over-exaggerated graphics. Similarly, his plan to start 'luring' people into his apartment and behead his victims and then carry their heads around in a bag, sounds like a horror film (see Figure 4.14: Lines 4 and 5), and his desire to 'redefine the very essence of human nature' (Figure 4.15: Line 21) and use a 'killing and torture chamber' (Figure 4.14: Line 9) lend him the air of a villain in a superhero film who wants to achieve world domination. In the following examples from the same section, he describes himself as a 'predator' and his victims as 'animals' that he will 'slaughter'. This not only dehumanises the victims and (according to Bandura [2002]) potentially makes them easier to harm by diminishing them and othering them, but also continues the theme of a graphic and fictional killing, and indicates that he sees his crime as a way of regaining power over others (Langman's

[2020] suggestion that this is sometimes the motivation behind such crimes was discussed in Chapter 2):

They are animals. They behave like animals, and I will slaughter them like the animals they are. (Rodger 2014: Section 7)

They treated me like an insignificant little mouse, but on the Day of Retribution, I would be a God to them. They will be the mice, and I will be the predator. (Rodger 2014: Section 7)

Analysing the concordances and collocates of *will* allows us to access a large number of references to the crime, and while there are some examples which describe elements of the future crime accurately ('I will attack the very girls' Figure 4.14: Line 4; 'I will shoot myself in the head' Figure 4.14: Line 19), there are also those that are more akin to fictional descriptions of harm because of their excessive and dramatic nature (e.g. 'I will cut them, flay them, strip all the skin off their flesh' Figure 4.14: Line 16). The word *will* in Section 7 demonstrates a semantic preference for verbs that describe graphic and violent acts of harm such as *behead*, *slit*, *flay*, *cut*, (Figure 4.14) and *ram* (Figure 4.11: Line 10), and phrases that once again describe extremes such as 'I will set their whole house on fire' (Figure 4.14: Line 2), 'I will punish all females' (Figure 4.14: Line 3). The significant collocates of *will* add little to the patterns that can be gleaned from manual analysis of concordance lines but do confirm this preference for violent acts of harm (*destroy*) and extremes (*everything*, *never*) to some extent. The collocates in a span of five words to the right of *will* in Section 7 (n+5, minimum length and frequency 3, MI scores ranging from 3.08-6.47) were: *destroy*, *punish*, *god*, *start*, *away*, *come*, *become*, *take*, *drive*, *finally*, *never*, *everything*, *into*, *their*, *not*, *place*, *them*, *back*, *very*, *all*, *one*, and *have*. By expanding the co-text of these collocates, the preference becomes clearer. Rodger talks about how he will 'utterly destroy that wretched town', and how he will 'finally even the score' and 'will purify the world of everything that is wrong with it'. What is clear from this analysis is that there are many words following *will* that did not emerge as significant collocates because they were only used once, but together with other semantically similar words following the node, they give an indication of how *will* is being used.

In the final section of the text, Rodger's plans become even more far-fetched as he discusses his ideas for changing the world rather than the graphic ways in which he will kill people. In the concordances for *will* in this section (Figure 4.16), he moves away from the

graphic detail of his crimes and becomes pre-occupied with changing the world and eradicating all women rather than killing individuals. He distances himself from his victims by grouping them as ‘the female population’ (Line 13) or all ‘women’ and this may make it easier to avoid thinking about individual victims (van Leeuwen [2008: 36] describes the use of mass nouns to create distance with those genericised within them), besides dehumanising these groups by describing them as diseased (‘quarantine all of them’ [Line 12]) or animal-like (‘kept and bred in secret labs’ [Line 15]). Although he is not describing the crimes, his illustration of what he would like to do to them is more akin to the actions of a despot, with world changing consequences and a fictional and powerful villain-like status which indicates a severe disconnect from reality.

6	men and creating stupid, degenerate offspring. This	will	cause humanity to become even more depraved	40.2%
7	. It must be outlawed. In a world without sex, humanity	will	be pure and civilized. Men will grow up healthily,	48.0%
8	without sex, humanity will be pure and civilized. Men	will	grow up healthily, without having to worry about	48.4%
9	having to worry about such a barbaric act. All men	will	grow up fair and equal, because no man will be able	49.3%
10	act. All men will group up fair and equal, because no man	will	be able to experience the pleasures of sex while	49.8%
11	of sex while others are denied it. The human race	will	evolve to an entirely new level of civilization,	50.7%
12	such revolutionary laws. The first strike against women	will	be to quarantine all of them in concentrations camp:	59.7%
13	these camps, the vast majority of the female population	will	be deliberately starved to death. That would be an	61.0%
14	gleefully watch them all die. If I can't have them, no one	will	, I'd imagine thinking to myself as I oversee this.	65.1%
15	would be kept and bred in secret labs. There, they	will	be artificially inseminated with sperm samples in	68.6%

Figure 4.16 Sample of instances of *will* in Rodger Section 8 [sorted diachronically: 6-15/18]

Rodger seems to be repackaging the crime as a fictional event in a comic, film or computer game and it could be asserted that this enables him to act. Järvinen (2000) argues that people use narratives to strengthen certain parts of themselves, and Brockmeier (2009) suggests that narratives can be used to rehearse agency before acting. On one hand, Rodger is taking responsibility for his actions and being honest about what he is going to do and about the fact that he is the perpetrator, and on the other he is hiding behind a fictional and virtual act, in which he is the fictional villain with virtual responsibility. While doing this he is rehearsing the act of harming other people and working himself up to it, in a similar way to the use of violent first person shooter video games to train soldiers to kill by desensitizing them to it (Campbell 2001), or the use of films containing increasing levels of ‘gruesome’ violence to train torturers (Cohen 2001: 90) and this repackaging enables him to explore the attack, and rehearse his violent actions in a way that strengthens the part of him that wants to commit the crime, and desensitises him to the killing that he will carry out.

In addition to this, responsibility in fictional narratives is not real, does not require moral evaluation because no one is really being harmed, and it has no real-world consequences. While euphemism negates the elements of a crime or makes them more palatable, describing

them in exaggerated and unrealistic terms makes them seem too horrific to be true, and trivialises the harm by telling it as a story or frame in a video game or comic rather than something real and traumatic. While it may seem unconvincing to suggest that exaggerated descriptions of harm are a kind of inverse euphemism that enables distancing from the crime, there are in fact parallels between this and inflated descriptions of other crimes. Clark (1992: 224) explores descriptions of rapists as subhuman ‘fiends’ and argues that this perpetuates existing myths around rape and avoids responsibility being assigned to perpetrators, and Jewkes (2010) explores the representation of female offenders as monstrous beings in a way that makes their cases more newsworthy and enables society to maintain an idealised view of how women should behave. In contrast to Rodger, Breivik barely describes his future crimes, but despite this, there are some similarities in the way in which he presents what he is going to do. The ways in which he reconstrues his crimes will be discussed in the following section.

4.4 Repackaging in the manifesto of Anders Breivik

4.4.1 Overview of analysis

Anders Breivik killed eight people in a car bomb in central Oslo on 22nd July 2011. Later that day he shot 69 people dead on the island of Utøya. He worked alone and was widely condemned, including by those who agreed with his ideology and those he quoted as being his inspiration, such as the far-right blogger Fjordman (Thorenfeldt 2011). Breivik wrote a ‘compendium’ over the years leading up to the attacks, which has different sections, some of which take the form of a manifesto, and others diary entries documenting his activities and preparation for the crime (obtaining guns, making chemicals). However, the way in which he presents the crime itself in this document bears little resemblance to the actual crimes themselves. His compendium is lacking in specific details relating to his plans to kill and is very much focused on the fine-grained technicalities of his preparations with no direct reference to exactly who he is going to harm and when, where or how he is going to do it. Whereas Rodger makes overt references to his future violence and details his plans as they emerge, in the case of Breivik it is clear from the beginning of the text that prior to writing it he has already decided to prepare for a violent act towards ‘multiculturalists’ (in the part of the compendium not included in this study because it was mostly plagiarised from other sources, he details a categorisation system for ‘traitors’ and the group of people who he places in categories A and B largely include politicians in favour of multiculturalism and those who support and enable them), but this is predominantly either couched in vague terms, or is

repackaged by being embedded in the minutiae of his preparations, and requires inference on the part of the reader. This repackaging involves changes of focus that switch as the text progresses and allow Breivik to avoid setting out the mass murder that he is going to carry out. The following is an analysis of the ways in which these changes are manifested linguistically.

As discussed in Chapter 2, for the purpose of this analysis, Breivik's text was divided into seven sections (the rationale for the divisions is explained in the methodology in Chapter 3), and these take the reader through the different stages of his preparation for the crime, from justifying it through the description of his ideology in Section 1, to the farming of e-mail addresses to distribute the manifesto to like-minded individuals (Section 2), the creation of explosives in Sections 5 and 6, and his final testing of explosives and planning the day of the crime itself in Section 7 (see Table 3.2 in Chapter 3, and Appendix 1).

According to Scott (2010: 51), keywords 'are pointers which suggest to the prospector areas which are worth mining, but they are not themselves nuggets of gold', and as with the analysis of Rodger's text above, an initial analysis of keywords using WordSmith Tools provides a way into Breivik's references to his violent plans, through analysis of the wider context of these keywords and their collocates. Table 4.3 shows the key lexical words for each section of Breivik's text calculated using a BIC score of >2 and ordered by descending effect size using Log Ratio scores (function words, and negative and absent keywords have not been included in the table because of the number of words generated but a full list can be seen in Appendix 2). Some sections (1 and 5) had very large lists of keywords (e.g. Section 1 had 166 positive lexical keywords alone) despite the use of this cut-off score and this was caused by the decision not to have an arbitrary limit for the number of keywords included in the analysis (e.g. first 10 or 20 keywords as in many other keyword studies), but to instead use an approach explained in Chapter 3 and outlined by Gabrielatos (2018:238-239) to generate a larger pool of Candidate Key Items (CKIs). This meant that some words that were key but were not particularly frequent were included and ensured that patterns were not arbitrarily missed and groups of semantically similar words could emerge. Another reason for the lengthy keyword lists for these sections may have been that they stand out as being particularly distinct from other sections in terms of their content. Section 1, for example, takes the format of a self-interview and focuses on Breivik's ideology and the wider reasons behind his actions, and Section 5 consists of a very detailed description of chemical manufacturing. In order to make the lists more manageable and readable for these particular sections, in Table 4.3 some of the more dominant semantic domains have been condensed in Sections 1 and 5, with only examples included for each one, rather than listing all of the keywords (see Appendix 2 for a full list of

key words and see the Glossary on page viii for definitions of many of these keywords). These particular semantic groupings (e.g. *nationalities* in Section 1, and *chemicals* in Section 5) relate to the general theme of these sections and were not relevant to the detailed analysis below of words relating the crime, but were expanded where necessary. In addition, nouns referring to people will be analysed in Chapter 5 and will therefore only be analysed briefly here if they are relevant to descriptions of the crime.

What is initially apparent from Table 4.3 is that many of the keywords match the key themes of each section. For example: words relating to the gathering of e-mail addresses dominate in Section 2 (e.g. *addresses, 5000, contacts, fellow*) and words relating to the acquirement of weapons and equipment are frequent in Section 3 (e.g. *bullets, silencer, rifle*).

Table 4.3 Key lexical words in Breivik’s compendium BIC Score >2 and ordered by effect size (log ratio). Words relating to the crime are in **boldface**⁴.

Section 1	<p>society (36.31), gangs (25.27), youth (20.50), suicidal (18.91), study (15.73), oppose (12.55), analysis (12.55), elites (10.96), claim (10.96), children (10.96), holocaust (9.36), education (9.36), studies (7.77), identity (7.77), beaten (7.77), youths (6.18), racists (6.18), join (6.18), families (6.18), acknowledge (6.18), stance (4.59), role (4.59), privileged (4.59), jihadi (4.59), flaws (4.59), appeal (4.59), alliances (4.59), societies (3.00), intellectual (3.00), heroes (3.00), harassed (3.00), goals (3.00), gain (3.00), dialogue (3.00), became (3.00), accept (3.00), community (33.36), self (22.69), organisation (19.67), fight (31.20), policies (7.73), hip (7.73), gang (7.73), degree (7.73), ideology (25.31), movements (6.27, jihad (6.27), hop (6.27), violent (4.81), science (4.81), percent (4.81), hardcore (4.81), goal (4.81), reject (3.36), major (3.36), hate (16.60), support (52.02), decades (19.42), movement (36.53), principles (15.73), against (46.30), media (24.22), million (16.58), development (2.63), force (18.92), group (23.91), willing (17.61), brothers (17.61), understand (22.60), school (32.60), armed (16.30), warfare (15.01), war (26.21), struggle (17.47), racist (21.22), obviously (21.22), groups (18.74), age (15.13), everyone (17.62), majority (11.48), resistance (14.03), progress (2.64), year (5.20), family (5.20), part (6.60), current (20.82), many (52.44), knights (6.90), rather (2.15), life (11.61), business (3.61), individuals (9.08), templar (2.55), contribute (2.55), years (28.56), never (4.91), people (21.37), know (3.74)</p> <p>+ 51 positive keywords in addition to the above relating to: nationalities: (e.g. european, norwegian) geographical locations (e.g. russia, france, west, oslo, US⁵) religion (e.g. jews, muslim, christian, church) political lexis (e.g. nationalists, multiculturalists, policies, government, political, democracy) ethnicity: (e.g. heritage, indigenous, cultures, ethnic, immigration, national)</p>
------------------	---

⁴ *violent* and *warfare* are only used to refer to the crime 14 % and 6% respectively but are still in boldface.

⁵ US 31/104 instances refer to the United States. 73/104 are instances of a plural object pronoun.

Section 2	addresses (34.68), document (17.43), weaponry (5.93), judges (5.93), euros (5.93), drives (5.93), e-mail (64.45), birthday (12.14), purge (6.80), contacts (19.63), fellow (9.29), discussing (4.28), involvement (7.20), acquirement (20.94), fun (2.47), compendium (35.08), farming (7.06), book (2.39), months (6.70), research (8.99), friend (3.15), party (23.60), phase (19.43), operation (5.09), friends (5.96)
Section 3	prague (69.48), rifle (51.52), visa (24.59), component (24.59), clerk (24.59), automatic (24.59), filing (20.10), density (20.10), customs (20.10), alt (20.10), shipping (15.62), dec (15.62), hostel (11.13), application (11.13), units (6.64), trailer (6.64), supplement (6.64), sulphuric (6.64), silencer (6.64), regalia (6.64), picatinny (6.64), MG (6.64), maritime (6.64), grenades (6.64), ferry (6.64), dremel (6.64), copenhagen (6.64), bullets (6.64), bullet (6.64), walking (2.15), tubing (2.15), transaction (2.15), tourists (2.15), stories (2.15), SN (2.15), preservative (2.15), polish (2.15), photo (21.5), litres (2.15), keten (2.15), ingots (2.15), informing (2.15), hyundai (2.15), housings (2.15), Google (2.15), forest (2.15), demolition (2.15), dealers (2.15), cryo (2.15), crusher (2.15), calculate (2.15), bayonet (2.15), drug (66.25), USD (27.09), size (27.09), delivery (27.09), tertiary (22.80), quantity (22.80), ALU (44.15), steroid (14.30), digging (14.30), story (82.72), packages (10.10), ebay (10.10), package (5.94), november (5.94), legally (5.94), battery (5.94), january (19.10), dig (19.10), drill (32.27), cost (89.02), supplier (128.53), chemical (28.21), suppliers (20.20), december (20.20), ammo (20.20), weapons (38.57), purchase (34.64), pistol (7.07), stores (12.37), looking (12.37), cover (70.43), hunting (3.20), gun (3.20), item (13.93), intended (13.93), connection (13.93), kg (73.10), pelican (4.83), batteries (4.83), ordered (17.33), glock 11.95, movie (6.58), store (40.62), site (8.39), cycle (8.39), com (8.39), trip (15.57), protein (3.05), mini (4.92) concerned (3.50), purchased (7.37), training (11.23), charge (13.17), buy (8.81), car (18.69), euro (47.07), bought (3.81), phase (12.60), use (2.25)
Section 4	kt (43.78), pst (31.53), ndsap (13.17), monsters (13.17), vilification (7.05), udi (7.05), ndl (7.05), naïve (7.05), edl (45.05), defense (8.26), report (2.56), ma (2.65), character (2.65), annual (2.65), monster (5.72), extremist (5.72), propaganda (15.71), reality (3.90), rent (10.73), regime (34.79), tool (2.46), martyrdom (2.46), girlfriend (5.20), nazi (2.91), conservatives (4.97), multiculturalist (23.56), euro (25.46), cultural (10.03)
Section 5	used (27.67), required (2.80), around (18.37), need (13.17), use (14.47), using (5.95), out (8.22) + 159 words relating to: chemicals and chemical manufacturing (e.g. stirring, pour, obtainable, 70c, sulphur, precipitate, stir, color, boil)
Section 6	june (145.81), surely (6.64), searching (6.64), pictures (6.64), goodwill (6.64), boards (6.64), takeaway (2.15), owners (2.15), mixers (2.15), lights (2.15), invoice (2.15), episodes (2.15), efficiency (2.15), DSL (2.15), dumbbell (22.81), crushing (22.81), monday (28.22), windows (7.07), wednesday (16.26), tuesday (16.26), thursday (16.26), synthesizing (16.26), evacuation (7.07), chemistry (16.26), town (30.75), sunday (12.38), barn (26.89), restaurant (3.20), neighbours (3.20), compound (15.60), spider (4.83), house (26.37), friday (10.22), PC (11.96), synthesize (6.58), floor (6.58), began (6.58), saturday (8.40), prills (28.11), log (10.24), drove (3.06), putting (4.93), method (44.12), hood (7.37), finished (4.21), purification (20.54), continued (20.54), farm (23.33), fume (3.11),

	went (28.00), detonation (4.03) , room (18.42), day (124.17), equipment (15.61), batch (34.12), may (38.09), later (8.00), completed (7.32), ddnf (27.07), picric (3.33), liquid (5.56), fertilizer (4.94), acetylsalicylic (4.94), last (6.76) , acid (19.07), hours (6.63), pa (2.57)
Section 7	mixer (30.12), nitromethane (24.04), analnm (19.76), manually (14.58), ECA (14.58), traces (9.40), oxidizer (9.40), lumps (9.40), gallon (9.40), dreadful (9.40), SP (4.22), smearing (4.22), outhouse (4.22), messy (4.22), MC (4.22), hardened (4.22), exothermic (4.22), capitalization (4.22), absorbs (4.22), evaporation (28.96), RC (49.46), analfo (74.94), evaporated (14.18), nitro (55.46), stack (9.33), rental (9.33), methane (29.98), evaporate (9.33), rounds (4.56) , crate (4.56), cache (4.56) , methanol (42.76), july (78.26) , fuel (33.47), oil (17.70), intensive (6.52), gram (6.52), mixing (51.30), train (4.47), rubber (4.47), leave (4.47), suit (13.58), inner (11.94), aluminium (19.54), micro (20.72), poured (4.06), mix (32.36), dust (14.32), anfo (50.20), bags (74.62), balloons (9.49), inside (6.95), diesel (14.16), gear (5.07), content (13.27), al (19.80), weight (5.89), bag (20.66), batches (9.17), outside (2.50), took (3.59), day (77.53), complete (9.67), batch (14.82), days (2.04), case (3.95), powder (2.45), hours (8.76), using (4.47)

None of the keywords explicitly refer to the attacks, partly because Breivik avoids describing exactly what it is that he plans to do; however, it is still possible to identify several keywords that refer to his preparation for his future attacks and his intention to harm others. In order to identify these, concordances were generated for every keyword to check its surrounding context and what it referred to. Words that referred to his intention to harm others or elements of his planned crime such as weapons and preparations were examined in further detail as a way of locating points at which he was describing his preparations and plans. Deciding which keywords referred to his planned act of harm was not straightforward. For example, some words that initially seemed to be potential probes to descriptions of his violent act (e.g. *jihad*, *beaten* and *violent* in Section 1) were not in fact relevant once concordances for these words were analysed (e.g. *violent* and *warfare* were only used to refer to the crime 14% of the time and 6% of the time respectively), and others that were not overtly relevant became so once concordance lines were analysed (e.g. *phase*). Although words relating to chemicals are relevant because they describe his manufacturing of explosives, they have not all been analysed in great detail because the passages containing them will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5. However, their preponderance is noted and forms part of the overall pattern of repackaging that will be discussed below.

4.4.2 Military repackaging in Breivik's text

As mentioned in Chapter 3 a large section at the beginning of Breivik's compendium has not been included in this analysis because it is largely plagiarised from other manifestos and sources (van Gerven Oei 2011). However, towards the end of this largely plagiarised section, although he does not refer to his plan to kill in detail, he does make a direct reference to his belief that there is a need to use violent means to achieve the removal of Muslims from Europe:

We know who you are, where you live and we are coming for you. If not today, then tomorrow, if not in 10 years, then in 50 years. We are in the process of flagging every single multiculturalist traitor in Western Europe. You will be punished for your treasonous acts against Europe, and Europeans. We will ensure that all category A and B traitors, the enablers of Islamisation and the destroyers of our cultures, nations and societies, will be executed and your property expropriated.
(Breivik 2011: Book Two)

He embeds his act in a wider resistance movement and makes a call to arms that implies that others will join him whilst also warning those who are the targets of this violence. Here his focus is on the wider movement of which his actions are a part, and a change to this focus can be traced through the text.

This embedding of his crime into a larger movement and his wide focus on the bigger picture within which he claims his crime fits continues in Section 1. The keywords in Section 1 that lead us to descriptions of the crime (*struggle, resistance, movement, armed, war*) are words that would be more likely to be used in relation to large-scale conflicts, wars or military manoeuvres. For example, by looking at concordances of *armed* we find the phrase 'armed resistance' used to describe Breivik's general approach rather than his particular acts of resistance. As in the case of Elliot Rodger, individual actions are turned into nouns that hide detail and that mask individual action and sound more legitimate than describing actions as

murder; for example, ‘armed resistance against the current establishment is the right way to go’ (Figure 4.17: Line 33).

25	in Europe democratically. In other words, it explains why	armed resistance	is the only option we have left to save Europe from	1.10%
26	opened the borders to the Turkish Muslim hordes our	armed resistance	groups would experience thousands of new recruits	2.50%
27	Norwegians to resist the multiculturalist regime through	armed resistance	. Their unwillingness to do this makes them a central	79.10%
28	cheaply. Make sure you have many children or fight for the	armed resistance	movement. You may fight with the pen or with the	86.00%
29	Europeans as possible but most importantly continue the	armed resistance	. When that window of opportunity comes, we must	85.40%
30	are quite similar with the exception of me being an actual	armed resistance	fighter. I had researched hundreds of writers in the	88.80%
31	would be counter-productive as a majority of Europe’s	armed resistance	are agnostics, atheists or relatively secular	21.40%
32	appeal as we are a relatively cynical/cruel/goal oriented	armed resistance	group. However, our primary foundational principles	49.20%
33	/ Islamic demographic warfare” has been lost and that	armed resistance	against the current establishment is the right way to	1.60%
34	lead to him seeking “other means”. Because at this point,	armed resistance	and the violent overthrow of our regime is the only	79.50%
35	by the multiculturalist media) and rather resorts to	armed resistance	. From a tactical and pragmatcal viewpoint, the PC	79.30%

Figure 4.17 All instances of *armed resistance* in Breivik Section 1 [n-1: 25-35/38 instances of resistance]

He positions his actions as part of a war that will take place over a lengthy period of time (‘we have up to 70 years to win this war’ Figure 4.18: Line 9) with his role in it a minor contribution that is justified and legitimised by this wider conflict, and possibly authorised by a higher authority. As discussed in 2.4, Cohen (2001:89) argues that in a military situation, those who are lower in the hierarchy can avoid responsibility by simply following orders, and those higher up are further away from the killing and can therefore also avoid any sense of moral agency by asking someone else to carry it out. This wider focus enables him to zoom out to the greater good that he claims his act is a part of, neutralising his act by ‘appealing to higher loyalties’ (Sykes and Matza 1957), ‘diffusing’ his responsibility (Bandura et al. 1996) and attempting to morally justify it within the collective agency of the movement.

1	politics, society and the struggle: the Western European civil	war	, the PCCTS, Knights Templar and other armed	0.2%
2	you. We see the struggle or the current Western European civil	war	if you will as a three stage struggle. – Phase 1, 2009-2030	1.9%
3	, Brussels, Milan or Madrid will be the target tomorrow. This	war	has just begun and we have no intention of acting	3.0%
4	most efficient way of modern warfare. We are going to win this	war	eventually no matter how they chose to act. If they comply	3.9%
5	a struggle between capitalists and socialists, it is a cultural	war	between nationalists and internationalists. I consider	8.1%
6	and begin to support our cause. The ongoing cultural	war	will polarise societies and countries further and there will	10.4%
7	children are the ones who will have to fight in the coming civil	war	against the Islamist/cultural Marxist alliance. They will ask	14.0%
8	in order to become a Justiciar Knight? A: As this is a cultural	war	, our definition of being a Christian does not necessarily	18.3%
9	early in phase 1 and we have up to 70 years to win this	war	, before we are demographically overwhelmed and the	20.2%
10	increasing number of Western Europeans. The European civil	war	will progress the coming decades and our traitor enemies	40.1%
11	makes out 1-3% of the population, yet they have caused a civil	war	. It is apparent that dhimmitude and a bunkered society is	68.8%
12	available for all Europeans. We are in the middle of the	war	and many of them are not contributing as much as they	89.3%
13	as few people as possible know that there is an ongoing civil	war	. They do this to prevent recruitment. As history has shown	96.2%
14	for Christendom. All participants in the current Phase 1 civil	war	will be remembered as the courageous few, the immortal	99.5%

Figure 4.18 All Instances of *war* in Breivik Section 1 that refer to his future crime. [sorted diachronically: 14/33 total instances of war.]

The use of the term *struggle* (see Figure 4.19) invites empathy from the reader and implies that he and others who are on his side in this ‘war’ are the innocent victims, rather than the enemy. The Collins dictionary (2021) definition of a *struggle* describes a ‘long and difficult attempt to

achieve something such as freedom or political rights’, implying that a struggle is something that a group who is oppressed in some way undergoes, again contributing towards Breivik’s argument that he is innocent and those he wishes to harm are the villains, a neutralisation technique outlined by (Sykes and Matza 1957:668) as ‘denial of the victim’.

1	resistance fighter. The interview covers politics, society and the	struggle	: the Western European civil war, the PCCTS, Knights	0.2%
2	combating a tyrant oppressor. Q: Let’s say that the democratic	struggle	to save Europe from “Islamisation/Islamic	1.6%
3	the book “2083” but I can try to summarise it for you. We see the	struggle	or the current Western European civil war if you will as	1.9%
4	current Western European civil war if you will as a three stage	struggle	. -Phase 1, 2009-2030 – Phase 2, 2030-2070 – Phase	1.9%
5	in their globalised Marxist/globalist utopia. This is not even a	struggle	between capitalists and socialists, it is a cultural war	8.0%
6	. It would be better if they admitted the truth, that the democratic	struggle	to save Europe has been lost and the only way to	15.7%
7	To fight under the cross of the martyrs. The essence of our	struggle	is to defeat the cultural Marxist/multiculturalist	16.7%
8	them to support us. Because we might not succeed in our	struggle	to defeat the EUSSR cultural Marxist/multiculturalist	18.2%
9	feet and went about their usual business and abandoned our	struggle	and campaign altogether. It is really hard to tell. I do	19.7%
10	enough to expect a surrender. It is a formality in our 100 year	struggle	. If the expected scenario transpires (they refuse to	21.9%

Figure 4.19 Sample of instances of *struggle* in Breivik Section 1 [sorted diachronically: 1-10/22].

Although the total numbers of each of the node words in Figures 4.17-4.19 are not particularly high (totals can be seen in the square brackets at the end of each caption) they are significant in relation to other sections, and demonstrate that including keywords that are not just arbitrarily in the top ten or top 20 in terms of significance can allow semantic patterns to emerge when less frequent keywords are included, a wider net is cast, and semantically similar words are viewed together.

Lexis broadly relating to a military theme is also key in Section 2, but the focus narrows slightly to Breivik’s role in it and to the smaller steps in the conflict that he asserts are taking place. In this section, the words *weaponry* and *operation* are key and describe his plans rather than the wider war, albeit still in a vague way because at this point he provides few details beyond these terms. In Figure 4.20 the concordances of *operation* show that he now uses first person personal pronouns to discuss his role, and his part in the movement, rather than the indefinite articles and plural pronouns used before e.g. ‘I will move forward with the operation’ (Line 1), and ‘go with my secondary operation of lesser significance’ (Line 4). He also moves from the ideology and wider movement behind his plans to the ‘acquisition of weaponry’ (Figure 4.21: Line 2) and therefore to the more individual actions required to win the ‘struggle’ earlier outlined in Section 1.

1	generate the specified amount I will move forward with the	operation	, in order to market the compendium that way. As
2	of the compendium and the subsequent effectuation of the	operation	. Stock/option speculation did not work out. I will
3	cards ftw), which will force me into the next phase of the	operation	soon. A usual day for me involves email farming
4	the primary operation and instead go with my secondary	operation	of lesser significance. Such is the life of a
5	will have to limit any further involvement due to my primary	operation	. XXX XXX, the leader of Document.no,
6	operation. In this case I will have to cancel the primary	operation	and instead go with my secondary operation of
7	red wine so I may actually drink it, prior to execution of	operation	. I have given away a few of my paintings to
8	. I may or may not add more to this log prior to execution of	operation .	

Figure 4.20 Sample of instances of *operation* in Breivik Section 2 [1-8/13: sorted n-1]

1	soon and move on to next phase (research into weaponry , armour and explosives followed by	56.8
2	phase: research the possibilities for the acquirement of weaponry and armour, the making of WMDs	83.8
3	could to initiate the acquirement phase (acquirement of weaponry and armour etc). My agenda the following	82.1

Figure 4.21 S2 All instances of *Weaponry* in Breivik Section 2 [not sorted]

However, there is still a tendency here to avoid the detail of the act and to legitimise it within a wider cause. *Operation* and *weaponry* are still terms related to organised military manoeuvres rather than the actions of a one-man killer, and the packaging of his actions into nouns enables the detail to be neglected and the ownership to be obfuscated. Although he *owns* the operation by calling it ‘my’ operation (Figure 4.20 Lines 4-5), van Leeuwen (2008:33) argues that the use of possessive pronouns can enable someone to talk of an action in terms of something they possess rather than something that they do because it ‘backgrounds agency, changing it into “possession” of a process which has itself been turned into a “thing”’. Rather than describing what he is going to do within this operation in an agentive way, Breivik talks of the possible need to ‘cancel the primary operation’ (Line 6), as though it is something official that has been scheduled and discusses the ‘effectuation of his operation’ (Line 2), and the ‘execution’ of the operation (Lines 7-8). These terms seem to distance him from his actions further by again using a noun rather than a verb, and he describes ‘moving forward with it’ (Line 1), which is vague in terms of what he will actually be doing, and also talks of being forced into the next ‘phase’ of the operation (Line 3) rather than choosing to act.

4.4.3 Repackaging: automation

The term *phase* also appears as a keyword in this section (Section 2) and contributes to this sense of a formal stage in the conflict, which is vague, and has been set in motion by Breivik rather than being something actually carried out by him. It lends his actions an air of automation and is similar to the examples given by van Leeuwen (2008: 68) regarding the depiction of actions as natural processes that ‘develop’ or ‘change’. The Collins dictionary (2021) defines *phase* as ‘any distinct or characteristic period or stage in a sequence of events or chain of development’ and gives examples of its usage relating to natural events that are out of human control, such as phases of the moon, or stages that people pass through passively rather than actively partaking in. This is corroborated by a Word Sketch of *phase* from the enTenTen 15 corpus (Kilgarriff et al. 2014), which also highlights uses relating to clinical trials, stages of human development, and astrology, and illustrates that the word is often preceded by time adjectives such as *second*, *initial*, *next* and *final* (see Figure 4.22), and followed by nouns such

as *shift*, *transition* and *separation*, which are processes that happen rather than actions that are carried out by an agent.

modifiers of "phase"	nouns modified by "phase"	verbs with "phase" as object	adjective predicates of "phase"	possessors of "phase"	... is a "phase"
second ... the second phase of	transition ... phase transition	enter ... entered a new phase	conjugate ... phase conjugate	moon ... the moon's phases	phase ... phase is the phase
initial ... the initial phase	diagram ... phase diagram	complete ... completed the first phase	2b ... phase 2b clinical trial	project ... project's first phase	adolescence ... Adolescence is a life phase
next ... the next phase of	separation ... phase separation	begin ... beginning phase	coherent ... phase coherent with	trial ... trial's penalty phase	childhood ... childhood is a critical phase
pilot ... the pilot phase	III ... Phase III	plan ... the planning phase of	1b ... phase 1b clinical trial	Moon ... the Moon's phases	testing ... testing is an important phase
implementation ... the implementation phase	shift ... phase shift	prototyp ... the prototyping phase	complete ... phase is complete	Approach ... the Service Reform Approach's Discover phase	Phase ... Phase is the first phase
construction ... the construction phase	shifter ... phase shifter	launch ... launched the next phase	2a ... phase 2a clinical trial	initiative ... initiative's first phase	stage ... stage is a transitional phase
final ... the final phase of	trial ... phase III trial	disperse ... the dispersed phase	2B ... Phase	Poundbury ... relentless informality of	trial ... trial is a phase

Figure 4.22 Word Sketch of *phase* from enTenTen 15 using Sketch Engine [1,118,201 instances]

Concordances of *phase* within Section 2 also reveal how this word is used and provide more evidence that he sees this as a project with stages that have been set in motion, with one being completed before the next one can begin as though following a schedule. It is often preceded by the different phases of the preparations for the crime such as the ‘research phase’ or the ‘acquirement phase’ (see Figure 4.23). The automatism of this unagentive movement between the phases is also reinforced by some of the verbs that he precedes the phase with. He ‘initiates’ the research phase, in other words, setting it in motion, and talks of being ‘in a phase shift’ (also featured in the word sketch in Figure 4.22) and uses passive structures such as ‘The research phase will be followed by’, and even describes a phase happening of its own volition in Line 14 (‘The e-mail farming phase is coming towards its end’), using an unaccusative verb phrase (‘coming towards’) to describe something happening without human intervention.

1	book and email farming process. At this point I've extended the	writing	phase	4 times due to the urge to extend certain chapters. These delays
2	(for the actual operation) and begin on the physical	transformation	phase	. I have to wait until I have secured the compendium at multiple
3	and storage opportunities. I have budgeted 2 weeks for the	research	phase	, but it might take up to 6 weeks. The research phase will be
4	2 weeks. Time is of the essence, and I really need to start the	research	phase	(for the actual operation) and begin on the physical
5	to destroy my old hard drives and buy new ones before the	research	phase	, and then destroy these ones again before acquirement phase. It
6	shift), purge all evidence from other phase. 4. Initiate the	research	phase	: research the possibilities for the acquirement of weaponry and
7	for the research phase, but it might take up to 6 weeks. The	research	phase	will be followed by the acquirement phase where I have budgeted
8	phase will be followed by a one week only construction/	preparation	phase	. Btw, I just received what looks like a mass recruitment message
9	btw). 3. Change hard drives (phase shift), purge all evidence from	other	phase	. 4. Initiate the research phase: research the possibilities for the
10	. I really need to finalise this compendium soon and move on to	next	phase	(research into weaponry, armour and explosives followed by
11	. The compendium is complete and I currently preparing for the	next	phase	. I'm creating two different and "professional looking"
12	in credit limits (12 credit cards ftw), which will force me into the	next	phase	of the operation soon. A usual day for me involves email farming
13	hanging, as I still appreciate the works. The compendium is in its	last	phase	. I have worked quite hard the last two months to complete it. I
14	with email farming until now, on a daily basis. The email	farming	phase	is coming towards its end and I will conclude it by at least
15	the week before operation (today is Feb 7 th btw). 3. Change	hard	(phase	shift), purge all evidence from other phase. 4. Initiate the
16	and incompetence. March 2010 I have ended my "email	acquisition	phase	" ending up with a total 5700 Facebook contacts (2
17	phase where I have budgeted 4-8 months. The	acquisition	phase	will be followed by a one week only construction/preparation
18	into weaponry, armour and explosives followed by	acquisition	phase	). Will have to destroy my old hard drives and buy new ones before
19	up to 6 weeks. The research phase will be followed by the	acquisition	phase	where I have budgeted 4-8 months. The acquirement phase will
20	email address. It is still too snowy and cold to initiate the	acquisition	phase	(acquirement of weaponry and armour etc). My agenda the
21	my story, should I ever need it. If I do get arrested in this "	acquisition	phase	" I figure that they will have a hard time proving that my intention is
22	research phase, and then destroy these ones again before	acquisition	phase	. It takes ages to farm quality email addresses from Facebook.
23	om Nissen High School in Oslo. Autumn – 2009 – Phase shift I'm in	a	phase	shift with my project. The compendium is complete and I currently
24	of us know each other from Nissen High School in Oslo. Autumn	– 2009 –	Phase	shift I'm in a phase shift with my project. The compendium is

Figure 4.23 All instances of *phase* in Breivik Section 2 [sorted n-1]

Phase is also key in Section 3 and its use follows a similar pattern. At this point in time he is acquiring weapons and describes this as a 'vulnerable phase', once again hiding his own actions behind the initiation of phases and his feelings about phases (Figure 4.24: Lines 6 and 11), describing them as something to 'move on to' or 'get through'.

1	learned. August 2010, Phase shift – armour phase to	weapons	phase	; harddrive replaced with new one, and all evidence from
2	before I am done. Needless to say; this is an extremely	vulnerable	phase	. In fact, it is the most vulnerable phase of them all. If I get
3	is an extremely vulnerable phase. In fact, it is the most	vulnerable	phase	of them all. If I get through this phase without trouble I will be
4	phase, perhaps the most dangerous of all phases. If I messed	this	phase	up, by being flagged, reported to the authorities etc. I would
5	the system protectors at the national intelligence agency during	this	phase	. My concerns and angst relating to this phase impacted my
6	all phases, the "chemicals acquisition phase". If I succeed with	this	phase	I will have everything needed except the AN. December,
7	fact, it is the most vulnerable phase of them all. If I get through	this	phase	I will have everything needed except the AN. December,
8	the "explosives research phase". I've been looking forward to	this	phase	for a long time. October-November 2010 I have just
9	agency during this phase. My concerns and angst relating to	this	phase	impacted my motivation, to a point where I had to initiate
10	drive, again, and I'm now going to start the "explosives	research	phase	". I've been looking forward to this phase for a long time.
11	completed it is now time to move on to the "weapons	research	phase	" followed by the "weapons acquirement phase". I'm planning
12	2010 I have just completed the "explosives	research	phase	" and have summarized several new chapters for the
13	now cleared out all of the information (evidence) from the	previous	phase	and changed my hard drive once again. I am now ready to
14	for each of the coming phases. As soon as I have completed	one	phase	I extract the information for the next phase from my pin, after I
15	as I have completed one phase I extract the information for the	next	phase	from my pin, after I destroy my old hard drive. This has
16	Shouldn't pose a big problem until you initiate your	manufacturing	phase	. My armour is dug down in the wilderness somewhere and I
17	so far. However, when I will start the actual	manufacturing	phase	in a few months time, I will have no choice but to rent a

Figure 4.24 Sample of instances of *phase* in Breivik Section 3 [sorted n-1: 1-17/31 instances]

Although *phase* is only key in Sections 2 and 3, it is used in all sections of the text. The plot in Figure 4.25 is inexact, but shows its use throughout, with a higher concentration in the middle of the plot, which aligns with the appearance of this as a keyword in Sections 2 and 3. The collocates of this noun also support the argument that he is using it in a way that avoids detail and descriptions of agentive action. Significant collocates of *phase* in the whole text (n-1 and

n+1, MI score ranging from 9.49-3.34, min. frequency 3, min. length 3) are: *shift, acquirement, acquisition, vulnerable, research, chemistry, manufacturing, planning, next, last, and this*. In particular, the phrase ‘*phase shift*’ emerges here as a significant collocation. This noun phrase was also featured in the word sketch of *phase* retrieved from SketchEngine (see Figure 4.22 above) and seems to denote something that alters without external intervention. Breivik describes being in a *phase shift* (Fig 4.23 Lines 23-24) and examples of *phase shift* from the COCA Corpus also have connotations of something changing of its own volition (see Figure 4.26).

N	File	Words	Hits	Per 1000 words	Dispersion	Plot
1	phase AB WHOLE TEXT NEW	81,364	115	1.41 ptw	0.680	

Figure 4.25 WordSmith Tools plot of *phase* in Breivik’s text showing use over the span of the text.

caffeine, medication, etc. # Phase shift (h) stands for a **phase shift** and equals the difference between two exponentially weighted waking hour av
phase shift offered higher accuracy and less susceptibility to noise and entrained air. Dual **phase shift** is an enhanced version of the single-phase
, at which a system -- a market, or a city -- undergoes a **phase shift** and reorganizes itself in a more efficient and productive way. # Whitney,
back in level g>, its wavefunction has picked up a minus sign (a **phase shift** of Pi). " It's the same minus sign you get with
seen, " says Thrun. " I think that's going to be a **phase shift** that's going to take some time. " But with the new funding
1, the phase shifts are equivalent to spatial translations. That is, a **phase shift** would just amount to moving the entire lattice and wouldn't affect t
, the positioning of lengthy recovery sleep episodes seems to indicate that the average daily **phase shift** might have actually been much less than .
light is coherent and the refraction is sufficiently weak, the wave will accumulate a **phase shift** that, at the exit surface of the object, is proportione
shift between the counterpropagating light beams. When the coil is rotated, the Sagnac **phase shift** unbalances the modulation, and the rotation r

Figure 4.26 Sample concordance of *phase shift* from COCA corpus extracted April 2020 [9/139]

4.4.5 Microscopic packaging

Alongside the descriptions of phases and operations, there is also conversely a focus on detail. However, the depth of focus is so narrow that the wider context and perspective of the planned crime cannot be seen. In Section 2, many of the keywords relate to e-mail farming and describe the detail of gathering contacts and preparing to send the compendium to others. In Section 3, alongside the description of phases, there is a variety of lexis in the keyword list at this point relating to the weapons he plans to use (*bullets, pistol, glock*) and he goes into great detail concerning how he will obtain these weapons and the exact specifications of what he needs (Figure 4.27).

1	. My rifle application came through and I have now ordered a 800 Euro	silencer	specifically created for automatic and semi-automatic rifles. The
2	day during a steroid cycle). Logistic failures I ordered an ASE Ultra CQB-QM	silencer	(cost was 800 Euro) for my semi-automatic rifle in September
3	military order... I'm not going to take the chance with a regular non-auto	silencer	because it might overheat and explode during rapid fire, with the
4	supplier or by jet carrier. The only bonus that I get is that by limiting the	silencer	aspect allows me to order and equip a bayonet instead. So I
5	was to acquire a minimum of experience with, Gungnir, my semi-automatic	Ruger	Mini 14, .223 caliber and to calibrate my eo-tech sights properly at
6	. Total cost: 550 USW from Midway – GG & G Picatinny Style Scope Base	Ruger	Mini-14, Ranch only: 95 Euro – Aimshot Laser Sight and Flashlight
7	the police should reject my application. I have now sent an application for a	Ruger	Mini 14 semi-automatic rifle (5.56). It is the most "army like" rifle
8	a silencer specifically created for automatic and semi-automatic rifles. The	Ruger	Mini 14 costs about 1400 Euro including a customized trigger job
9	you are motivated enough. In any case; I would rather have preferred a	Ruger	Mini 30, but I already own a 7.62 bolt rifle and it is likely that the
10	50 USD, used as the outer layer on a fuse to prevent early detonation. –	Ruger	Mini 14 from national supplier, cost: 1100 Euro – Trigger job on
11	.- Ruger Mini14 from national supplier, cost: 1100 Euro – Trigger job on	Ruger	Mini 14, 100 Euro (bought in October I believe), to make the trigger
12	was a planned move to increase my chances for obtaining a Glock, legally.	Rifle	training December and January 3 rifle training sessions was
13	from a Chinese online supplier. 3-4 drops will be injected in hollow point	rifle	bullets, which will effectively turn it into a lethal chemical weapon.
14	. I have now sent an application for a Ruger Mini 14 semi-automatic	rifle	(5.56). It is the most "army like" rifle allowed in Norway, although it is
15	for a Ruger mini 14 semi-automatic rifle (5.56). It is the most "army like"	rifle	allowed in Norway, although it is considered a "poor man's" AR-15. I
16	an ASE ultra CQB-QM silencer (cost was 800 Euro) for my semi automatic	rifle	in September 2010 and the supplier, Intersport Bogstadveien, told me

Figure 4.27 Sample of instances of *weapon* related terms in Breivik Section 3 [1-16/83 instances].

In addition, although he is talking openly about obtaining them, the reason for purchasing these weapons (to kill a large number of people) is rarely mentioned, and when it can be found by expanding the context surrounding these keywords, it is still framed within language that implies the existence of a higher authority or a legitimate killing. In the following quote he does admit to planning to kill others, but describes it as an execution, as though it has been ordered from above or is a legitimate killing:

On the application form I stated: "hunting deer". It would have been tempting to just write the truth; "executing category A and B cultural Marxists/multiculturalist traitors" just to see their reaction:P (Breivik 2011: Section 3)

The change of focus through the text from the wider conflict within which Breivik situates his crime to the phases and operations of his individual part in the 'conflict' to the more detailed discussion of e-mail farming and obtaining weapons continues as the text progresses. Section 4 returns to reflections on Breivik's ideology and the cause, besides discussing the views of his friends and family, but from this section onwards the focus becomes very fine grained and detailed, and he hones in on these details to the extent that the crime is no longer within his field of vision, nor the reader's. The microscopic detail of the following sections on manufacturing chemicals and explosives mean that his detailed explanations of how to make explosives and the chemicals required to construct them predominates in Section 5 and 6. This is demonstrated in these sections through the keywords that emerge and the context surrounding them. There is no explicit reference to what he plans to do but complicated descriptions of the procedures and preparations he is carrying out:

Monday June 6 - Day 36: Bought two more blenders. Completed crushing 1600kg of fertilizer prills and mixing with diesel. I'm going to save the last 200kg and possibly use it as an "inner charge" mixed with purified RC fuel (nitro methane). I will most likely only have enough nitro for 1 x inner charge though. After completion of the grinding, it was prills and AN dust all over the place:)) My green AN-crushing clothing were now grey... Surely, I'm going to die from cancer within 12 months as I must have gotten a lot of this crap into my lungs even though I used a 3M mask... It took a while to clean it all up to prepare for the next phase. Watching "The Shield", a couple of episodes each day on average. I downloaded all 7 seasons in the start of May. (Breivik 2011: Section 6)

Thursday July 7 - Day 67: Re-distributed the micro balloons from the 16kg bags into 13 individual plastic bags each containing 1,2kg. Prepared 35 such bags - equivalent to 2,5% of the 50kg fertilizer bags. Started to do the same with the aluminium powder, re-distributing them from the 36kg metal drums to individual plastic bags each containing 6kg. Finished 6 such bags, but after further consideration I will use 5kg instead of 6. (Breivik 2011: Section 6)

Discussions around the ideology behind his actions and the wider cause have dwindled and he is now focusing on the details, not of the act, but of the tools required to commit the act. He has moved from a bird's eye view to a microscopic focus which effectively neutralises the actual detail of the crime. In the former, the crime is lost in the wider 'conflict' and, in the latter, the detail means that the act being prepared for is ignored. The sense that he is part of something wider is still there because it directs the description of explosive manufacturing to the reader as though they may want to do the same in the future (this will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5), but military terms and references to phases and operations are no longer used in the later sections of the compendium (e.g. see Figure 4.28 for normalised frequencies of phase in each section).

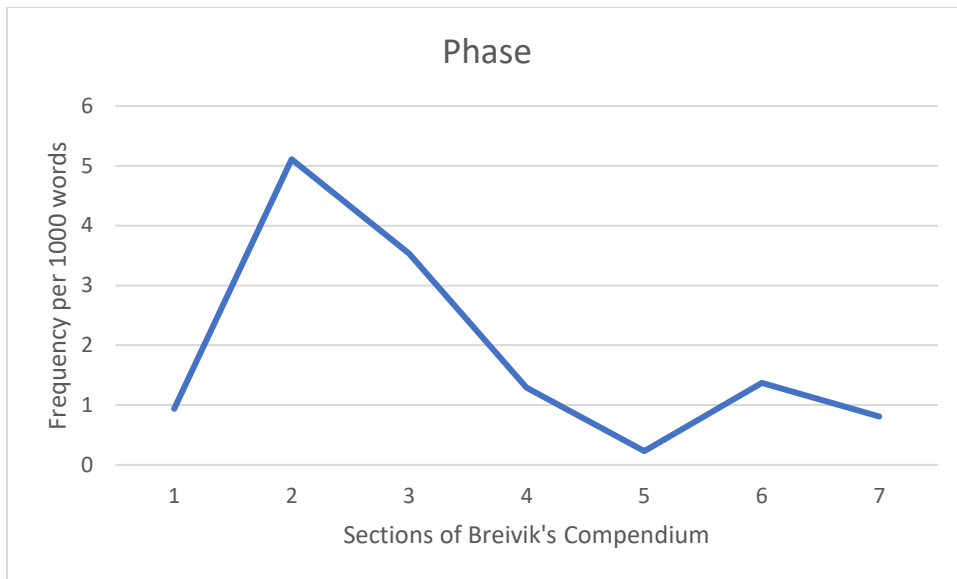


Figure 4.28 Normalised frequency of *phase* in all sections in Breivik's text.

There are few words in the keyword lists in these later sections (5, 6 and 7) that describe the crime in some way. Breivik no longer refers to words that pass agency to a higher authority, a wider movement, or to events or phases that are out of his control. However, the actions that he describes are so focused on detail that it enables him to neutralise the final act that he is working towards, the people who he will kill and how he will be killing them, and in turn he avoids his moral agency:

As for the content of the crate, it was in perfect condition. Not a single drop of liquid had penetrated the crate and no moisture had entered the rubber seal whatsoever. This means that one can bury electronic devices as well without it being affected at all!!!:-) These Pelican cases are simply amazing for this purpose. I'm sure you can bury it for several years, even below permafrost, perhaps up to 10 years, before the rubber seal rots away. I'm very impressed! (Breivik 2011: Section 7)

Cohen (2001: 89-94) describes the way in which soldiers are trained to focus on details, enabling them to avoid the bigger picture, and explores the way in which individuals can focus on individual tasks that seem harmless in themselves rather than seeing the overall harm caused by the aggregation of them, meaning that responsibility for violence can be avoided by focusing on one step in a chain of actions that kills people, and it is possible that this strategy is used

either consciously or subconsciously to avoid thinking about the crime, or avoid acknowledging to the reader that he is going to commit the crime.

4.4.6 Repackaging during Breivik's Trial

As discussed in Chapter 2 (2.10.1), the way in which Breivik's crime was packaged was a central part of his trial. He was assessed as having schizophrenia early on in the investigation (Hemmingby & Bjørgo, 2016:81) and the crime was therefore packaged as the act of someone whose mental disorder meant that he was not fully aware of his actions or able to act differently. However, possibly as a result of pressure from Breivik, who did not want his beliefs to be cast aside as being the result of a mental disorder, and the Norwegian public, who wanted to see him punished rather than treated for schizophrenia, another psychiatric assessment was ordered (Hemmingby & Bjørgo, 2016: 82), which concluded that he in fact had narcissistic personality disorder (Leonard et al. 2014:408). This meant that under Norwegian law he could be declared sane and made accountable for his actions. His defence team then repackaged his crime as the actions of someone who was fully aware of what he was doing. As Wollenberg (2014) points out, this interpretation of the crime pleased both Breivik and his condemners because although he was punished for his actions as a result of the change to a plea of criminal responsibility, his message was not diluted by a delusional plea.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the ways in which Rodger and Breivik position themselves in relation to their crimes, how this changes over time, and what this may tell us about the way in which they navigate their sense of moral agency. In the case of Rodger, the earlier sections of the text largely discuss his childhood, and it is not until the final few sections that he begins to describe his bitterness at the world and his plans to seek revenge. In these later sections he overpackages his planned attack in a number of ways. He begins these later sections by describing it as a grandiose and world changing event over which he has no control, using abstract nouns, nominalisations or inanimate subjects combined with vague or unaccusative verbs which indicate that he sees this as something that will happen of its own accord, and which he has no control or choice over. His use of tenses also distances him from the crime in these later sections. He uses the past tense to describe his decision to act, but the future to describe the actions themselves, leaving his narrating self-distanced from both. Sections 7 and 8 describe the last few months before the crime, and in these sections he also begins to overpackage the crime in ways that seem so exaggerated and graphic that they appear to be fictional and are

even more violent than his final actions. Although he does at certain points directly describe what he is going to do, placing himself as the subject and agent of the sentence in which he describes the killing and the weapons he will use, he dehumanises his victims and potentially makes them easier to harm. He describes himself as powerful and god-like or as a villain in a comic or film in what appears to be the opposite of euphemistic and sanitising language, portraying his future killings as though they are scenes from movies or comics. This possibly evokes what could be described as a virtual agency through which he does not need to acknowledge the reality of, or his responsibility for, his actions and which may provide the opportunity for him to rehearse his crimes and build up his own agency, while potentially desensitising himself to his own planned violence.

Breivik also repackages his crimes, using grandiose labels for them, and describing them in military terms at the beginning of his manifesto. He begins the text by repackaging his crime as a non-specific legitimised military manoeuvre, which enables him to appeal to higher loyalties and systematise his plans as part of a wider movement. Like Rodger, he describes his actions as a process or ‘phase’ that is automatic and happens of its own volition, with him simply initiating it or passing through it, using unaccusative and semantically passive verbs to imply this. This style alters as he proceeds with his preparations and begins to describe the details of purchasing weapons and creating explosives. Where before the detail of his crimes was avoidable because it was subsumed within the larger operation, from Section 2 onwards he does describe his own role in the operation and stops framing the crime as authorised by a higher authority, but is now so consumed with detail that the broader picture of what he is planning to do does not seem to be visible to him. Both of these positions (bird’s-eye view and microscopic view) enable him to neutralise the harm he is planning by denying the harm and the victim of the harm through his focus on either the system that his actions supposedly sit within, or the tiny details of his step-by-step preparations, which become more prevalent as the text progresses and he approaches the day of his crime.

It should be noted that the use of grandiose terms for his crimes and the implication that his actions are part of a large and world changing operation is in line with the assessment of Breivik as having narcissistic personality disorder (Leonard et al. 2014: 408), one of the features of which can be a tendency to speak in grandiose terms about the self (American Psychiatric Association, 2013: 669). However, as discussed above, this assessment of Breivik was not the only one that was undertaken (see Chapter 2), and in the case of Rodger, who also uses grandiose language to describe his crimes, he was not diagnosed with such a disorder (Santa Barbara County Sheriff’s Office 2015). In fact, whether or not Breivik’s grandiose

language is a result of a disorder does not impact on our analysis of his sense of moral agency, because there may be many influences on his world view, sense of moral agency, and the language that embodies it, including mental illness, and it is the resulting sense of agency that is being examined rather than the causes of it. However, it is worth noting this alignment with his diagnosis and the different influences on his sense of self in relation to the world.

Overall, both of these perpetrators repackage their crimes in ways that may enable them to avoid fully acknowledging their own role in them and indicate that they navigate their moral agency through the repackaging of their crimes in complex ways that alter over the years and months leading to their crimes. They position themselves as both ‘at the receiving end of a person to world direction of fit’ but also try to present themselves as ‘self determined’ and ‘heroic’ (Bamberg 2012:106). Where the latter is predominant, it is still combined with a reconstrual of their crimes in ways that rehearse, exaggerate or obscure their real world agency. In the case of both Rodger and Breivik, this repackaging is being consciously or subconsciously used when the crimes are imminent (although in Breivik’s case in particular, it begins many years before the crime). It allows them to distance themselves in various ways from what they are going to do and obfuscate their own sense of responsibility for the harm they are going to cause, which potentially makes it easier to carry out their plans. The following chapter continues to build up a picture of this complex positioning, by examining Breivik’s sense of moral agency through his positioning of other people in relation to himself.

Chapter 5: Positioning in relation to others

5.1 Introduction

The way in which people position themselves in relation to others is integral to the way in which identity is developed within a self-narrative. According to Bruner (2002: 66) we construct ourselves by ‘comparing our accounts of ourselves with the accounts that others give us of themselves’. Bamberg (2012) argues that besides exploring the consistency of their sense of self over time and navigating the extent to which they feel able to act on the world, narrators also build up their own identity in the narrative by expressing their similarity and difference to others. This element of identity navigation may be key to gaining an insight into a criminal’s sense of moral agency because it indicates how they position themselves in relation to those who they are going to harm, those who may condemn their harm, and others who may have similar desires to harm others. In the case of this particular dataset, the ‘others’ against whom the narrators position themselves may also be the audience (those reading their texts), and among these may be family members or friends who they want to explain their actions to. Harré and van Langenhove (1991: 405) describe the positioning of the self in relation to others as ‘a way in which people dynamically produce and explain the everyday behaviour of themselves and others’, and describe it as being in a state of flux. This chapter explores the ways in which Breivik positions himself in relation to the other key players in his narrative and how this changes over time in the text, besides examining the extent to which he diffuses agency through this positioning, and how this may reflect his sense of moral agency.

5.2 Contextualising the analysis

5.2.1 Proximity to victims

The way in which victims are portrayed in criminal narratives has been posited as something that may be an enabler of harm. Among five other techniques that an offender may use to neutralise elements of a crime in order to enable them to act without violating their own moral code, Sykes and Matza's (1957) widely applied criminological theory of neutralisation includes the denial of the existence of a victim. By denying that there is a victim being harmed, Sykes and Matza argue that the perpetrator is better able to inflict harm without feeling responsible and without breaking their own moral code, and they may do this by, for example, arguing that the harm is in fact a form of retaliation, that the victim deserves the harm, or that the victim is

difficult to pinpoint because of their physical distance or vagueness in the eyes of the perpetrator. Presser (2013) also explores the way in which those who we harm might be diminished by constructing them as different to the person harming them and in some cases are framed as so different that they are dehumanised by comparing them to unpleasant animals (e.g. cockroaches, rats). However, Presser (2013) does acknowledge exceptions to the evidence that we are more likely to harm those who are different to us, giving the example of domestic violence which occurs between people who are intimate and therefore familiar. Presser (2013:75) makes sense of this by looking at the way in which abusers create power imbalances between themselves and their victims by limiting their victims' freedoms while maintaining their own, and applying different rules to them than they would to themselves. In addition, Bandura (2005:136) argues that if we see ourselves as similar to another person then we are less likely to harm them because 'The joys and suffering of similar persons are more vicariously arousing than are those of strangers or of those divested of human qualities' and explains that one of the ways of rendering them dissimilar is to reduce them to non-human entities. Osofsky et al. (2005) also discuss the dehumanisation of victims in a way that makes them easier to harm and give the example of executioners describing those who they are going to kill as subhuman in a way that enables them to reduce their empathy and compassion for them and makes the job of harming them easier. An additional strategy outlined by Cohen (2001:96) is the use of 'victim reversal myths' by those offending in order to blame the victims for instigating the situation involving the harm and to assert the perpetrator's own victim status. Cohen gives examples of the use of this victim reversal to justify harm in historical conflicts (e.g. Northern Irish, Bosnian/Serb, Israeli-Palestinian) and explains that victim reversal within these contexts is embedded in historical ideologies that exclude victims from the perpetrators' moral community, 'placing them outside the boundary within which the values and rules of fairness apply' (Cohen 2001:96). Similarly, van Leeuwen (2008: 35-36) explains that people may also be linguistically genericised (represented as a class rather than as an individual) using mass nouns instead of specific reference in order to position them as 'distant "others" rather than people who "we" have to deal with in our everyday lives' and gives the example of the way in which 'In middle-class-oriented newspapers, governments and agents tend to be referred to specifically and "ordinary people" generically'.

5.2.2 Appealing to or neutralising condemners

This closeness to or distance from others also applies to those who may condemn the perpetrator, and this not only includes those who may formally condemn them, but also anyone

hearing their story and evaluating their behaviour. According to Järvinen (2000), perpetrators' accounts of crime tend to contain defences against hypothetical accusations that may be levelled at the perpetrator and the authors of these accounts are mindful of who will be listening to or reading them. Guo (2012) gives examples of criminals appealing to the researcher and arguing that anyone would have carried out exactly the same actions were they to find themselves in the same situation. In a more extensive study, O'Connor (2000:104) explores the use of an inclusive *you* in the oral narratives of incarcerated offenders ('You [sic] in a helpless position. There's nothing you could do for yourself') to bring the reader into the offender's experience and appeal to the similarities between the offender giving the account and the listener. In this way the offenders that she studies are appealing to the similarities between themselves and others in order to justify their actions and normalise them and indicate the self as 'generically or commonly like others in that position' (O'Connor (2000:77)). However, the presentation of differences between the offender and those who may condemn them are also relevant. Within neutralisation theory, Sykes and Matza (1957) explore the way in which offenders may question the judgement of those who condemn them and portray them as deviant, thereby diluting their condemnation for the offender's act.

5.2.3 Similarity to and difference from others who commit crime

Appealing to those who are listening to or reading criminal accounts may also involve aligning or de-aligning oneself with others who commit crime. Bandura et al. (1996) discuss the use of advantageous comparison to attempt to make one's crimes seem less severe, and O'Connor (2000:132) gives examples of criminals comparing themselves to others on a continuum of offending as though they are different from those who people condemn for 'worse' crimes. Presser (2004:88) gives examples of violent offenders describing other offenders as 'weirdos' in an attempt to position themselves as being less harmful, as does Ugelvik (2015), whose ethnographic study of criminals in an Oslo prison shows a tendency for offenders to distance themselves from rapists and sex offenders in an attempt to differentiate themselves from them and preserve their own moral status.

Alternatively, offenders may attempt to emphasise their shared goals and similarities with other offenders in order to diffuse their blame, in the same way as the tasks involved in an execution are shared among a team (see discussion in 2.4) rather than the killing being the responsibility of only one person (Osofsky et al. 2005). Bandura et al. (1996) argue that harm carried out by a group is easier to attribute to others, and therefore that the use of language that diffuses agency by sharing it with others allows offenders to avoid taking responsibility. They

support this argument with examples of various studies showing that people are more likely to be cruel when responsibility is assigned to a group rather than them being personally accountable. Darics and Koller (2019) explore the use of *we* to share agency in business communication and argue that it is frequently very difficult to pinpoint who *we* refers to. They suggest that the use of such vague referencing may make the distinction between collective agency and individual agency difficult to navigate in a text and argue that this can be an intentionally vague assignment of responsibility. To build on these concepts, the remainder of this chapter will analyse the ways in which Breivik positions himself in relation to victims, those who he anticipates will condemn him, and other criminals, with a particular focus on the way in which he shares his agency with the audience and the wider terrorist group of which he claims to be a part.

5.3 Diffusion of agency in the manifesto of Anders Breivik

5.3.1 Overview of analysis

In order to ascertain to what extent Breivik aligns or de-aligns himself with the other key players in his narrative (e.g. the reader, the victims, and other criminals) and explore the trajectory his sense of moral agency takes as he plans his crime, the ways in which he describes other people in his narrative were analysed as follows. Initially, keywords were calculated to investigate words that are significantly under or overused in each section and to begin to examine his descriptions of others over time. These keywords were calculated by dividing the text into 7 sections (see Chapter 3 Table 3.2 or Appendix 1 for these sections and see 3.3.2 for an explanation of how the text was divided) and then calculating the keywords for each subcorpus in comparison with the whole of the text minus that section. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, only those keywords with a BIC score of >2 were included and they were ordered by descending effect size (Log Ratio).

Table 5.1 shows the keywords relating to people in each section. These were manually filtered from the full list of keywords (see Appendix 2 for a full keyword list and see Glossary on page viii for definitions of many of these keywords) to include only nouns and pronouns used to refer to others. These nouns and pronouns were then used as probes to access fuller descriptions of people (including other word classes). The filtered list includes some words that initially seemed to refer to non-human entities but on analysis of concordance lines could be seen to represent large groups of people. Each instance of such words was manually checked to ensure consistency of usage and in turn to decide what or who they referred to and whether

or not they should be included in the analysis. Examples of this are *Israel*, which is used to describe a community of people or a state consisting of those governing rather than a geographical place ('Jews are opportunistic and seek to promote and to protect Israel's interests' Breivik 2011: Section 1), and *societies*, which is used in a similar way to describe the people who make up those societies ('The ongoing cultural war will polarise societies and countries further and there will be two main factions' Breivik 2011: Section 1). van Leeuwen (2008:37) describes the use of such linguistic assimilation to collectively describe the actions of a group of people from a particular country or place and explains that the device is often used to render certain social actors as less important than those described in individual terms. In this case it simply seems to be a result of the fact that Breivik is describing large groups as part of his ideological argument.

Table 5.1 Positive and negative keywords referring to people in Breivik (2011) BIC Score >2 and ordered by effect size (Log Ratio). Pronouns in bold.

Section 1	
Positive	society (36.31), gangs (25.27), youth (20.50), nazis (12.55), elites (10.96), children (10.96), youths (6.18), racists (6.18), families (6.18), christians (6.18), [name: friend] (6.18), governments (4.59), societies (3.00), multiculturalists (3.00), heroes (3.00), jews (87.60), community (33.36), church (25.73), Israel (16.66), organisation (19.67), muslims (70.76), europeans (44.51), us (94.78) , PCCTS* (14.36), our (171.77) , group (12.60), brothers (17.61), nationalists (3.70), government (9.90), their (104.81) , groups (7.42), we (178.33) , family (5.20), everyone (17.62), knights (6.90), who (43.26) , individuals (9.08), templar (2.55), they (126.47) , people (21.37), your (16.99) , them (16.46)
Negative	I (215.58) , my (4.88)
Absent	<i>no absent keywords referring to people</i>
Section 2	
Positive	[name: cultural conservative blog editor] (11.68), judges (5.93), contacts (19.63), friend (3.15), him (8.13) friends (5.96), he (3.68) , my (3.12) , I (9.27)
Negative/Absent	<i>no negative or absent keywords referring to people</i>
Section 3	
Positive	clerk (24.59), customs (20.10), tourists (2.15), dealers (2.15), supplier (128.53), suppliers (20.20), I (11.52)
Negative	our (18.86) , he (4.53) , we (18.10) , their (2.47) , they (5.17)
Absent	<i>jews (4.14)</i>

Section 4	
Positive	KT (43.78), NSDAP (13.17), monsters (13.17), UDI (7.05), NDL (7.05), EDL (45.05), monster (5.72), [name: friend] (4.71), [name: friend] (3.66), girlfriend (5.20), conservatives (4.97), nazi (3.07), multiculturalist (23.56), his (17.34), her (6.42), she (4.16), he (4.28)
Negative	<i>you (14.83)</i>
Absent	<i>no absent keywords referring to people</i>
Section 5	
Positive	you (129.00)
Negative	<i>their (42.51), people (27.94), our (47.88), we (72.23), friends (5.29), him (3.41), his (2.47), who (12.49), they (59.39), he (10.11), my (14.39)</i>
Absent	<i>us (28.20), muslims (13.42), jews (12.39), europeans (7.24), individuals (5.17), her: (3.46)</i>
Section 6	
Positive	owners (2.15), neighbours (3.20), she (34.78), I (101.24)
Negative	<i>your (16.00), us (7.22), you (71.72), we (28.21), their (8.23), they (10.56)</i>
Absent	<i>our (37.73), muslims (4.80), multiculturalist (4.58), jews (4.13)</i>
Section 7	
Positive	sarah (4.56)*, howells (4.56)*, I
Negative	<i>they (26.74)</i>
Absent	<i>we (40.12), our (22.82), us (6.60)</i>
	<i>*This name has not been anonymised because Sarah Howells is a singer/songwriter Breivik listened to.</i>

The filtered keywords in Table 5.1 were then explored in more detail through expanded concordances, collocation analysis and searching for meaning by looking at their wider context in the original text. Overall, the keywords that are used to refer to people are reflective of the difference in Breivik's focus over time in the text. For example, the first section consists of a lengthy Q&A, with Breivik discussing his ideologies by interviewing himself. He explores his views on multiculturalism and the actions of various right and left-wing groups and nationalities, and therefore the list of positive keywords at this point is dominated by nouns

relating to these (e.g. *multiculturalists, Nazis, Jews, and Europeans*). At this point he also refers to the *Knights Templar*, which is the fictitious group of which he claimed to be a part and to have planned the attack with.

The focus of Section 2 is the compilation of the e-mail addresses of like-minded individuals in preparation for the distribution of this ‘compendium’, and therefore the positive keywords at this point refer to online contacts and to what extent his ideology differs from his friends ([*name: friend*], *contacts, friends*). Section 3 mainly features key nouns relating to methods of obtaining weapons and chemicals (*suppliers, dealers*), and in Section 4 Breivik reflects on his ideology and again includes names of political groups but also refers to people he meets with during this period such as his friends and their girlfriends. In the final three sections there are very few keywords referring to people, and this may be because Breivik has now moved to the farmhouse to start what he calls the final *phase* of his *operation*. He is no longer socialising with people or discussing his ideology but is now working alone on his preparations and is very much focused on the detail of these. His only brief and occasional interactions and mentions of others relate to neighbours and owners of the farm.

5.3.2 *Sharing agency with the audience*

Beyond the overall topic of each section as demonstrated by content words, a sense of Breivik’s moral agency and the position of others within it begins to emerge through the use of function words to refer to others. Firstly, it is noticeable that *you* is the only keyword referring to people in Section 5, indicating that it is used significantly more in this section in comparison to the rest of the text. In fact, the only section in which it is a keyword is Section 5, and it is a negative keyword in Sections 6 and 7. By exploring the use of this pronoun further in the fifth section, a key insight is provided into how he positions others in relation to his act and to what extent he shares agency with them.

However, before investigating this further it is worth considering who Breivik’s intended audience was and therefore who he is positioning himself as similar or different to. According to Hemmingby and Bjørge (2016:62) he sent the text to 8109 e-mail addresses, but because of technical issues it only reached 958 of its intended recipients. In Section 2 Breivik explains that he will distribute the manifesto to others with similar views, but will also send it to those who have opposing views. This is partly because many of those with right-wing views have little power or influence, but is also aimed at ensuring that those with a multi-culturalist agenda are aware that they are being watched. Breivik argues that ‘it is important that “our enemies know how we see what they are doing” ’:

The email farming phase is coming towards its end and I will conclude it by at least attempting to acquire as many email addresses to members of parliament in Western European countries as possible. Because I think focusing solely on distributing the compendium to patriots would be a mistake as they have little to no political influence in the EUSSR/USASSR⁶ hegemony. It is important that our enemies know 'how we see what they are doing'. The national intelligence agencies of Europe will do everything they can to limit its distribution. (Breivik 2011: Section 2)

Section 5 consists of a detailed description of the process of making chemical weapons, and the dominance of the pronoun *you* here is a key part of the style used to explain this. Rather than writing this in the first person and describing his own actions, Breivik presents this process as the potential future actions of another perpetrator by writing it as a guide to the optimum approach to take when manufacturing weapons. Here, Breivik repeatedly uses *you*, which seems to address the readers of his document and to direct them on the best approach to take. The instructions (see Figure 5.1) range from detailed measurements ('You can mix in the acetylsalicylic acid quickly': Line 130) and advice on technique ('...if you make mistakes, they will be significantly smaller' : Line 128) when making chemicals, to remembering to set up the television ('You will start to curse the fact that you didn't set up the TV nearby' Line 115) and eat before commencing the procedure ('Don't start if you are physically tired or if you need to eat anytime soon' Line 123).

⁶ These acronyms amalgamate EU (European Union) and USA (United States of America) with USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). EUSSR is used by Eurosceptics to draw negative similarities between the Soviet Union and the European Union.

112	all except one guide failed to mention was the importance of the glassware	you	are using. I used 2 x 1L beakers and a 1 x 1L conical flask. All of my beaker	44.5%
113	15 minutes doing that on my most successful batch (with 2x5 minute breaks).	You	can imagine the agony of sitting there with a 3M gas mask on a rotten chair	45.8%
114	hurting adding 0,3g every 15 sec. Its repetitive, extremely boring and frustrating.	You	will start to curse the fact that you didn't set up a TV nearby, or the fact that	46.0%
115	its repetitive, extremely boring and frustrating. You will start to curse the fact that	you	didn't set up a TV nearby, or the fact that you only brought one hot plate	46.1%
116	You will start to curse the fact that you didn't set up a TV nearby, or the fact that	you	only bought one hot plate stirrer instead of three. The prospect of doing this	46.2%
117	is an extremely tedious and frustrating process. With three hot plate stirrers	you	can add 0,3g in three separate conical flasks speeding up this bitch of a	46.7%
118	. Also, its less suspicious to buy 1 than 3 :) as three mostly indicates that	you	are going to resell them too much sodium added per minute ->	47.0%
119	wouldn't make a difference – I eventually learned that it makes all the difference).	You	need to be rested and focused before you begin this process (I was	48.1%
120	that it makes all the difference). You need to be rested and focused before	you	begin this process (I was exhausted on several occasions which made me	48.1%
121	which made me lose focus a few times and thus ruin the batch). As long as	you	focus and add the sodium nitrite 2-4 times per minute x 0,2-0,4g you	48.3%
122	As long as you focus and add the sodium nitrite 2-4 times per minute x 0,2-0,4g	you	should be fine. Prepare mentally for the nitration process. Don't start if you	48.4%
123	you should be fine. Prepare mentally for the nitration process. Don't start if	you	are physically tired or if you need to eat any time soon. Just prepare and if	48.5%
124	mentally for the nitration process. Don't start if you are physically tired or if	you	need to eat any time soon. Just prepare and if possible have a radio, TV or	48.5%
125	have a radio, TV or iPod at your disposal. &. Don't assume that the precipitate	you	end up with will be above 60% purity. Consider the precipitate you end up	48.7%
126	precipitate you end up with will be above 60% purity. Consider the precipitate	you	end up with grapes, whereas the actual pure PA crystals are the seeds in	48.8%
127	with grapes, whereas the actual pure PA crystals are the seeds in the grapes. If	you	do the process flawlessly the seeds will be large, but if you make mistakes	49.0%
128	In the grapes. If you do the process flawlessly the seeds will be large, but if	you	make mistakes, they will be significantly smaller. This will save you the	49.1%
129	large, but if you make mistakes, they will be significantly smaller. This will save	you	the disappointment I encountered :-). Out of 1,2kg of unpurified PA	49.1%
130	1,5kg of unpurified PA substance and perhaps 0,8-1kg of pure PA crystals. 8.	You	can mix in the acetylsalicylic acid quickly. I never spent more than 5	49.5%

Figure 5.1 Sample instances of *You* in Breivik Section 5 [sorted diachronically: 112-130/205]

The frequency graph in Figure 5.2 demonstrates the change in relative frequency of this pronoun throughout the whole of Breivik's text and demonstrates that besides the peak in the use of this pronoun in Section 5, its use is also higher in Section 1 in comparison to other sections, but not significantly (*you* does not occur in the list of keywords for Section 1, although *your* does).

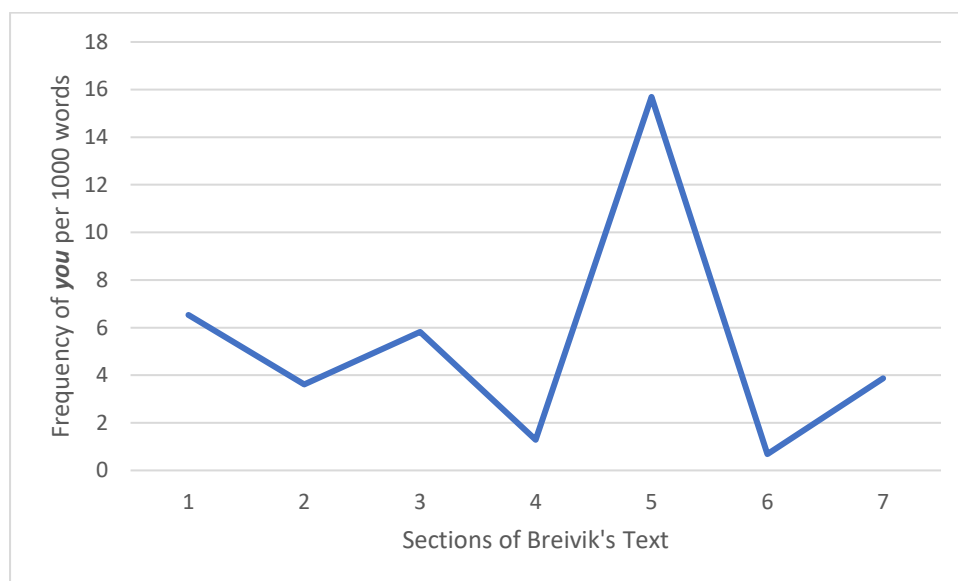


Figure 5.2 Normalised frequencies of *you* (per 1000 words) in each section of Breivik's text.

The higher usage of *you* at the beginning of the text is partly a result of the Q&A in which Breivik asks himself questions beginning with *you*. While the frequency of *you* in Section 1 is not statistically significant, the difference in the meaning of *you* between Sections 1 and 5 highlights a key element of the way in which Breivik navigates his sense of moral agency. In

Section 1, the questions use a referential *you* to refer to Breivik directly and to the group he claims to be working with:

Q: Why do you say you're not fascists when you support the suspension of the constitution during a coup?

A: That's a good question. First of all, the current multiculturalist regimes of Western Europe are not at all democratic, They haven't been democratic since the 1950s.

(Breivik 2011: Section 1)⁷

This contrasts with generic uses of *you* in Section 5 that are impersonal and used to describe general truths that are applicable to all, including Breivik, the reader and people generally (see Figure 5.3). It is worth noting here that the use of generic pronouns can be a problematic area of English for speakers of Scandinavian languages (Breivik's first language is Norwegian). According to Davidsen-Nielson and Harder (2001), because Scandinavian languages have the generic pronoun *man*, which is used similarly to generic *one*, *you* and *they* in English, Norwegian learners of English can sometimes over-use generic *you*. However, Breivik is extremely proficient in his use of English in the text (there is very little evidence of first language interference), the increased frequency of *you* does not occur in all sections of the text, and generic referral is not the most prevalent use of this pronoun in his text.

26	the "boiling down process" at first. The guides I had reviewed suggested	you	use specially hot-temperature porcelain plates, use of speciality lab	9.7%
27	prevent sprouting and to use all necessary protection gear. As such; I assumed	you	need specialty cooking plates that could reach very high temperatures	9.9%
28	extreme temperatures. Needless to say; the guide was wrong on all accounts!	You	don't need any of this to concentrate sulfuric acid! Not hot-temperature	10.3%
29	I was done boiling. Some sources said glass was required while other said	you	needed specialty plastic. This was incorrect, as I stored my 90-95% acid in	11.9%


Figure 5.3 Sample of instances of *you* in Breivik Section 5 [sorted diachronically: 26-29/205]

In fact, the predominant use of *you* in Section 5 of Breivik's text (89.5%: See Table 5.2) is positioned between the above two uses (referential and generic) in terms of specificity. It is used to describe neither a specific person, nor people in general, but someone at a point in between, referring to a hypothetical person/reader who Breivik imagines he is

⁷ Given the nature of these texts, there are several typos and errors in them that have not been corrected for the purpose of this study. These will not be highlighted using [sic] and will be left in the texts to preserve their authenticity. Any errors in quotations in this thesis are the perpetrators' own.

instructing and who may want to repeat his actions. As mentioned in 5.2.2, O'Connor (2000:76) explores the use of an 'involving *you*' to address the reader and bring the audience into the world of the narrator, to elicit their compassion and to highlight their similarities and shared experience. Tannen (2007:134 [1989]) describes the involving effect detailed descriptions can have on a reader or listener and O'Connor (2000:77) argues that the combination of these detailed descriptions and an involving *you* enables offenders to index themselves but also their readers and as a result the 'audience is being involved through the positioning as fellow agent' (e.g. 'you could feel it through the skin', (O'Connor 2000: 75)). There is one example of this 'involving *you*' in Section 5 of Breivik's text ('You can imagine the agony of sitting there with a 3M gas mask and a rotten chair' Breivik 2011: Section 5), but the predominant way in which this less specific *you* is used by Breivik is different.

Table 5.2 Uses of *you* in Breivik Section 5

	Most specific	Referential <i>you</i>	0 instances
		Hypothetical <i>you</i>/ Involving <i>you</i>	184 instances (89.5%)/1 instance (0.5%)
	Least Specific	Impersonal/generic <i>you</i>	20 instances (10%)

Arguably Breivik's use of *you* goes one step further than O'Connor's involving *you* in terms of the way in which he invites the reader into his world and assumes a similarity between himself and the reader. His hypothetical *you* and its co-text in his instruction giving has a similar impact to O'Connor's involving *you* because although it does not clearly index him as well as the reader, the instructions that he gives originate from his recent actions and assume that we, the audience, are similar to him and may wish to carry out a similar procedure (e.g. 'This will save you the disappointment I encountered :-)' Breivik 2011: Section 5). However, rather than simply encouraging the reader to imagine sensations in a way that may be intended to evoke compassion and reduce the distance between the audience and the narrator (as in O'Connor's examples), Breivik closes the distance between him and the reader even further by implying that the audience has the same views as him and may even be planning violent acts similar to his in the future. In Figure 5.4 he instructs the reader on such detailed aspects of

preparation as colour changes in the chemicals being used (Lines 188-189), and how long to stir them for (Line 192).

186	1 x hot plate stirrer with 2 x stir bars is not necessarily required but will save	you	a lot of grief -highly recommended 3 x 1L conical flasks (for purification of	80.00%
187	To this and swirl it a little bit. It will not all dissolve however, so don't assume	you	're getting anywhere by swirling it for 24 hours. Optional: I did this on a hot	81.10%
188	. After this amount of time, most if not all of the sulfur should be dissolved. If	you	sit and watch it the whole time, you will notice a color change from clear to	82.40%
189	If not all of the sulfur should be dissolved. If you sit and watch it the whole time,	you	will notice a color change from clear to green to blue to puke green, to pea	82.40%
190	left. So I changed the approach by placing the beaker on a hot plate stirrer. Yes,	you	will get sulfur on the sides this way but just wipe it away with a napkin once	83.20%
191	to use my litmus paper so I just added 6ml, drop by drop using a 1ml syringe).	You	will also notice that the colour has changed from a deep red colour to a sort	85.60%
192	no sudden rise in temperature. Be sure to stir almost constantly during this part.	You	can stop stirring if you're not adding anything if you need a break though.	87.00%

Figure 5.4 Sample of instances of *you* Breivik Section 5 [sorted diachronically: 186-192/204]

At one point his advice even extends to how to deal with neighbours and what refreshments to offer them if they visit:

It's essential to create as much goodwill you can from the neighbours. Use any opportunity to generate goodwill from them. This goodwill will be returned indirectly by them not probing and investigating. If you get a visit from neighbours, be polite and friendly, offer them sandwiches and coffee, unless it will jeopardize the operation. The goodwill generated is likely to be to your benefit later on. (Breivik 2011: Section 6)⁸

Uses of *you* are categorised in a variety of different ways in the literature and deciding exactly who *you* is addressing can be complex and may 'allow for multiple and extremely fuzzy addressee positions' (Fludernik 2011: 122). Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) argue that there are three types of personal pronoun use: referential, vague and impersonal. Referential *you* is used to refer to a specific person, vague *you* refers to groups of unspecified people rather than individuals, and impersonal *you* refers to all people generally. Kitagawa and Lehrer acknowledge the complexity of impersonal *you* and divide it further into three different categories of generic use that relate to general life experience (e.g. one of their categories is situational: 'you react instinctively at a time like that' (Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990: 750). However, in more recent empirical research, other types of vague *you* have been highlighted. Stirling and Manderson (2011) point out that Kitagawa and Lehrer's categories do not include O'Connor's involving *you*, and neither do their categories apply to the use of *you* by Breivik to address and instruct an imagined, but unspecified reader; however, their distinction relating to how specific or impersonal a pronoun is provides a useful framework for analysis.

⁸ Any errors in quotations in this thesis are the perpetrators' own

Literature on second person narration also has something to offer here (Gardelle and Sorlin 2015; Richardson 2006; Deringer et al. 2015). Richardson (2006:30) describes an ‘autotelic’ *you* in which the reader is addressed as though ‘the narrator’s present tense is identical to the temporality of its reception’, but it is Richardson’s (2006:28) ‘hypothetical you’ which he describes as typical of the instruction giving genre and can be found in instruction manuals and self-help texts. This is often combined with imperatives and future tenses to address an as yet unknown reader and instruct them in a way that imagines their future actions and which seems to more accurately describe the predominant instructional use of *you* in Section 5 of Breivik’s text. This is because, in contrast to autotelic *you*, ‘there is in fact no embodied *you* addressee in the here-and-now of narration’ (Fludernik 2011:122). This hypothetical usage is also highlighted by Macrae (2015) in a study on charity brochures which use *you* to address imagined readers. Wales (1996:79) describes an ambiguity that exists between specific, referential *you* and generic/impersonal *you* and argues that this is particularly evident in instruction manuals, where *you* refers ‘both to the potential reader and to anyone in that situation’. It seems that Richardson’s (2006) hypothetical *you* describes Breivik’s usage to direct an imagined future terrorist, and sits somewhere between specific and general reference. In Table 5.2, Kittagawa and Lehrer’s ‘vague’ category has been replaced with O’Connor’s involving *you* and Richardson’s hypothetical usage, to reflect the fact that it sits in a similar position to their vague *you* between specific and impersonal reference. Breivik imagines that in the future there will be unspecified others reading his text and following his advice, and in fact outlines this at the beginning of Section 6 when he describes the purpose of his log of preparations as being to share information with others wishing to repeat the process:

This log contains a lot of what can appear as "wining" but it serves to reflect my mental state during the stay, a relatively detailed log of events and how I overcame the obstacles that arose. It can also serve as an educational guide or a blueprint for which the goal is to create a more efficient time budget. Learning from other peoples mistakes is always preferable to making them all yourself. It should be possible to drastically reduce the time spent on preparation, assembly and manufacturing based on the experiences shared in this log.

(Breivik 2011: Section 6)⁹

⁹ Any errors in quotations in this thesis are the perpetrators’ own.

Breivik’s use of *you* in Section 5 is relevant to the navigation of moral agency, because through it Breivik presents himself as someone who is not so deviant or shocking, but as someone who shares such desires with others and is part of a community of people who also think that such actions are reasonable. Sinclair (1991:127-8) explains the way in which Collins Cobuild dictionary entries only included *you* in definitions when the act being described was acceptable and avoided it when something was ‘unpleasant or not socially acceptable’ to avoid the implication that ordinary people do it (the examples given are burping and levitating). Breivik uses the same principle in reverse by writing *you* to make the actions seem acceptable to others and aligns himself with the people reading the document by showing his sense of similarity to them. As discussed above, Breivik sent the manifesto to many like-minded individuals (Hemmingby and Bjørge 2016:62) but may also have guessed that it would be widely distributed to others once he had committed his violent actions because of the unprecedented nature of the attacks. Therefore, he is either assuming a similarity with others and genuinely trying to instruct them or he is presenting himself and others as aligned and as part of a group of people who share the same goal and are part of a possible network, thereby presenting a shared responsibility and to some extent diluting his agency by distributing it among others as well as assigning it to himself. In this section, Breivik writes a blueprint for making weapons, aligns himself with others, and tries to present himself as one of many people with similar aims, rather than an isolated individual with deviant desires to harm others.

The tendency to use certain linguistic features alongside *you* is also part of this ‘blueprint’. Many of the examples of this pronoun in Section 5 are accompanied by conditional clauses (see Figure 5.5: Lines 152, 154 and 155) that suggest hypothetical problems and ways of troubleshooting them. Similarly, imperative sentences are frequently used to instruct the reader (‘put them in a plastic box and keep them with at least 20% water content’ Figure 5.5: Line 153)

152	raised the refrigerator temperature from 4C to 12C within the first hour....:-) So, if	you	have a small fridge, like I did, consider chilling the containers in a “transit	60.1%
153	item used to smear cream on cakes) to get all of the content out. Storage When	you	have taken out all the crystals from the filters, put them in a plastic box and	61.4%
154	in a plastic box and keep them with at least 20|% water content (no problem if	you	take them out of the moist filters -newly moist filters = aprox 100|% water	61.6%
155	and thus become more dangerous to transport (according to another guide). If	you	store them saturated with alcohol in a sealed glass container, you can	62.0%

Figure 5.5 Sample of instances of *you* in Breivik Section 5 [sorted diachronically: 152-155/205]

A collocation analysis also reveals that many of the most significant collocates to the right of *you* in Section 5 (n+1, MI scores between 4.02-6.02, min. frequency 3, min. length 3) are auxiliary verbs (often modals) expressing obligation or advice or: *can, must, have, may, should,*

and *need* (see Appendix 6 for a full list of collocates and their scores). These again create the tone of an instruction manual or blueprint for making weapons. For example, *should* is frequently used to describe the optimum approach the reader should take (e.g. what the reader ‘should add’, ‘should use’ and ‘should order’. Figure 5.6: Lines 54, 51, and 47).

46	The chilling process will take up to 1-2 days so unless you have enough time,	you	should	get a LOT of glass containers, to do everything in 1-2 batches. Boi
47	order at your local farming supplier (the supplier near the farm you are renting)	you	should	order twice as many “dummy fertilizer). Obviously, before you can
48	though. Note: If you follow the above “aggressive” manufacturing method	you	should	be able to complete all the batches (1,68kg total) within one single
49	long as you focus and add the sodium nitrite 2-4 times per minute x 0,2-0,4kg	you	should	be fine. Prepare mentally for the nitration process. Don’t start if you
50	farmer” of you will not be able to make an order from the farming supplier.	you	should	also have enough farming land to justify the order you are placing.
51	minutes if you are using whole tables. 2. Filter hot, for regular gravity filtration	you	should	use 4-6 funnels with 1-2 coffee filters in each (I used 1 but you
52	) you will need 114ml ethanol. Since you have larger quantities of materials	you	should	use higher ratios as an effective way to save time: I used the
53	filtration you should use 4-6 funnels with 1-2 coffee filters in each (I used 1 but	you	should	probably use 2) over f example 4-6 x 600ml beakers. Wash the 2L
54	of diesel close by. Although ANFO requires 7% diesel for optimal detonation	you	should	add 10% or perhaps even 13% like I did to account for any

Figure 5.6 Concordance of *you* in Breivik Section 5. [sorted n+1: 46-54/205)

The genre of instruction giving shares these linguistic features, typically using an imperative to direct the user alongside a vague and instructing *you* (an example of which can be seen in sewing machine instructions in Figure 5.7). According to Richardson (2006:29), when this *you* is used in instruction manuals, ‘the protagonist is a possible future version of the narratee’ and this leads us to think about who Breivik is hoping to instruct. Norrick (2011:2741) also gives examples of how those sharing recipes (a form of instruction) conversationally tend to fluctuate between using first person pronouns with past tenses and second person pronouns with imperatives, and although the blueprint section in Breivik’s text tends to be dominated by the latter, Norrick’s observations provide further evidence of the way in which the instruction giver aligns themselves with the future actor they are instructing. There are also links here between the style of Breivik’s text and a walkthrough of a computer game, which is a form of instruction giving from one gamer to another which anticipates future players who are less expert than the writer. The use of imperatives and an instructing, hypothetical *you* can be seen in the example in Figure 5.8 below and has the tone of someone guiding someone step by step through a shared experience and imparting insider knowledge. Such guides are written on gaming blogs for an unknown audience who will be repeating the same steps as the current player and advises them on the best way to complete a particular level or overcome a difficult obstacle and demonstrates membership of a group of people who play the same game and who have something in common, much in the same way that Breivik anticipates the challenges that a future bomber may be able to overcome by reading his ‘walkthrough’ of bomb manufacturing.

EN Threading the Upper Thread

This is a simple operation but it is important to carry out correctly as by not doing so several sewing problems could result.

- Start by raising the needle to its highest point (1), and continue turning the handwheel* counterclockwise until the needle just slightly begins to descend. You must raise the presser foot to release the tension discs.

Note: For safety, it is strongly suggested you turn off the power before threading.

Figure 5.7 Sewing machine instruction manual (Singer 2010)

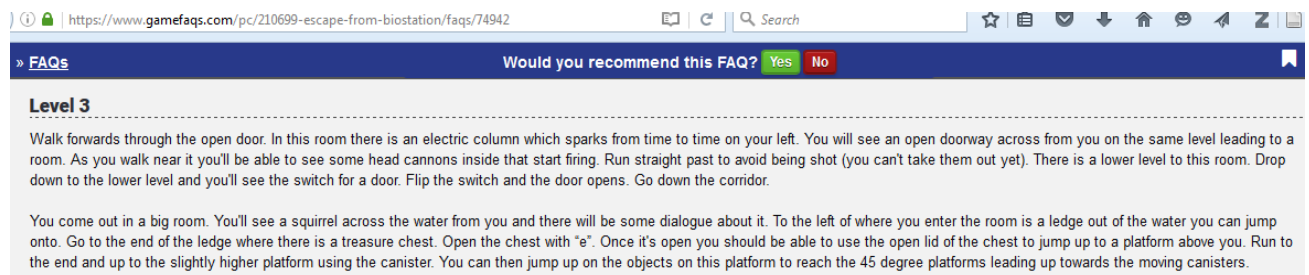


Figure 5.8 Computer game Walkthrough (Pandaplex 2017)

Breivik mentions his use of computer games (e.g. Modern Warfare 2) at several points in his text and refers to his use of first person shooter games to provide simulation of an attack, which helps him to prepare for the crime:

I see MW2 more as a part of my training-simulation than anything else. I've still learned to love it though and especially the multiplayer part is amazing. You can more or less completely simulate actual operations. (Breivik 2011 Section 2).

As discussed in Chapter 2, Decker and Gay (2011) studied the language of gamers and discovered that participants had a cognitive bias towards gaming words, and therefore that the language of gaming may possibly leak into the real world of gamers. It is therefore worth considering that Breivik's walkthrough of weapons manufacturing is affected by his familiarity with gaming related language and texts in a similar way to the lexical repackaging relating to gaming described in Chapter 4.

By aligning himself with others who may have the same ideology and intention to harm others, Breivik shares agency with them and dilutes his own agency by attempting to demonstrate that he is no different to others. He invites the reader to see things from his point of view, and this also enables him to distance himself from his actions by describing them in

terms of someone else doing them in the future rather than describing his actions at the present moment. By persuading himself and possibly attempting to persuade those who will condemn him that his actions are part of something wider, it is possible that this provides him with a sense of collective agency that spurs him on and reassures him that his actions are acceptable and not widely condemned.

5.3.3 *Collective agency*

Other pronouns also have fluctuating frequencies over time in Breivik's text and add to the complexity of his navigation of moral agency. Figure 5.9 shows the normalised frequencies (per 1000 words) of the first-person plural pronouns *we/us* and *our* in each section and indicate that these pronouns are less frequent towards the end of the manifesto than they are at the beginning. Aside from a small peak in usage in Section 4, these pronouns are considerably more frequent in Section 1 than in any other section. These differences are also statistically significant according to the keyword analysis (see Table 5.2), which shows that *we/us* and *our* are positive keywords in Section 1 when compared to the rest of the text as a whole, and negative keywords in others (*we* is a negative keyword in Sections 3, 5, and 6, *our* in Section 3, and *us* in Section 6). *We/us* and *our* are absent in Section 7, but do not appear in negative keyword lists for this section because the WordSmith Tools keyness tool does not include words that are absent in the target corpus but present in the reference corpus in its keyword analysis. However, a reverse wordlist comparison looking at which words are unusually frequent in the rest of the text in comparison to this section does retrieve *we* as positively key and therefore confirms that if WordSmith Tools included words that were absent in the comparison corpus in its negative keyword calculations, *we* would be a negative keyword in Section 7. Table 5.3 shows key pronouns with absent negative keywords included and demonstrates that these three first person plural pronouns (*we*, *us* and *our*) are also notable by their absences towards the end of the overall text.

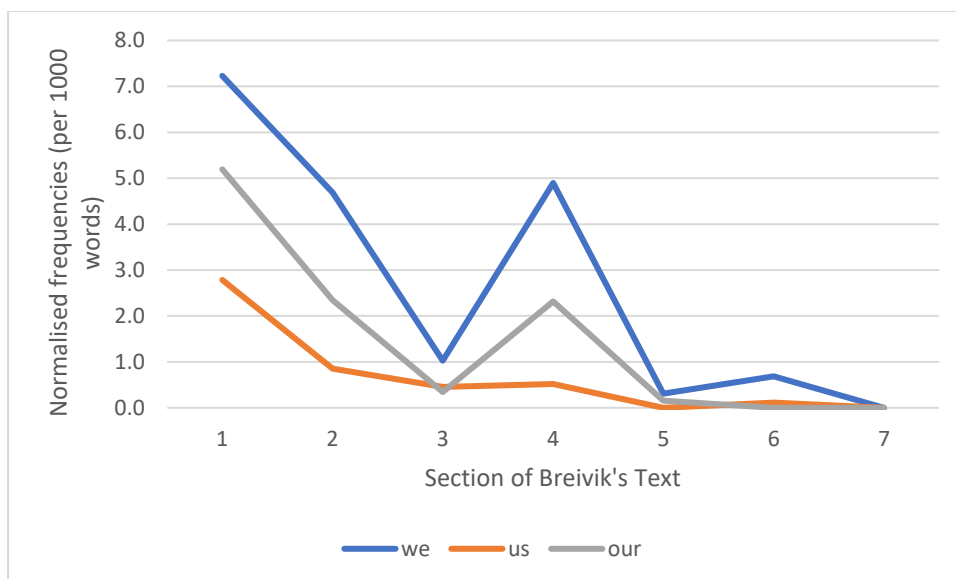


Figure 5.9 Normalised frequencies of *we*, *us* and *our* (per 1000 words) in each section of Breivik's text

Table 5.3 Key pronouns in Breivik's text including absent words that are negatively key. [Words in italics are negative keywords. Words in brackets are absent negative keywords]

Section 1	Section 2	Section 3	Section 4	Section 5	Section 6	Section 7
us, our, their, we, they, your, them	him, he, my, I	I	his, her, she, he	you	she, I	I
<i>I, my</i>		<i>our, he, we, their, they</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>their, people, our, we, friends, him, his, who, they, he, my (us, her)</i>	<i>your, us, you, we, their, they (our)</i>	<i>they (we, our, us)</i>

The higher usage of first-person plurals at the beginning of the text (Section 1) in comparison to the end (Section 7) may be linked to whether or not Breivik claims to be working alone. Section 1 of the manifesto consists of a self-interview in which Breivik answers questions relating to his ideology and his plans to reverse what he calls the 'Islamisation of Europe'. The graph in Figure 5.9 shows that *we*, *us* and *our* are used more frequently at this point than in other sections, and an initial analysis of a sample of concordance lines for *we* in this section (see Figure 5.10) indicates that Breivik is presenting himself as part of a wider group or network, rather than working alone. Within these concordance lines we can identify the groups that Breivik claims to be a part of, and these range from references to Europeans (Line 10) and people in general (Line 19), to more specific references to people with similar views to him (Line 5), and to the imaginary terrorist group he calls the 'Knights Templar' (Line 4). In

addition, he refers to groups of friends he was a part of when younger (Line 9). However, in many of the instances in the sample it is not clear exactly who he is referring to (e.g. ‘we have up to 70 years to win this war’ Line 7), and this will be discussed below.

1	. In other words, it explains why armed resistance is the only option	we	have left to save Europe from the same fate as Lebanon. The	1.1%
2	message to the European cultural Marxist/multiculturalist elites;	we	are telling that we know what they have done and what	2.8%
3	liberation organisations like the Knights Templar. Even if	we	use brutal methods we will continue to retain all of our	4.3%
4	. By propagating and defending Christendom we simply mean that	we	want to halt the cultural Marxist/multiculturalist attacks and	4.6%
5	(birth) policies. This is perhaps the most important lesson	we	must learn, the betrayal by so many of our own women. It is	11.1%
6	European society based on our Christian cultural heritage (what	we	do want). So no, you don't need to have a personal	18.8%
7	. I don't worry about it as it is still relatively early in phase 1 and	we	have up to 70 years to win this war, before we are	20.2%
8	for sure, especially in certain Eastern European countries.	We	expect the support of all cultural conservative Jews in our	37.7%
9	program. I remember the day when XXXX chair was empty.	We	didn't get an answer from our teacher regarding her	42.5%
10	ended up as a disaster. It would now only take 50-70 years before	we	, the Europeans are in a minority. As soon as I realised this I	43.6%
11	. We have taken these thankless tasks upon ourselves because	we	possess these traits; the self insight, the ideological and	52.5%
12	people wo are not prepared to use violence. As time went by and	we	started high school at around 17-18, the situation changed	66.3%
13	at a bar. I had my friends nearby so I told them to fuck off or I	we	would bash their faces in (an effective psychological deterrent,	70.0%
14	result was we left as a group and had the Muslims follow us until	we	managed to lose them. The most annoying things about the	70.7%
15	as soon as we entered. However, this was Saturday night so	we	had no luck getting a response. We ordered some food and	71.1%
16	a deterrant so we were rarely targetted by Muslims. If we wanted to	we	could have harassed and beaten up dozens of Muslim youth.	71.4%
17	of the last five year's where I have lived a lot more ascetic).	We	just celebrated my friend XXXX 30th birthday with five of my	89.7%
18	worldwide) so the competition is extremely hard.This means	we	were one of the most progressed guilds in the world at one	93.6%
19	, or whatever cheers you up! It's important to enjoy life even if	we	work with thankless tasks. Q: Do you still consider yourself a	94.9%

Figure 5.10 Sample instances of *we* in Breivik Section 1. [sorted diachronically: 19/270]

Concordances of *us* also contribute to the picture of shared agency and collective action (see Figure 5.11 for a typical sample). *Us* mostly refers to what other people are currently doing or will do to him and his allies/the group that he is working with because of their actions. In Lines 10-12 he talks of being condemned by others, in Line 16, detested, but also talks of being controlled and colonised and conquered by Muslims, who he sees as invaders of Europe in Lines 9 and 13 respectively).

9	Ummah have been taken advantage of our lack of cultural defenses and are currently colonising	us	, facilitated by our traitorous cultural Marxist/multiculturalist elites. The "holocaust religion" has
10	and thus contribute to consolidate and further our cause. Most people will today openly condemn	us	as terrorists. However, a hundred years from now we will be celebrated as pioneers, as
11	. I wouldn't want to be his enemy, that's for sure. Obviously, he has to openly condemn	us	at this point which is understandable. Q: Other people you would want to meet? A: The
12	. Q: Other people you would want to meet? A: The following people have to condemn	us	at this point which is fine. It is after all essential that they protect their reputational shields.
13	that we are left with little to none cultural defenses against any force which would want to conquer	us	. This is why the Islamic Ummah have been taken advantage of our lack of cultural defenses
14	many Odinists, and even they understand this. Odinists need not fear us as they should consider	us	brothers in our common fight. I strongly encourage them to support us. Because we ight not
15	people are overwhelmed with hate or love. It's essential that we don't allow the passion to control	us	. It's critical that we are cool and act rationally with a long term perspective. Our day will come,
16	are willing to sacrifice our lives for our brothers and sisters, even though they will openly detest	us	. It can be illustrated like a parent spanking their ignorant child. The child will hate their parents
17	everything European so we will become neutralised minorities in our own countries. They expect	us	to willingly become easily manipulated pawns in their globalised Marxist/globalist utopia. This
18	had this discussion with many Odinists, and even they understand this. Odinists need not fear	us	as they should consider us brothers in our common fight. I strongly encourage them to

Figure 5.11 Sample of instances of *us* in Breivik Section 1 [sorted n-1 9-29/74]

The use of *our* at this point also builds on this by emphasising that his views and his plan to act are not individual, but are shared by others. The collocates to the right of this pronoun in Section 1 (n+5, MI scores from 3.07-7.31, min. frequency 3, min. length 3) are generally nouns relating to his ideology (e.g. *cultures, agenda, heritage, christian, cultural*), and many are more

akin to descriptions of war and conflict (e.g. *side, cause, enemies, struggle, brothers and alliances*). This suggests that Breivik feels that he shares not only his ideology and his plans but also indicates that he views this as a battle to be fought collaboratively on a large scale.

Whether he claims to share this with the reader, others with similar views, or with a specific group is not always clear, and is often complex. Such complexity is particularly evident in the way in which Breivik uses *we* as the subject of the sentence and the grammatical agent, and this will be illustrated in the following detailed analysis of his use of this pronoun. The inclusive (to include the audience) or exclusive (to exclude the audience) uses of *we* and its range of different possible referents is explored widely in the literature (Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990; Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990; Wales, 1996). This pronoun has also been examined in relation to the impact of its use on the extent to which we align ourselves with others (Brewer and Gardner 1996) and more recently regarding its use to obscure social actors (Darics and Koller 2019). Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990:129) argue that by using *we*, ‘the addressee is prevented from taking up a hostile or rejecting stance’, and this is clearly relevant to criminal accounts designed to explain or justify crimes and arouse the compassion and empathy of the reader.

The use of *we* that Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990) refer to here seems to be an inclusive *we* used to refer to both the speaker/writer and the audience, and could also include a third party. However, from the sample in Figure 5.10 above, it can be seen that whether the *we* being used by Breivik is inclusive or not is often unclear. Fludernik (2011:122) points out that both *you* and *we* are often used for multiple and ‘extremely fuzzy addressee positions’ depending on context, and this is certainly the case with Breivik. For example, in Line 1 (‘armed resistance is the only option we have left’) it is unclear as to whether Breivik is referring to the fictitious Knights Templar, cultural conservatives generally, or a wider group of people who he views as ethnic Norwegians. In addition, it is difficult to ascertain whether he is including the reader in this *we* or whether it exclusively refers to him and a third party. Kitagawa and Lehrer's (1990) categorisation of pronouns into specific, vague and impersonal is again a useful starting point for analysing personal pronouns, but in the case of *we* their categorisation masks the complexity of the way in which the use of this pronoun positions the speaker or writer in relation to the audience or third parties exclusively or inclusively. Darics and Koller's detailed model (2019) is useful here because it explores the construction of relationships between communicator, audience and third parties through the use of personal pronouns and focuses on the expression of an ambiguous collective identity through the use of *we*, resulting in collective and diffused responsibility that is more difficult to trace. They categorise different uses of *we* according to

which social actors are being included and therefore whether they are inclusive or exclusive. According to Darics and Koller (2019) *we* can be used to refer to the following:

1. Communicator (exclusive)
2. Audience
3. Communicator + Audience (inclusive)
4. Communicator + Third parties (Exclusive)
5. Communicator + Third Parties + Audience (inclusive)
6. General (people in general and refers to general truths)

By applying Darics and Koller's categories to Breivik's text (see Figure 5.12), it becomes clear that the lens through which Breivik's use of *we* is seen depends on who the audience is because there is more than one possible audience, and this is also something that Darics and Koller point out when they explain that this adds to the inherent ambiguity in the use of *we* (2019: 229).

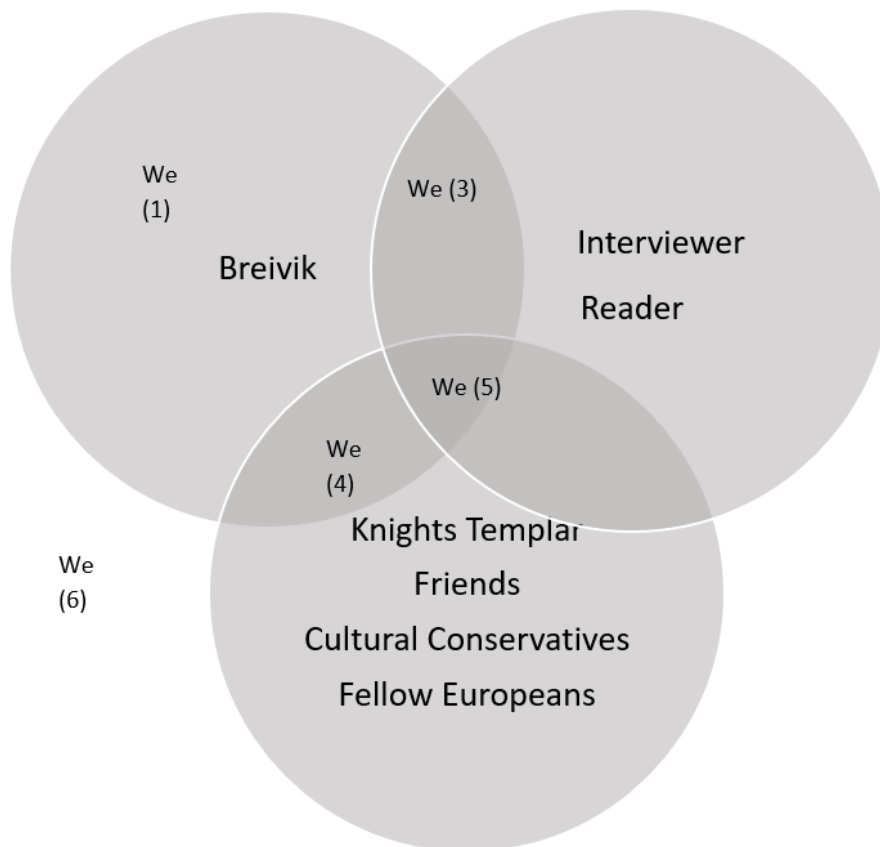


Figure 5.12 Uses of *we* in Breivik Section 1 to refer to communicator, audience and third parties in Section 1 (adapted from Darics and Koller [2019])

The first section of Breivik's text is particularly complex in terms of identifying the audience because of the self-interview format. Essentially, there are two audiences being addressed by Breivik: one is the reader of the manifesto; and the other is the person interviewing Breivik,

whose questions Breivik is answering. This becomes even more complex when we realise that Breivik is in fact interviewing himself as he has written both the questions and answers. He is therefore both the communicator and the audience, albeit a fictional audience, and this adds another element of complexity to his use of *we*.

For each instance of *we*, the use was initially categorised according to the above, and was also coded according to who was being referred to e.g. which 3rd party/which audience. Darics and Koller's *we* (2) in Figure 5.12 (sometimes used in medical interactions, or in parent to child communication: e.g. 'have we taken our medicine?') is not used by Breivik. However, during the analysis, it became clear that two new categories of *we* needed to be introduced into the model, because although Darics and Koller (2019) highlight the fact that vague *we* may be used ambiguously and argue that context and audience affects whether the pronoun is being used exclusively or inclusively, their model does not in fact reflect this. In practice, what emerges from the application of these categories to Breivik's text is that the use of *we* in in Section 1 is far more ambiguous than these neatly defined categories allow and it is clear that many of his uses of *we* may be linked to obscuring agency. This ambiguity not only relates to vagueness of reference (similar to that identified by Kitagawa and Lehrer [1990]), but also for vagueness of inclusivity and exclusivity. Besides the intrinsically vague generic *we* (6) it is therefore proposed that two new vague categories of *we* can be identified, which are difficult to place on Darics and Koller's model because of their inherent vagueness: *we* (7) for instances showing ambiguous referents and *we* (8) for ambiguous clusivity (the distinction between linguistic inclusivity and exclusivity). The former refers to instances where it is not possible to ascertain who the referent is, and the latter refers to instances where the referent is clear but the extent to which the audience is included or not depends on who the audience is. The referent could be the interviewer, who is actually also Breivik, or his perceived readers, who are either like-minded or critical of him according to his account of who he will send it to (see above discussion of who Breivik perceives his audience to be). This also depends upon information external to the text such as whether the reader is, for example, a cultural conservative, a western European or a Norwegian; and it is not clear which groups Breivik perceived his audience to belong to. It is important to note that these ambiguous categories are etic (seen from the reader's perspective) rather than emic (seen from the writer's perspective), and the instances of *we* placed in these categories may not have been ambiguous for Breivik himself. However, he may have intended them to be ambiguous for the reader, and such ambiguous referral may enable agency to be hidden, or the sharing of agency to be attempted without specifying exactly who agency is being shared with.

The analysis below therefore uses the following categories to code Breivik's uses of *we* in Section 1 (the only section where *we* was a positive keyword). These have been adapted from Darics and Koller's (2019) model in order to place more emphasis on the inclusive or exclusive nature of the reference, and expanded to reflect the ambiguous use of this pronoun, because these aspects are particularly relevant to the sharing of agency.

1. **General:** to refer to people in general: equivalent to Darics and Koller's *we* (6)
2. **Inclusive:** to refer to Breivik + audience or Breivik + audience + third party: equivalent to Darics and Kollers *we* (3) and *we* (5)
3. **Exclusive:** to refer to Breivik + 3rd party or 'royal we': equivalent to Darics and Koller's *we* (4) & *we* (1)
4. **Ambiguous referent:** referent unclear (*we* 7)
5. **Ambiguous clusivity:** referent clear but clusivity depends on who audience is and what groups they belong to (*we* 8)

The two new categories (*we* [7] and *we* [8]) can be seen in the 'ambiguous' rows of Table 5.4, which gives the results of the coding of all 270 instances of *we* in Section 1. The table also includes instances of *we* used by the fictional interviewer rather than the communicator because the fact that they are uttered by the interviewer changes their reference, and is more complex because of the fact that Breivik is both the interviewer and the interviewee. He is both the writer and the audience, and yet the reader is also the audience and so coding these instances was particularly complex.

Table 5.4 Instances of *we* in the self-interview in Breivik Section 1 categorised according to the categories expanded from Darics and Koller's model

Use of <i>we</i>	No.	%	Examples
Exclusive (<i>we 4 and we 1</i>)	162	60	<p>Referring to friends</p> <p>5.1. <u>We</u> have had some very interesting conversations where she has almost physically strangled me :D</p> <p>5.2. I remember my friends at that time; [name], [name] and [name], <u>we</u> did everything together.</p> <p>5.3. If anyone threatened me or my friends, regardless if <u>we</u> were at a disadvantage, <u>we</u> would rather face our foes than to submit and lose face. If <u>we</u> did get beaten <u>we</u> would just rally our allies and get back at them later.</p> <p>Referring to the Knights Templar</p> <p>5.4. Obviously, the PCCTS, Knights Templar does not have mass appeal as <u>we</u> are a relatively cynical/cruel/goal oriented armed resistance group.</p> <p>5.5. By creating reference points with our operations <u>we</u> also force the media to acknowledge our presence and agenda (which is a great defeat to the establishment in itself). Our existence and actions are a living proof that they have made peaceful change impossible and that they have therefore made violent resistance unavoidable. <u>We</u> are sending a potent message to the European cultural Marxist/multiculturalist elites; <u>we</u> are telling them that <u>we</u> know what they have done and what they continue to do, <u>we</u> are watching them and they will be punished for their crimes. <u>We</u> are coming for them. If not today then tomorrow.</p> <p>5.6. The PCCTS, Knights Templar oppose National Socialism and <u>we</u> do not seek cooperation with them.</p> <p>Referring to cultural conservatives</p> <p>5.7. European cultural conservatives are today faced with the similar scenario that our Serb brothers were. Yes, <u>we</u> are going to deport every</p>

			<p>single Muslim from Europe, but <u>we</u> must do everything in our power to avoid unnecessary bloodshed.....</p> <p>Our biggest strength (despite of seemingly overwhelming odds at the moment) is that <u>we</u> have approximately 13 million nationalists spread across Europe willing to die for the cause.....</p> <p>Royal We</p> <p>5.8. Now that <u>we</u> have somewhat defined the term "right wing" <u>we</u> can move on.</p> <p>Used by interviewer (Breivik is both audience and interviewer)</p> <p>5.9. Q: Why haven't <u>we</u> heard anything about PCCTS, Knights Templar before, considering the fact that the organization was formed in 2002?</p>
Ambiguous clusivity (we 8)	42	15.5	<p>5.10 It would now only take 50-70 years before <u>we</u>, the Europeans are in a minority.</p> <p>5.11 Norway is perhaps the most suicidal of all Western European countries today. <u>We</u> are on the forefront in the propagation of "self-annihilation" policies such as dialogue and appeasement toward Islam.</p> <p>5.12 <u>We</u> have cultures that <u>we</u>'d like to preserve, as well, and cannot and should not be expected to accept unlimited number of migrants from other countries.</p>
Ambiguous reference (we 7)	33	12.2	<p>5.13 Western Europe has grown weak and decadent and will be completely annihilated culturally unless <u>we</u> succeed to implement a second European renaissance and reverse the damage done.</p> <p>5.14 It is essential that <u>we</u> choose a banner that has the potential to appeal towards central and southern Europeans as well.</p> <p>5.15 When the time comes, <u>we</u> must not hesitate, <u>we</u> must risk everything for the chance to gain our freedom and secure the freedom for our kinsmen once more.</p> <p>5.16 They are allowed to consolidate, while <u>we</u> are not.</p>

General (<i>we</i> 6)	32	11.9	<p>5.17 It's important to enjoy life even if <u>we</u> work with thankless tasks.</p> <p>5.18 I guess the root to a majority of human flaws is linked to mans [sic] fundamentally flawed nature. <u>We</u> want acknowledgement, appreciation and/or love so <u>we</u> strive to be as perfect as we can be.</p> <p>5.19 Pretty pathetic when you think about it really, but it's as <u>we</u> know quite common in a society in complete moral decay...</p> <p>5.20 <u>We</u> need one dominant Western European mainstream ideology specifically "created" for Western European core issues and needs per 2009-2100.</p> <p>Used by Interviewer</p> <p>5.21 Q: Why do <u>we</u> lack credible unbiased analysis of the current right wing?</p> <p>5.22 <u>We</u> hear about indigenous European youths getting harassed, beaten, raped and robbed quite often.</p>
Inclusive (<i>we</i> 3)	1	0.4	5.23: I estimate that there are thousands of cells around Western Europe in the planning phase of an operation while <u>we</u> speak.
Total instances	270		

The majority of instances of *we* in Section 1 (60%) are used in an exclusive way to refer to Breivik and a third party. These instances are sometimes used to refer to him and his friends, detailing past events and childhood activities they did together (see Table 5.4: Examples 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3), but the majority of them refer specifically to the Knights Templar (Examples 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6), or more generally to those with similar views to him ('cultural conservatives': Example 5.7). Those uses of exclusive *we* that refer to the Knights Templar enable him to share his responsibility with others and claim that he is not working alone. When arrested, Breivik claimed that there was a third attack that was imminent and that he was working alongside other cells within the Knights Templar. He detailed meetings that he had attended in London with the group and said that he was part of a cell of operatives working together on such attacks. Investigators were unable to find any evidence of further planned attacks, information relating

to the group that he claimed to be a part of, or any indication that his claims to have met a member of the English Defence League in London were true (Hemmingby & Bjørge 2016: 3-5). In an earlier section of the manifesto that was not included in this analysis (in the earlier largely plagiarised section of the manuscript), Breivik does state that the Knights Templar is imaginary (see extract from Breivik 2011: Book 3 below), but still proceeds to write about them as if they were real in Section 2 (see extract from Section 2 below) and claimed when arrested that other attacks by the Knights Templar were imminent (Hemmingby and Bjørge 2016: 5):

This books chapter 3 describes how a “fictional” resistance group is emerging and how it would operate from the so called “Phase 1 through Phase 3” in order to prevent these perceived threats and atrocities from further manifesting and to prevent an alleged future Muslim takeover. It also describes specifically how this hypothetical fictional group, “PCCTS, Knights Templar”, would choose to respond towards the so called “enablers” or the so called “cultural Marxist/multiculturalist” elites that are allegedly allowing millions of Muslims to enter Europe. (Breivik 2011: Book 2)¹⁰

I am the Norwegian delegate to the founding meeting in London, England and ordained as the 8th Justiciar Knight for the PCCTS, Knights Templar Europe. I joined the session after visiting one of the initial facilitators, a Serbian Crusader Commander and war hero, in Monrovia, Liberia. Certain long term tasks are delegated and I am one of two who are asked to create a compendium based on the information I have acquired from the other founders during our sessions. (Breivik 2011: Section 2)

The use of *we* by lone attackers to refer to a non-existent group has also been identified by the FBI according to Simons & Tunkel (2021:203), who argue that invoking a fictional wider group may be an attempt by an attacker to make themselves seem more credible, with more capability to carry out attacks. They state that this is often a sign that someone is in fact low risk (which this study demonstrates was not the case with Breivik) but do not provide empirical evidence of this. In fact, there may be other reasons for this use of *we* by lone attackers. It is possible to

¹⁰ Any errors in quotations in this thesis are the perpetrators’ own.

take less responsibility for something when decisions are taken as a group (Presser 2009: 192) and action is collective rather than individual. By referring to himself as part of this group and using *we* to discuss their joint activities, Breivik avoids taking full individual responsibility, and also presents himself as a part of a community of like-minded people rather than a one-off individual with unusual views. Besides this he hides behind the authority of an organisation from which ‘certain long term tasks are delegated’ and claims that he is ‘one of two who are asked to create a compendium’ (Breivik 2011: Section 2). The use of the passive here allows the person who has delegated the tasks to be hidden and leaves it open for him to share responsibility with the organisation and imply that he is simply following orders. He also shares agency with a group beyond the fictional Knights Templar. His argument that ‘we have approximately 13 million nationalists spread across Europe willing to die for the cause’ (Example 5.7) forms part of a section in which he explains cultural conservatism to the interviewer (and therefore this has been coded as excluding the audience) but claims to share his willingness to die for his cause with a very large number of other people with a similar ideology. He thereby tries to add weight to his ideology and diffuse his moral agency by sharing responsibility with the KT and sharing intentions with other cultural conservatives.

Using *we* in a way that includes the reader may also diffuse responsibility among the group by reducing the distance between the communicator and the audience and trying to minimise potential differences between them and highlight similarities. However, only a small number of instances of *we* very clearly include the audience in Section 1 (‘I estimate that there are thousands of cells around Western Europe in the planning phase of an operation while we speak’ Table 5.4: Example 5.23). Instead, Breivik includes the audience through the use of a vague and general *we* to refer to all people (used in 11.9% of all instances of *we* in Section 1). By doing this, Breivik reminds the reader that what he is talking about is based on general truths about the world, but also appeals to the audience and implies that they are in this with him. Both Breivik and the audience are included in this general reference to all people and are therefore both part of the same group (albeit a wide one). For example, in Table 5.4 Example 5.18 he refers to human flaws applicable to all:

I guess the root to a majority of human flaws is linked to mans fundamentally flawed nature. We want acknowledgement, appreciation and/or love so we strive to be as perfect as we can be. (Breivik 2011: Section 1)¹¹

¹¹ Any errors in quotations in this thesis are the perpetrators’ own.

Stirling and Manderson (2011: 1584) argue that there are in fact no general uses of pronouns, but just wider and wider groups being referred to, and Breivik often uses what could be described as a general *we* to refer to very large groups such as Norwegians and Europeans rather than the whole of the human race. However, general *we*, by its very nature, includes everyone (Darics and Koller 2019: 229) and the inclusion of the audience in these instances seems to depend on whether they are part of the general condition of being human or European or white that Breivik refers to, and therefore instances of *we* that referred to groups below the level of all humans were not categorised as general but as being ambiguous in terms of whether the audience was being addressed alongside others from these wide categories:

In fact, it is rare that generalized *you* is used with quite such general reference. And more commonly the group at issue is a contextually defined general subgroup and *you* means ‘anyone [who falls under the group under discussion]’.
(Stirling and Manderson 2011)

This ambiguity in relation to who Breivik is referring to and to what extent they are part of the group he includes himself in is key to the effectiveness of this pronoun at diffusing agency. The group of which Breivik professes to be a part, along with who the audience is and which third parties he could be referring to, varies throughout Section 1. At times it is all people in general (e.g. ‘as we know’ Table 5.4: Line 5.19), but at other points he refers generally to the people of Europe (‘We need one dominant Western European mainstream ideology’ Table 5.4: Extract 5.20) and in many instances he could be describing the imaginary Knights Templar specifically, or more generally referring to others of a like mind. The exact referent is often unclear. In addition, the extent to which the audience is included is also often vague. As discussed above, analysing the instances of *we* using the original categorisation adapted from Darics and Koller (2019) is not sufficient because it assumes clarity in terms of who is being referred to and who the audience is. However, attempting to apply it does highlight the ambiguity in the use of this pronoun in Breivik’s text, and in turn ambiguity in the placing of responsibility, and in the extent to which there are others working alongside him or others who feel the same way as he does.

For example, the ambiguous reference categories (see Table 5.4) refer to *we* (7) and *we* (8) instances that could include the audience but may not. These categories were applied to 12.2 and 15.5 per cent of instances respectively. Exactly who is included in Breivik’s uses of *we* is

not always clear and also depends on who the audience is. References to cultural conservatives or the Knights Templar using *we* have been labelled as exclusive in places where it is clear that Breivik is telling the audience about details that they would not need to be told if they were inside these groups. However, at other times it is ambiguous as to whether Breivik is talking to the interviewer or reader as though they are also ‘cultural conservatives’, and whether this is inclusive or exclusive also depends on who Breivik thinks the audience is. Breivik sent the manifesto to other ‘cultural conservatives’, but also intended for it to reach those in a position of power who did not have the same views as him and so would have been aware that his audience would also consist of those who were not of a like mind. There are therefore numerous instances where the categories merge, the inclusivity intended is not clear, or the group he is referring to is vague. In Extract 5.15 (Table 5.4) he could be referring to the Knights Templar, cultural conservatives, people in general, people of Europe or everyone:

When the time comes, we must not hesitate, we must risk everything for the chance to gain our freedom and secure the freedom for our kinsmen once more. (Breivik 2011: Section 1)

In addition, who Breivik perceives the audience to be seems vague. The audience could be the reader, the imagined interviewer or both. In Section 1 he writes as though the audience is the interviewer (a kind of virtual audience), but with an awareness that the real readers will be the people he distributes it to and those who read it because of the publicity relating to his crimes. We could consider the audience to be who he thinks the audience is or who the audience actually is, and if we consider the latter then the inclusive and exclusive nature of each instance will vary depending on the context in which it is read and by whom and when. For example, if the text is read by a ‘multiculturalist’ then his *we* may be exclusive, whereas if the reader is a ‘cultural conservative’ like him then *we* may be inclusive. Therefore, the inclusivity of the *we* changes not only depending on who he sees as his audience as he is writing it but on who the *actual* audience is and therefore the inclusivity is not only vague but also flexible depending on the context in which it is read.

A complex picture has emerged of the use of *we* in this first section of Breivik’s text. However, what is clear is that there is a great deal of ambiguity in the use of this pronoun and that where Breivik shares agency with a third party, regardless of who they are, he is diffusing his own responsibility and trying to persuade us that his ideology is not that of a deviant lone attacker. Where he tries to include the audience, he shares agency with them because he sees

them as part of a wider group with him, whether it be a group that shares his ideology, or a group that they are both a part of through geography or race. Regardless of the opinion of the audience he may also be trying to reduce hostility and encourage empathy and solidarity on the part of the audience and reduce the differences between him and them, in much the same way as he did with the use of *you* explored earlier in this chapter. Even his sharing of agency with an imagined interviewer (when *we* includes that interviewer) presents his ideology and actions as worthy of discussion and of interest to others and this may be one of the reasons he includes this dynamic in the text.

This sharing of agency does not occur consistently throughout Breivik's manifesto. After Section 1, the use of *we* is not unusually frequent in any other section and, in fact, by the end of the manifesto it is no longer used at all (there are no instances of *we* in Section 7). Smaller peaks in usage occur in Sections 2 and 4 but these are not statistically significant and the peak in Section 2 is largely caused by inclusive references to childhood friends while in Section 4 he again returns to consider his ideology, and the patterns of the use of *we* at this point are similar to Section 1. This decrease in shared agency as he moves closer to the day of his crimes is also supported by the keywords relating to the group Breivik shares agency with. As the manifesto progresses, his references to the wider group of which he claims to be a part also disappear. The terms *Knights Templar* and *PCCTS* (another term used to describe the imaginary terrorist group) are only positively key in Section 1 and the acronym *KT* is only positively key in Section 4 (see Table 5.2). In addition, references to cultural conservatives peak in Section 4 and decrease after this. While not a terrorist group, they are part of Breivik's argument that his views are part of a movement and a large group of people who feel the same way and that rather than being extreme and rejected by others, they are acceptable and reasonable, with him being the only one brave enough to do anything about it.

5.3.4 Individual Agency

Alongside the decrease in shared agency indicated by the declining use of both first-person plural pronouns, and nouns relating to the groups he aligns himself to, there are corresponding increases in other pronouns more inclined towards individual agency. Figure 5.13 shows that the first-person pronoun *I* is unusually infrequent in comparison to other sections at the beginning of the text and yet is positively key in later sections of the text. The use of *I* in a self-narrative is not surprising given that it takes the form of a diary logging Breivik's preparations, social life and self-reflections, and therefore it is the points at which *I* is less frequent, or the frequency of its usage changes, that invite further analysis.

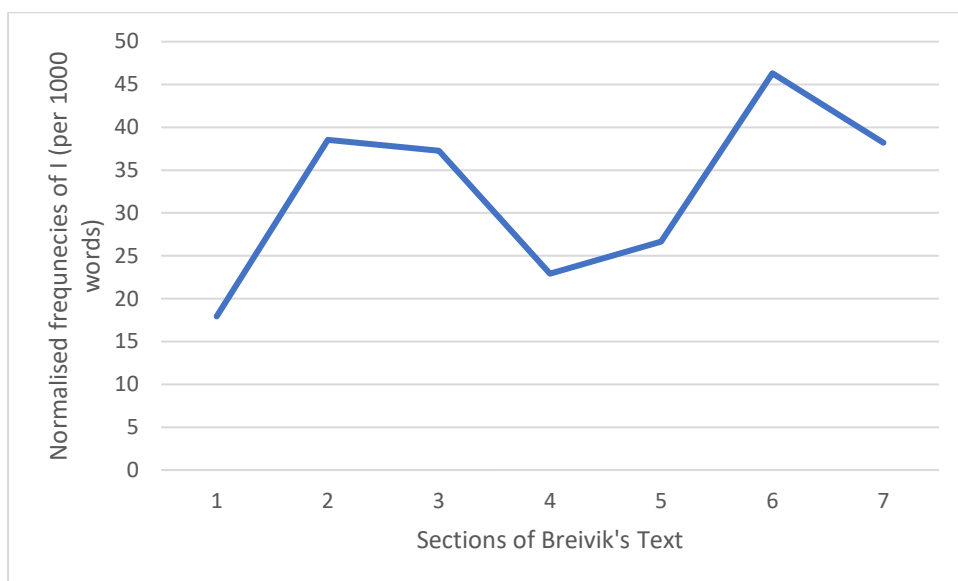


Figure 5.13 Normalised frequencies (per 1000 words) of *I* in all sections of Breivik's text.

Overall, there is a gradual increase in the use of *I* and a decrease in the use of all other pronouns towards the end of the text and this highlights a change in focus that can be linked to moral agency. The text begins by sharing agency with the terrorist group, and with other cultural conservatives, and in addition to the use of first person plurals to share responsibility, the positively keywords *they*, *them* and *their* at this point also indicate a distancing from certain groups of people and an alignment with others (e.g. 'most people will condemn us simply because they do not "yet" understand what is going on' Figure 5.14: Line 2; 'They have systematically ridiculed and silenced us' Figure 5.14: Line 3).

1	majority of Europeans live in prosperity with more freedoms than	they	have ever had. Are you afraid that people in general will view you as	0.3%
2	that most people will condemn people like us simply because	they	do not "yet" understand what is going on. And even if they do	0.4%
3	. The media have refused to forward our call the last decades. Instead	they	have systematically ridiculed and silenced us, labelling us as	2.2%
4	. The EUSSR elites may be evil but they are not stupid.	They	know that they will not get away with including Turkey at this point because	2.4%
5	, ready to militarily secure our borders. The EUSSR elites know that, so	they	rely on a few more decades of indoctrination before they will	2.6%
6	know that, so they rely on a few more decades of indoctrination before	they	will continue with the process. By creating reference points with our	2.6%
7	in the eyes in the future knowing that they have done nothing? How can	they	even act so suicidal and continue to vote for political parties who	13.9%
8	concern them yet. Standing up for their beliefs will involve suffering.	They	are deliberately avoiding that for as long as possible. It has always	14.6%
9	the general public; people don't care as long as their loved ones are safe.	They	have careers with solid salaries; they enjoy all the current freedoms	15.1%
10	long as their loved ones are safe. They have careers with solid salaries;	they	enjoy all the current freedoms. Why on earth would they give up on	15.1%
11	may have perished or have been arrested in the planning phase before	they	even activated. Or perhaps they did activate and went through with	19.4%
12	chivalric organisations like the Freemasons, the OSMTH and similar? A:	They	claim to be Knights of Christ yet they are not willing to sacrifice their	20.8%
13	these countries haven't experienced "modern western style" immigration	they	are very familiar with Islamic demographic warfare, having	24.7%

Figure 5.14 Sample instances of *they* in Breivik Section 1 [sorted diachronically 1 in 5 out of 298]

A focus on friends and family in Section 4 also results in an increase in the third person pronouns *his*, *her*, *she* and *he* at this reflective point in the text (positively key in this particular section but negatively key within later sections: see Figure 5.15 for example instances) and as discussed extensively above, the over-use of *you* in section 5 is caused by the way in which he addresses the reader as though they are also capable of such an attack. It is at these three points that *I* is not positively key and the focus is on others and on the wider context surrounding his actions and illustrates some diffusion of agency.

20	midget:D. When it comes to partying, he's a demi-god and I guess I can call him a master at what	he	does. His whole lifestyle revolves around having an optimal bad boy Playboy'ish image which	10.9%
21	eventually just feel lonely and empty inside as everyone except yourself settles down. Regardless,	he	's a great standup guy, and very fun to be around. Just ensure that you keep him at a miles	12.8%
22	fun to be around. Just ensure that you keep him at a miles distance away from your girlfriend when	he	's drunk and it's no problem at all:)) XXXX works as a contract lawyer in the Norwegian Defense	13.4%
23	equipment on behalf of the military forces pledged to defend the multiculturalist Kingdom of Norway.	He	's currently the most career oriented of my friends. He and his girlfriend XXXX has just	14.5%
24	the multiculturalist Kingdom of Norway. He's currently the most career oriented of my friends.	He	and his girlfriend XXXX has just purchased a new 650 000 Euro apartment. Everyone expects	14.8%
25	has just purchased a new 650 000 Euro apartment. Everyone expects her to get pregnant soon as	she	is 35, he being 32. XXXX is a really standup guy and is considerably more interested in high culture	15.3%
26	purchased a new 650 000 Euro apartment. Everyone expects her to get pregnant as soon as she is 35,	he	being 32. XXXX is a really standup guy and is considerably more interested in high culture and	15.4%
27	more interested in high culture and discussing politics in general. Despite of the fact that	he	knows everything about the current Islamisation process and the indirect genocide of	16.0%
28	knows everything about the current Islamisation process and the indirect genocide of Europeans,	he	still says he supports "Venstre" (a multiculturalist party known for harsh demonization and	16.5%
29	about the current Islamisation process and the indirect genocide of Europeans, he still says	he	supports "Venestre" (a multiculturalist party known for harsh demonization and vilification of	16.5%
30	party known for harsh demonization and vilification of cultural conservatives) but I now suspect	he	's just saying that to tease me:)) XXXX works for one of the more prestigious real estate brokers/	17.1%
31	has just moved to Drammen with his girlfriend where they bought a house together, not long ago.	She	's only 22 but has a son from another relationship. I haven't seen XXXX much the last few	18.2%

Figure 5.15 Samples instances of *he/she* Breivik Section 4 [sorted diachronically: 20-31/41]

Correspondingly, the increased use of *I* in the last two sections of the text also coincides with a reduction in uses of all other pronouns such as the third person singular, plural pronouns and references to friends, and other groups. The only exception to this is the positive keyword *she* in section 6, which relates to his preoccupation with being caught by his neighbours or the owners of the farm. This is a fear which he talks about frequently at this point. When the owner's girlfriend visits, he expresses his anxiety with the use of capitals and multiple exclamation marks (Fig 5.16: Lines 7 and 8) and states that 'The fate of the whole operation relies on her not noticing' (Figure 5.16: Line 15).

7	SMS sent 09.30 from XXXX, the owners girlfriend. She said	she	was ON HER WAY UP to pick up some equipment from	67.4%
8	The fact that it's a 2-2,5 hour's drive from the capital	she	would be here in about half an hour!!! I'm so fucked! She	67.7%
9	she would be here in about half an hour!!! I'm so fucked!	She	has a large storage room in the back of the barn and	67.8%
10	She has a large storage room in the back of the barn and	she	would need to pass all my ANFO bags to get there. I	68.0%
11	Glock and initiate the evacuation plan! I called her up. Luckily	she	hadn't left yet. Thank God! I fed her a story which resulted	68.8%
12	God! I fed her a story which resulted in us agreeing that	she	would come on Monday around 20.00. That was a real	69.0%
13	stashed in the spider cave. I covered it up properly but	she	would easily notice the diesel smell from the bags and	71.5%
14	easily notice the diesel smell from the bags and uncover it if	she	went in there... The fate of the whole operation relies on	71.6%
15	... The fate of the whole operation relies on her not noticing.	She	came to the farm around 20.30. We talked for a while	71.8%

Figure 5.16 Sample of instances of *she* in Breivik Section 6 [ordered diachronically: 7-15/26]

His focus has narrowed, and he now talks about his own actions and day to day preparations rather than talking about his family, friends, other organisations or groups, nationalities or

victims. His world has shrunk to the task at hand and this is his preoccupation. By analysing the sections where *I* is key, this change of focus from shared to individual agency can be seen. As described in 5.3.3 above, Section 2 begins by stating that Breivik is working alone but has been tasked with this operation by the Knights Templar and the authority for the operation lies with them rather than responsibility resting solely with him. From the concordance lines below, which are positioned diachronically and are reflective of typical uses of *I* in the text in the three sections in which it is key (Sections, 2, 3, 6 and 7), we can see that *I* is usually used to describe his process of preparation, and actions and thoughts relating to this rather than talking about ideology and hypothetical future political situations. The examples in Figure 5.17 are typical of the use of *I* in these sections and show examples of the use of *I* with verbs relating to abstract concepts ('I have been'[Line 1]; 'I really need' [Line 6]; 'I tried to formalise' [Line 4]) and also with dynamic verbs in relation to physical preparations ('I opened the remaining two aluminium drums' [Line 29]; 'every time I wear gloves or the mask' [Line 28]).

1	out what I'm using most of my time on). XXXX and	I have been friends since secondary school so it is	ABS2
2	to create a compendium based on the information	I have acquired from the other founders during our	ABS2
3	it. If I do get arrested in this "acquirement phase"	I figure that they will have a hard time proving that	ABS2
4	funding although my efforts haven't materialised yet.	I tried to formalise cooperation between the	ABS2
5	friends, fun although I've gained some extra kilos :D	I 'm currently 7kg overweight up 3-4 kilos the last	ABS2
6	an all time high but physically I'm at an all time low.	I really need to start my training programme soon...	ABS2
7	I didn't want to start to argue that particular factor, as	I don't like appearing like a pooper or to risk	ABS2
8	it, wo we must send it directly to them. It' a shame	I have to purge my 5000 Facebook contacts. It took	ABS2
9	and started scouting another location.	I found what I thought could be an appropriate dig site and	ABS3
10	criminal networks in Prague will not go without risk.	I will have to try to establish a connection via Taxi	ABS3
11	able to order arms from their couriers.	I can't say I'm looking forward to this trip. I've heard that	ABS3
12	never reach my destination and back in that car, lol.	I guess we will see...The reason I chose it in the	ABS3
13	etc. This trip is going to be a fascinating experience.	I 'm just trying not to think too much about what	ABS3
14	Pump-Action shot gun for 7 years without incident.	I don't have a criminal record so there is no reason	ABS3
15	this phase for a long time. October-November 2010	I have just completed the "explosives research	ABS3
16	. Time to dust of my mage...As for girlfriends;	I do get the occasional lead, or the occasional girl	ABS3
17	everything within the next two weeks, providing	I work hard and efficient! Friday May 6-Day 5:	ABS6
18	were extremely discouraging. All the guides	I had found; mainly university level chemistry	ABS6
19	plan...I went to another restaurant that evening (	I find it an effective method for getting my morale	ABS6
20	was in fact purified acetylsalicyclic acid so should	I take a chance and manufacture it all using this	ABS6
21	choice that to initiate mass production even though	I risked ruining all my aspirin. Because if I were to	ABS6
22	of Europe and my country...In any case;	I hope Germany wins! Sunday May 15-Day 14: At	ABS6
23	working. Fuck, Chinese piece of shit equipment,	I should have rather paid more to get good	ABS6
24	surprises. I was very lucky today, something	I cannot take for granted in the future. It's essential	ABS6
25	now continuing with 50mg it will most likely pass.	I wish it would be possible to somehow	ABS7
26	of various sized. Emptied the armour case. Lol,	I forgot I had put a patch of DBOL, winstrol and ECA	ABS7
27	sizes. Emptied the armour case. Lol, I forgot	I had a put a batch of DBOL, winstrol and ECA	ABS7
28	me out, I usually check for insects every time	I wear gloves or the mask, But I must have missed	ABS7
29	the RC fuel inside. Friday July 8-Day 68:	I opened the remaining two aluminium drums and	ABS7
30	.As much of the ANFO was packed into hard lumps	I had to crush them with a rubber hammer. I then	ABS7
31	I will try to use my electrical concrete mixer instead.	I bought it second had for about 150 euro. I am just very	ABS7
32	ANALFO went without much complication. As usual,	I worry too much about safety...<3 I poured in 46kg	ABS7

Figure 5.17 Sample of instances of *I* in Breivik Sections 2, 3, 6 and 7 [1 in 15, 32/30387]

It should be noted that the normalised frequencies in the use of *I* decrease slightly in Section 7, and a plot of this pronoun in this particular section shows that it decreases slightly towards the end of this final part (see Figure 5.18).

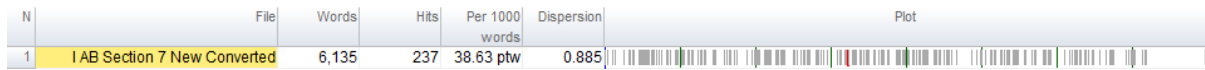


Figure 5.18 Plot of *I* in Section 7 using Wordsmith Tools.

This is because towards the end of Section 7, Breivik frequently omits the first-person pronoun. This is documented as a typical feature of diary writing style (Haegeman 2013) and it is in this final section that Breivik begins writing in this way (‘Started packing down gear; Went to a higher quality restaurant in the southern town and feasted.’ Breivik 2011: Section 7). In addition, although he never directly states what he is going to do, he writes instructions for planting the bombs and carrying out the attacks using the imperative, and these features may account for the decrease in uses of *I* at this point as he essentially directs his future self using brief instructions which are laid out in short lines on the page giving them a sense of urgency and brevity. The reduction in use of *I* at this final stage may not be related to a reduction in individual moral agency but may in fact be part of this change of style and tone to one of efficiency, urgency and possibly nervousness:

Dry PA etc. Test PA.

Pack and load gear during day,

Go to sleep at 22.00 (Breivik 2011: Section 7 [layout is Breivik’s own])

These instructions are also accompanied by a paragraph on the optimal approach to manufacturing explosives for mining. This appears to be designed to mislead readers about his intentions as Breivik does not directly state what his exact plans are at any point in the manifesto and seems to be using the mining company as a cover for his activity. He also mentions needing a police uniform for a ‘costume party’ rather than using it to gain access to Utøya island to kill people and also jokes that people may think he is a terrorist (when in fact this is exactly what he is):

This is going to be an all-or-nothing scenario. If I fail to generate acceptable precious metals yields, in combination with swift initiation of the capitalization for

securing the areas I will be heavily indebted. I must complete capitalization of the mineral extraction project within August at latest! When I have the required seed capital I will have enough funds to employ the services of professional blasting engineers.

If all fails, I will initiate my career with a private security firm in conflict zones to acquire maximum funds in the shortest period of time to repay the debts.

First coming costume party this autumn, dress up as a police officer. Arrive with insignias:-) Will be awesome as people will be very astonished:-)

Side note; imagine if law enforcement would visit me the next days. They would probably get the wrong idea and think I was a terrorist, lol :o)

(Breivik 2011: Section 7)

In fact, in contrast to the beginning of the manifesto and despite this final reduction in the use of the first-person pronoun, there is certainly more of a sense of individual agency in the final two sections (Sections 6 and 7). There is no mention of working with others (except for the very last line of the text where he signs off as being from the Knights Templar), and he is fully focused on achieving the task without being distracted or being influenced by anything else around him, using incomplete sentences that place his future self as the agent of his actions with no ambiguity about who is acting or who is to blame. He no longer aligns himself with others or with the audience but retreats into his own day to day and minute to minute experience:

06.30 - drive 1 Small, there 10.00

train back (11.00), there 14.00, taxi, there

14.30 drive 2. (there 17.00) Check area.

Go to bed 18.30 (Breivik 2011: Section 7 [layout is Breivik's own])

In fact, he discusses the benefits of working alone in the final paragraph of the text:

The old saying; "if you want something done, then do it yourself" is as relevant now as it was then. More than one "chef" does not mean that you will do tasks twice as fast. In many cases; you could do it all yourself, it will just take a little more time. AND, without taking unacceptable risks. The conclusion is undeniable.

I believe this will be my last entry. It is now Fri July 22nd, 12.51.'

(Breivik 2011: Section 7 [layout is Breivik's own])

His reduced focus on other people means that he does not acknowledge victims or condemners, and may be neutralising and morally disengaging from those affected by his actions, but conversely, he no longer obfuscates his moral agency by arguing that the decision to act comes from a higher authority or does not diffuse responsibility by sharing it with others. It is worth noting here that a linguistic feature identified by Fine (2008:264) in the language of those with personality disorders is an increased preoccupation with the self and a resulting increase in the use of first-person pronouns compared to those without the disorder. It is therefore possible that the disorder is affecting Breivik's language towards the end of his text. However, it should be kept in mind that Fine's research is based on verbal interaction rather than written text, Breivik's diagnosis may be problematic (see Chapter 2), and that some of Breivik's grandiose and delusional language concerning his crimes in fact reduce towards the end of his text (these are other linguistic features identified as characteristic of the mental disorders that Breivik was evaluated as having [American Psychiatric Association 2013]). Whether Breivik's increased pre-occupation with himself is a result of a personality disorder at this point does not alter the resulting picture that he is no longer sharing agency with others in the way that he did at the beginning of the text.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the way in which Breivik positions himself in relation to other people in his text and shares moral agency with them, navigating the extent to which he is 'the same and simultaneously different from others' (Bamberg 2012:105). Clear patterns emerge through the text in terms of how he presents himself as similar to or different from others and in some way jointly responsible, and these largely emerge through his use of pronouns. At the beginning of the text he uses first person plural pronouns to share agency with the fictional group that he claims to be working with, diffusing his responsibility for his plans, attempting to legitimise his actions by claiming that they are part of collective action and invoking the authorisation of a wider organisation. Not only does he share agency with this group, but also with other groups who he sees as similar to him in terms of geography, race or ideology, and at times seems to include the audience in a way that may be an attempt to encourage empathy and align himself with them. It is not always clear who Breivik is referring to because either it is not clear who *we* indexes or because it is not clear whether he is including the audience

in his referral. The result of this is that his moral agency is obscured through this ambiguous reference to who the agent is and who is planning or condoning the harm.

At a later point in the manifesto, it is clearer that Breivik is including the audience and sharing agency with them rather than with the Knights Templar. He continues to share agency but no longer with the fictional group discussed at length in the earlier sections of the manifesto. He does this by using a hypothetical *you* combined with conditionals, imperatives or modal verbs to direct future attackers and guide them through the process of making explosives and planning their attacks. This diffuses agency by sharing it with the reader or future killers and aligns him with an imagined reader who he sees as having similar goals to him. Bakhtin (1986: 91) describes the way in which any text is ‘filled with echoes and reverberations of other utterances to which it is related’, and explains that besides responding to and incorporating elements of the texts that have gone before them, our utterances are also influenced by imagined future responses. It is possible that Breivik is imagining future responses to his text and his actions and diluting his own agency by sharing it with those who may respond, and also distances himself from his own preparations by describing them in terms of someone else’s future actions. Once again, who he is referring to is ambiguous and means that agency is difficult to assign. Not only does this instruction giving have the air of a walkthrough of a computer game (links to gaming will be discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7), but also brings to mind ‘The Anarchists Cookbook’ (McEvers 2013). This book was written in the 1970s by a protestor against the Vietnam war and is thought to have been read and used by several killers who have used explosives (Klebold and Harris were thought to have owned a copy [McEvers 2013]). Possession of the text has resulted in prosecution in the UK in recent years (Press Association 2011) and therefore a comparison between this and Breivik’s text has not been carried out.

Breivik’s sharing of agency and ambiguous agency dissipate as the text progresses and Breivik approaches his crimes with more grammatically agentive sentences which use the first-person singular as the subject of the sentence, meaning that who is acting is clear. References to other groups disappear, as does any appeal to similarities with his audience. His focus has narrowed to his own actions and he no longer claims to be working with others or asserts that he is not the only person with such plans. It is just before the crime that he diffuses his agency the least and is clear about the fact that he is working alone. At this point he asserts individual responsibility more than at any other place in the text. There is still, however, a lack of description at this point of exactly what he plans to do to harm others, and, as discussed in Chapter 4, he is still focusing on the minute details of step-by-step preparation. This may

enable him to avoid acknowledging the harm that he is about to inflict. Having examined the way in which Breivik navigates his position in relation to others and shares moral agency with them, thereby diluting his own, the following chapter turns to the way in which Rodger, Klebold and Harris present themselves in their texts.

Chapter 6: Virtual responsibility

6.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters explored the first two dimensions of Bamberg's (2012) framework for identities that are under construction and applied it to the perpetrators' sense of moral agency by looking at ways in which Rodger and Breivik position themselves in relation to others in their narratives, and how they repackage their actions in ways that may reflect their sense of being a victim or able to control the world. The remaining dilemma of the framework (constancy versus change) can also be explored in these texts and can again be seen as integral to the perpetrators' sense of responsibility. This final strand relates to how the narrators present themselves as similar to or different from their past and future selves. The examples given by Bamberg (2012) to illustrate this dimension largely feature comparisons between the past and current self, but the following analysis will demonstrate that it can also be applied to the existence of concurrent different selves and that the navigation of how criminals see themselves is also integral to how they view and present their crimes and the sense of moral agency that they have. This chapter focuses on the self-labelling used by Rodger, Klebold and Harris to construct their own identity and examines the way in which they present the similarities and differences between different versions of themselves and what this may mean in terms of their sense of moral agency in relation to their crimes.

6.2 Contextualising the analysis

6.2.3 A coherent sense of self

There are many examples in the literature of the use of narratives to create a coherent sense of self, particularly one that is more coherent than reality. Linde (1993: 3) discusses the need to have a coherent narrative to feel like 'a good, socially proper, and stable person', and to justify and explain 'who we are and how we got that way', arguing that coherence is created through temporal continuity, the way in which a narrator relates themselves to others, and through the narrator's reflexivity. In addition, Presser (2009) explores the way in which narratives can be more coherent than the actual events that they portray and that this may enable the narrator to distance themselves from certain parts of their experiences. On a similar theme, Guo (2012) gives examples of narratives in which offenders appeal to interlocutors that there is a logic to their life story that has led them to the inevitable act of offending and that the crime is a logical conclusion that makes sense given their experiences and treatment by others.

6.2.4 *Splitting of the self*

In contrast to the idea of a coherent self, but related to the notion of preserving a sense of moral self, is the suggestion that people may have different selves that coexist. Although this may initially seem somewhat implausible, *some* of the examples of this in the literature are convincing. Lifton (1986: 418) describes ‘doubling’ as the way in which someone who harms others may create personas that enable them to continue to proceed with their normal lives without the harm that they cause affecting them. The primary example given is the way in which Nazi doctors were able to kill others while still maintaining their lives as good fathers and respected medics. Lifton suggests that this was only possible because they had two different versions of themselves that they kept in different realms of their lives and were able to ignore the self that caused harm in order to inhabit the more morally good self and keep the two separate. Cohen (2001: 92-93) asserts that Lifton’s theory is too extreme and that it is not possible that the doctors were numb to their crimes when they were not occupying their harmful personas, and convincingly argues that the process is more subtle than the splitting of the self into two different personas. Instead, he explores the way in which someone may achieve ‘moral balance’ by compartmentalising good actions and ensuring that on balance they are good people, with their harmful actions only occupying a small part of themselves or by isolating their harmful acts within particular places or situations.

6.2.5 *Rehearsing agency*

Taking this a step further, there is also the possibility that the creation of a separate, fictional self in a narrative may enable someone to gradually take on that persona the more they include it in their self-narrative, and that this may affect the way they act. Brockmeier (2009) and Bruner (2004) both explore the way in which a narrative may enable someone to rehearse their own agency by placing themselves at the centre of the narrative and giving themselves an agentive role. A narrator may take on a certain role in their story and either consciously or subconsciously become more like that person and take on the qualities of that role. Järvinen (2000) explains that a narrator could strengthen parts of themselves/character traits through the narrative, and this is particularly relevant to narratives that are written before crimes, and which discuss future events rather than past ones because the agency that they rehearse relating to that event may affect how they act in that future. As discussed in Chapter 2, the field of narrative criminology focuses on the premise that narratives combine with other factors to influence behaviour by arousing emotions and generating ideas which in turn influence actions, and may

enable a criminal to cause harm to others because of the narrative they tell themselves and others about their crimes (Presser 2018).

6.2.6 Virtual agency

The assertion that agency can be rehearsed through narrative implies that a person could have virtual agency which they then transfer to the real world. Mildenberger (2017) discusses virtual killing in computer games and explores the extent of a player's moral responsibility for this, and considers its real-life negative impact on a person's emotions. However, he does not examine the link between virtual killing and real killing or discuss the potential effect of a virtual killing on a person's character or behaviour. All of the perpetrators in this study discuss their frequent playing of first-person shooter games, and in Chapter 2 we discussed the inconclusive debates surrounding a potential link between violence and playing such games. However, whether there is a proven relationship or not, some evidence emerged in the analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 of the merging of the perpetrators' virtual online worlds with their real worlds. These include the similarity between a computer walkthrough and Breivik's guide to the manufacturing of explosives, and his admission that he uses first person shooter games as a simulation for his attacks (see Chapter 5), in addition to Rodger's use of terms that can be found in computer games, and his exaggerated and fictional style in his descriptions of his future crimes (see Chapter 4).

Much has been written about the complicated relationship between real life and simulated actions in an attempt to make sense of the way in which the two influence each other. Goffman (1974: 40-82) describes the different ways in which humans and animals mimic reality (such as rehearsal, make believe and rituals) but only briefly considers that these 'keyings' may have an impact on the real acts that they mimic. Consalvo (2009) argues that the idea that there is a 'magic circle' (Huizinga 1950:11) in gaming where the rules of the real world do not apply and new boundaries can be broken without real world consequences is a myth, particularly in the advent of digital games, and Lee (2021) points out that gaming is becoming increasingly hybrid in terms of its integration of the real and virtual world. Lee highlights the fact that the concept of the metaverse (Stephenson 2003) in which the two are mixed is now starting to be operationalised commercially, and also describes worrying links between far-right extremism and gaming. However, gaming is not the only virtual environment where new identities might be developed and, while not fictional, online forums which are enclosed and isolated from the real world with no offline group activity can result in virtual identities that begin to then spill over into real world interactions. Blommaert (2019:194)

asserts that Rodger used the interaction on incel sites to develop his world view and to try out different ‘templates’, which then affected his actions. Blommaert (2019:194) describes the online incel community as ‘a learning environment in and through which a logic of action is constructed, motivating, ultimately, a reversal of roles in which the victim becomes the perpetrator and in which Elliot Rodger himself is morphed from an apprentice to a role model’. In this virtual world, abnormal behaviour is normalised and rationalised.

According to Turkle (2011: 263), ‘virtual personae’ can be used to try new ways of being and transform the self as a result of them. Key to the assertion that virtual roles, situations, and interactions impact on an individual’s ability to harm is the idea that they try out different personas and allow their fictional personas to influence their real-life ones, and the impact of taking on a particular role or label will be discussed in the following section.

6.2.7 Labelling

Labelling theory relates to the process of labelling actions and people as criminal and the impact that such labelling has on those who are at the receiving end of it. Lemert (1951), a key proponent of labelling theory, argues that the way in which people are labelled as deviant or criminal may influence the way in which they act. He argues that labelling encourages deviancy because of the stigma resulting from being labelled as criminal and Maruna (2004) provides evidence that people who are able to distort their realities rather than accepting the labels that they are given are less likely to reoffend. There are clear links here to Cohen's (2001) assertion (discussed in 6.2.4) that a sense of moral balance results in an act being compartmentalised as a small part of oneself rather than being a person’s overall label.

In a very different setting (communication in non-profit organisations), Chen and Collier (2012) apply Cultural Identification Theory to the labels that people give to themselves (avowed identities), and those given to them by others (ascribed identities), and from reading the texts of Breivik, Rodger, Harris and Klebold it is evident that their avowed and ascribed labels (or those they perceive as given to them by others) are integral to their narratives and are worth analysing further. Clark (1992:209) argues that labelling is ideologically powerful because it tells us something about ‘the ideology of the namer’ and the way in which they perceive the object of the label. Exploring the perpetrators’ views of their ascribed and avowed labels allows us to examine the roles that they give themselves, how their multiple labels coexist, and to what extent they defend their actions by acknowledging and arguing against their assumed ascribed identities. In addition, this analysis will enable us to consider how their

different roles, including virtual ones, may assist them in rehearsing their own agency and negotiating their moral agency.

6.3 Elliot Rodger: A mouse or a god?

6.3.1 Overview of analysis

In Chapter 4, the way in which Rodger linguistically reconstrued his crimes and what this indicated about his sense of moral agency was explained. While manually reading through the text it becomes clear that the way in which Rodger views himself is also in flux and is key to the way in which he views his future actions and the reasons behind them. This will be explored further below.

A starting point for analysing the self-labels that the perpetrators use is to look at the noun phrases they use for themselves. In the same way that keywords provided a starting point for locating and analysing key areas relating to moral agency in Chapters 4 and 5, key noun phrases can also lead us to areas of the text where the way in which the perpetrators present themselves may be relevant to moral agency. In the case of Rodger, noun phrases are frequently used to describe his avowed and ascribed labels. SketchEngine's Term Extraction tool uses keyness (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) to extract key terms from texts by comparing one corpus against another and calculating which multi-word expressions are more frequent in one text than the other. The difference between this tool and a key cluster tool is that it filters out those clusters that are more likely to be terminological phrases because of their grammatical structure (SketchEngine looks for clusters based on the following patterns [N= noun, J = adjective]: N+N, N of N, J+N, J+J+N, J+N of N, J+N of J+N.). This is advantageous for the analysis of self-labelling, because although we are not looking at terminology (technical or specialised words and phrases used in relation to a particular field) this tool allows noun phrases to float to the surface and the labels that Elliot Rodgers assigns to himself to emerge. The keyness calculation in this tool is different to that used in the previous chapters using WordSmith Tools, which used BIC scores and Log Ratio to ensure that the most significant differences emerged. SketchEngine uses 'Simple Maths' scores (Kilgarriff 2009) to calculate the ratio of the difference in frequency of a word or phrase between a target corpus and a reference corpus and uses an added parameter (N+1) which can be varied depending on whether the researcher wants less frequent words and phrases to be included (this was discussed in more detail in Chapter 3).

As in previous chapters, the whole of Rodger's text minus the section under analysis was used as a reference corpus in order to identify differences and similarities between the sections. SketchEngine's Term Extraction tool was used to extract phrases that were more frequent in each section than in the reference corpus (with a Simple Maths score >1) and these were then filtered to find those phrases that were used by Rodger to describe himself. Similarities and differences between the sections were identified and concordances of these phrases expanded to allow qualitative analysis and ascertain how Rodger labels himself over time in his narrative.

6.3.3 Juxtaposition of extreme labels

Many of the labels used to describe Rodger are at semantically positive and negative extremes. Table 6.1 shows the labels Rodger gives to himself and the labels he thinks others give to him. These are also colour coded according to their negative or positive semantic prosody (see Section 3.6 for a discussion of semantic prosody) and the points at which he rejects a label are also noted on the table in brackets (e.g. 'I wasn't a complete outcast'). For many of the labels, their usage aligned with their existing positive or negative connotations (e.g. *jealous person*), but for others it was the wider context that imbued the word with its meaning, and therefore the surrounding text of the word or phrase was checked before being categorised as semantically positive or negative. For example, *shy kid* was used negatively, but being shy is not necessarily always presented in a negative light in general English usage. A search on the enTenTen15 corpus reveals that the majority of instances of *shy* do have negative connotations (e.g. 'I was painfully shy', 'I was shy and embarrassed') but that it is also sometimes used neutrally and positively ('...is a shy and soft spoken man and a local legend of his remote valley') and so this label was checked carefully. It might be expected that these different extremes would correspond with whether the labels were ascribed or avowed, with negative labels being ascribed by others and positive labels being avowed by Rodger, but this is not the case. In many sections of the text these extremes coexist within the labels that Rodger gives himself, and it is noticeable that there are in fact similarities between how he views himself and how he thinks others see him. For example, although he argues that he is not a *complete outcast* (Section 3) and tries his best 'not to be seen as a complete loner' (Section 3), he does state that he feels like an *unworthy little mouse* (Section 3), a *complete dork* (Section 4), an *undesirable outcast* (Section 6) and a *pathetic loser* (Section 7). Rodger also acknowledges that other people see him in this way. Perceived ascribed identities also include *weird kid*,

ultimate loser (both Section 4) and *complete loser* (Section 5). These negative labels occur throughout the text and are particularly prevalent from Section 3 onwards.

Table 6.1 Key noun phrases used to describe Rodger. In descending order of Simple maths scores >1 (calculated using N=1)

Section 1	Section 2	Section 3	Section 4
blissful child AV 352.49	year old boy AV 254.19	kind gentleman AV 105.41	scared little boy AV 62.65
world traveler AV 352.49	six-year-old self AV 169.79	professional skateboarder AV 105.41	weird kid AS 62.65
year old self AV 352.49	carefree child AV (1 instance is negated) 169.79	complete outcast AV 53.20	blood elf character AV 62.65
second goalkeeper AV 352.49	happy self AV 85.40	unworthy little mouse AV 53.20	invisible quiet kid AV/AS 62.65
	eight-year old self AV 85.40	complete loner AV (negated: 'in order not to be seen as') 53.20	actual teenager AV 62.65
	american kid AV 85.40	shy new kid AV 53.20	invisible shy kid AV/AS 62.65
	little nine-year old self AV 85.40	night elf druid AV 53.20	online friend AS 62.65
	cool kid AS/AV (negative and positive) 85.40	innocent little child AV 53.20	social outcast AV 5.94
	well-behaved student AV 85.40	quiet kid AS 9.75	complete dork AV 5.94
	jealous person AV 85.40	little boy AV (only 1/3 instances refers to him) 7.64	ultimate loser AS 3.12
	shy boy AS 85.40	huge fan AV (negated) 4.92	real friend AS (negated) 3.12
	growing boy AV 85.40	shy kid AS 4.92	first kid AV 1.60
	normal boy AV 85.40		new kid AS/AV 62.65
	new kid AS 4.42		main character AV 62.65
	little boy AV 2.27		little boy AV 62.65
Section 5	Section 6	Section 7	Section 8
eldest son AV 145.52	twenty-year-old virgin AV 88.52	powerful god AV 79.27	divine ruler AV 534.05
novice white belt AV 49.17	superior gentleman AV 88.52	inferior scum AS 40.13	good guy AV 534.05
complete loser AS 97.34	undesirable outcast AV 44.76	unwanted virgin AV 40.13	true victim AV 534.05
weak little kid AV (negated) 49.17	sex-starved self AV 44.76	intelligent person AV 40.13	unwanted outcast AV 20.41
high school graduate AV 49.17	fabulous self AV 44.76	living god AV 40.13	
eldest grandson AV 49.17	starving man AV 44.76	shameful grandson AV 40.13	
lowlife scum AS 49.17	young adult AV 44.76	virgin outcast AV 40.13	
talented writer AS 49.17	invisible ghost AV 44.76	insignificant little mouse AS (treated like one) 40.13	
intelligent gentleman AV 49.17	obsessed stalker AV 44.76	worthless loser AV 40.13	
	professional actor AV 44.76	pathetic loser AV 40.13	
	violent person AV (negated) 44.76	person of high intelligence AS 40.13	
	inferior mouse AV 4.0	good liar AV 40.13	
	magnificent person AV 4.0	timid boy AV 40.13	
	kissless virgin AV 2.10	normal party-goer AS 40.13	
	lonely virgin AV 2.10	expert skateboarder AV 40.13	
	new person AV 2.10	video game player AV 40.13	
	unwanted outcast AV 1.42	food chain AV (at the bottom of the....) 40.13	
	magnificent gentleman AV 1.07	magnificent gentleman AV 13.74	
	popular kid AV 0.86	little mouse AV/AS 6.914	
		lonely virgin AV 6.914	
		unwanted outcast AV 3.614	
		inferior mouse AS 3.50	
		alpha male AV/AS 3.50	
		year old virgin AV 3.50	
		wealthy man AV 1.85	
		little child AV 1.83	

Key:

Blue = negative

Green = positive

No colour = neutral or used both positively and negatively

AV = avowed identity

AS = ascribed identity

(negated) = Rodger negates/rejects the label e.g. 'I wasn't a complete outcast'

In contrast, by examining concordance lines of these labels we can ascertain that all of the positive labels are avowed rather than ascribed. The nature of these more favourable labels changes as the text progresses. At the beginning of the text, Rodger describes himself using terms that we might expect to be used to describe a growing child e.g. *normal boy*, *growing boy*, *well behaved student* (all Section 2), *world traveler* and *blissful child* (both Section 1). In the following examples he uses this portrayal of his life as normal and happy to highlight the contrast between his life then and now and his childhood self's lack of awareness of the torment that he would experience later in life. Although he is describing happiness, bliss, and excitement it seems to be aimed at highlighting the stark contrast between this and his later 'darkness and misery' (Section 2):

My life didn't start out dark and twisted. I started out as a happy and blissful child, living my life to the fullest in a world I thought was good and pure... (Rodger 2014: Section 1)

My Kindergarten year at Farm School was filled with exciting, new experiences, all healthy for a growing boy. I had friends, I had playdates, I socialized with the other boys at school.... (Rodger 2014: Section 2)

I was a 5-year-old boy playing with a girl my own age like any normal boy would do. I was enjoying life in a world that I loved. I was happy, and completely oblivious of the fact that my future on this world would only turn to darkness and misery because of girls. (Rodger 2014: Section 2)

In later sections, the extremes between the positive and negative labels Rodger uses for himself become more dramatic. In these parts of the text, the more complimentary labels become more extreme and self-adulatory, tending towards narcissism, and the use of negative labels increases, widening the gap between the two extremes and polarising them. Negative noun phrases from Section 4 onwards can be grouped into those relating to size (e.g. *insignificant little mouse* [Section 7] *scared little boy* [Section 4]), those that demonstrate his obsession with the fact that he is a virgin and feels 'starved' of sex such as *lonely virgin* (Section 6) and *unwanted virgin* (Section 7), and those that relate to his feelings of being unwanted, separate and different from other people such as *unwanted outcast* (Section 6) *invisible quiet kid* (Section 4), and *pathetic loser* (Section 7). In Figure 6.1 the references to him being mouse-

like are negative and indicate that he feels others see him in this way and so are ascribed rather than avowed (although there are also other points where he describes himself as being smaller than other boys his own age).

1	then would I have all the power. They treated me like an insignificant little	mouse	, but on the day of Retribution, I would be a God to them. They	8.6%
2	with each other that night. The sight made me feel so inferior, like a little	mouse	. I felt like I was at the bottom of the food chain. I couldn't fathom	26.7%
3	in with popular kids, I've only been treated with disdain, as if I'm an inferior	mouse	. On the day of Retribution, the tables will indeed turn, I mused to	39.8%

Figure 6.1 All instances of *mouse* in Rodger Section 7 [sorted diachronically]

He describes being 'like' a *mouse*, and says that he is treated 'as if' he is a *mouse*, rather than seeing himself as one. He compares the way he is viewed at present to the way he thinks he will be viewed after he has committed his crime, juxtaposing *mouse* with *god* and *predator* and arguing that his crime will alter women's perception of him:

They treated me like an insignificant little mouse, but on the day of retribution, I would be a God to them. They will be the mice, and I will be the predator (Rodger 2014: Section 7)

The use of animals to describe himself and others is a theme that recurs in the text as Rodger describes popular men and women as more powerful than him in terms of their ability to cause harm (see 'predators' and 'jungle' from the expansion of concordances for *scared little boy* below) and describes his desire to reverse the roles and become the predator himself:

I was completely and utterly alone. No one knew me or extended a hand to help me. I was an innocent, scared little boy trapped in a jungle full of malicious predators, and I was shown no mercy. (Rodger 2014: Section 4)

One of the key reasons for Rodger's positioning of himself as inferior to others (or at least viewed as inferior by others) is his sexual status. He uses the *virgin* label negatively and becomes increasingly pre-occupied with his own virginity and what this means for his identity (Sections 5, 6 and 7 in particular contain frequent references to his sexual status). In Figure 6.2 he uses terms such as *lonely virgin* (Lines 20 and 21) and *kissless virgin* (Lines 17-19) and describes this as a *miserable* (Lines 21 and 24) status and gives this as the cause of his *suffering* (Line 20) and *depressed mood* (Line 17).

17	as they were waiting to be seated. I was in a sullen and depressed mood. Turning 21 as a kissless	virgin	was indeed a dark day. How pathetic it was, to be 21 and still a virgin while kids were having
18	intimate experience with a girl when he was only twelve; and there I was at eighteen, still a kissless	virgin	. My envy of XXXX became an obsession. I kept asking my sister for information about him, but
19	will ever want to fuck you." I already felt that no girl in the world wanted to fuck me. I was a kissless	virgin	after all. That was the sole reason why I was suffering. But to hear it come from someone
20	an inferior Mexican guy be able to date a white blonde girl, while I was still suffering as a lonely	virgin	? I was ashamed to be in such an inferior position in front my father. When I saw the two of
21	, father and XXXX attending the same party at the XXXX house, my same miserable, lonely,	virgin	status. Indeed, my life was moving in vicious circle of torment with no way out. The only thing
22	that if I go out to Isla Vista for this final time, and I still end up going back to my room as a lonely	virgin	, I will have no choice but to plan my retribution. I even attended college at SBCC again, I
23	to go out and be seen as a cripple. I already felt insecure enough about myself for being a lonely	virgin	. Being seen as a cripple was too much salt on the wound. XXXX came to visit me again, and
24	make millions of dollars at my age, but I came up with nothing. I realized that my miserable, lonely	virgin	life was going to continue, and my only hope was to give Santa Barbara a try. I was still

Figure 6.2 Sample of instances of *virgin* in Rodger Sections 5,6 and 7 [sorted n-1: 17-24/34]

Rodger describes the day that he turns 21 and is still a virgin a ‘dark day’ (Line 17) and is deeply concerned by his sexual status, seeing this as abnormal. The significant collocates of *virgin* (n-5, minimum frequency 3) in these three sections using an MI score of >3 and in order of collocation strength are as follows: *kissless* (10.71), *lonely* (8.16), *old* (7.77), *year* (7.39), *still* (7.19), *miserable* (7.12), *being* (7.05) *was* (3.69). The word *virgin* clearly has negative semantic prosody in this text and Rodger associates it with misery and loneliness. Even collocates that initially seem less negative are not when their co-text is examined. For example, *year* and *old* emerge as collocates because of the use of noun phrases to describe himself in terms of his sexual status and age in combination (See Figure 6.3: Lines 25-30), and he uses such phrases repeatedly because to reach those ages and still be a virgin is traumatic for him.

25	in Encino. My parents didn't show any concern for how miserable I felt about being a twenty-year-old	virgin	. They treated it as if it was any normal birthday. They didn't seem to understand the gravity of
27	so many changes in Santa Barbara. I told James about my turmoil of being a twenty-year-old	virgin	, and my desperate hope that things will get better once I started my Autumn semester at my new
28	of ever having a happy life. I told them that they must be ashamed of me, that I was a 21-year-old	virgin	who is unable to get a girlfriend or making any friends whatsoever. I was not the son any
29	house, staring at my broken leg, feeling so pathetic for being a cripple, as well as a 22-year-old	virgin	. My mother bought me a new golden necklace to replace the one that was stolen from me, as
30	as I had been on the year before, and a year before that... and so on. I was now a 21-year-old	virgin	, still suffering the same injustices of the world. I tried not to think about it, for the sake of
31	about his circumstances, which were similar to mine. He was, after all, a nineteen year old	virgin	just like I was. He just casually old me that didn't pay attention to it, and focused on his
32	. I saw people bragging online about their sexual experiences with girls... and they used the term "	virgin	" as an insult to people who were more immersed in the game than them. The insult stung,
33	why I was so miserable. I always had to explain it to her – that I was a lonely, miserable, unwanted	virgin	who women treated with disdain – but she could never grasp how severe this was to me. After
34	else did indeed fail. Women continued to reject and mistreat me, and I remained an unwanted	virgin	. For the last months of Spring, I went home a lot because the loneliness in Santa Barbara
35	as they went out on their blissful dates. I was already tortured at the fact that I was now a 21-year-old	virgin	. I didn't want to torture myself anymore. I looked online for a quieter restaurant that we could

Figure 6.3 Sample of instances of *virgin* in Rodger Sections 5,6,7 [sorted n-1: 25-34/34]

He is incensed that he is still a virgin despite his age (Figure 6.4: Lines 4, 8 & 12), and cannot see an end to this frustration (‘I realized that I would be a virgin forever’: Figure 6.4: Lines 6-7).

4	19th birthday passed by sullenly, and it caused me to feel even more defeated. Nineteen and still a	virgin	, I miserably proclaimed on that day. My father didn't even deign to give me a phone call
5	, they asked me the question I always dreaded answering: "Are you a virgin?" I admitted that I was a	virgin	. I always admitted the truth about this. It was my life struggle, and I couldn't lie about such a
6	completely ended all hope I had of living a desirable life in Santa Barbara. I realized that I would be a	virgin	forever, condemned to suffer rejection and humiliation at the hands of women because they
7	, brutal failure. I didn't even have one girl's phone number in my cell phone. Was I going to be a	virgin	forever? I frantically wondered as I drove away from my school after taking my exams. I felt like
8	through so many changes in Santa Barbara. I told XXXX about my turmoil of being a twenty-year-old	virgin	, and my desperate hope that things will get better once I start my Autumn semester at my
9	In life, I would be able to enjoy this beautiful world to its fullest. I can't be satisfied with life if I'm a	virgin	and girls are repulsed by me. It's such a tragedy. I wanted to punish them all. I imagined how
10	be getting laid that weekend. They'd be getting sex from just one night in Isla Vista, while I'm still a	virgin	after living there for over a year. It was too unfair. I wanted to punish them all. I imagined how
11	will ever want to fuck you." I already felt that no girl in the world wanted to fuck me. I was a kissless	virgin	after all. That was the sole reason why I was suffering. But to hear it come from someone
12	. One of my hopes was to at least lose my virginity before my time as a teenager was over. Being a	virgin	at the age of twenty would make me feel very defeated. I made a bid to do everything I could

Figure 6.4 Sample of instances of *virgin* in Rodger Sections 5,6,7 [sorted n+1: 4-12/31]

In the following extract from concordance lines for *starving man* (See Table 6.1: Section 6) he describes his frustration at being unable to act on his sexual desires:

I had to wait a couple of hours before my math class started, and I spent those hours roaming around the college or sitting in the library, looking at all of the hot girls and wishing I could have one as a girlfriend. I was like a starving man surrounded by a feast that I was prohibited to eat. (Rodger 2014: Section 7)

In dramatic contrast to the labels that reduce him in size and portray him as inexperienced and powerless, the positive nouns (all avowed) in these later sections indicate an over-inflated ego and show a delusional sense of being powerful, and above humanity. He describes himself as a *magnificent gentleman* (Figure 6.5), *perfect* (Line 3), *glorious, supreme and eminent* (Line 5), and *ideal* (Line 1), also labelling himself as a *living god* (Table 6.1: Section 7), *divine ruler* (Table 6.1: Section 8) and a *superior gentleman* (Section 6; see extract below). Rodger has moved beyond the details of his day of retribution and descriptions of angst, towards a far-fetched description of what needs to be resolved in the world, stating that he has a unique insight into what needs to be done, and has the superhuman capacity to do it:

I stopped by at Starbucks to buy a latte and set off for my college with the confidence that I would appear as a superior gentleman to all of the students there. I was a superior gentleman. That was what I was born to be, and it was now time to show it to the world. (Rodger 2014: Section 6)

1	species had rejected me all my life, despite the fact that I am the ideal,	magnificent	gentleman. Life itself is twisting and disgusting, I mused.	6.70%
2	revenge. Women must be punished for their crimes of rejecting such a	magnificent	gentleman as myself. All of those popular boys must be	38.40%
3	though I deserve them more? In the video, I show that I am the perfect,	magnificent	gentleman, worthy of having a beautiful girlfriend, making	92.90%
4	I slaughter them all on the Day of Retribution. How dare they reject a	magnificent	like me! As April 26th drew ever closer, I	93.70%
5	. I am more than human. I am superior to them all. I am Elliot Rodger...	Magnificent	gentleman, glorious, supreme, eminent... Divine! I am the closest thing	99.70%

Figure 6.5 All instances of *magnificent* in Rodger Section 7 [sorted diachronically]

These are all labels that indicate his sense of exaggerated superiority, some of which imbue him with superhuman or divine power but which are contiguous with self-avowed terms such as *true victim* (Section 8) *pathetic loser* (Section 7) or *shameful grandson* (Section 7) and which are polar opposites to the diminishing labels discussed earlier.

In the following example extracted from concordances for *divine ruler* in the final section of the text, he positions himself as superhuman and women as subhuman (in a similar way to his descriptions of them as animals earlier), but now he describes them as akin to a ‘plague’ that needs to be ‘quarantined’. He reiterates his belief that his actions are justified for the greater good and are also in some way divine (he states that he will direct society towards

a ‘good and pure place’ without women or sex in it), reinforcing his view of himself as special by describing the tower that will be built for him in the concentration camps that he plans to build, which conjures up images of him as a Nazi commander, and the holocaust may well have inspired these fantasies (when the FBI searched his computer they found searches such as ‘Did Adolf Hitler have a girlfriend’ and ‘Hitler reincarnated’ [Santa Barbara County Sheriff’s Office 2015]):

All women must be quarantined like the plague they are, so that they can be used in a manner that actually benefits a civilized society. In order carry this out, there must exist a new and powerful type of government, under the control of one divine ruler, such as myself. The ruler that establishes this new order would have complete control over every aspect of society, in order to direct it towards a good and pure place. At the disposal of this government, there needs to be a highly trained army of fanatically loyal troops, in order to enforce such revolutionary laws. (Rodger 2015: Section 8)¹²

The first strike against women will be to quarantine all of them in concentration camps. At these camps, the vast majority of the female population will be deliberately starved to death. That would be an efficient and fitting way to kill them all off. I would take great pleasure and satisfaction in condemning every single woman on earth to starve to death. I would have an enormous tower built just for myself, where I can oversee the entire concentration camp and gleefully watch them all die. (Rodger 2014: Section 8)

Rodger is arguing here that his actions are part of the greater good. This is a key element of moral disengagement theory in that the moral justification may enable an offender to make peace with their harmful actions (Bandura et al. 1996) and also relates to the neutralisation technique of appealing to higher loyalties (Sykes and Matza 1957) in order to justify a harm that will be for the greater good in the longer term. He positions himself as a hero who can see clearly what needs to be done, where others cannot. The following extract surfaced in the concordances for *living god* in Section 7 and again portrays others as subhuman (‘evil species’, ‘impure’ and ‘depraved’) in comparison to his ability to ‘purify’ the world. Rodger envisages

¹² Any errors in quotations in this thesis are the perpetrators’ own.

himself as superhuman and pure, and his victims as subhuman and sullied, placing himself outside of humanity itself, and referring to it as ‘disgusting’ and ‘depraved’:

I am the closest thing there is to a living god. Humanity is a disgusting, depraved, and evil species. It is my purpose to punish them all. I will purify the world of everything that is wrong with it. On the Day of Retribution, I will truly be a powerful god, punishing everyone I deem to be impure and depraved. (Rodger 2014: Section 7)

This insight into the world has links to the Involuntary Celibate (incel) community of which Rodger was a part (see discussion in 2.9.2). In Section 7 he mentions finding the forum PUAhate (PUA stands for Pick Up Artist) ‘depressing’ but ‘insightful’ and was an active member of this forum. Many of the ideas behind his assertion that women have treated him unfairly and should be eradicated, and the clarity with which he claims to see the world in comparison to others, can be found in these chat rooms. Examples can be found in these forums of the dehumanisation of women, the hatred of what he calls the ‘alpha male’, and discussions about incels being men with small frames (‘Manlet’: Moonshot 2020) and in fact some of the terms he uses are also used in these chat rooms (e.g. ‘kissless virgin’ [Moonshot 2020]). In addition, since Rodger’s death, many of the positive and delusional labels found in his text have been taken up by the incel community, many of whom revere Rodger and his actions, describing him as a saint (see Figure 6.6) and describing killing people as ‘going ER’ (Moonshot 2020), and capitalising the letters ER in words (e.g. ‘hERoes’ [Witt 2020]). What were initially his avowed identities have now become ascribed ones in these forums:



Figure 6.6 Comments on Rodger’s YouTube Videos. (Moonshot 2020)

Unfortunately, not only have others in the incel community revered him, they have also copied him. The extract below is taken from the text written by Alex Minassian in 2018 before he killed 10 people and injured 16 others with a van in Toronto, using the label that Rodger used

for himself (see ‘supreme gentleman’ in the example below). Other killers such as Chris Harper-Mercer and Scott Beierle also praised him and expressed empathy with him (Moonshot 2020):

The Incel Rebellion has already begun! We will overthrow all the Chads and Stacys! All hail the Supreme Gentleman Elliot Rodger (Minassian 2018 cited in Witt 2020)

To some in the incel community, Rodger has become the superhuman force that he predicted, but there are clearly two personas that coexist within his text. Rodger expressed self-pity and saw himself as a weak victim, (‘I am the true victim in all this. I am the good guy. Humanity struck at me first by condemning me to experience so much suffering’ [Section 8]) but then explored his identity as a superior and powerful being capable of taking control of events. The coexistence of these identities could be causal; because of his feeling of powerlessness his revenge is to show others that he is more powerful than them. He lurches between self-belief and self-deprecation, and this seems to be part of his mental distress. The self-talk relating to being a powerful and god-like person could be a way of emboldening himself and trying to strengthen his own agency and ability to act on the world, of channelling his anger towards others and rejecting the persona that he feels has been unfairly given to him. The impact that this narrative of alternating between a weak victim to a powerful god may have on Rodger’s sense of moral agency and what it may indicate about his sense of responsibility for the events in his life and for his future crimes are worth exploring further.

6.3.4 Justifying the crime through coherence

Rodger uses these two personas to explain his reasons for planning his attacks. He explores his role of outcast to justify how he has come to this point, showing his progression from normal and innocent child to a teenager who is unable to socialise in ways that others can and argues that this is the cause of his angst and his intention to harm others. Linde argues that:

Because of its social function, narrative is crucially involved with the social evaluation of persons and actions; it is always involved in the question of whether an action (and hence an actor) is expected or unexpected, proper or incorrect. (Linde 1993:121)

Not only is the cohesion in a narrative aimed at presenting a coherent self to others, but it is also important as an internal, private tool to assist us in making sense of our own lives (Linde 1993:17), and adolescence, the period of time given the most focus in Rodger's text, is a point at which a person's sense of self is developing and changing (Linde 1993:100). Rodger struggles throughout the narrative with his sense of identity and his dissatisfaction with how he is viewed by others.

The gradual change in his labelling from those that could be construed as 'normal' (see childhood labelling above) in the early section of his text, to those that are subhuman and narcissistic, and the juxtaposition of his two personas in the final sections, provide a sense of his mental turmoil but also indicate that he uses the final event of his narrative to try to make his own story make sense, and to take control of what happens in his narrative. He tries to create coherence for those reading the narrative by using the backstory to justify the crimes and is perhaps also grappling with his own desire to make his life coherent. However, the jump from shy outcast to divine power is a leap that is not particularly coherent and which in fact seems delusional and unreal. It hides the actual coherence of his story, which is of someone who is so mentally distressed that they are triggered by certain ascribed labels, and whose avowed labels reflect his increasingly violent frustration and obsession with his current identity and an intense desire to change it. The following is taken from Section 6 and demonstrates the effect that the *virgin* label has on him:

"Are you a virgin?" I admitted that I was a virgin. I always admitted the truth about this. It was my life struggle, and I couldn't lie about such a thing. They then had the audacity to tell me that they lost their virginity long ago, bragging about all the girls they had slept with. I particularly hated [name] because of his ugly pig-face. How could such an ugly animal have had sexual experiences with girls, and yet I haven't? What was wrong with this world? I got so angry that I went to my room and punched the wall. (Rodger 2014: Section 6)

Linde (1993:105) suggests that narrating enables a self-narrator to distance themselves from the protagonist of their narrative and therefore from their own past actions and demonstrate through this that they can reflect morally on their actions. In the final sections of Rodger's text, he distances himself from the normal hopefulness and naivety of his past childhood self and positions himself as closer to the killer and god that he claims he will become. This raises the question of whether a narrator is able to distance themselves from their future or hypothetical

actions purely because they are the narrator and not the protagonist at this point in time, or whether the act of narrating a future intended event does not allow the narrator to avoid blame for it in the way that reflecting on a past event might, because the narrator still has an opportunity to change the protagonist's actions.

6.3.5 *Rehearsing agency through labelling and coherence.*

Bruner (2004: 694) argues that 'we *become* the autobiographical narratives we "tell about" our lives', and it is easy to make the transition as a reader from seeing Rodger's text as an exploration of his self-identity and an attempt to control his own narrative to seeing it as the *rehearsal* of a new identity that will enable him to act powerfully in real life because it enables him to strengthen those parts of him that he perceives as more able to act. There is no one to challenge him on his views or plans because he only distributes the text when the crime is imminent, allowing no time to consider responses, and joins incel chat rooms in which a similar narrative to his own relating to women is reinforced. The *true victim* (Section 8) role may convince him that he is justified in getting revenge while the more powerful labels enable him to place himself in a different role within the narrative and try it for size. The use of labels relating to being superhuman and superior to others increases as the autobiography progresses and could be seen as Rodger building himself up into something more powerful through the language that he uses and practising taking on these new, more powerful roles through the narrative.

Rodger seems to be aware of his transition into someone who is capable of violence and reflects upon it. In Section 6, Rodger argues that he is not innately a 'violent person' but that the world has gradually 'molded' him into one and turned his fantasies of killing others into realities:

I often fantasized about becoming powerful and inflicting suffering upon everyone who has wronged me in the past, but I never thought I would actually do it.....The world had been cruel to me, and it molded me to become strong enough to actually have the capability of returning that cruelty to the world. I had never been a violent person in nature, but after building up so much hatred over the years, I realized that I wouldn't hesitate to kill or even torture my hated enemies if I was given the opportunity. (Rodger 2014: Section 6)

As explored in the discussion on repackaging in Chapter 4, there are certain pivotal moments in the narrative when he is self-aware and reflects on the change in himself and his gradual alteration into someone who is capable of killing. At times he seems to unexpectedly find himself in this new role:

I looked at the gun in front of me and asked myself "What am I doing here? How could things have led to this?" I couldn't believe my life was actually turning out this way. There I was, practicing shooting with real guns because I had a plan to carry out a massacre. (Rodger 2014: Section 7)

Writing this autobiographical text enables him to reflect on his own capability to harm others and put his thoughts into words and clarify them in a way that simply thinking about his actions may not have enabled him to.

The delusional and superhuman roles that he gives himself towards the end of the narrative lead us to consider to what extent he sees himself as a character in a story and whether he is able to grasp the difference between reality and fiction. As discussed in Chapter 4, Rodger also describes the killings in an exaggerated and almost comic book style way that may indicate some detachment from reality, which may in turn mean that he can no longer morally reflect on his crimes because he is fully immersed in his rehearsal. It is possible that Rodger sees his crimes as imaginary, as fictional in some way, and has cast himself as a character in this story.

6.3.6 *Virtual self and real self: merging the two*

By the end of Rodger's text, it is possible that he has entered a world in which he sees himself as powerful and omniscient and describes killing people in graphic/fictional ways because he sees his agency and his responsibility as virtual rather than real. The images he conjures in his descriptions of his crimes feature a violent person on the rampage but lie in contrast to the image of himself as a *superior gentleman* (Section 6) or a *divine ruler* (Section 8). He embodies a fictional role, particularly in the later parts of the narrative, transforming himself into both a hero or divine ruler, and a killer, with the killing being imbued with a fictional and exaggerated tone and the superhuman role delusional.

The tension between the real world and the virtual world can also be seen elsewhere in the text and in a more overt way. Rodger discusses the effect that his obsession with playing *World of Warcraft* (WoW) has on him, and in the table of key noun phrases (Table 6.1) we can see that *blood elf character* (Section 4) and *main character* (Section 4) are included as labels

that refer to his online persona in the game. By analysing concordances of these labels, we are able to pinpoint passages that include moments of reflection on WoW and these provide an insight into the way in which his gaming world and his real world interact and at some points merge. It is clear that he uses WoW as a haven from the struggles that he has in the real world:

I spent my time at summer school gruellingly waiting to go home so I could feel safe playing WoW. (Rodger: 2014: Section 4)

However, his ability to seek safety in the virtual world of the game diminishes as elements of the real world start to be replicated there. He describes the way in which his social life in the online world is better than in reality to begin with but that this changes:

I noticed that the game's ability to alleviate my sense of loneliness was starting to fade. I began to feel lonely even while playing it, and I often broke down in tears in the middle of my WoW sessions (Rodger 2014: Section 4)

He describes feeling left out of the group of friends he plays the game with and subsequently taking revenge for this in the game itself. While at first his social life is more satisfying in the game than in real life because he has friends who he plays with every day, his perceived status as outcast in the real world begins to affect his online persona and he begins to take on the same role in the game as he does in real life. He begins to feel the same emotions online as he does in his face-to-face interactions:

[name], [name], and [name] were the closest thing I had to a group of friends. I played with them online almost every day. We had so many adventures in WoW as a group, and yet...I felt like the outcast of the group. [name] and [name] only considered me an online friend, never a real friend. I found out that the three of them had WoW meet-ups at one of their houses a lot, and they never invited me. Sometimes, when I would be playing with them online, I would find out that they were all together in real life, and I was the only one left out. Whenever they did this, I acted bitter towards them through the game, but they didn't even care. Even in the World of Warcraft, I was an outcast, alone and unwanted. (Rodger 2014: Section 4)

This culminates in what could be seen as another form of rehearsal for his revenge. He takes virtual revenge in the game against his friends and describes his pleasure in doing so:

I repeatedly took pleasure in killing [name]’s, [name]’s and [name]’s characters as they tried to level up, as a petty form of revenge for them leaving me out of their group meetings years ago. (Rodger 2014: Section 5)

Rodger initially saw the game as a place where his real-world labels did not apply, and this was partly because he felt that people who were luckier than him in terms of their sexual status and social lives were not playing the game. However, he describes the triggering effect of being called a ‘virgin’ in the game and his devastation that the people who made him feel inferior in the real world were now inhabiting his virtual world:

I noticed that more and more “normal” people who had active and pleasurable social lives were starting to play the game...WoW no longer became a sanctuary where I could hide from the evils of the world, because the evils of the world had now followed me there. I saw people bragging online about their sexual experiences with girls...and they used the term “virgin” as an insult to people who were more immersed in the game than them...I couldn’t stand to play WoW knowing that my enemies, the people I envy and hate so much for having sexual lives, were now playing the same game as me...I realized what a terrible mistake I made to turn my back on the world again.

(Rodger 2014: Section 5)

Here, Rodger clearly divides the two worlds into the virtual world and the real world and recognises that his real-life experiences are now also taking place in his virtual world. He discusses the way in which the worlds are merging, describing his emotions as ‘seeping through the computer screen’ (Rodger: 2014: Section 5).

Rodger’s real-world role and emotions influence his behaviour in the game, but there is also evidence that rehearsing agency virtually influences Rodger in the real world and the lines between imagination and reality become blurred when he talks about a story that he wants to write. Through analysis of concordance lines for one of the positive labels he gives himself (*magnificent person*: Section 5), the following emerged from the text:

I seriously started to consider working towards writing an epic story. I was always creating stories in my mind to fuel fantasies. Usually those stories depicted someone like myself rising to power after a life of being treated unfairly by the world. I mentally examined all of the stories I had developed and focused on the few that I thought would become bestsellers. If I could get one of them made into a movie, I would definitely be a millionaire. I was the only solution to my problems. I saw myself as a highly intelligent and magnificent person who is meant for great things. This could be one of them. (Rodger 2014: Section 5.)

A pre-occupation of Rodger's in Section 5 of the text is his desire to become a millionaire, because he believes it will give him the status he needs to be popular with girls and this passage shows his delusional certainty that this will happen and once again indicates a detachment from reality. However, what is particularly important about this extract is that he also describes a fantasy that he would like to write down as a narrative, and which is chillingly similar to the story that we are actually reading. It depicts Rodger as a weak protagonist who then becomes powerful, in the same way that he depicts himself in the narrative currently under analysis. He writes himself into this story/fantasy, which starts out as a virtual role for him in his fantasies, but to some extent becomes reality (he does not rise to power but does reach his goal of being able to dictate his own narrative and avenge those who he sees as having treated him unfairly) by the end of this autobiographical text. One of the key tenets of labelling theory is that the labels that people are given or give themselves influence their actions and are self-fulfilling and it could be argued that Rodger uses powerful virtual labels to talk himself into his violent actions in real life. This is also the case with the other perpetrators included in this study. In Chapter 5, the way in which Breivik refers to the terrorist group he is working with as hypothetical was discussed and, in the section of the manifesto that is not included in the corpus analysis, he seems to deliberately try to confuse reality and fiction in his text and mentions being 'in character':

All incriminatory information in this work is written "in character" and must not be confused with an actual plan, or strategy to attempt to harm any individuals or infrastructure (Breivik 2011: Book 3)

In addition, there are several similarities between Rodger's labelling and blurring of his fictional or virtual self and the texts written by Klebold and Harris in their diaries relating to the Columbine Massacre. These will be discussed in the following section.

6.4 Labelling in the Columbine Massacre diaries.

6.4.1 Overview of the analysis

As outlined in Chapter 3, the Columbine massacre took place on 20th April 1999, in Columbine High School (Colorado, United States). It was carried out by Dylan Klebold and Eric Harris, who shot 13 students before killing themselves. An analysis of the texts relating to this particular massacre is important to include in any study of mass murder because it was unprecedented in terms of the scale and setting of the attack in the US at the time (Cullen 2009:5) and because there is considerable evidence that this crime has spawned and inspired a number of copycat events (Cullen 2009: 381; Langman 2020a; CCT 2021:36; Blommaert 2019: 200).

Langman (2019b) traces the links between Columbine and a large number of subsequent attacks that have taken place since, and in addition to those who directly refer to Columbine, there are also others who have repeated elements of the attack. Sandberg et al. (2014) also argue that many elements of Breivik's attacks are similar to Columbine (including Breivik's decision to kill children, and to listen to music while carrying out his attacks) but suggest that he describes very little of the detail of his planned shootings in his manifesto because he would have found it difficult to make the school shooting narrative match his narrative of political killing for the greater good. Those revering Harris and Klebold have in turn inspired others and so there is arguably a chain of events over at least two decades which was initiated by the Columbine massacre, whether intentionally or not. This raises questions about whether or not the availability of the Columbine diaries and other texts like them should be reviewed (Berger 2019) and may also have influenced the decision of the police to destroy the 'basement tapes' which Klebold and Harris recorded prior to the crimes and in which they explained who they planned to kill and how (Cullen 2009:35). More recently, there has been a concerted effort by the media and those in authority to deliberately refrain from using Tarrant's name in the reporting of his massacre in New Zealand in Christchurch in 2019 in order to avoid giving him the notoriety that he sought (Wahlquist 2019).

The Columbine diaries are briefer than the other texts included in this project and are compiled of short journal entries that are sporadically spaced out in time, with Harris's entries

spanning from April 1998 to April 1999, and Klebold's spanning from March 1997 to April 1999 (see Tables 3.4 and 3.5 in Chapter 3 and in Appendix 1). As discussed in Chapter 3, they therefore could not be divided into meaningful sections based on events in their lives and, because of the short length of each entry, it would not have been worthwhile to use corpus tools to compare individual entries with each other to look at the diachronic differences and similarities in the same way that Rodger and Breivik's texts were. A slightly different approach was therefore taken here. As with Rodger and Breivik, keywords and key terms were calculated (see Tables 6.2 and 6.3), but instead of comparing each section against each other, the whole text was compared against the BNC (XML Edition 2007).

As was the case with Rodger's text, analysis of labelling strategies was also undertaken using the term extraction tool on SketchEngine (using the BNC as a reference corpus again). As keywords had not yet been calculated for these perpetrators, keyword and key term analysis provided a useful starting point to begin looking at how the killers negotiated their own identity and to what extent their avowed personas were in flux. Table 6.2 shows keywords generated in SketchEngine and Table 6.3 lists the key terms generated in SketchEngine by comparing the texts to the BNC (words and terms with a 'Simple Maths' score of >1 [Kilgarriff 2009] were included and placed in descending order). Keywords and terms that Klebold and Harris use to refer to themselves were extracted from the lists generated and were labelled according to whether they use them to describe themselves (avowed labels) or whether they were labels that they perceived others used or would use for them (ascribed labels). It was necessary to check many of the noun phrases that emerged to see whether the perpetrators were using them to refer to themselves (for example; *bad boy* was excluded because it referred to a gun rather than the perpetrator in Harris' text) and to ensure that words that did not initially seem to refer to them were not discounted (e.g. *common man* is included in the list because it is used by Klebold to talk about people like him and so is indirectly used to refer to himself. *Lunatics*, *strangers* and *liars* are all used by Harris in their plural form (e.g. 'I hate liars and I am one myself' [Klebold 1998]).

Table 6.2 Keywords for Harris and Klebold using BNC as a reference corpus. In descending order of Simple Maths Score >1 (calculated using N=1).

Dylan Klebold	Eric Harris
VoDkA AV 934.83	fucker AV 1010.86
Klebold AV 668.02	reb (various spellings) AV 244.75
Dylan AV 571.50	Reb 240.54 AV
ponderer AV 529.90	psycho 174.54 AV/AS (possibly negated)
zombie AV 356.78	REB 123.95
GOD AV 329.39	gigolo AV 119.73
VoDKA AV 267.81	Kid AS 57.73
jock AV (negated) 222.30	god AV 47.19
outcast AV/AS 136.55	hypocrite AV 46.78
dumass AV 134.40	lunatics AS 31.91
Benet AV 134.40	rapist AV/AS 33.26
shithead AV 132.05	liars AV 27.48
SOB 126.52	human AV (sometimes negated) 24.14
Vodka 109.94	wolf AV ('like a wolf') 14.1
Cutter AV 101.10	marine AV 8.81
transceiver AV 108.36	Eric AV 7.31
psycho AS 99.77	strangers AS 5.82
humanity AV 91.88 (sometimes negated. Included because he uses it to refer to his human/non-human status)	animal AV 3.77
god 69.22	God 4.03
martyr AV 50.44	
vodka 38.88	
interpreter AV 30.73	
slaves AV 18.05	
human AV (sometimes negated) 10.22	
stranger AS 10.31	
criminal AV 3.66	
existor AV 134.40	
Einstein AV 38.34	
believer AV 37.62	
observer AV 12.50	
GoD AV 2.54	
	<p>Key:</p> <p>Blue = negative</p> <p>Green = positive</p> <p>No colour = neutral or used both positively and negatively</p> <p>AV = avowed identity</p> <p>AS = ascribed identity</p> <p>(negated) = Klebold/Harris negate the label e.g. 'It's not like I'm some psycho' (Harris 1998)</p>

Table 6.3 Key terminology generated by SketchEngine using BNC as a reference corpus. In descending order of Simple Maths Score >1 (calculated using N=1).

Dylan Klebold	Eric Harris
<p>god of sadness AV 267.81</p> <p>true existor AV 134.40</p> <p>true ponderer AV 134.40</p> <p>dumass shithead AV 134.40</p> <p>fucking zombie AV 134.40</p> <p>transceiver of the everything AV 134.40</p> <p>poor SOB AV 134.40</p> <p>true god AV 129.78</p> <p>common man AV 91.32</p>	<p>racist mother fucker AV 125.05</p> <p>fucking great marine AV 125.05</p> <p>crazy fuckin racist rapist AV/AS 125.05</p> <p>fucking dog AV 121.89</p> <p>Key:</p> <p>Blue = negative semantic prosody</p> <p>Green = positive semantic prosody</p> <p>No colour = neutral semantic prosody</p> <p>AV = avowed identity</p> <p>AS = ascribed identity</p>

The list of terms generated was filtered to include only those phrases that were being used to refer to the perpetrators themselves in order to focus on how they were labelled in the text (for the full unfiltered list see Appendices 4 and 5, and for definitions of many of these keywords and terms see the Glossary on page viii). This resulted in a small list of phrases, which, upon further analysis of their context, provides some insight into the navigation of the perpetrators' self-identity, and these will be looked at in more detail below. In order to preserve the authenticity of the diaries and to ensure that no variants of labels were missed, spellings and capitalisations were not standardised in the texts before analysis (Sketch Engine picks up all spelling variants). As a result, some words appeared several times in the list of keywords with different spellings/capitalisation patterns e.g. *vodka*, *VoDKA*, *VoDkA*.

Several key themes emerged in the labels that Klebold and Harris used to describe themselves. Firstly, both of them alternated between describing themselves as subhuman, human or superhuman (e.g. *zombie*, *wolf*, *human*, *god*) and also declared themselves to have a special insight into and different experience of the world to others (*true existor*, *true ponderer*, *observer*). They also use self-critical labels that have a social stigma attached to them (*slave*, *rapist*, *animal*, *criminal*, *hypocrite*, *liars*) and also include ascribed labels that they anticipate from others (*psycho*, *lunatic*, *stranger*, *outcast*). In addition to these, when concordance lines for these keywords and phrases are analysed, labels that initially seem relatively harmless, such

as the nickname *vodka*, or the name *Dylan*, reveal other potential insights into the way in which they view themselves and their own constancy and change.

6.4.2 Superhuman labelling and cohesion

Both of the perpetrators' texts contained similar extremes of self-perception to Rodger's text. In particular, this is exemplified by the way in which Klebold and Harris both explore their own human and self-perceived non-human roles. The label *true god* occurs in the key terminology list for Klebold, and *god* also features in the keyword list for this perpetrator. Concordance lines (see Figure 6.7) reveal that Klebold sees himself as god-like because of the depth of his thoughts and the gulf that he perceives between his experience of the world compared to that of others. I have included all instances of *god** rather than only the singular noun because this reveals other instances in addition to the noun phrases that exemplify this self-labelling.

1	at History, they would see what happens. I think, too much, I understand, I am	GOD	compared to some of those un-existable brainless zombies. Yet, the actions	27.3%
2	...make my head twist...I must have happiness, love, peace. Goodbye me is a	god	, a god of sadness exiled to this eternal hell the people I helped, abandon me	40.5%
3	my head twist...I must have happiness, love, peace. Goodbye me is a god, a	god	of sadness exiled to this eternal hell the people I heloed, abandon me I am	40.5%
4	I am the only interpreter of this Id rather have nothing than be nothing Some say	godliness	isn't nothing Humanity is the something I long for I just want	41.7%
5	with each day....more Evil...& I can't ever stop it!! [unclear] Some	god	I am....All people I ever might have loved have abandoned me, my parents	49.6%
6	find happiness I never will. Does that make me a non-human? YES. The	god	of sadness...church was so fun...the rec thing with [?] 1-2-98 Beeerr .	55.2%
7	of each life: to be loved by your love, & to be happy with ones self. Only for the	gods	though (me, , etc.). the zombies & their society band together & try to	59.2%
8	. Not much more to say. Goodbye. Almost happiness is slavery – the real people (	gods	) are slaves to the majority of zombies, but we know & love being superior.	63.1%
9	zombies are smarter than others, some manipulate...like my parents.) I am	GOD	, is GOD the zombies will pay for their arrogance, hate, fear, abandoned, &	64.1%
10	are smarter than others, some manipulate...like my parents.) I am GOD, ■ is	GOD	the zombies will pay for their arrogance, hate, fear, abandoned, & distrust I	64.1%
11	pay for their being, their nature, I know everything, yet I know nothing. I am a true	god	. My infinite memories, thoughts, perceptions of purity come a lot more with	80.8%
12	. Soon we will live in the halcyons of our minds, the one thing that made me a	god	. Things are so simple, now that they are infinitely complicated. HAHAHAHA.	81.9%
13	infinitely complicated. HAHAHAHA. I understand whatever of everything. I am the	god	of the everything. Fate is my only master. This is probably my last entry. I	82.3%
14	they will, but won't have the strength to learn to be aware is not a trait, it's a	godlike	thing. Blessed God, not a Christian, Jesus, Mt. Sinai, Abraham, David	93.9%

Figure 6.7 Sample of instances of *god** in Klebold's diaries [sorted diachronically:14/24]

Klebold compares his god-like self to others who do not think as much as he does ('unexistable brainless zombies' [Figure 6.7 Line 1]) and describes the unique understanding of the world that he feels he has ('I understand whatever of everything. I am the god of the everything' [Figure 6.7 Line 14]). He sees his sadness as part of being a god ('Does that make me a non-human? YES. The god of sadness' [Line 9]) and describes those who are happy as being in 'slavery' but at the same time says that those who are gods like him are 'real people' and 'are slaves to the majority of zombies' (Line 8). There is also a sense of power and vengeance involved here ('I am God, ■¹³ is God the zombies will pay for their arrogance' [Line 10]). While dehumanising those who he is going to kill, Klebold describes himself as super-human. Both of these strategies could enable him to prepare mentally to commit his crime; the former

¹³ Word redacted by Jefferson County Sheriff's Department

by positioning his victims as different to him and outside of his moral sphere, and the latter by making him feel powerful and able to act with impunity. These possibilities will be discussed further below.

God also appears in the keyword list for Harris, and according to Cullen (2009: 326) he describes his journal as the ‘Book of God’, but he refers to himself as superhuman to a lesser extent than Klebold. In the majority of cases, he uses *god* as a curse and in fact only 4 out of 21 instances of it in the journal are used to describe himself (See Figure 6.8). When he does refer to himself as superhuman, despite saying that ‘God’ tells him what to do (Line 1) and arguing that humans are not ‘GODS’ (Line 2), Harris describes being ‘god-like’ (Line 4) and ‘like God’ (Line 1) and equates this with strength (‘I feel more confident, stronger...’ Line 4), power (‘everyone being OFFICIALLY lower than me’ Line 1) and violence. His confidence and ‘God-like’ feelings are caused by him now being armed, and in Line 3 he describes violent fantasies against someone less powerful than him: ‘...just tear them apart like a wolf, show them who is god’). Parallels can be drawn here with Rodger’s references to being god-like and superhuman towards the end of his text as he became more and more detached from reality and wanted to feel more powerful than those who he wanted to harm.

1	Name is REB!!! No one is worthy of shit unless I say they are. I feel like	God	and I wish I was, having everyone being OFFICIALLY lower than me	10.5%
2	that just isn't fucking correct. We shouldn't be allowed to do that. We aren't	GODS	, just because we are at the top of our food chain with our	51.1%
3	little freshman and just tear them apart like a wolf, show them who is	god	. Strangle them, squish their head, bite their temples in the skull, rip	82.1%
4	, probably cause I am fucking armed. I feel more confident, stronger, more	God-like	. I have confidence in my ability to deceive people, hopefully I'll	87.4%

Figure 6.8 All instances of *god** used to refer to Harris [ordered diachronically:4/21]

Klebold and Harris both also see themselves as having an insight that others do not have. Klebold does this particularly frequently throughout his journals, calling himself a *true ponderer* and a *true existor* and explains that he sees himself as having a clarity that others do not:

After this so called "lecture" the common man feels confused, empty, & unaware. Yet those are the best emotions of a ponderer. The real difference is, a true ponderer will explore these emotions & what caused them. (Klebold 1997)

Awareness signs the warrant for suffering. Why is it that the zombies achieve something me wants (overdeveloped me). They can love, why can't I? The true

existor lives in solitude, always aware, always infinite, always looking for, his love.

(Klebold 1997)

Once again Klebold, here, refers to other people as zombies and therefore non-human, and refers to his self-reflection and rumination as something that sets him apart and gives him an emotional depth that others do not have. While at times there is a positive tone, ‘the best emotions of a ponderer’, describing what he sees as his abnormal tendency to think deeply about things as a positive experience, he also discusses ‘suffering’ and describes himself as ‘overdeveloped’ (here he refers to different versions of himself which will be discussed in Section 6.6) and in the following extract (expanded from Figure 6.7 Line 4) calls himself ‘the only interpreter’, as though he is the only person who understands the world clearly. The use of ‘humanity’ here could refer to wanting to be human (given his assertion that he is a god) or wanting compassion/kindness, as illustrated in the following example:

Everything's connected, separated
I am the only interpreter of this
Id rather have nothing than be nothing
Some say godliness isn't nothing
Humanity is the something I long for
(Klebold 1997)¹⁴

Harris also sees himself as more intelligent than others, and alongside his claim to be god-like, he also describes himself as more human than others:

I already know that I am higher than most anyone in the fucking welt in terms of universal Intelligence. (Harris 1998)

As with Klebold, he dehumanises others and criticises their lack of individuality and emotional depth (‘You aren’t human. You are a robot’ Figure 6.9: Line 1) and claims that they are not part of the ‘same species’.

¹⁴ Any errors in quotations in this thesis are the perpetrators’ own.

1	Part of the same species when we are soooooo different. You aren't	human	. You are a robot. You don't take advantage of your	21.9%
2	. I'll think about that. Eh, done for tonight. REB 6/13/98 As part of the	human	race, and having the great pleasure of being blessed with a	48.0%
3	be killed off, and since humans have the ability to choose...and I'm	human	...I think I will choose to kill and damage as much as nature	52.5%

Figure 6.9 All instances of *Human* used to refer to Harris. [3/27 sorted diachronically: 3/27] Line 1 included because it implies that he is human.

If we expand these concordance lines further, we see more evidence of Harris' conviction that he is special and is stepping away from what he sees as a brainwashed society that he is not a part of:

How dare you think that I and you are part of the same species when we are soooooo different. You aren't human. You are a robot. You don't take advantage of your capabilities given to you at birth. You just drop them and hop onto the boat and head down the stream of life with all the other fuckers of your time.
(Harris 1998).

In addition, Harris also uses *human* as part of a longer noun phrase which is not a self-label and these instances add to this theme of positioning himself as different to others and being enlightened in comparison to them. Figure 6.10 shows concordance lines of *human* sorted by the word to the right of human and demonstrates (in a way that makes Harris' argument less cohesive), that it is human nature to act as others do and that this is part of their humanity ('the human nature of people will lead to their downfall' Line 17, 'People's human nature will get them killed': Line 15) but also that people's loss of human nature is caused by society and this is what he has escaped from (Line 20).

13	out your ass. Society tries to make everyone act the same by burying all	human	nature and instincts. That's what schools, laws, jobs, and
14	to have order and calmness, which is exactly the opposite of pure	human	nature. Take away all your laws and morals and just see what
15	tragedy, the human nature of people will lead to their downfall. People's	human	nature will get them killed. Whether by me or Vodka, it's
16	shouldn't have ripped on me so much huh! Ha! Then again it's	human	nature to do what you did...so I guess I am also attacking
17	the hatred, otherwise I probably wouldn't hate them. It's a tragedy, the	human	nature of people will lead to their downfall. People's human
18	learning how your "supposed to" so that drains or filters out a little bit of	human	nature. But that's after your parents taught you what's right and
19	dead by me before this is discovered. 4/21/98 The human race sucks.	Human	nature is smothered out by society, job and work and school.
20	you are expected to get a job or go to college. To have more of your	human	nature blown out your ass. Society tried to make everyone act

Figure 6.10 Sample of instance of *human* in Harris' diary [sorted n+1: 20/27]

Similarly, Klebold describes the tension between being human but not being able to enjoy the benefits of being so ('BEING human/Without the possibility of BEING human/The cruelest of all punishments' Figure 6.11 Line 5. Note that in the original text these were on three separate lines) and extends this disjointed portrayal/sense of self to the point where he describes himself as two different people. This will be discussed further below.

1	yet we each are lacking something that the other possesses – I lack the true	human	nature that Dylan owned & they lack the overdeveloped mind/	8.2%
2	limits of time...within the conceived boundaries of space...the average	human	thinks those are the settings of existence...yet the ponderer, the	20.5%
3	of existence...yet the ponderer, the outcast, the believer, helps out the	human	. "Think not of 2 dimensions," says the ponderer, "but of 3, as your	20.8%
4	, abandon me I am denied what I want, To love & to be happy Being made a	human	Without the possibility of BEING human The cruelest of all	40.9%
5	To love & to be happy Being made a human Without the possibility of BEING	human	The cruelest of all punishments To some I am crazy it is so clear,	41.1%
6	.NIN. people eventually find happiness I never will. Does that make me a non-	human	? YES. The god of sadness. church was so fun...the rec	55.1%
7	be enough, my mind sometimes gets stuck on its own things, I think about	human	things – all I try to do is imagine the happiness between us. That is	65.5%
8	, somehow thinking that [symbol] will destroy it if I conceive/relish in it when I'm a	human	, but I love her. We are soulmates. I love you. You don't conscious	66.8%
9	...I just wish I could call her...something blocks me from calling her, my	human	side is putting up a wall to prevent me from calling her, like a fear of	77.6%
10	I love you me 6-10-98 I think I don't care [?] Forever fate, up & down spiral 1.5	human	years...so much changed in small time, my friends (at my choice)	78.6%
11	way. These moments will be lost in the depressions & caverns of the	human	books forever, like, tears, in, rain, but the thoughts will be	94.6%
12	. What fun is life without a little death? It's interesting, when I'm in my	human	form, knowing I'm going to die. Everything has a touch of	98.9%
13	happiness. The little zombie fags will know their errors, & be forever suffering and	human	fags will know their errors, & be forever suffering and	99.6%


Figure 6.11 All instances of *human* in Klebold's diary [sorted diachronically]

6.4.3 Two Dylans: Splitting the self

Harris' journal mostly addresses the reader and angrily (through the use of swearing, capital letters and accusations) explains the motivations behind his planned attacks, and describes violent fantasies that he has. In contrast, Klebold's diary is more introspective and he spends little time discussing the future attacks and more on the meaning of life and his own internal struggles with depression and emotional angst. Possibly as a result of this, there is more self-labelling in Klebold's diary (see Appendix 7 for NVivo coding of self-labelling) and one of the features that emerges through the analysis of concordances of *human* is the way he refers to himself in the third person. Klebold refers to two sides of himself, the human side ('...when I'm in my human form [Figure 6.11 Line 12]) and the nonhuman side (Does that make me a non-human? YES.' [Figure 6.11 Line 6]), and claims that the human side stops him from acting as he wishes to ('something blocks me from calling her, my human side is putting up a wall to prevent me from calling her' [Figure 6.11 Line 9]), describing himself as fluxing between his human and non-human self. For example, in the following extract he talks about loving someone *when* he is human, as though this is a state that he moves in and out of:

I am trying not to think about the happiness, somehow thinking that [symbol]¹⁵ will destroy it if I conceive/relish in it when I'm a human, but I love her (Expanded from Figure 6.11 Line 8. [Klebold 1998])

Klebold also continues to refer to his sense of being special in some way or having a heightened awareness of what is going on in the world and being a 'transceiver of the everything'. Klebold

¹⁵  Klebold inserts a wheel-like symbol into his text several times. Langman (2019a) suggests that it represents fate or a higher power.

noticeably also describes himself in the third person here, and this is something that he frequently does, particularly in relation to his past self and the change that he feels has come over him:

Yet, the more he thinks, hoping to find answers to his questions, the more come up. Amazingly, the petty things mean much to him at this time, how he wants to be normal, not this transceiver of the everything. (Klebold 1997)

I lack the true human nature that Dylan owned (Klebold 1997)

I wonder how/when I got so fucked up w my mind, existence, problem – when Dylan Benet Klebold got covered up by this entity containing Dylan's body... (Klebold 1997)

He also uses the third person to describe harming himself, in a way that may enable him to detach himself from what he is going to do. For example, in the first extract below he describes himself using the third person pronoun *his* and describes using a weapon on himself (*vodka* is his nickname). In the second extract he talks about self-harming and uses a pseudonym (*Mr Cutter*) to describe a separate persona who carried out this harm:

█¹⁶ can get me that gun I hope, I wanna use it on a poor SOB. I know.....his name is vodka. Dylan is his name too. (Klebold 1997)

I was Mr. Cutter tonight - I have 11 depressioners on my right hand now, & my favorite contrasting symbol, because it is so true & means so much. (Klebold 1997)

It is possible that this division into human and non-human Dylan enables him to compartmentalise his actions and take less responsibility for them. He also blames some of the actions that he is ashamed of on his human self, using this as a strategy to position himself away from the part of him that did these actions. This ties in with Lifton (1986) and Cohen's (2001) theories relating to doubling and compartmentalising the parts of the self that a person does not feel morally comfortable with (discussed in Section 6.1 above).

¹⁶ Word redacted by Jefferson County Sheriff's Department

6.4.4 Subhuman/stigmatised labelling

In contrast to their descriptions of themselves as superhuman, both Klebold and Harris also self-categorise themselves as subhuman or as stigmatised humans, continuing to use extremes of self-perception. They use labels for themselves that tend to be socially stigmatised such as *liars, hypocrite, racist mother fucker, crazy fuckin racist rapist* (Harris: see keywords and noun phrases in Tables 6.2 and 6.3), *slaves, criminal, and dumass shithead* (Klebold: see keywords and noun phrases in Tables 6.2 and 6.3). However, not all of the stigmatised labels they use are avowed, but instead represent how they think others see them. Some of Klebold's labels again emphasise the way in which he feels different to other people and feels that people unnecessarily position him outside of their group and ascribe these labels to him because he is different ('like I'm an outcast'; 'they look at me ■■■ like I'm a stranger': see extracts below). Several of their ascribed labels also relate to mental disorder; for example, Harris indicates his unhappiness at being perceived as mentally unwell just because he is different ('the few who stick to their natural instincts are casted out as psychos or lunatics or strangers or just plain different'), when he sees being different as a positive ('crazy, strange, weird, wild, these words are not bad or degrading.')

Everyone knows everyone. I swear - like I'm an outcast, & everyone is conspiring against me . . . (Klebold 1997)

To most people, I appear . . . well . . . almost scary, but that's who I appear to be as people are afraid of what they don't understand. . . even if you did like me even the slightest bit, you would hate me if you knew who I was. I am a criminal. I have done things that almost nobody would even think about condoning. (Klebold 1998)

they look at me ■■■¹⁷ like I'm a stranger . . . (Klebold (1997)

I know what you're thinking: "(some psycho wrote me this harassing letter)" (Klebold 1998)

¹⁷ a word that was redacted by Jefferson County Sheriff's Department

Society tries to make everyone act the same by burying all human nature and instincts. That's what schools, laws, jobs, and parents do. If they realize it or not. And them, the few who stick to their natural instincts are casted out as psychos or lunatics or strangers or just plain different. crazy, strange, weird, wild, these words are not bad or degrading. (Harris 1998)

In one particular diary entry (17th November 1998), Harris describes himself as a 'fucking dog', and 'like a wolf' (see extracts below) when he describes his sexual and violent fantasies. However, the semantic prosody of these avowed dehumanising labels is not particularly negative. The use of *dog* is fairly neutral, with nothing definitive in the co-text to suggest that Harris is using this label negatively or that he feels shame about his fantasy. It follows a passage in which Harris discusses his obsession with the Nazis and with guns but there is little self-criticism involved when he describes these obsessions and fantasies. In contrast, *wolf* is used as a positive label. Harris describes being a wolf as being powerful and god-like, expressing pleasure at his own power ('show them who is god') and describes the cracking of their bones as 'lovely', wishing that he had the chance to do this ('so much to do and so little chances'):

That's another thing. I am a fucking dog. I have fantasies of just taking someone and fucking them hard and strong. (Harris 1998)

I want to grab some weak little freshman and just tear them apart like a wolf, show them who is god. Strangle them, squish their head, bite their temples in the skull, rip off their jaw, rip off their collar bones, break their arms in half and twist them around, the lovely sounds of bones cracking and flesh ripping, ahhh . . . so much to do and so little chances. (Harris 1998)

Continuing with the subhuman theme, Klebold also describes himself as a *zombie* when he follows social norms and has desires that he classifies as human as though he has no free will to make the decision to act in any other way (e.g. Figure 6.12 Line 13: 'Back at writing, doing just like a fucking zombie.'). In Line 2 he describes going to the 'zombie bliss side' and positions it as being a different part of him to the 'awareness part', describing the 'zombie-based thoughts' as something to be 'overcome' (Line 9), pointing out that it is an oxymoron to describe a zombie having thoughts. This continues the theme of having different personas at either end of a spectrum with deification at one end and demonisation at the other. Neither end

of the spectrum is real, and in addition to the possibility that this splitting into different personas enables some form of detachment, the unreal nature of these personas may also indicate an immersion into a virtual narrative and a rehearsal of agency through fictional roles, with the lack of real-life responsibility for killing that comes with it.

1	I am god compared to some of those unexistable brainless	zombies	Yet, the actions of them interest me, like a kid with a new	27.4%
2	SHITLOAD in my existence ride. Ok..hell & back....I've been to the	zombie	bliss side...& I hate it as much if not more than the	42.7%
3	me die me Awareness signs the warrant for suffering. Why is that the	zombies	achieve something me wants (overdeveloped me). They	46.0%
4	farther distant, That's what's happening...me & everything that	zombies	consider real...just images, not life. Soon I will be at	48.8%
5	& to be happy with ones self. Only for the gods though (me,,etc). the	zombies	& their society band together & try to destroy what is	59.2%
6	is slavery - the real people (gods) are slaves to the majority of	zombies	, but we know & love being superior. I didn't want to be a	63.2%
7	infinitely better. I love her & she loves me. (By the way, some	zombies	are smarter than others, some manipulate...like my	63.8%
8	others, some manipulate...like my parents.) I am GOD, ■■■ is GOD the	zombies	will pay for their arrogance, hate, fear, abandoned, &	64.1%
9	her, Like a fear of its truth. I will overcome all fears, doubts, &	zombie-based	thoughts (oxymoron)...I will follow our hearts to the	78.0%
10	thru this much of the ever existence, this is almost the checkpoint. The	zombies	have set their [?] in my mind for the cliff theory	80.0%
11	cliff theory I've [?] off with & we've floated away to the halcyon. The	zombies	will pay for their being, their nature. I know everything, yet I	80.4%
12	hate everything, love me &. I understand that I can never be a	zombie	, even if I wanted to. The nature of my entity. Soon we will live	81.5%
13	This shit This shit again. Back at writing, doing just like a fucking	zombie	. Lately I can't change my mind from the fucking deeds of	83.2%
14	zombie. Lately I can't change my mind from the fucking deeds of	zombies	. Earth, humanity, HERE. That's mostly what I think about. I	83.4%
15	number, another brick in my journeyed wall. Humans are	zombies	, they scratch for acceptance and greed and kill themselves	93.3%
16	stuck in an ant's body. We are the nature of existence. The	zombies	were a test, to see if our love was genuine. We are in	97.4%
17	love is genuine. We are in wait of our reward, each other. The	zombies	will never causes us pain anymore. The humanity was a	97.7%
18	. the truth. In 26.4 hours I'll be dead, & in happiness. The little	zombie	human fags will know their errors, and be forever suffering	99.6%

Figure 6.12 All instances of *zombie** in Klebold's diary [sorted diachronically]

6.4.5 Rehearsing agency through virtual roles

In addition to the use of *zombie* to refer to himself, Figure 6.12 also illustrates that the term *zombie* is in fact predominantly used (77% of the time) to describe other people who Klebold sees as less enlightened than him, and this will be discussed further in the next section in relation to the blurring of fiction and reality.

Klebold contrasts his own human form with the 'zombies' who are less aware than him and have been brainwashed into continuing to follow society's constraints and demands on them. He is vague about exactly who he is referring to, but indicates that the planned shooting will elucidate things for them ('The little zombie human fags will know their errors, and be forever suffering...' [Figure 6.12 Line 18]). He positions himself as very different to other people and expresses a desire to hurt them. As discussed previously, Bandura (2005:136) argues that we are more likely to harm someone who we see as different to ourselves and suggests that dehumanising victims (Bandura et al. 1996:366) is a common strategy that is used (either consciously or subconsciously), to make harming someone easier (by positioning them as outside of the same moral sphere as humans. Presser (2013) also discusses the way in which people who are harmed may be diminished in some way by those who harm them. If the people that Klebold is going to kill are zombies who do not exist or think in the same way as a human being, then this may make it easier for him to bring himself to kill them:

The zombies will pay for their being, their nature
 (Figure 6.12 Line 11: Klebold:1998).

In Chapter 4 of this thesis, the fictional descriptions of Rodger’s future crimes seemed to indicate that he was imagining a killing that blurred the boundaries between reality and fiction. In addition, the blueprint in Breivik’s text discussed in Chapter 5 suggested a link between video games and style of instruction, besides his statement that he used first person shooter games to rehearse his crimes. While these links between gaming and killing do not mean that computer games cause people to become violent, there is evidence that all of the violent perpetrators in this study have brought gaming into their preparations and that there is some blurring of reality and fiction in terms of their killings, which appears to be influenced to some extent by their frequent playing of video games. Klebold’s tendency to dehumanise other people by calling them ‘zombies’ also has links to gaming and suggests a blurring of reality and fiction. Both Klebold and Harris played the computer game *Doom*, in which enemies take the form of a variety of monsters, zombies or ‘former humans’ (Doomwiki.org 2021) and have to be killed. Harris in fact named the gun that he used in the attacks *Arlene*, which was also the name of a character in the *Doom* novels on which the computer game was based (Harris 1998).

In Figure 6.13, which shows concordance lines for the word *Doom* in the Harris corpus, Line 4 indicates that Harris is making an overt reference to how he deals with his own moral agency in relation to his future crimes, acknowledging his moral dilemma but stating that he will try to pretend that the people they are shooting are not real, but are from a game.

1	mean SHIT to me. Everyone should be put to a test, an ULTIMATE	DOOM	test, see who can survive in an environment using only 'smarts'	13.2%
2	in an environment using only 'smarts' and military skills. Put them in a	Doom	world, no authority, no refuge, no BS copout excuses. If you can't	13.5%
3	so I will force myself to believe that everyone is just another monster from	Doom	like FH or FS or demons, so it's either me or them. I have to turn	54.8%
4	4 clips for it. I dubbed my shotgun "Alrene" after Arlene Sanders from the	DOOM	books. She always did love the shotgun. Vodka's OB [?] is	89.0%

Figure 6.13 All instances of *doom* in Harris’ diary [sorted diachronically]

If we expand these concordance lines there is evidence that in the same way that Klebold labelled others as ‘zombies’, Harris labels those who he is going to kill as ‘monsters’ or ‘demons’ to enable himself to avoid thinking of them as victims and describes his desire to give everyone a lethal challenge as though they were playing *Doom* (see extracts below):

I have a goal to destroy as much as possible so I must not be side-tracked by my feelings of sympathy, mercy, or any of that, so I will force myself to believe that everyone is just another monster from Doom like FH or FS or demons, so it's either me or them. I have to turn off my feelings (Harris 1998)

Everyone should be put to a test, an ULTIMATE DOOM test, see who can survive in an environment using only 'smarts' and military skills. Put them in a Doom world, no authority, no refuge, no BS copout excuses...If you can't take down a demon with a chainsaw or kill a hell prince with a shotgun, you die! (Harris 1998)

Another way in which both Klebold and Harris link their crimes to fictional killing is their reference to their future killings as 'NBK'. Klebold indicates some trepidation about going 'NBK' in his comment in brackets in the following extract:

Maybe going "NBK" (gawd) with Eric is the way to break free. (Klebold 1999)

This acronym refers to Oliver Stone's film *Natural Born Killers*, in which two people violently kill multiple people and their actions are glorified by the media. The film has been widely debated because of its violent content and those responsible for directing and distributing it have been involved in lawsuits relating to copycat killings that have taken place since its release (Brooks 2002). As with Rodger and Breivik, Harris also describes the killings as an event that has agency of its own and uses unaccusative verbs to describe it as 'closing in' (Figure 6.14: Line 4) and happening of its own volition (Figure 6.14 Line 3: 'NBK came quick'). It is worth noting here that both Harris and Klebold use the verb 'to go' with the NBK acronym (see Figure 6.14 Line 1) and it is possible that they are copying this phraseology from previous uses of it that are linked to violence. The term *going postal* is a phrase that, according to the Collins English Dictionary (2021), began to be used from 1983 onwards after a spate of attacks by postal workers in the US and has come to mean 'Becoming extremely and uncontrollably angry - often to the point of violence and usually in a workplace environment' (Collins 2021). Certainly, the use of the word *go* with a noun phrase allows them to avoid saying directly what NBK involves and adds to the involuntary implications of the use of unaccusative verbs by describing something that is uncontrollable and unpredictable.

1	Based on Lem's quote. Boy oh fucking boy is that true. When I go	NBK	and people say things like, "oh it was so tragic" and "oh he is so crazy"	19.2%
2	Someone's bound to say "what were they thinking?" when we go	NBK	or when we were planning it, so this is what I am thinking. I	54.0%
3	I'm trying to get fucked and trying to finish off these time bombs.	NBK	came quick, why the fuck can't I get any? I mean, I'm nice.	97.6%
4	. but nooooo . I think I try too hard. But I kinda need to, considering	NBK	is closing in. The amount of dramatic irony and	98.1%
5	is fucking amazing. Everything I see and hear I incorporate into	NBK	somehow. Either bombs, clocks, guns, napalm, killing.	98.5%

Figure 6.14 All instances of *NBK* in Harris' diary [sorted diachronically]

In Line 4, Harris describes the extent to which their planned killings have taken over his thoughts: 'Everything I see and I hear I incorporate into *NBK*.' and if we expand this concordance line and look at the co-text, he also directly references the merging of real life with virtual killing, describing the way in which his life feels like a movie, and referring to people who he will kill as 'frags' (this is a term that is used in first person shooter games to refer to people who the player kills and is derived from the word *fragmentation* [PCGamesN 2021]):

Everything I see and hear I incorporate into *NBK* somehow. Either bombs, clocks, guns, napalm, killing people, any and everything finds some tie to it. Feels like a goddam movie sometimes. I wanna try to put some mines and trip bombs around this town too maybe. Get a few extra frags on the scoreboard. (Harris: 1999)

The majority of instances of *NBK* in Harris' text occur in the last few months before the massacre (see diachronic concordance lines in Figure 6.12), and Klebold's two references to it occur in February 1998, and three months before the crime in January 1999 (although there are also examples of Klebold having used the acronym in Harris' yearbook in 1998). Although many of the self-labels that both Klebold and Harris use for themselves that indicate a disconnect from reality (e.g. referring to themselves as superhuman or having a gifted insight; referring to others as zombies; Klebold referring to himself as being in two different forms: human and superhuman) are used consistently through their journals (see NVivo coding in Appendix 7), there are two points at which Klebold uses almost all of these labels in combination in short sections of text and this multiplies the sense of disconnect from reality and flags points at which virtual agency may be particularly relevant. The first section is in February 1998, and is the first point at which Klebold uses the acronym *NBK* and refers to the crime. It is also one of the diary entries in which he mentions suicide and so is likely to be written at a point when he is experiencing heightened emotional turmoil. It should be noted that this is the longest diary entry and so this could be one reason for the wider variety of labels used in this section; however, the longer entry may also be an

indication of Klebold's turmoil (because he felt more of a need to reflect), and still represents a point in time at which all of the labels are being used in conjunction with each other, regardless of how long the actual entry is:

Only for the gods though (me, ██████¹⁸, etc.). the zombies & their society band together & try to destroy what is superior (what they don't understand & are afraid of. Soon. . . either I'll commit suicide, or I'll get with ██████ & it will be NBK for us. (Klebold 1998).

The other part of the text in which almost of the labels indicating a disconnect from reality are used in combination is in the two diary entries from April 1999 (a few days before the massacre). These entries are not dated, but the content describes the timeframe in which they were written in relation to the killing. The extract below demonstrates the way in which Klebold continues to refer to himself as a separate entity who is sometimes human and sometimes not ('when I'm in my human form'), and who has a special insight that others do not ('An understanding of the everything. An Einstein stuck in an ant's body'). He refers to those who he is going to kill as subhuman zombies, and calls his planned attacks 'the judgment' (which aligns with his numerous descriptions of himself as a god). He also writes some of the most positive statements of the whole text as he highlights how 'interesting' and 'fun' it is to know that he is going to die. There is a certainty here in phrases such as: 'In 26.4 hours I'll be dead and in happiness', and a sense of relief at this point in comparison to earlier sections of Klebold's text in which he expressed uncertainty about who he is and has toyed with the idea of making more efforts to embrace 'human' traits and 'human' ways of doing things:

An understanding of the everything. An Einstein stuck in an ant's body. We are the nature of existence. The zombies were a test, to see if our love was genuine. We are in wait of our reward, each other. The zombies will never cause us pain anymore. The humanity was a test. I love you, love. Time to die, time to be free, time to love.

¹⁸ Word redacted by Jefferson County Sheriff's Department

One day, one is the beginning, [?]¹⁹ the end. Hahaha. Reversed, yet true. About 26.5 hours from now the judgment will begin. Difficult, but not impossible, necessary, nerve-wracking & fun. What fun is life without a little death? It's interesting, when I'm in my human form, knowing I'm going to die. Everything has a touch of triviality to it. Like how none of this calculus shit matters. The way it shouldn't. the truth. In 26.4 hours, I'll be dead, & in happiness. The little zombie human fags will know their errors, & be forever suffering and mournful. HAHahaha, of course I will miss things. Not really. (Klebold 1999)

Similarly, in Harris' text, there is a change in tone once the final plans are in place and they are ready to act. As discussed earlier, Harris' diary is predominantly an angry fulmination, which, in contrast to Klebold's diary, directly addresses the reader and is aimed at those who he feels have wronged him (which suggests that he believes they will read the diary after his death). It is characterised by frequent swearing, capitalisation that comes across as shouting, and derogative terms for those who he is angry with (see extracts above). As with Klebold, the self-labels that indicate a disconnect from reality are consistently used throughout Harris' text but in the final few entries before the crimes, in contrast to Klebold, they decrease (see NVivo coding in Appendix 7). In the November before the attacks, he describes feeling calmer about something that he would have expected to feel angry about and credits the fact that he has weapons with his new sense of confidence (see the first extract below). He does still refer to himself as god-like and indicates that his real and virtual worlds are blurred ('I named my shotgun "Arlene" after Arlene Sanders from the Doom books'), but the style here is more descriptive than argumentative as he describes his final preparations and attempts to describe how he feels now that the attacks are imminent. The tone is somewhat calmer and the style more descriptive of actions and events than the argumentative tone seen in other entries (e.g. see the second extract below):

You know what's weird, I don't feel like punching through a door because of the flask deal, probably cause I am fucking armed. I feel more confident, stronger, more God-like. (Harris 1998)

¹⁹ [?] denotes an indecipherable word.

Yesterday we fired our first firearms ever. 3 rounds from the carbine. Taught that ground a thing or 2. I even had the 2 clips in my pocket while talking to Vodka's dad about senior ditch day. God it felt great firing off that bad boy, and hopefully I'll be able to get more than just 4 clips for it. I dubbed my shotgun "Arlene" after Arlene Sanders from the DOOM books. She always did love the shotgun. Vodka's OB (?) is looking fucking awesome, all cut down to the proper lengths. This is a bitch trying to keep up with homework while working on my guns, bombs, and lying. By the way, I bought that flask in the mall and I had a friend fill it up with scotch whiskey, only had about 3 swigs in the 3 weeks I had it. Plus Monday I gave my T and IC to Vodka, just in case. I never really did like alcohol, just wasn't my thing, but it felt good to just have around. (Harris 1998)

In the case of both Klebold and Harris, their final entries indicate a sense of their relief at what they are about to do and there is no indication that they have any doubts or second thoughts about their plans. However, throughout their journals there is clearly a complex relationship between reality and fiction for them, as there is a clear overlap between their real selves and their virtual selves, and this is linked to their plans to kill others. This is also indicated in the evidence that was gathered by the Jefferson County Police, including a video called *Hitmen for Hire* that Klebold and Harris filmed in Columbine High School for a school project (the story enacted in the video features fictional hitmen hired to kill school bullies [Cullen 2019]). Klebold also wrote a fictional story in the final months leading up to the shooting. It describes someone killing college students and was flagged by his teacher because of concerns about the violent content (Cullen 2009: 307-308). If people are imagined as fictional and subhuman it may make them easier to kill, in the same way that Bandura (2005:136) described people being different to us as easier to harm. With their fantasies about harming others, they are rehearsing their own violent agency, and by reconstruing people as subhuman and virtual victims and positioning themselves as different to them, Klebold and Harris may find it easier to harm them. The powerful labels that they take on also enable them to re-obtain their own agency in life but reconstrue their actions as virtual killing without real world consequences, and this may in turn further enable them to hurt others. Langman (2020b) argues that mass murderers use their crimes to make themselves feel powerful and provides evidence that they are often people who feel physically weak and therefore being armed and acting as they wish makes them feel

stronger, more powerful, and able to act in any way they choose. Rehearsing these powerful labels by positioning others as weaker and subhuman and juxtaposing themselves as superhuman, confident beings allows them to rehearse their own agency in the same way that Rodger's evolution into a god-like character did. They refer to the crimes as virtual challenges in computer games, and their victims as subhuman parts of that challenge, besides linking their plans to a fictitious mass murder. This may enable them to either see their crimes in a fictional light and therefore absolve themselves of some responsibility for them, or may give them the opportunity to rehearse their agency in the game and in their fantasies to enable them to take on the role of mass murderers.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the way in which Rodger, Klebold and Harris position themselves in terms of how they see themselves and how they think others see them, and has carried this out through the analysis of labelling that emerges in keywords and key terminology. The analysis has expanded on Bamberg's (2012:103) diachronic application of the 'constancy and change' dimension of his identity navigation framework, by also applying it to concurrent senses of self. All three of the perpetrators demonstrate extremes of self-perception and refer to themselves in both subhuman and superhuman terms, with their planned attacks seeming to be part of what they see as their transitions into superhuman beings. The extremes of self-perception that they use come across as delusional, because of the subhuman and superhuman elements that give them an implausibility. However, it should be noted that the term 'delusional' typically forms part of mental health diagnosis and refers to 'fixed beliefs that are not amenable to change in light of conflicting evidence' (American Psychiatric Association 2013:87). The self-labelling used by these perpetrators betrays both an inflated sense of self and fragile self-esteem that co-exist, and while this, along with their grandiose descriptions of themselves as special and god-like, could be seen as a sign of psychosis or a personality disorder, it is not the intention of this chapter to attempt a diagnosis. As discussed in Chapter 2, Klebold and Harris were not formally diagnosed with a mental disorder, and Rodger was diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorder (Santa Barbara County Sheriff's Office 2015), which is not linked to such symptoms. Given that all three of them died during their attacks, it is not likely that any analysis of the impact of any mental disorder on their crimes will ever be conclusive and therefore this study treats the possibility that they suffered from a mental disorder as one of the many influences on their world view and in turn on their navigation of moral agency.

All three perpetrators also claim to have an insight into the world that others do not have and distance themselves from others, dehumanising them in ways that may make them easier to kill. Despite this clarity that they claim to have about the world, there is also a sense of blurring between fiction and reality in their texts, in the reference to fictional influences in the texts of Klebold and Harris, the labelling of their victims as subhuman entities from a video game, the roles from *World of Warcraft* that enable Rodger to hide from the real world, and the delusional and overinflated descriptions of themselves as powerful, god-like beings. These blurred lines between fiction and reality suggest that virtual agency may enable them to harm others, because fictional killing results in virtual responsibility and allows a detachment of moral agency. In addition, building themselves up into the powerful beings that contrast so sharply with the way in which they think others see them and the way in which they also frequently see themselves may enable them to rehearse agency. Through these more powerful, fictional roles they can trial new personas that may enable them to commit their crimes.

In the case of Rodger, these extremes of self-perception and the superhuman role that he takes on increase in frequency as the text progresses. They also contrast with his descriptions of himself using innocent and childlike labels at the beginning of the text. The gradual transformation from normal child to troubled teenager, and the way in which he is triggered by labels referring to him as a virgin or as a powerless being form part of a cohesive story that describes how he has come to the point where he feels the need to show others his strength. However, it is in the final two sections that the jump from a small-statured, shy teenager to a superhuman god who wants to change the world and argues that his actions are part of the greater good, is too extreme to be plausible (although he does become this in the eyes of the incel community). His final persona has the air of delusion and detachment from reality that indicates that the narrative enables him to navigate virtual rather than real moral agency and rehearse his agency through his fantasies.

The labelling in the diaries written by Harris and Klebold is far more consistent over time in that these patterns of detachment from reality and extremes of labelling exist throughout. However, in the final section of Klebold's diary, his virtual agency, the dehumanisation of victims and the rehearsal of superhuman roles increases, in a similar way to Rodger. Once he is armed and the crimes are imminent, Harris' tone becomes less argumentative and more descriptive and he presents himself as more confident and less angry

about the world. However, he also still describes himself as ‘godlike’ and repackages their crime in fictional terms using the acronym *NBK*. In the days and hours before their crimes, all of these perpetrators are rehearsing their crimes through virtual roles, blurring fictional killing with real killing and are attempting to show that they have transformed from subhuman to superhuman in readiness for their crimes.

In the conclusion, this virtual agency and rehearsed agency will be discussed alongside the repackaged agency, shared agency and ambiguous agency outlined in Chapters 4 and 5, besides examining the linguistic features that embody them in these texts and the implications of these findings in terms of moral agency and offending.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has examined the navigation of moral agency in texts written over time by four perpetrators of mass shootings, using Bamberg's (2012) identity navigation model to guide the analysis and using corpus analysis to examine linguistic patterns and diachronic changes in the texts. It is one of only a handful of studies to apply Bamberg's framework in a forensic setting, and takes advantage of the fact that these texts were written before the perpetrators committed their crimes. This combination has offered a unique insight into both their sense of moral agency before they acted, and the role of narrative and identity construction in the period before people harm others.

The findings from this three-pronged approach to analysing their moral agency (how the perpetrators position themselves in relation to their future acts of harm, how they position themselves in relation to other people, and how they position themselves in relation to themselves) have revealed a taxonomy consisting of categories of moral agency that are at play, together with a large number of lexical, grammatical and syntactical features that realise these categories. The way in which the perpetrators consciously or subconsciously navigate these categories over time questions the assumption that taking responsibility for crimes is always a sign that someone is less likely to offend. It also expands on and opens up debate around the linguistic features that have been asserted to be indicative of taking responsibility or of being a serious threat, asserts the constitutive role of identity construction and narrative in the enabling of harm to others, and draws attention to the asynchronous imparting of ideas and inspiration that may be taking place between past, present and future attackers, highlighting the need for further research in this area. This final chapter begins by presenting this taxonomy of moral agency alongside the linguistic features that embody each category. The perpetrators' navigation of these categories and the linguistic features that embody them will then be examined before outlining the implications of these findings and suggesting avenues for future research.

7.2 A taxonomy of moral agency

The taxonomy of moral agency proposed here can be seen in Figure 7.1 overleaf. It encompasses the five categories of moral agency described in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 (repackaged

agency, rehearsed agency, shared agency, ambiguous agency, and virtual agency) and answers the third and final research questions of the thesis:

Research Question 3: What categories of moral agency emerge from these diachronic patterns and how do these relate to the overarching themes of responsibility, desistance and the power of narrative to affect action?

By starting with the final research question, we can focus on this key outcome and then explore how it was reached through the linguistic features relating to moral agency (research question 1) before summarising how the perpetrators navigate these different categories over time (research question 2) and what the implications of this are. It should be noted that these categories were identified in these particular texts that were written by these particular perpetrators and not all categories were found in all texts. Were an analysis of moral agency to be carried out on other perpetrators' texts or on different types of texts, then different categories could potentially be found and added to the taxonomy, or existing categories on this taxonomy may be disputed. It should also be noted that although the five categories are of different sizes in the diagram, they are all of equal importance, and the sizing simply indicates that the larger categories had more subcategories within them. The inner ring lists the five categories, the second ring the strategies used within these categories to navigate agency, and the outer ring lists the linguistic features that have been found to be indicative of these categories. Some strategies and linguistic features are repeated in different categories of moral agency and there is therefore overlap between the categories, and cases where the types of agency feed into each other. This will become clearer as the discussion progresses. The following is an outline of each category and the linguistic features that embody it.



Figure 7.1 Taxonomy of Moral Agency

7.2.1 Repackaged Agency

The first category on the taxonomy is ‘repackaged agency’ (in green on Figure 7.1). As discussed in Chapter 4, this involves the conscious or subconscious reconstrual of acts of harm and the preparations for them in ways that may make them easier to carry out. It makes them more acceptable and justifiable to the perpetrators and also attempts to make them more acceptable and justifiable to the reader. Elements of this way of thinking about or describing harm are a part of both neutralisation theory (appealing to higher loyalties [Sykes and Matza 1957a]) and moral engagement theory (euphemistic labelling [Bandura 2002]), but this category expands on these because they are examined linguistically and applied before a crime rather than afterwards. This category has particular relevance to the dimension of Bamberg’s model that deals with whether someone presents themselves as a victim or ‘able to act on the world’, and there are numerous examples of this type of moral agency in the analysis.

In Chapter 4, it was explained that the ways in which Breivik presents his actions as being essential to prevent greater harm, and as military manoeuvres authorised from above in an attempt to lend them legitimacy, demonstrates that he is repackaging an individual man’s plans as a wider, authorised and organised right-wing operation of which he was a small part. Conversely, at times he presented the fine-grained detail of his preparations in ways that blurred this bigger picture and avoided describing or facing up to exactly what he was going to do. He also described the stages of his attacks as steps that had been set in motion and events that he had no control over, which meant that he was avoiding responsibility for what he planned to do by simply achieving each step in a systematic fashion and becoming so focused in minor details that his larger aim was not visible. Rodger also repackaged his crime, but in different ways. In a similar way to Breivik, he describes the crime as an event that he cannot control, that he is obliged to carry out, and that will happen of its own volition and therefore avoids his own responsibility for it. However, he also repackages his crime as something that is even more graphic and extreme than the act of violence that he commits after completing his autobiography, and this renders the crime that he anticipates more akin to a comic book or movie killing than a real event that will actually happen. These fictional descriptions feed into other types of moral agency (virtual agency and rehearsed agency) and will be discussed in more detail in Sections 7.2.4 and 7.2.5. In addition, both Rodger and Breivik describe their crimes with a grandiosity that indicates that they see their future actions as world changing and important. They are appealing to the idea that their actions are necessary and momentous, and are so large in scale and set in stone that they have no choice but to act to change the world

because they have an insight that others do not have (such an insight was also a key focus of the texts written by Klebold and Harris and will be discussed in 7.2.5). By repackaging their future harmful acts, they present them as necessary, as happening of their own volition, and avoid responsibility for them by focusing on the bigger picture or the detail of their actions (Breivik) or presenting their actions as far-fetched events (Rodger).

7.2.2 Shared agency

According to Bandura et al. (1996), it is easier to harm others if responsibility is shared, and the fourth category relates to the diffusion of agency within a group. ‘Shared agency’ (yellow on Figure 7.1) is particularly relevant to Breivik, because at the beginning of his text he claims to be working with a group of right-wing terrorists and shares responsibility with them in a way that attempts to give his attacks more authority and to be taken more seriously. This dilutes his own agency by allocating it to a group and may be aimed at trying to make him seem less deviant. He also uses part of his manifesto to instruct unknown imagined future attackers, diffusing his agency among them and trying to present himself as a movement rather than an anomaly. There is also the possibility that sharing agency is an attempt to ensure his message is taken more seriously, an approach which has been identified in relation to other attackers by Simons and Tunkel (2021). Breivik’s sharing of agency is a category which changes particularly noticeably over time and will be discussed below in relation to diachronic patterns.

7.2.3 Ambiguous agency

The third category is ‘ambiguous agency’ (orange on Figure 7.1), and this relates to the way in which the agent is obfuscated or referred to ambiguously to the point where responsibility is difficult to place. Examples of obfuscation include the portrayal of attacks as abstract and vague processes or events that are unstoppable or which happen of their own volition rather than being caused by human intervention (all four perpetrators utilise this, whether consciously or subconsciously). The events may be described as a date that has been set and which cannot be changed (e.g. ‘day of retribution’ [Rodger 2014] or ‘my primary operation’ [Breivik 2011]) or a stage in a bigger structure with the perpetrator passing from one phase to the next, placing one foot in front of the other until they reach the day of the crime. Ambiguous reference is particularly prevalent in Breivik’s text in which he ambiguously refers to who might be reading his text, who might be in the wider group he is working with or in the group of like-minded people in Norway or Europe, and who the person is that he is instructing in his blueprint section.

As with the other categories, the way in which this is achieved linguistically will be explained in Section 7.3 below.

7.2.4 *Virtual Agency*

The final type of moral agency which perhaps covers the most new ground in relation to the language of moral agency is ‘virtual agency’ (blue on Figure 7.1). This category is multi-faceted, because it feeds into many of the other categories, and is important because it indicates that the perpetrators may have blurred the distinctions between real life and fiction and that this may have influenced their actions. This category is manifested in many forms in the data, the first of which is the way in which the perpetrators dehumanise their victims. Klebold and Harris both refer to their victims as subhuman (Klebold refers to them as ‘zombies’ but also sometimes refers to himself as a ‘zombie’ as well, and Harris refers to them as ‘monsters’ or ‘demons’). Harris draws a parallel between them being subhuman and the computer game *Doom*, arguing that he will ‘force myself to believe that everyone is just another monster from Doom’ (Harris: 1998) and try to switch off his feelings (‘I must not be side-tracked by my feelings of sympathy’: Harris 1998). Not only is the dehumanisation of victims thought to make them easier to kill (partly because it makes them different to the person harming them [Presser 2013]) but also because it leaves the victim outside of the realm of human morality (Cohen 2001). In addition, the fact the Columbine killers are bringing an element of a computer game into their real lives and into their crimes may indicate that the reality of what they are going to do and the harm they will cause is not evident to them or is blurred with fictional harm. Rodger also describes his victims as animals (‘I will slaughter them like the animals they are’ Rodger 2014: Section 7), and in fact also describes himself as an animal at times, albeit a powerful one (‘I will be the predator’ Rodger 2014: Section 7).

Secondly, the way in which the perpetrators describe themselves is also key to this category. Rodger, Klebold and Harris frequently describe themselves as subhuman, but also frequently position themselves as super-human beings with a special insight that others do not have (e.g. ‘In the midst of my suffering, I have been able to see the world much clearer than others. I have vision that other people lack.’ [Rodger 2014]). This indicates an inflated sense of ego and delusion as they create a fictional character and role that they place themselves into and which possibly encourages them to feel that they are above the reality of normal human laws and responsibilities when situated in their own virtual world. The potential influence of mental disorder on the language of the perpetrators in relation to their delusional and grandiose language was discussed in Chapter 6 because these are known features of those with certain

psychotic or personality disorders. However, the lack of lifetime diagnoses for such disorders for these three perpetrators means that this study cannot make conclusions about the link between their mental health and their language and therefore simply treats these features as one element of their moral agency while considering all of the possible influences on that moral agency.

Finally, the way in which they describe their crimes often seems fictional. Rodger describes his in a way that is more akin to a fictional attack because it is so graphic and visceral, and the way in which Klebold and Harris describe their victims as subhuman also has the air of a computer game or animation. In the case of Breivik this fictional agency is different in that he barely describes his victims or his crimes, but there is still also a blurring of reality in his text. He claims to be working with a group called the Knights Templar (who are fictional), but also claims at the beginning of the text that his whole text in fact only describes a hypothetical situation that should not be taken seriously:

It should be noted that the author, as a sci-fi enthusiast, wanted to bring and create a complete new writing style that has the potential to shock the reader with an incredibly credible fictional plot. (Breivik: Book 3)

Similarly, Rodger talks about writing a story in class that follows similar lines to his desired real-life trajectory (see below), and the Columbine boys recorded a movie called *Hitmen for hire* which had elements of their crime in it (Cullen 2009), with Klebold also writing a fictional story about a man who shoots several students (Langman 2014):

I seriously started to consider working towards writing an epic story. I was always creating stories in my mind to fuel fantasies. Usually, those stories depicted someone like myself rising to power after a life of being treated unfairly by the world. (Rodger: Section 5)

Finally, references to gaming are frequent in all of the texts and include both direct descriptions of the perpetrators' gaming activity and also passages where the relationship between real life and gaming is reflected on or where there is a blurring of reality and fiction. For example, Breivik describes using the game *Modern Warfare 2* as a way to practise his shooting skills, and his 'walkthrough' of making explosives has similar linguistic features to a computer game walkthrough. Rodger also uses terms from *World of Warcraft* to describe his crimes (e.g.

‘retribution’) and refers to the way in which playing this game is an escape from the real world, but that the two worlds then begin to collide (‘the evils of the world had followed me there’: Rodger 2014: Section 5) and when Harris describes his planned attacks he mentions ‘getting a few extra frags on the scoreboard’ (Harris 1999), and pretending that people are zombies in order to ‘switch off his feelings’, among references to other fictional harm when discussing the crime (e.g. naming his gun after a character from the *Doom* series of books, and using the acronym *NBK* to reference their plans).

7.2.5 Rehearsed Agency

The next category of moral agency on the taxonomy, is ‘rehearsed agency’ (grey on Figure 7.1). Bruner argued that we ‘*become* the autobiographical narratives by which we “tell about” our lives’ (Bruner 2004: 694) and the key to this category is predominantly the way in which the perpetrators label themselves and their victims. In Chapter 6, the way in which Rodger labelled himself using extremes of self-perception and positioned himself in superhuman and subhuman roles is relevant to rehearsing agency for two reasons. Firstly, part of the tension and the motivation for demonstrating their strength came from a sense that others viewed them as weak (e.g. ‘they treated me like an insignificant little mouse’ Rodger: Section 7) and by describing themselves as weak and then putting themselves in a position of strength (e.g. ‘They will be the mice, and I will be the predator’ Rodger: Section 7), they are positioning themselves as powerful and ready to act (e.g. I feel more confident, stronger, more god-like. Harris: 1998). Secondly, they may be trying out different roles through their narratives. According to Järvinen (2000), we can use narratives to increase certain elements of ourselves, and Brockmeier (2009:202) argues that narrators can practise agency through hypothetical events, describing it as probing our ‘action possibilities’. By labelling themselves as strong super-human beings or as subhuman beings who harm others, they are experiencing those roles hypothetically. Labelling their victims as subhuman also relates to the rehearsal of agency because it dehumanises them, positions them as different to the perpetrators and in turn makes them easier to harm. Finally, in the case of Rodger, describing his crimes in graphic detail may have the effect of desensitizing him in the way that soldiers are desensitized by watching graphic films (Cohen 2001:90), and may mean that by the time he commits his crimes (which in fact are slightly less violent than his predictive descriptions of them), he may be less inhibited to act in this way. This stands in stark contrast to Breivik, who largely avoided describing what he was going to do, and Harris and Klebold who described their attacks as ‘NBK’ but provided only brief descriptions of what they were going to do. This category involves the perpetrators taking

on roles in their narratives that enable them to dispense with inhibitions and rehearse agency by taking on these personas and, in the case of Rodger, by describing his crimes in graphic detail.

7.3 Research question 1: How is moral agency linguistically expressed in a corpus of pre-crime narratives written by mass shooters?

Several key linguistic features have emerged from this research as being central to the way in which these perpetrators navigate their moral agency and how they position themselves in their texts in relation to the different elements of their crimes. These features relate to the way in which they reconstrue or repackage their violent actions, how they describe other people affected by their crimes, and how they label themselves. The features that have emerged as key to the navigation of moral agency in these texts are primarily: nominalisations and noun phrases, unaccusative or semantically passive verbs, tenses, lexical choices and pronoun use.

7.3.1 Nominalisations and abstract nouns

In Section 7.1.2 it was outlined that there is a tendency for some of the perpetrators included in this study to linguistically repackage their future actions in ways that may affect their own ability to harm and potentially influence the responses of others to their actions. This repackaging frequently takes the form of nominalisations that are used to make the crime seem like a process that is being undergone, or something that the perpetrators possess rather than do. All four perpetrators describe their crimes as events that are out of their control rather than as actions that they will carry out. For example, at the beginning of his text, Breivik describes his plans using nominalisations and nouns that are related to military activity and as a result he construes his actions as being authorised by or shared with a wider group and presents them as part of a system of attacks/warfare rather than the actions of an individual. This enables him to consciously or subconsciously diffuse his own agency, appealing to higher loyalties to defend his actions. Rodger also uses nouns and nominalisations to repackage his planned crimes as an inevitable and unstoppable event that he has simply placed on the calendar and which hides the detail of his actions, and Harris and Klebold describe ‘NBK’ as an event that they are anticipating rather than something that can be prevented.

7.3.2 Unaccusative and semantically passive verbs

The effect of these nouns and nominalisations in diffusing or hiding agency by obscuring the actions required to carry them out is also enhanced by the use of verbs that enable the perpetrators to avoid directly stating their involvement. Unaccusative verbs in particular have emerged as a key pattern in the avoidance of agency in these perpetrators' texts because they are used to describe these events or operations as occurring of their own volition and without human intervention. For example, Rodger uses unaccusative verbs with abstract nouns as subjects to describe the way in which events will 'come to pass' or 'play out', as does Breivik, who describes his attacks as phases that will 'come towards' their end, while Harris exclaims that 'NBK came quick'. Other types of verbs that include a similar lack of agency include passives (e.g. 'The research phase will be followed by...' [Breivik 2011]), and also modal verbs of obligation which are used to describe the lack of choice that the perpetrators have (these modals are used particularly frequently by Rodger). Verbs that are used in grammatically active structures but are semantically passive are also used to either consciously or subconsciously obscure agency and imply that the perpetrators have some contribution to make but are largely either undergoing something or setting something in motion rather than being fully in control of what happens next (e.g. 'get through' [Breivik 2011]).

7.3.3 Use of tenses and lexical choices

Besides positioning themselves as undergoers rather than actors in relation to their attacks, the way in which some of the perpetrators position themselves in relation to their actions in terms of distance or nearness is also key to their linguistic repackaging. For example, Rodger uses past tenses to describe decisions relating to his attack and can therefore distance himself from the decision to carry the crime out and uses future forms to describe what he will do and how he will kill others, avoiding locating agency in his current self by avoiding describing his current self as an active participant. Breivik utilises the forementioned military lexis to present his plans as part of a larger system or network in which he is just a small element and therefore uses the guise of a wider operation to hide his part of it or to avoid discussing the detail of what he will do. Conversely, at times Breivik also positions himself as so immersed in the smaller tasks of the preparations that the wider crime that he is working towards is not being described or referred to. He uses detailed descriptions of chemical production and weapons procurement and details the minute-by-minute

preparations required, which allows him to avoid contemplating the bigger picture and the end goal. In a similar way, soldiers are trained to focus on the details of their weapons to avoid contemplating what they are using the weapon for (Cohen, 2001: 90), and death row executions are reportedly divided into smaller steps and specific tasks to avoid anyone being solely responsible (see 2.4), but also to avoid focusing on the overall outcome of the steps that are being taken (Osofsky et al. 2005).

It is clear that moral agency is not only being negotiated in grammatical and syntactical choices but in lexical choices as well. Both Breivik's military lexis and the use of semantically passive verbs by both Rodger and Breivik were discussed above. Rodger, in particular, uses grandiose nouns (with a sense of exaggerated and pretentious importance) to describe his crime and portray it as something momentous and world changing, and these nouns also have a semantic preference for words that describe extremes and power (e.g. he is going to 'exact revenge', and this is his 'ultimate vengeance'). However, Rodger also trivialises his crimes through his lexical choices. The words he uses to describe his future actions are exaggerated and visceral, describing the violence as more visual and more grotesque than it actually was and conjuring up comic-book like images portraying himself as a virtual killer or villain in a film or story. It is possible that these lexical choices serve to desensitise him to the violence and as a result make him more able to commit his crimes. In addition, such descriptions may enable him to avoid dwelling on the seriousness of his planned violence by rendering it fictional, ridiculous and unbelievable or may in fact enable him to strengthen the part of himself that wants to commit this crime by rehearsing his own agency.

7.3.4 Pronouns

In addition, pronoun usage emerges as a key element of the navigation of moral agency, particularly in Breivik's text. This relates to the sharing of responsibility with the wider group that he claims to be a part of, and with other potential attackers. Firstly, he diffuses his own agency by sharing it with others through the use of first-person plural pronouns to indicate shared actions and goals, to set up the fictional group named 'Knights Templar' and claim to not be acting alone, and also to draw the audience into his ideology and his justifications for his crimes. Secondly, his use of second person pronouns also diffuses agency by sharing it with other, future attackers who he imagines as having similar goals to him and positioning himself as someone who is not deviant or criminal but doing something that others would also like to do. Key to this use of second person pronouns is Breivik's sharing of advice in his blueprint

for making chemical weapons and instructions on preparing for such an attack, which also has a similar style to gaming walkthroughs. By writing the blueprint for making explosives, Breivik creates imagined future attackers and therefore imagines himself as an authority on the subject. In doing so he also rejects the idea that he is a deviant person working alone and instead asserts that there are others who are similar to him. This vague and ambiguous reference to an imagined but unspecified person also indicates an avoidance of agency and a dilution of blame which confuses who is responsible for an act, who is included in the plans, and who is to blame for them. This vague usage of both *we* and *you* leaves it to the reader to decide who is being referred to and who is to blame, and possibly whether they, as the audience potentially being addressed, want to be included or not.

7.3.5 Noun phrases referring to the self

Finally, the way in which the perpetrators label themselves using noun phrases indicates how they reflect on their past selves, future selves or co-existing current selves in their texts. The use of extreme noun phrases (phrases that are at opposite ends of a spectrum in terms of how powerful or superior they are) in Rodger's, Harris' and Klebold's texts is key here. Harris, Klebold and Rodger all demonstrate extremes of self-perception in their self-labelling and either demonstrate their powerlessness through labels that are subhuman, stigmatised or small in size ('mouse', 'pathetic loser' [Rodger], 'shithead' [Klebold], 'animal' [Harris]), or try to present themselves as powerful through labels that are superhuman, grandiose, or divine ('magnificent gentleman' [Rodger], 'true god' [Klebold], 'fucking great marine' [Harris]). Such labels are juxtaposed either to rehearse their transformation from being weak and inferior creatures to powerful beings who are capable of harming others or to present themselves as fictional creations who can hide in a virtual world of virtual agency. These extreme labels may also form part of their justification for their crimes by framing them as revenge for how others have treated them. They were seen as powerless and weak, but have shown their enemies that they are strong and powerful through their crimes. Langman (2020) argues that Harris, Breivik and Rodger (among other perpetrators) had physical weaknesses that made them feel less powerful and therefore that their actions were part of an attempt to regain that power.

As discussed above, these extremes of self-perception may also be linked to a tendency to portray their crimes as fictional in terms of positioning themselves as having different personas, some of which are superhuman or divine and therefore unreal or virtual.

Klebold describes himself using the third person and this seems to be part of an attempt to come to terms with or distance himself from those parts of himself that he sees as weak or human, and there is a tendency in both Rodger and Harris and Klebold's texts to describe their victims as subhuman and therefore worthy of harm or as fictional victims, and declare themselves to be super-human, possessing an insight into the world that others do not have and which they were lacking in the past. They position themselves in different roles and as different characters and play around with whether or not they are human, subhuman or superhuman and rehearse different positions over the period of time over which their texts are written. The way in which these extreme labels, and the other linguistic features discussed above as indicative of the navigation of moral agency, change over time in the texts will be explored in the following section.

7.4 Research Question 2: How do the perpetrators linguistically navigate their moral agency over time?

7.4.1 Diachronic patterns in Breivik's manifesto

The perpetrator whose apparent sense of moral agency changes the most noticeably over time is Breivik (outlined in detail in Chapters 4 and 5). These changes relate to two particular categories of agency: repackaged agency and shared agency. Firstly, in relation to repackaged agency, in Breivik's manifesto there is generally a pattern of moving from general information to specific detail from the beginning to the end of his manifesto. In Section 1, Breivik packages his crime as a military operation at the beginning of his text, using military lexis and language that indicates a large-scale operation that he is simply a part of and is authorised to act in accordance with. There is a focus here on the bigger picture, on a bird's-eye view of the crime, which means that he can avoid the detail of what he is going to do. In Section 2, although still using military lexis and abstract nouns combined with unaccusative verbs, semantically passive lexis, and nominalisations that have an inherent air of automatism (e.g. 'phase shift'), he then begins to give a little more focus on his individual part in the operation such as farming e-mail addresses (Section 2) and acquiring weapons (Section 3). With a brief interlude while Breivik reflects on his friendships and ideology in Section 4, he then returns to describe his preparations in great detail in Section 5 in the form of a very detailed account of the optimum method for making explosives. The bigger picture has disappeared, and he still does not describe what he is going to do, but focuses on minute detail in what I have called in the taxonomy a 'microscopic view', in a way that again obfuscates agency and neutralises the victim of his attacks and the harm he is going to cause them because it allows him to avoid considering them.

This continues in the final two sections (6 and 7), where there are very few references to a military 'operation' or a 'phase-shift', and his world has shrunk to his day-to-day steps in his preparations.

The second category which is central to changes in Breivik's style and navigation of agency is 'shared agency'. Chapter 5 carefully documents the noticeable and significant changes in pronoun usage throughout Breivik's text and this mostly indicates changes in relation to who he claims to be working with. The key changes are that Breivik begins the manifesto by sharing agency with the group the 'Knights Templar' and with other 'Cultural Conservatives' through his use of *we* and his references to such groups. Although he predominantly uses *we* to refer to them, who he is actually referring to with this pronoun is often ambiguous, and this ambiguity is key to diffusing agency because it makes the agent unclear in terms of who it includes and therefore hides the agent of the plans he describes. Similarly, if he is working with others he can share agency with them and present his responsibility as being divided among the group, potentially making it easier to act. This may also be an attempt to legitimise his actions within an organised operation. Besides the sharing of agency at the beginning of the text, Section 5 is a key point at which he tries to suggest that he is not a deviant lone attacker. This is covered extensively in Chapter 5 and takes the form of a blueprint guiding future readers on the optimum method of making explosives and encourages the reader to learn from his mistakes. This implies that Breivik imagines a future reader who will have the same goals as him, and therefore he is implying that there are similarities between him and the reader. The style of his text is influenced by who he imagines his readers to be. By writing this guide, he shares his ideology and aims with others, diffuses his agency, makes it easier to act because he is part of a group, and attempts to present his acts as logical and not deviant.

The shared agency in Sections 1 and 5 does not exist in the other sections of Breivik's manifesto, and by the end of the text, the majority of references to other people and other groups have disappeared and he instead talks as though he is working alone, and even talks about the benefits of doing so.

The old saying; "if you want something done, then do it yourself" is as relevant now as it was then. More than one "chef" does not mean that you will do tasks twice as fast. (Breivik Section 7)

He is solely focussed on his own actions at this point. The pronoun *I* is key towards the end of the text, aside from the final paragraphs where he omits this pronoun and offers a very brief rundown of what he has done during the day, and instructs himself on his future actions, giving agency to his future self. Overall Breivik moves from shared agency to individual agency over the course of his text and moves from a wide focus on the bigger picture to a very minute focus on the detail of his own actions, both of which obfuscate his agency. So, while he becomes more individually agentive at the end, admitting that he is working alone, he is also very focussed on the detail in a way that may be avoiding addressing the crime itself.

7.4.2 Diachronic patterns in Rodger's autobiography.

As with Breivik, many of the keywords that emerged in Rodger's text were indicative of the topic explored in each section, and as a result, it is at the point that he begins to plan his crimes (Sections 6-8) that his language begins to change. While the first five sections are focussed on his childhood and predominantly describe childhood pursuits and school changes, from Section 6 onwards his text is filled with angst and a desire to change his life, and this is reflected in the language of the final three sections of the text. The changes are largely lexical, and Section 7 seems to be a particular focal point of his ruminations about his crimes. The section preceding it still has elements of hope as he embraces the chance to go to college and change his life and the vocabulary at this point reflects this, with keywords being related to going to college and winning the lottery. However, when he realises that he is not going to become rich and that despite going to college he has not been able to lose his virginity, he begins to plan his crime and his language alters. In the final two sections, there is a predominance of keywords relating to violence and harm, and in Chapter 4, the way in which these keywords led the analysis towards the various ways in which Breivik repackages his crime was outlined. He uses nominalisations and abstract nouns to describe his attacks as events that he has no control over and, as with Breivik, he uses unaccusative verbs and semantically passive lexis to describe his role in it. Where he does describe his crime directly, he mitigates his agency by claiming that he has no choice but to act, and he uses past tenses to distance himself from his decision. He also begins to describe himself using extremes and his language becomes more and more unreal. The majority of the time uses of *will* are preceded by *I* and there are several examples of his use of agentive structures where he is clearly the agent. However, it is also at these points that he seems to be incorporating virtual agency. Many of these active sentences seem to describe graphic killings that are almost fictional in the way in which they are presented and therefore he could either be rehearsing his agency by positioning himself as the perpetrator of

harm or is reconstructing his future crimes in fictional terms in a way that makes them seem less real and his responsibility for them virtual. Rodger ends the text very distanced from his dehumanised victims, as a (self-defined) superhuman with a masterplan for the eradication of women, indicating that he sees his crimes as part of the greater good, and is again confusing fiction with reality, seeing himself both as different from and more powerful than other people. He has stopped describing himself as weak and is now asserting his strength just before he commits the crimes.

7.4.3 Diachronic patterns in the diaries of Klebold and Harris

As discussed in Chapters 3 and 6, Harris and Klebold's texts were more difficult to analyse for changes in style because of the sporadic nature of their journal entries and because of the short length of each entry which meant that patterns within one entry were more difficult to see as there was less chance for repeated features to occur. While the analysis of their texts in Chapter 6 focused mainly on self-labelling, it also allowed information to emerge concerning to what extent they saw themselves as victims or able to act on the world, besides how they saw themselves in contrast to other people and in comparison to their past, present, and future selves. This information demonstrated that much of their self-labelling and the way in which they saw their crimes and those affected by them was consistent throughout their texts, and this included the way in which they presented themselves as different to other people, with a special, sometimes superhuman insight that gave them a unique view on the world. These findings have implications in terms of whether they found it easier to harm others by viewing themselves in this way, through Klebold's splitting of the different parts of himself, or through the way in which their worlds become surreal, with their perception of themselves as gods and their references to elements of video games infiltrating their language in a way that suggests that their reality is blurred with fiction.

Two key points of change (one for each perpetrator) are visible though, and these relate to the points at which their plans become more concrete. The first is that Klebold's world becomes even more surreal after he first mentions what they are planning (they call it 'NBK') as he combines most of the different self-labelling approaches all at once (demonstrated in Chapter 6), and in the case of Harris, when they have obtained the weapons that they need, his style changes from an argumentative rant (e.g. 'I hate the fucking world, too much god damn fuckers in it. Too many thoughts and different societies all wrapped up together in this fucking place called AMERICA' [Harris April 1998]) to a more measured, traditional narrative describing what they have been doing to prepare ('By the way, I bought that flask in the mall

and I had a friend fill it up with scotch whiskey' [Harris December 1998]), and also says that he now feels stronger.

What links Rodger, Klebold and Harris is that they all seem to gain strength through their narratives. Klebold, Harris and Rodger describe themselves as gods by the end of their texts, and describe their transformation through their attacks from weak to strong. However, in many ways they have moved away from reality and, even within what might traditionally be labelled as agentive language in the form of active sentences, they are still describing their crimes in fictional terms and with a distance from reality in a way that positions them as characters in a game or movie with virtual responsibility, or in delusional, grandiose terms as superhuman beings who can act with impunity. Breivik's sense of reality is also in flux, but his text differs in many ways. Towards the end of the text his grip on reality seems to improve in some ways as he no longer references the Knights Templar or shares agency with the reader or future attackers, writing instead about concrete objects and actions, describing exactly what he is doing each day to prepare, and admitting that he is working alone. Ambiguous reference disappears, and in fact his world becomes smaller without reference to friends, family, or other groups. However, he may be focusing on minutiae in order to neutralise the reality of what he is about to do (something which Cohen [2001:90] argues is part of military training) and this could be interpreted as rehearsing his agency by describing himself as the only actor and positioning himself (in alignment with reality) as the perpetrator of a violent crime who is currently making his final preparations. It is not beyond imagination that by writing these narratives the perpetrators have enabled themselves to act, by navigating through these different categories of moral agency in their reflections and descriptions. In the following sections, the limitations of this study and the future applications of this taxonomy of moral agency in terms of how it might be applied in other contexts will be discussed. The implications of the diachronic navigation between categories in terms of the role of narrative and identity in enabling harm, assumptions relating to responsibility and desistance, the merging of fiction and reality, and the role of such texts in sharing agency, will also be outlined.

7.5 Limitations

There are three key limitations to this study. The first relates to differences between the way in which texts are treated, the second to the choice of software used for the analysis, and the third concerns the consideration of similarity. As noted in Chapter 3, the Columbine texts required a different approach to keyness analysis, which meant that Breivik and Rodger's individual sections were compared against a reference corpus of the whole text minus that section,

whereas the short length of the Columbine texts and the sporadic and brief nature of the diary entries meant that a general reference corpus of English was used instead. The approach used with the other perpetrators meant that similarity as well as difference could emerge from the results and also meant that the sampling frame of an external reference corpus did not influence the results. However, this simply meant that it was necessary to focus on similarity between diary entries in the NVivo coding of the Columbine texts, and to pay attention in the manual analysis to any features that might have been missed in the keyness analysis because of the reference corpus. This was easy to carry out thoroughly because of the short lengths of the Columbine corpora.

In addition, the use of commercial software could be seen as a limitation of this study. Gries and Newman (2013:280) point out the limits of using commercial tools rather than designing tools that meet the specific aims of a project, because the former may mean that the analysis is limited to the capability of such tools. However, without the resources or expertise to design such tools, utilising several commercial pieces of software in this particular project meant that the choice of what to use could be tailored to the research question and meant that the analysis could be made more rigorous by examining the data through different lenses. The use of a combination of different tools to analyse the data could in fact be seen as a strength of this study, because it has made use of the advantages of each tool rather than limiting the analysis to what was available in a single piece of software.

The use of multiple tools did, however, mean that different statistical measures were applied (Simple Maths) in the final analysis of terminology, which did not involve the statistical rigour of significance or effect sizes used in other elements of the analysis and did not enable the emergence of negatively key terminology. Nevertheless, the benefits of using another approach outweighed this lack of consistency because it meant that the data was being looked at through another lens, and the analysis of terminology allowed a detailed focus on labelling that was not possible through the keyword analysis or a traditional key cluster analysis. In addition, the key terminology analysis was a complementary addition to other analyses rather than the sole approach. It should also be noted that, throughout the study, key item analysis was only used as a way into the text and that once labels were identified, concordance lines were expanded and the co-text analysed qualitatively to look at the meaning and patterns surrounding these labels.

The third limitation relates to the extent to which similarity is considered in the thesis. As discussed in 3.4.3, Taylor (2018:23) highlights the tendency for keyness analysis to focus on difference at the expense of similarity, and emphasises the importance of ‘looking both

ways'. The linguistic similarities between different sections of the perpetrators' texts was drawn out by comparing each section against the text as a whole, therefore applying a method suggested by Baker (2004:349) in which two corpora are compared against a third and the similarities between them are examined so that key key words (Scott 1997), or words that are key in more than one section, can be identified. However, these approaches to similarity still fundamentally have distinctiveness as their focus because they are looking at the similarities between the keywords (key item analysis is inherently related to difference). In order to more closely focus on the similarities, a consistency analysis (to identify any words that are consistently frequent across sections of a text) or the examination of lockwords (words whose frequencies do not change over time), may have provided a fuller picture of the similarities between the sections (both suggested by Taylor [2018:25-27]). It should be noted, however, that at the time of conducting this analysis, such analysis was not accommodated easily by existing corpus query tools (Taylor 2018: 27).

In addition to these limitations, it is worth reflecting on the nature of the texts included in this study and the extent to which their differing characteristics may have affected the findings. Firstly, the ways in which the texts of the four different perpetrators differed in terms of their size, temporal span and internal composition have been documented throughout the thesis and could have affected the results of the analysis, particularly in relation to keyness. The effect of the size of a corpus on significance values was discussed in 3.5.3 and, as a result of this, effect sizes were implemented alongside other measures (see Gabrielatos 2018:233). It should also be noted that although suggestions are made in this thesis concerning how the results of the analysis might be applied to similar texts, the results are not claimed to be generalisable to *all* pre-crime narratives. In other words, the pre-crime narratives included in this study were not intended to be a representative corpus of all pre-crime narratives, and so the balance required of a corpus that is intended to be representative (Baker 2006: 26) was not necessary. Additionally, the aim of the keyness analysis was to analyse the changes over time in each individual perpetrator's text and did not involve a comparison between the texts (although results for each text were discussed and compared in terms of the conclusions that could be made and in terms of shared categories of moral agency). Besides this, selecting only texts that were uniform in respect of their size, temporal span and internal composition would have limited the scope of the research and removed the authenticity of the data, and the very nature of the texts that tend to accompany mass shootings means that they do vary widely in terms of these characteristics (see 3.3.1).

Another text-based variation to consider is the fact that there were different genres included in the corpora, particularly in the case of Breivik. As highlighted in 3.4.2, in the case of Breivik's text, a variety of different genres could be found within his manifesto (e.g. diary entries, self-interview, instructions). This was discussed throughout the thesis in relation to the way in which such changes may have impacted on the linguistic features that could be seen in the keyword results for different sections (e.g. the use of a referential *you* in the interview section [Section 1] and the combination of a hypothetical *you* with imperatives and modals in the instruction-giving section [Section 5], besides the omission of the 1st person pronoun at some points where the text took the form of diary entries). It could be argued that the changes in language use were caused by changes in genre rather than being linked to diachrony. However, the fact that language changes are potentially linked to genre does not preclude them from also being linked to the passing of time, or the context surrounding that passing of time and, in turn, the sense of moral agency of the perpetrator. The context of Breivik's text in terms of the stage that he had reached in his preparations was an important part of the analysis because it considered the influence that this might have on his sense of moral agency and how this might be expressed in his language. Marchi (2018:186) argues that 'contextual knowledge is essential to identifying a useful and most importantly appropriate segmentation', and the passing of time in these texts was not arbitrarily considered but was combined in the division of the texts into sections with the context within which the text was produced by the perpetrators. This context was also linked to the types of texts he was writing at that time, because this may have been influenced by his proximity to the crime and his sense of moral agency at each stage. One example of this is the way in which his instruction-giving section is linked to his intense focus on the detail of his preparations rather than the crime itself, and this detailed focus then continues beyond this text type and continues as he gets closer to the crime. While the different genres involved may be affecting the language used, the purposes behind such genre changes are not separate from changes in context and proximity to the crime.

7.6 Implications

7.6.1 Theoretical implications

This thesis has presented a taxonomy of categories of moral agency that reflects the complexity of the way in which these perpetrators navigate their sense of this agency in these texts, and builds up a picture of the perpetrators' navigation of these categories over time. It has achieved this by expanding on the focus of previous linguistic analyses of agency in a number of ways.

Firstly, the study has demonstrated that a wider range of linguistic features may be linked to agency than has previously been suggested in the literature (many existing studies focus on the passive, nominalisations and transitivity [e.g., Ehrlich 2001; Fairclough 2001; Duranti 2005; Baker and Ellece 2010]). This wider range includes a greater focus on the use of unaccusative verbs, and emphasises the key role that pronouns can play in expressing shared moral agency (including identifying two new ambiguous categories of pronouns that had not been identified in existing models to highlight the use of such ambiguity to obfuscate agency). It also expands on the work of a growing number of researchers (Stibbe 2001; van Leeuwen 2008; and to some extent O'Connor 2000) in ensuring that lexis is not neglected in the previously grammatically focused analysis of agency and highlighting the role that it may play in talking about harm and responsibility for that harm, particularly through the use of semantically passive verbs and nouns.

Secondly, this study has expanded on the existing focus on a narrow view of agency as simply the capacity to act (Giddens 1984) or on the role of the grammatical agent in a sentence and what this means (e.g. Stubbs 1996; Fausey et al. 2010). While these senses of agency are important and relevant, expanding such analysis to include a moral element in terms of how the writer positions themselves in relation to their actions and those affected by them enables the researcher to widen the analysis to encompass moral agency and is therefore more rigorous and reliable because it provides a wider context and a more thorough analysis of what is happening in a text. In addition, this study posits that describing categories of agency is a more effective way of describing the complexities of moral agency than studies that treat agency in terms of levels of high or low agency (e.g. O'Connor 2000; Fausey et al. 2010). It is hoped that the taxonomy encompassing these categories will be applied to other, similarly complex narratives and that it will assist in elucidating the complexities of other writers' or speakers' sense of moral agency.

This thesis has also added to existing research which applies Bamberg's identity navigation framework to criminal narratives (Heffer 2012; Brookman 2016) and has further demonstrated the model's usefulness for studying identities that are under construction. It has demonstrated that while Bamberg described only the final dimension as linked to agency, all three of the dimensions can be linked to moral agency because of the way in which positioning in relation to others and positioning in relation to a past and future self are key to moral agency. It has also confirmed Bamberg's assertion that all three dilemmas in the model are interdependent and difficult to separate. For example, by focusing on positioning in relation to others in Breivik's text, information concerning the way in which he sees himself emerges, and

by examining self-labelling in the texts of Rodger, Klebold and Harris, the way in which they position their victims is inextricably a part of this. This thesis applies the model to written text, despite the fact that Bamberg initially proposed it for the analysis of spoken interaction, but these texts could still be argued to be interactions with the self and with future and past addressees. The study also shows that the first dimension (constancy and change) of Bamberg's model is not only diachronic, but may also apply to situations where someone compares different versions of themselves synchronically.

This research has also made a notable contribution to the body of knowledge relating to language and harm through the taxonomy of moral agency. The inclusion of past, present, future and hypothetical narratives provides a unique insight into the state of mind of these offenders before they commit their crimes, without the benefit of hindsight or the institutional pressure to take responsibility that affects the analysis of narratives produced after a crime (Presser 2009; Ugelvik 2012). The results have demonstrated the existence of neutralisations and moral disengagements *before* a crime takes place (this possibility was disputed by Maruna and Copes 2005); for example, appealing to higher loyalties, denial of the victim, (Sykes and Matza 1957), dehumanisation, and diffusion of responsibility (Bandura et al. 1996). In addition, it is proposed that other mechanisms and enablers may be at play. It is posited that virtual agency and the conscious or subconscious use of a virtual self may have a role to play in enabling harm, with this leading on to the idea that the agentive language that is often seen as a sign of taking responsibility for actions may in fact be a way of rehearsing agency and therefore that narrative may have a constitutive effect on the narrator. In addition, the taxonomy of agency also adds some notable additions to existing elements of neutralisation and moral disengagement in the form of what could be called the 'superhumanisation' or deification of the perpetrator. This might be juxtaposed with the dehumanisation of victims that has already been written about extensively, and also the use of the opposite of euphemistic language to aggrandise or exaggerate a crime and make it sound even worse than it is to the extent that it seems fictional and far-fetched.

7.6.2 Methodological implications

This thesis has also contributed to existing research in the field of corpus stylistics and corpus analysis, in terms of how the analysis was conducted. Firstly, it is one of only a small, albeit growing, number of studies to apply corpus linguistics to forensic texts. Secondly, it adds to the increasing number of corpus stylistic studies looking at non-fiction (e.g. Demjén 2015; McIntyre and Walker 2019) and also expands upon the way in which corpus stylistic studies

analyse the effect that a text may have on the *reader*, by also examining the effect that the text may have on the *writer*. In addition, this research differs from the majority of existing corpus studies looking diachronically at data (e.g. Partington 2012; Baker et al. 2013a) because it uses contextual information concerning the lives of the perpetrators to divide the texts, rather than arbitrary divisions relating to time, and demonstrates that this can be effective when the context of the data is so key to the focus of the analysis.

This study also builds on a large body of existing research using keyness as a way into a text, but progresses this in important ways. Firstly, the majority of keyness studies use a corpus of general English as the reference corpus (because of the research aims of the study), whereas this study joins a minority that examine texts intertextually using the whole text minus the section being analysed as a reference corpus. In addition, this analysis includes similarity and absence in the key item analysis to ensure that blind spots are not missed, besides ensuring that function words are included in both keyword lists and the qualitative analysis that follows, noting that the neglect of all of these elements has been a criticism of keyword studies in the past (see Taylor 2018; Duguid and Partington 2018). In addition, this study is one of a growing number that does not use arbitrary cut offs when downsampling keywords (e.g. McEnery 2016; Bednarek 2020) but looks at a larger number of keywords in order to ensure that words with similar scores are not excluded simply because one has a slightly lower score than the other. This ensures that the downsampling of keywords is done on a principled basis (suggested by Gabrielatos 2018) and that words that are similar semantically, but which may not have been included in, for example, the top 20 keywords, can be analysed together. The thesis also expands on existing work on key cluster analysis (e.g. Mahlberg 2013) by demonstrating the benefit of conducting a rarely used but more tailored key cluster analysis that focuses on the use of specific grammatical structures (e.g. noun + noun or adjective + noun) because it allows labels to emerge, which is particularly useful for looking at how the perpetrators see themselves and could usefully be applied to other studies involving the analysis of identity.

7.6.3 Real-world implications

While this thesis has provided a taxonomy of categories of moral agency and a range of linguistic features that are used to navigate them, it is not intended for use as a tool to predict whether or not someone writing such a text is a credible threat and is likely to carry out harm. This is a small case study of four perpetrators which does not assert that the categories and linguistic features will apply to *all* cases, and while there has been much valuable work into

threat assessment in relation to similar texts, the testing of such tools is not at the stage where a menu of linguistic features can be reliably used to predict harm. Instead, this particular thesis is concerned with what can be said about how the perpetrators position themselves through these linguistic features and what this tells us about narrative, identity and how people enable themselves to harm others.

The need for research into lone attackers has increased as the study has progressed. Not long after the study began, Tarrant carried out an attack on a mosque in Christchurch and accompanied it with a manifesto (Tarrant 2019), as did Crusius, who carried out a mass shooting in Texas and wrote a pre-crime text in which he referenced Tarrant (Crusius 2019). Many mass shooters have written texts that are distributed (mainly online) alongside attacks, and the need for research into such attacks and the texts that accompany them is very clear. This thesis plays a part in beginning to fill this gap in knowledge and its results have real world implications in terms of the role of virtual agency in enabling harm, the sharing of agency among perpetrators over time, the constitutive role of narrative with specific reference to the role of the pre-crime text and, leading on from this, assumptions in the Criminal Justice System that those who take responsibility for their actions are less likely to harm others.

Virtual harm was discussed above as an addition to existing theories relating to harm, and it has been asserted in this thesis that in the case of all four of these perpetrators, the real world and the fictional world may be being confused in their texts and in turn in their experience of the world, and therefore that this may have a role to play in their preparations for their crimes. There is no implication here that there is a link between violent computer games or films and violent conduct (and Chapter 2 demonstrated that there is currently no undisputed evidence of a link), but there are numerous fictional references in these texts and many of the linguistic features either mimic gaming language or fictional descriptions of harm, and all of the perpetrators reference the role that fictional violence has played in their lives and indicate that it has bled into their real worlds in some way. This, combined with the way in which they all, at some point, cast their actions in a fictional light mean that in these texts, fiction and reality are often blurred and this may mean that where this is the case, the perpetrator may be enabled to harm under the guise of virtual agency and virtual consequences. There is some evidence that this is worth exploring further in the texts of other mass shooters or indeed in the accounts of other criminals. As recently as December 27th 2021, in Denver, Lyndon Mcleod killed five people and injured several others before being shot dead by police. It emerged in the days following the attacks that he had named his victims and the locations of the killings in fictional stories that he had published prior to the shooting (Associated Press 2021). In addition,

as discussed in Chapter 2, the gamification of far-right chat rooms has become a way to recruit and brainwash new extremists and keep them engaged, and the mosque killings in Christchurch in 2019 were livestreamed via a webcam which gave the effect of a first-person shooter game, and after the attacks, adapted versions of the video appeared online with a gaming interface added (Bayer 2020). The Columbine attacks were also turned into a video game, using CCTV footage from the massacre (Ledonne 2005).

A second implication of this research is that it highlights the way in which perpetrators share agency over time and influence each other. As a result of this study, it is now clearer that Breivik anticipated his imagined addressees and shared agency with them when writing his guide to explosive manufacturing. This is made more concerning by the fact that Breivik is mentioned as a source of inspiration by Tarrant in the document that accompanied his attacks in Christchurch in 2019. Tarrant was in turn referenced by Crusius in the document that accompanied his attacks in Texas later the same year and there are numerous examples of similar chains of inspiration. As discussed in Chapter 2, Rodger is revered by the incel community and Minassian mentioned him in his social media posts before killing ten people by driving into them with a van in Toronto in 2018 (Minassian 2018 cited in Witt 2020). Columbine was arguably the start of a wave of mass shootings (Langman 2019b) and has been linked by Sandberg to Breivik's attack, and Blommaert (2019) also argues that many incel attacks can in fact be traced back to Columbine, something which is also asserted by the Commission for Countering Terrorism (2021). Langman also painstakingly traces links of dozens of attacks back to Klebold and Harris (see graphic in Langman 2019), and Berger (2019) argues that the availability of perpetrators' texts has a role to play and should be addressed. While much of this evidence exists outside of this thesis, most of it relates to attackers referencing past shooters, whereas what is key to Breivik's sharing of agency, and is highlighted in this analysis, is that he is anticipating future attacks. Bhaktin argues that all texts imagine a future reader and also respond to previous writers, and it is clear that Breivik is instructing a future attacker who he sees as having similar goals as him. This not only dilutes his own agency because he is sharing it with someone else, but also tries to set his actions in the context of a group of people rather than the deviant actions of an individual. This may also be key to other perpetrators who have referenced past shooters, in that they feel emboldened by the past acts of others and share responsibility with them and so find it easier to tread in their footsteps in the same way that Breivik may be enabled by imagining those who will copy him. The texts that accompany such crimes are often tools used to get their message across, but may also be a way of creating an imagined network of attackers, which may make it easier to

harm others than if they felt they were on their own. In some ways, Klebold and Harris have shared agency with future attackers in a way that they almost certainly did not anticipate.

Removing such texts from the Internet once they have been disseminated is difficult to achieve, but possibly the extent to which attackers are inspired by such texts needs to be researched urgently and protocols put in place for the media reporting of such incidents and sharing of such texts in the immediate aftermath of an attack. In addition, an intertextual analysis of all mass shooters who have written texts would be a worthwhile endeavour in order to see if there is further evidence for the links between attackers.

The role of pre-crime texts in spreading ideology and inspiring others has been discussed above, but it is also possible that these texts are a rehearsal of agency, a way of exploring agentic possibilities and trying out the role of mass shooter. This constitutive role is suggested by numerous observations in this thesis, including the use of graphic descriptions to describe future crimes (Rodger), and the way in which Rodger, Klebold and Harris present themselves as super-human beings (with Rodger doing this particularly towards the end of his text, just before he commits his crime) who have transformed from weak to strong as they have written their texts. Breivik also ends his text with more traditionally agentic structures, placing himself as the *I* and as the subject of the sentence, but still betraying an avoidance of describing the crime by describing minute details of preparation instead. It is possible that where there are detailed descriptions of the crime, or where a perpetrator directly places themselves as the agent, they are in fact rehearsing their own agency in preparation for their actions and talking themselves into the role and trying it out. As discussed in Chapter 2, the argument that narrative is constitutive is central to the field of narrative criminology (Presser 2009; Sandberg 2010). This thesis lends support to this, by showing that the perpetrators navigate their identity through these narratives in terms of their positioning in relation to actions, other people and themselves and that their identities as individual killers develop through the text and become more apparent just before they commit their crimes. There is evidence that criminal labels may encourage criminal behaviour (Lemert 1951), and Brookman (2016: 217) describes repeat offenders who embrace a criminal identity. This study develops this a step further and suggests that agentic language may be a form of rehearsal for a crime because it allows the perpetrator to take on the role of an agentic killer.

Whether or not taking responsibility affects a person's likelihood of offending again was discussed at length in Chapter 2 and is central to many elements of the criminal justice system (e.g. parole, retributive justice, treatment programmes) but is also questioned as a result of the research carried out by Maruna (2004), McKendry (2006) and Seligman (2006). There

are also many examples of treatment programmes that have been more successful because they have allowed offenders to take on a victim role or re-narrate their lives with a more positive spin or avoid taking on criminal labels (Covington 1984; Maruna and Ramsden 2005; Dean et al. 2018). This study has challenged existing assumptions regarding agency and transgression, demonstrated that perpetrators navigate their moral agency in complex ways and indicates that the mere taking of responsibility is a simplification of a person's positioning in relation to their actions and may hide a very complex picture in terms of how an offender reflects on themselves and their identity. There are many times in the texts where the perpetrators appear to be taking responsibility for their actions, only to indicate in another way that they are not, and in fact it is towards the end of Breivik's manifesto that he uses structures that might be considered more agentic, shares agency less with others, and stops repackaging his crimes or using ambiguous reference to likeminded people. If he is using more agentic language at this point just before committing his crimes then this may mean that taking responsibility is for him a way of taking on the persona of the killer, embracing his role and finally acting. Rodger similarly describes his crimes with direct language, placing himself clearly as the perpetrator of these acts just before he begins killing people but still seems to be blurring fiction and reality at this point and embraces the label of a superhuman being rather than a criminal. Finally, Klebold and Harris clearly take responsibility for their crimes but again present them as a game rather than a serious crime. While there is evidence that all three of them, but particularly Breivik, take more responsibility just before they commit their crimes, there is a complex picture of moral agency which is in flux and of which taking responsibility is just one element, which may in fact contribute towards rehearsing agency if their narratives are seen as constitutive. This thesis argues that taking responsibility may not indicate that someone is not going to commit an act of harm, and that examining the more complex picture of moral agency may indicate more about how a person currently views themselves, their actions, and those affected by them. This therefore has implications for the requirement to take responsibility in the criminal justice system and for looking at ways in which someone's sense of moral agency might be explored rather than simplified and reduced to admissions of responsibility and awareness of harm.

7.7 Future applications and further research

As discussed above, the taxonomy of moral agency emerging from this study is based on four texts written by violent offenders before they commit crimes. Applying this taxonomy to other criminal narratives, both before and after crime, may provide further information concerning these categories and whether the taxonomy can be extrapolated to other perpetrators and other

types of criminal, and to post-crime as well as pre-crime texts. It may be that other categories emerge in other texts that can be added to the taxonomy, or that a difference in the way in which the categories are linguistically embodied or navigated over time is revealed in different contexts. Its application to non-criminal narratives would also be worth trialling. Because the taxonomy is based on the texts of people who we know went on to harm others, it may be more heavily slanted towards categories that relate to diffusing agency and avoiding responsibility, rather than those that take responsibility and navigate their own moral agency in what may be a less deviant and diffusing way, and this assumption would be worth testing.

This thesis has also raised important questions relating to the effect of various elements of moral agency on a person's ability to harm, and further research into the impact of these elements on action and ability to harm would be worth pursuing in order to better understand such perpetrators and the effect that their narratives have on them and the part that they play in their crime. These elements include: the sharing of agency with fictitious or imagined past, present and future others; the blurring of fiction and reality and the impact of virtual agency on a person's sense of responsibility for their actions together with the opportunity that this may provide to rehearse agency; and the impact of agentic language on a person's sense of agency in terms of whether it encourages them to take responsibility for their actions or is in fact a way of rehearsing agency. Integral to all of these is the possibility that narrative may have a constitutive effect not only on the readers of a narrative, but also on the creators of it. This in turn means that further research into the harm caused by access to such narratives and potential therapeutic approaches that interrupt such narratives or rescript them in ways that encourage healthier identity construction is essential. The narratives included in this study are widely available on the Internet and, given the suggested impact of many of these categories of moral agency on those who write them and those who read them, the protocols used by the media and the police after such attacks in terms of preventing such narratives from being available may need to be reviewed. It is essential that such pre-crime texts are treated as fundamental elements of a crime with an impact of their own and an ability to inspire others over time.

7.8 Concluding thoughts

This research has highlighted the complexity of the moral agency that is navigated by these criminals before committing a crime, which defies assumptions and resists simplifications concerning high and low agency and responsibility in relation to whether or not someone is likely to harm others. It is therefore suggested that these assumptions may not be useful or appropriate in criminal settings and should be questioned and examined, possibly

using a more multi-faceted approach, such as the above taxonomy, that acknowledges the intricacies and potentially constitutive elements of moral agency and the potential impact of certain labels and narratives on offenders. Finally, it is essential that the increasing number of pre-crime texts written before mass shootings are treated as fundamental elements of such crimes, with an impact of their own and an ability to inspire others over time.

Reference List

- Adolphs, S. 2006. *Introducing electronic text analysis: A practical guide for language and literary studies*. London: Routledge.
- Adolphs, S. and Knight, D. 2022. Building a spoken corpus: What are the basics? In: O’Keeffe, A. and McCarthy, M. J. eds. *The Routledge handbook of corpus linguistics*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, pp. 21–34.
- Ahearn, L. 2001. Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30, pp. 109–137.
- Ahearn, L.M. 1999. Agency. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9(1–2), pp. 12–15.
- Ahearn, L.M. 2011. *Living language: An introduction to linguistic anthropology*. London: Continuum.
- American Psychiatric Association 2013. *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders: DSM-V*. 5th ed. Arlington, VA: American Psychiatric Association Publishing.
- American Psychological Association 2019. *APA task force report on violent video games*. Available at: <https://www.apa.org/science/leadership/bsa/report-violent-video-games.pdf> [Accessed: 6 May 2021].
- American Psychological Association 2015. *Technical Report on the Review of the Violent Video Game Literature*. Available at: <https://www.apa.org/pi/families/review-video-games.pdf> [Accessed: 6 May 2021].
- Anderson, C.A. et al. 2017. Screen violence and youth behavior. *Pediatrics* 140(2), pp. 142–147. doi: 10.1542/peds.2016-1758T.
- Anthony, L. 2011. *AntConc (Version 3.4.4)*. [Computer Software]. Available at: <http://laurenceanthony.net> [Accessed: 11 April 2017].
- Anthony, L. 2018. Visualisation in corpus-based discourse studies. In: Taylor, C. and Marchi, A. eds. *Corpus approaches to discourse: A critical review*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 197–224.
- Appleton, C. 2014. Lone wolf terrorism in Norway. *International Journal of Human Rights* 18(2), pp. 127–142.
- Archer, D., Culpeper, J. and Rayson, P. 2009. Love – ‘A familiar or a devil’? An exploration of key domains in Shakespeare’s comedies and tragedies. In: Archer, D. ed. *What’s in a word-list?: Investigating word frequency and keyword extraction*. London: Routledge, pp. 137–158.
- Archer, M.S. 2000. *Being human: The problem of agency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Archer, M.S. 2003. *Structure, agency and the internal conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arduser, L. 2014. Agency in illness narratives: A pluralistic analysis. *Narrative Inquiry* 24(1), pp. 1–27.

Associated Press 2006. *Cops: N.C suspect e-mailed Columbine official*. Available at: <https://www.nbcnews.com/id/wbna14591327#.WQwf94WcGP8> [Accessed: 23 March 2022].

Associated Press 2021. *Denver shooting suspect wrote books describing similar attacks*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/dec/30/denver-shooting-suspect-books-described-similar-attacks> [Accessed: 2 February 2022].

Aston, G. and Burnard, L. 1998. *The BNC handbook: Exploring the British National Corpus with SARA*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

BAAL 2021. *Recommendations on good practice in applied linguistics*. 4th ed. British Association for Applied Linguists.

Baele, S.J., Brace, L. and Coan, T.G. 2019. From ‘incel’ to ‘saint’: Analyzing the violent worldview behind the 2018 Toronto attack. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 33(8), pp. 1667–1691.

Baker, P. 2004. Querying keywords: Questions of difference, frequency, and sense in keywords analysis. *Journal of English Linguistics* 32(4), pp. 346–359.

Baker, P. 2006. *Using corpora in discourse analysis*. New York; London: Bloomsbury.

Baker, P. 2009. ‘The question is, how cruel is it?’ Keywords, fox hunting and the house of commons. In: Archer, D. ed. *What’s in a word-list?: Investigating word frequency and keyword extraction*. London: Routledge, pp. 125–136.

Baker, P. 2010. *Sociolinguistics and corpus linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Baker, P. 2011. Times may change, but we will always have money: Diachronic variation in recent British English. *Journal of English Linguistics* 39(1), pp. 65–88.

Baker, P. 2016. The shapes of collocation. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 21(2), pp. 139–164.

Baker, P., Brookes, G., Atanasova, D. and Flint, S.W. 2020. Changing frames of obesity in the UK press 2008–2017. *Social Science and Medicine* 264. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2020.113403.

Baker, P. and Ellece, S. 2010. *Key terms in discourse analysis*. London: Continuum.

Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., Khosravini, M., Krzyzanowski, M., McEnery, T. and Wodak, R. 2008. A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *Discourse and Society* 19(3), pp. 273–306.

Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C. and McEnery, T. 2013a. *Discourse analysis and media attitudes: The representation of Islam in the British press*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C. and McEnery, T. 2013b. Sketching Muslims: A corpus driven analysis of representations around the word ‘Muslim/’ in the British press 1998-2009. *Applied Linguistics* 34(3), pp. 255–278.

- Bakhtin, M.M. 1981. *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Holquist, M. ed. Translated from the Russian by C. Emerson and M. Holquist. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Bakhtin, M.M. 1986. *The problem of speech genres*. Emerson, C. and Holquist, M. eds. Translated from the Russian by V.W.McGee. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Bamberg, M. 2006. Stories: Big or small. *Narrative Inquiry* 16(1), pp. 139–147.
- Bamberg, M. 2011. Who am I? Narration and its contribution to self and identity. *Theory & Psychology* 21(1), pp. 3–24.
- Bamberg, M. 2012. Narrative practice and identity navigation. In: Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. eds. *Varieties of narrative analysis.*, pp. 99–124.
- Bamberg, M., de Fina, A. and Schiffrin, D. 2011. Discourse and identity construction. In: *Handbook of identity theory and Research.*, pp. 177–199.
- Bamberg, M. and Georgakopoulou, A. 2008. Small stories as a new perspective in narrative and identity analysis. *Text and Talk* 28(3), pp. 377–396.
- Bandura, A. 2001. Social cognitive theory: An agentic perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology* 52(1), pp. 1–26.
- Bandura, A. 2002. Selective moral disengagement in the exercise of moral agency. *Journal of Moral Education* 31(2), pp. 101–119.
- Bandura, A. 2005. The role of selective moral disengagement in terrorism and counterterrorism. In: Moghaddam, F. M. and Marcella, A. J. eds. *Understanding terrorism: Psychosocial roots, consequences, and interventions*. Washington: American Psychological Association, pp. 121–150.
- Bandura, A., Barbaranelli, C., Caprara, G.V. and Pastorelli, C. 1996. Mechanisms of moral disengagement in the exercise of moral agency. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 71(2), pp. 364–374.
- Basu, N. 2021. Learning lessons from countering terrorism: the UK experience 2017–2020. *Cambridge Journal of Evidence Based Policing* 5, pp. 134–145.
- Bayer, K. 2020. *Jail for man who gave mosque shooting ‘Call of Duty’ edit*. Available at: <https://www.newstalkzb.co.nz/news/christchurch/christchurch-man-jailed-for-doctoring-footage-of-mosque-shootings/>. [Accessed: 15 May 2020].
- BBC 2022. *Ukraine: Putin announces special military operation in TV declaration*. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/world-60505319> [Accessed: 22 April 2022].
- Beaumont, P. 2016. The Nice attack heralds a new kind of terror – one we can’t define. *The Guardian* 18 July. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/18/nice-attack-new-kind-of-terror-isis-lone-wolf-strikes-distinction-fades> [Accessed: 23 March 2022].
- Bednarek, M. 2008. Semantic preference and semantic prosody re-examined. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 4(2), pp. 119–139.

- Bednarek, M. 2020. Keyword analysis and the indexing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander identity. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 25(4), pp. 369–399.
- Bennett, M. 2009. Criminal law as it pertains to ‘mentally incompetent defendants’: A McNaughton rule in the light of cognitive neuroscience. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry* 43(4), pp. 289–299.
- Berger, J.M. 2019. The dangerous spread of extremist manifestos. *The Atlantic* 26 February. Available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/02/christopher-hasson-was-inspired-breivik-manifesto/583567/> [Accessed: 23 March 2022].
- Blair, J.P. and Schweit, K.W. 2014. *A study of active shooter incidents in the United States between 2000 and 2013*. Available at: <https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/active-shooter-study-2000-2013-1.pdf/view> [Accessed: 6 April 2021].
- Blizzard Entertainment 2022. *World of Warcraft*. Available at: <https://worldofwarcraft.com/en-gb/> [Accessed: 7 May 2022].
- Blommaert, J. 2019. Online-offline modes of identity and community: Elliot Rodger’s twisted world of masculine community. In: Hoondert, M., Mutsaers, P., and Arfman, W. eds. *Cultural practices of victimhood*. London; New York: Routledge, pp. 213–293.
- BNC Consortium 2007. *BNC (XML Edition)*. Oxford Text Archive. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12024/2554>.
- Bortolotti, L., Broome, M.R. and Marni, M. 2014. Delusions and responsibility for action: Insights from the Breivik case. *Neuroethics* 7(3), pp. 377–382.
- Bouffard, J., Cooper, M. and Bergseth, K. 2016. The effectiveness of various restorative justice interventions on recidivism outcomes among juvenile offenders. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice* 15(4), pp. 465–480.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Translated from the French by R. Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bown, A. 2018. How video games are fuelling the rise of the far right. *The Guardian* 12 March. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/mar/12/video-games-fuel-rise-far-right-violent-misogynist> [Accessed: 23 March 2022].
- Breivik, A. 2011. *2083: A European declaration of independence*. Available at: <https://publicintelligence.net/anders-behring-breiviks-complete-manifesto-2083-a-european-declaration-of-independence/> [Accessed: 1 March 2014].
- Brewer, M.B. and Gardner, W. 1996. Who is this ‘we’? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 71(1), pp. 83–93.
- Brezina, V. 2018a. Statistical choices in corpus-based discourse analysis. In: Taylor, C. and Marchi, A. eds. *Corpus approaches to discourse: A critical review*. London: Routledge, pp. 259–280.
- Brezina, V. 2018b. *Statistics in corpus linguistics*. New York: Routledge.

- Brockmeier, J. 2009. Reaching for meaning: Human agency and the narrative imagination. *Theory & Psychology* 19(2), pp. 213–233.
- Brookman, F. 2016. The shifting narratives of violent offenders. In: *Narrative criminology: Understanding stories of crime*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 207–234.
- Brooks, X. 2002. Natural born copycats. *The Guardian* 20 December. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2002/dec/20/artsfeatures1> [Accessed: 13 August 2021].
- Bruner, J. 2002. *Making stories: Law, literature, life*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bruner, J. 2004. Life as narrative. *Social Research* 71(3), pp. 691–710.
- Bucholtz, M. and Hall, K. 2005. Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4/5), pp. 585–614.
- Burnard, L. 2016. Where did we go wrong? A retrospective look at the British National Corpus. In: Ketteman, B. and Marko, G. eds. *Teaching and learning by doing corpus analysis*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 51–72.
- Bybee, J.L., Perkins, R.D. and Pagliuca, W. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Campbell, T.C. 2001. Did video games train the school shooters to kill?: Determining whether Wisconsin courts should impose negligence or strict liability in a lawsuit against the video game manufacturers. *Marquette Law Review* 84(4), pp. 811–845.
- Cardiff University 2018. *Security sensitive research policy*. Available at: <https://intranet.cardiff.ac.uk/students/study/postgraduate-research-support/integrity-and-governance/security-sensitive-research> [Accessed: 11 April 2022].
- Carter, B. and Charles, N. 2013. Animals, agency and resistance. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 43(3), pp. 322–340.
- Celce-Murcia, M. and Larsen-Freeman, D. 1983. *The grammar book: An ESL /EFL teacher's course*. London: Newbury House.
- Chen, Y.W. and Collier, M.J. 2012. Intercultural identity positioning: Interview discourses from two identity-based nonprofit organizations. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* 5(1), pp. 43–63.
- Clark, K. 1992. The linguistics of blame: Representations of women in *The Sun's* reporting of crimes of sexual violence. In: Toolan, M. ed. *Language, text and context*. London: Routledge, pp. 208–224.
- Cohen, A. 1955. *Delinquent boys: The culture of the gang*. New York: Macmillan.
- Cohen, S. 2001. *States of denial: knowing about atrocities and suffering*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Collins English Dictionary* 2021. Available at: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english> [Accessed: 9 April 2021].

- Commission for Countering Terrorism 2021. *Operating with impunity: legal review*. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/operating-with-impunity-legal-review> [Accessed: 6 March 2021].
- Consalvo, M. 2009. There is no magic circle. *Games and Culture* 4(4), pp. 408–417.
- Cornejo, M. and Kam, J.A. 2020. Exploring the ascribed and avowed identities of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) recipients in early adulthood. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 27(3), pp. 460–470.
- Corner, E. and Gill, P. 2015. A false dichotomy? Mental illness and lone-actor terrorism. *Law and Human Behavior* 39(1), pp. 23–34.
- Cornish, D.B. and Clarke, R.V. 1987. Understanding crime displacement: An application of rational choice theory. *Criminology* 25(4), pp. 933–948.
- Covington, J. 1984. Insulation from labelling: Deviant defenses in treatment. *Criminology* 22(4), pp. 619–644.
- Crime Prevention Research Center 2015. *Comparing death rates from mass public shootings and mass public violence in the US and Europe*. Available at: <https://crimeresearch.org/2015/06/comparing-death-rates-from-mass-public-shootings-in-the-us-and-europe/> [Accessed: 28 February 2022].
- Crusius, P. 2019. *An inconvenient truth*. Available at: <https://randallpacker.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/The-Inconvenient-Truth.pdf> [Accessed: 7 May 2021].
- Cullen, D. 2009. *Columbine*. New York: Twelve.
- Cullen, D. 2019. *The Columbine guide*. Available at: <https://www.columbine-guide.com/columbine-evidence> [Accessed: 9 July 2016].
- Culpeper, J. 2009. Keyness: Words, parts-of-speech and semantic categories in the character-talk of Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 14(1), pp. 29–59.
- Dangerous Speech Project 2022. *Understanding dangerous speech*. Available at: <https://dangerousspeech.org/> [Accessed: 7 March 2021].
- Darics, E. and Koller, V. 2019. Social actors ‘to go’: An analytical toolkit to explore agency in business discourse and communication. *Business and Professional Communication Quarterly* 82(2), pp. 214–238.
- Davidson-Nielson, N. and Harder, P. 2001. Speakers of Scandinavian languages: Danish, Norwegian, Swedish. In: *Learner English*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 21–36.
- Davidson, D. 1980. *Essays on actions and events*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Davies, M. 2008. *The Corpus of Contemporary American English*. Available at: <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>. [Accessed: 6 August 2021].
- Dean, C., Lloyd, M., Keane, C., Powis, B. and Randhawa, K. 2018. *Intervening with extremist offenders - A pilot study*. HM Prison and Probation Service. Available at:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/727966/Intervening_with_Extremist_Offenders_A_Pilot_Study.pdf [Accessed: 6 February 2022].

Decker, S.A. and Gay, J.N. 2011. Cognitive-bias toward gaming-related words and disinhibition in World of Warcraft gamers. *Computers in Human Behavior* 27(2), pp. 798–810.

Decker, S.E., Naugle, A.E., Carter-Visscher, R., Bell, K. and Seifert, A. 2011. Ethical issues in research on sensitive topics: Participants' experiences of distress and benefit. *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics* 6(3), pp. 55–64.

Dedaić, M.N. and Dale, K. 2012. Mediated collaborative positioning: The case of prisoner blogs. *Discourse, Context & Media* 1(1), pp. 20–31.

Demjén, Z. 2015. *Sylvia Plath and the language of affective states : Written discourse and the experience of depression*. London: Bloomsbury. doi: 10.5040/9781474212694.

Deppermann, A. 2013. How to get a grip on identities-in-interaction. *Narrative Inquiry* 23(1), pp. 62–88.

Deringer, L., Gast, V., Haas, F. and Rudolf, O. 2015. Impersonal uses of the second person singular and generalized empathy. In: Gardell, L. and Sorlin, S. eds. *The pragmatics of personal pronouns*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 311–334.

Diani, G. 2004. Evaluation in academic review articles. In: Partington, A. et al ed. *Corpora and discourse*. Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 189–204.

Diener, E. and et al, E. 1975. Effects of altered responsibility, cognitive set, and modeling on physical aggression and deindividuation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 31(2), pp. 328–337.

Doomwiki.org 2021. *Doom wiki entryway*. Available at: <https://doomwiki.org/wiki/Entryway> [Accessed: 29 September 2021].

Draucker, C.B., Martsolf, D.S. and Poole, C. 2009. Developing distress protocols for research on sensitive topics. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing* 23(5), pp. 343–350.

du Bois, J.W., Schuetze-Coburn, S., Cummin, S. and Danae, P. 1993. Outline of discourse transcription. In: Barton, E. L., Edwards, J. A., and Lampert, M. D. eds. *Talking data: transcription and coding in discourse research*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Duguid, A. and Partington, A. 2018. Absence: You don't know what you're missing. Or do you? In: Taylor, C. and Marchi, A. eds. *Corpus approaches to discourse: A critical review*. London: Routledge, pp. 38–59.

Dumas, B.K. 2002. Reasonable doubt about reasonable doubt: Assessing jury instruction adequacy in a capital case. In: Cotterill, J. ed. *Language in the legal process*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 246–259.

Duranti, A. 1997. *Linguistic anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Duranti, A. 2005. Agency in language. In: Duranti, A. ed. *A companion to linguistic anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 451–473.
- Durrant, P. and Doherty, A. 2010. Are high-frequency collocations psychologically real? Investigating the thesis of collocational priming. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 6(2), pp. 125–155.
- Ehrlich, S. 2001. *Representing rape: Language and sexual consent*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough 1992. *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. 2001. *Language and power*. 2nd ed. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Fandom 2019. *WoW wiki fandom*. Available at: <https://wowwiki.fandom.com/wiki/Portal:Main> [Accessed: 6 June 2019].
- Fausey, C.M., Boroditsky, L., Long, B.L. and Inamori, A. 2010. Constructing agency: The role of language. *Frontiers in Psychology*. Available at: <http://journal.frontiersin.org/Journal/10.3389/fpsyg.2010.00162/full> [Accessed: 25 January 2017].
- FBI 2022. *What we investigate*. Available at: <https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism> [Accessed: 2 March 2022].
- Federal Bureau of Investigation 2018. *Quick look: 277 active shooter incidents in the United States from 2000 to 2018*. Available at: <https://www.fbi.gov/about/partnerships/office-of-partner-engagement/active-shooter-incidents-graphics> [Accessed: 13 May 2021].
- Ferguson, C.J., Copenhaver, A. and Markey, P. 2020. Reexamining the findings of the American Psychological Association’s 2015 task force on violent media: A meta-analysis. *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 15(6), pp. 1423–1443.
- Ferguson, C.J. and Kilburn, J. 2010. Much ado about nothing: The misestimation and overinterpretation of violent video game effects in Eastern and Western Nations: Comment on Anderson et al. (2010). *Psychological Bulletin* 136(2), pp. 174–178.
- Fine, J. 2008. *Language in psychiatry: A handbook of clinical practice*. London: Equinox.
- Fischer-Starcke, B. 2009. Keywords and frequent phrases of Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 14(4), pp. 492–523.
- Fleetwood, J. 2016. Narrative habitus: Thinking through structure/agency in the narratives of offenders. *Crime, Media, Culture: An International Journal* 12(2), pp. 173–192.
- Fludernik, M. 2003. Chronology, time, tense and experientiality in narrative. *Language and Literature* 12(2), pp. 117–134.
- Fludernik, M. 2011. The category of ‘Person’ in Fiction: *You* and *we* narrative-multiplicity and indeterminacy of reference. In: Olson, G. ed. *Current trends in narratology*. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 101–141.

- Franzke, A.S., Bechmann, A., Zimmer, M., Ess, C. and the Association of Internet Researchers. 2020. *Internet research: Ethical guidelines 3.0*. Available at: <http://aoir.org/reports/ethics3.pdf>.
- Gabrielatos, C. 2018. Keyness analysis: nature, metrics and techniques. In: Taylor, C. and Anna, M. eds. *Corpus approaches to discourse: A critical review*. London: Routledge, pp. 225–258.
- Galasinski, D. 2017. *Discourses of men's suicide notes : A qualitative analysis*. London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Gales, T. 2011. Identifying interpersonal stance in threatening discourse: An appraisal analysis. *Discourse Studies* 13(1), pp. 27–46.
- Genette, G. 1982. *Figures of literary discourse*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Georgakopoulou, A. 2006. Thinking big with small stories in narrative and identity analysis. *Narrative Inquiry* 16(1), pp. 122–130.
- Giddens, A. 1979. *Central problems in social theory*. London: Macmillan.
- Giddens, A. 1984. *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Gill, P. 2015. *Lone-Actor terrorists: A behavioural analysis*. New York: Routledge.
- Gill, P., Horgan, J. and Deckert, P. 2014. Bombing alone: Tracing the motivations and antecedent behaviors of lone-actor terrorists. *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 59(2), pp. 425–435.
- Glintborg, C. 2015. Disabled & not normal: Identity construction after an acquired brain injury. *Narrative Inquiry* 25(1), pp. 1–21.
- Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame Analysis: An essay on the organisation of experience*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Goffman, E. 1981. *Forms of talk*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Goldhagen, D.J. 1997. *Hitler's willing executioners*. London: Abacus.
- Greenbank, E. and Marra, M. 2020. Addressing societal discourses: negotiating an employable identity as a former refugee. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 20(2), pp. 110–124.
- Gries, S.Th. and Hilpert, M. 2012. Variability-based neighbor clustering: A bottom-up approach to periodization in historical linguistics. In: Nevalainen, T. and Closs Traugott, E. eds. *The Oxford handbook of the history of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 134–144.
- Gruber, M.C. 2014. *'I'm sorry for what I've done': The language of courtroom apologies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Guo, J. 2012. 'Anyone in my shoes will end up like me': Female inmates' discourse of responsibility for crime. *Discourse & Society* 23(1), pp. 34–46.

- Haegeman, L. 2013. The syntax of registers: Diary subject omission and the privilege of the root. *Lingua* 130, pp. 88–110.
- Haggard, P. and Tsakiris, M. 2009. The Experience of Agency. *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 18(4), pp. 242–246.
- Hardie, A. 2014. *Log ratio: An informal introduction*. Available at: <http://cass.lancs.ac.uk/log-ratio-an-informal-introduction/> [Accessed: 12 April 2021].
- Hardy, B. 1968. Towards a poetics of fiction: 3) An approach through narrative. *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 2(1), pp. 5–14.
- Harré, R., Moghaddam, F.M., Cairnie, T.P., Rothbart, D. and Sabat, S.R. 2009. Recent advances in positioning theory. *Theory & Psychology* 19(1), pp. 5–31.
- Harré, R. and van Langenhove, L. 1991. Varieties of positioning. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 21(4), pp. 393–407.
- Harris, E. 1999. *Eric Harris' journal*. Available at: <https://www.columbine-guide.com/columbine-eric-harris-journal> [Accessed: 14 June 2017].
- Hawtin, A. 2018. *The written British National Corpus 2014: Design, compilation and analysis*. PhD Thesis, Lancaster University.
- Heffer, C. 2012. Narrative navigation: Narrative practices in forensic discourse. *Narrative Inquiry* 22(2), pp. 267–286.
- Heffer, C. and Powell, E. 2015. Expertise as rhetorical construction: The marketing of lie detection technologies. Paper delivered at: *Symposium on Expertise in Language and Law*. Cardiff University, 27 November 2015
- Hemmingby, C. and Bjørge, T. 2016. *The dynamics of a terrorist targeting process: Anders B. Breivik and the 22 July attacks in Norway*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Henken, V.J. 1976. Banality reinvestigated: A computer-based content analysis of suicidal and forced death documents. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior* 6(1), pp. 36–43.
- Heritage, F. and Baker, P. 2021. Crime or culture? Representations of chemsex in the British press and magazines aimed at LGBTQ+ men. *Critical Discourse Studies*. doi: 10.1080/17405904.2021.1910052.
- Hewitt, C. 2003. *Understanding terrorism in America*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Hill, J.H. and Zepeda, O. 1993. Mrs Patricio's trouble: The distribution of responsibility in an account of personal experience. In: Hill, J. H. and Irvine, J. T. eds. *Responsibility and evidence in oral discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hoffman, B., Ware, J. and Shapiro, E. 2020. Assessing the threat of incel violence. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 43(7), pp. 565–587.
- Huizinga, J. 1949. *Homo ludens: A study of the play-element in culture*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hunston, S. 2002. *Corpora in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hunston, S. 2007. Semantic prosody revisited. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 12(2), pp. 249–268.
- Hunt, D. and Brookes, G. 2020. *Corpus, discourse and mental health*. London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Hunt, D. and Carter, R. 2012. Seeing through The Bell Jar: Investigating linguistic patterns of psychological disorder. *Journal of Medical Humanities* 33(1), pp. 27–39.
- Hurt, M. and Grant, T. 2019. Pledging to harm: A linguistic appraisal analysis of judgment comparing realized and non-realized violent fantasies. *Discourse and Society* 30(2), pp. 154–171.
- Immelman, A. 2004. *Commentary on Dave Cullen's 'The depressive and the psychopath.'* Available at: https://uspp.csbsju.edu/criminal-profiling/Columbine_Commentary-Cullen.html [Accessed: 11 February 2022].
- Institute for Economics and Peace 2020. *Global terrorism index 2020*. Available at: <https://www.economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/GTI-2020-web-2.pdf> [Accessed: 10 November 2021].
- Ivory, A.H. and Kaestle, C.E. 2013. The effects of profanity in violent video games on players' hostile expectations, aggressive thoughts and feelings, and other responses. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 57(2), pp. 224–241.
- Jakubicek, M., Kilgarriff, A., Kovář, V. and Rychlý, P. 2013. The TenTen corpus family. In: *7th International Corpus Linguistics Conference*. Lancaster University. 23rd-26th July 2013. pp. 125–127.
- Järvinen, M. 2000. The biographical illusion: Constructing meaning in qualitative interviews. *Qualitative Inquiry* 6(3), pp. 370–391.
- Jewkes, Y. 2010. *Media and crime*. 2nd ed. London: Sage.
- Johansen, M. 2011. Agency and responsibility in reported speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(11), pp. 2845–2860.
- Kalish, R. and Kimmel, M. 2010. Suicide by mass murder: Masculinity, aggrieved entitlement, and rampage school shootings. *Health Sociology Review* 19(4), pp. 451–464.
- Kelly, M., DiBranco, A. and DeCook, J.R. 2021. *Misogynist incels and male supremacism*. Available at: <https://www.newamerica.org/political-reform/reports/misogynist-incels-and-male-supremacism/> [Accessed: 6 March 2021].
- Kennett, J. 2009. Mental disorder, moral agency, and the self. In: Steinbock, B. ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Bioethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 90–113.
- Kilgarriff, A. 2005. Language is never, ever, ever, random. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 1(2), pp. 263–276.
- Kilgarriff, A. 2009. Simple maths for keywords. In: Michaela, M., Gonzalez Diaz, V., and Smith, C. eds. *Proceedings of the Corpus Linguistics Conference CL2009*. Liverpool: University of Liverpool

- Kilgarriff, A. et al. 2014. The Sketch Engine: ten years on. *Lexicography* 1(1), pp. 7–36.
- Kitagawa, C. and Lehrer, A. 1990. Impersonal uses of personal pronouns. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14(5), pp. 739–759.
- Klebold, D. 1999. *Klebold's journal*. Available at: <https://www.columbine-guide.com/columbine-dylan-klebold-journal> [Accessed: 14 March 2017].
- Kramer, S. and France, J. 2001. Schizophrenia and other psychotic disorders. In: France, J. and Kramer, S. eds. *Communication and mental illness: theoretical and practical approaches*. London: Jessica Kingsley, pp. 42–65.
- Labov, W. 1975. *Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Langman, P. 2014a. *A short story by Dylan Klebold*. Available at: https://schoolshooters.info/sites/default/files/klebold_short_story.pdf [Accessed: 23 January 2022].
- Langman, P. 2014b. *Eric Harris's journal transcribed and annotated (Version 1.3)*. Available at: https://schoolshooters.info/sites/default/files/harris_journal_1.3.pdf [Accessed: 17 May 2022].
- Langman, P. 2017. *School shooters.info*. Available at: <https://schoolshooters.info/> [Accessed: 13 March 2017].
- Langman, P. 2019a. *Dylan Klebold's journal and other writings transcribed and annotated (Version 1.2)*. Available at: https://schoolshooters.info/sites/default/files/klebold_journal_1.2.pdf [Accessed: 1 May 2019].
- Langman, P. 2019b. *The influence of Columbine*. Available at: <https://schoolshooters.info/influence-columbine> [Accessed: 23 March 2022].
- Langman, P. 2020a. *A guide to insider references used by school Shooters and other attackers*. Available at: <https://schoolshooters.info/guide-insider-references-used-school-shooters-and-other-attackers> [Accessed: 23 March 2022].
- Langman, P. 2020b. Desperate identities: A bio-psycho-social analysis of perpetrators of mass violence. *Criminology and Public Policy* 19(1), pp. 61–84.
- Ledonne, D. 2005. *Super Columbine massacre RPG!* Available at: <http://www.columbinegame.com/> [Accessed: 25 February 2022].
- Lee, B. 2021. *Only playing: Extreme right gratification*. Available at: <https://www.voxpol.eu/only-playing-extreme-right-gamification/> [Accessed: 13 February 2021].
- Lee, D.Y.W. 2001. Genres, registers, text types, domains, and styles: Clarifying the concepts and navigating a path through the BNC jungle. *Language Learning and Technology* 5(3), pp. 37–72.

- Leech, G. 1985. Stylistics. In: Dijk, T. A. van ed. *Discourse and literature*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, pp. 39–57.
- Leech, G. and Short, M. 1981. *Style in fiction*. New York: Longman.
- Lemert, E. 1951. *Social pathology: A systematic approach to the theory of sociopathic behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Leonard, C.H., Annas, G.D., Knoll, J.L. and Tørrissen, T. 2014. The case of Anders Behring Breivik - language of a lone terrorist. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law* 32(3), pp. 408–422.
- Lifton, R.J. 1986. *The Nazi doctors: Medical killing and the psychology of genocide*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lillis, T. 2013. *The sociolinguistics of writing*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Linde, C. 1993. *The creation of coherence in life stories: An overview*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Louw, W.E. 1993. Irony in the text or insincerity in the writer? — The diagnostic potential of semantic prosodies. In: Baker, M., Francis, G., and Tognini-Bonelli, E. eds. *Text and technology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 157–176.
- Lutz, W. 2017. *Doublespeak*. New York: IG Publishing.
- Macklin, G. 2019. *The Christchurch attacks: Livestream terror in the viral video age*. Available at: <https://ctc.usma.edu/christchurch-attacks-livestream-terror-viral-video-age/> [Accessed: 2 January 2022].
- Macrae, A. 2015. ‘You’ and ‘I’ in charity fundraising appeals. In: Gardelle, L. and Sorlin, S. eds. *The pragmatics of personal pronouns*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 105–124.
- Mahlberg, M. 2007. Corpus stylistics: Bridging the gap between linguistic and literary studies. In: Hoey, M., Mahlberg, M., Stubbs, M., Wolfgang, T., and Sinclair, J. eds. *Text, Discourse and Corpora*. London: Continuum
- Mahlberg, M. 2013. *Corpus stylistics and Dickens’s fiction*. New York: Routledge.
- Marchi, A. 2019. Dividing up the data. In: Taylor Charlotte and Marchi, A. eds. *Corpus approaches to discourse*. London: Routledge, pp. 174–196.
- Markham, A. and Buchanan, E. 2012. *Ethical decision-making and Internet research recommendations from the Association of Internet Researchers (AOIR) Ethics Working Committee*. Available at: <https://aoir.org/reports/ethics2.pdf> [Accessed: 7 August 2022].
- Martin, J.R. and White, P.R.R. 2005. *The language of evaluation: Appraisal in English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Maruna, S. 2004a. Is rationalization good for the soul? Resisting responsabilization in the courts. In: Arrigo, B. ed. *Psychological Jurisprudence: Critical Explorations in Law, Crime, and Society*. Albany: SUNY Press, pp. 179–199.
- Maruna, S. 2004b. *Making good: How ex-convicts reform and rebuild their lives*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

- Maruna, S. and Copes, H. 2005. What have we learned from five decades of neutralization research? *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research* 32, pp. 221–320.
- Maruna, S. and Ramsden, D. 2005. Living to tell the tale: Redemption narratives, shame management, and offender rehabilitation. In: Lieblich, A., McAdams, D. P., and Josselson, R. eds. *Healing plots: The narrative basis of psychotherapy*. American Psychological Association
- Mattheis, A. 2021. *Beyond the lulz: Memifying murder as ‘meaningful’ gamification in far-right content*. Available at: <https://gnet-research.org/2021/01/18/beyond-the-lulz-memifying-murder-as-meaningful-gamification-in-far-right-content/> [Accessed: 2 January 2022].
- McEnery, T. 2009. Keywords and moral panics: Mary Whitehouse and media censorship. In: Archer, D. ed. *What’s in a word-list?: Investigating word frequency and keyword extraction*. London: Routledge, pp. 93–124.
- McEnery, T. 2016. Keywords. In: Baker, P. and Egbert, J. eds. *Triangulating methodological approaches*. New York: Routledge
- McEnery, T. and Hardie, A. 2012. *Corpus linguistics: Method, theory and practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McEvers, K. 2013. *Documentarian says ‘Anarchist cookbook’ author was filled with remorse*. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/2017/04/03/522474967/documentarian-says-anarchist-cookbook-author-was-filled-with-remorse?t=1646165556876> [Accessed: 7 March 2022].
- McIntyre, Dan. and Walker, B. 2019. *Corpus stylistics: Theory and practice*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- McKendry, J.P. 2006. ‘I’m very careful about that’: narrative and agency of men in prison. *Discourse & Society* 17(4), pp. 473–502.
- Meldalen, G.S. and Meland, A. 2011. Dette er terroristens store politiske forbilde. *Dagbladet*. Available at: <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/dette-er-terroristens-store-politiske-forbilde/63566611> [Accessed: 30 December 2021].
- Mildenberger, C.D. 2017. Virtual killing. *Philosophical Studies* 174(1), pp. 185–203.
- Millar, N. 2009. Modal verbs in TIME: Frequency changes 1923-2006. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 14(2), pp. 191–220.
- Mitchell, C.B. 2000. Of euphemisms and euthanasia: The language games of the Nazi doctors and some implications for the modern euthanasia movement. *Omega: Journal of Death and Dying* 40(1), pp. 255–265.
- Mitchell, J. and Dodder, R.A. 1983. Types of neutralization and types of delinquency. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 12(4), pp. 307–318.
- Moghaddam, F.M. 1999. Reflexive positioning: Culture and private discourse. In: Harré, R. and van Langehove, L. eds. *Positioning theory*. Oxford: Blackwell

- Moonshot 2020. *Incels: A guide to symbols and terminology*. Available at: <http://moonshotcve.com/incels-symbols-and-terminology/> [Accessed: 23 March 2020].
- Moses, A.D. 1998. Structure and agency in the Holocaust: Daniel J. Goldhagen and his critics. *History and Theory* 37(2), pp. 194–219. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2505466>.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter. and Harré, R. 1990. *Pronouns and people: The linguistic construction of social and personal identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Mykietiak, C. 2016. Fragile masculinity: Social inequalities in the narrative frame and discursive construction of a mass shooter's autobiography/manifesto. *Contemporary Social Science* 11(4), pp. 289–303.
- Nagle, A. 2017. *Kill all normies*. Winchester: Zero Books.
- Norricks, N.R. 2011. Conversational recipe telling. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(11), pp. 2740–2761.
- Ochs, E. and Capps, L. 2001. *Living narrative*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- O'Connor, P. 2000. *Speaking of crime: Narratives of prisoners*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Ortiz de Gortari, A.B. and Griffiths, M.D. 2014. Altered visual perception in game transfer phenomena: An empirical self-report study. *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction* 30(2), pp. 95–105.
- Osofsky, M., Bandura, A. and Zimbardo, P. 2005. The role of moral disengagement in the execution process. *Law and Human Behavior* 29(4), pp. 371–393.
- Ostrowski, T. 2019. *Psychological safety for researchers*. Available at: <https://hodigital.blog.gov.uk/2019/02/15/psychological-safety-for-researchers> [Accessed: 8 April 2021].
- Oxford English Dictionary* 2021. Available at: www.oed.com/view/Entry/113499. [Accessed: 20 August 2021].
- Paltridge, B. 2014. *An introduction to discourse analysis*. 2nd ed. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Pandaplex 2017. *Escape from biostation: Walkthrough*. Available at: <https://gamefaqs.gamespot.com/pc/210699-escape-from-biostation/faqs/74942> [Accessed: 23 March 2022].
- Pantucci, R. 2011. *A typology of lone wolves: Preliminary analysis of lone Islamist terrorists*. Available at: https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/1302002992ICSRPaper_ATypologyofLoneWolves_Pantucci.pdf.
- Partington, A. 2004. 'Utterly content in each other's company': Semantic prosody and semantic preference. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 9(1), pp. 131–156.
- Partington, A. 2012. The changing discourses on antisemitism in the UK press from 1993 to 2009. *Journal of Language and Politics* 11(1), pp. 51–76.

- Partington, A. 2014. Mind the gaps: The role of corpus linguistics in researching absences. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 19(1), pp. 118–146.
- PCGamesN 2021. *The PC gaming glossary*. Available at: <https://www.pcgamesn.com/glossary> [Accessed: 29 September 2021].
- Pennebaker, J.W. and Lay, T.C. 2002. Language use and personality during crises: Analyses of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's press conferences. *Journal of Research in Personality* 36(3), pp. 271–282.
- Piggott, E. and Wood, W. 2019. Does restorative justice reduce recidivism? Assessing evidence and claims about restorative justice and reoffending. In: Gavrielides, T. ed. *Routledge international handbook of restorative justice*. New York: Routledge, pp. 359–376.
- Pinker, S. 2007. *The stuff of thought*. London: Penguin.
- Potts, A. and Baker, P. 2012. Does semantic tagging identify cultural change in British and American English? *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 17(3), pp. 295–324.
- Prentice, S., Rayson, P. and Taylor, P.J. 2012. The language of Islamic extremism: Towards an automated identification of beliefs, motivations and justifications. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 17(2), pp. 259–286.
- Prescott, A.T., Sargent, J.D. and Hull, J.G. 2018. Metaanalysis of the relationship between violent video game play and physical aggression over time. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 115(40), pp. 9882–9888.
- Press Association 2011. *Publisher of 'Anarchist cookbook' convicted under Terrorism Act*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2011/mar/09/terrorists-handbook-businessman-found-guilty> [Accessed: 7 March 2022].
- Presser, L. 2004. Violent offenders, moral selves: Constructing identities and accounts in the research interview. *Social Problems* 51(1), pp. 82–101.
- Presser, L. 2009. The narratives of offenders. *Theoretical Criminology* 13(2), pp. 177–200.
- Presser, L. 2013. *Why we harm*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Presser, L. 2018. *Inside story: How narratives drive mass harm*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
- QSR International Pty Ltd. 2020. *NVivo (Version 12)*. [Computer Software]. Available at: <https://www.qsrinternational.com/nvivo-qualitative-data-analysis-software/home> [Accessed: 6 August 2020].
- Rayson, P. 2008. From key words to key semantic domains. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 13(4), pp. 519–549.
- Richardson, B. 2006. *Unnatural voices: Extreme narration in modern and contemporary fiction*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- Ricoeur, P. 2000. *The just*. Translated from the French by D. Pellauer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Rock, F. 2001. Policy and practice in the anonymisation of linguistic data. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 6(1), pp. 1–26.
- Rodger, E. 2013. *Elliot Rodger PUA hate comments*. Available at: <https://storify.com/NewSecular/elliott-rodger-manifesto-puahate-comments> [Accessed: 1 September 2014].
- Rodger, E. 2014. *My twisted world: The story of Elliot Rodger*. Available at: <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/1173808-elliott-rodger-manifesto.html> [Accessed: 1 September 2014].
- Rüdiger, S. and Dayter, D. 2017. The ethics of researching unlikeable subjects: Language in an online community. *Applied Linguistics Review* 8(2–3), pp. 251–269.
- Rymes, B. 1995. The construction of moral agency in the narratives of high-school drop-outs. *Discourse & Society* 6(4), pp. 495–516.
- Sacks, H. 2010. The MIR membership categorisation device. In: *Lectures on Conversation*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 40–48.
- Sandberg, S. 2010. What can ‘lies’ tell us about life? Notes towards a framework of narrative criminology. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 21(4), pp. 447–465.
- Sandberg, S. 2013. Are self-narratives strategic or determined, unified or fragmented? Reading Breivik’s Manifesto in light of narrative criminology. *Acta Sociologica (United Kingdom)*. doi: 10.1177/0001699312466179.
- Sandberg, S., Oksanen, A., Berntzen, L.E. and Kiilakoski, T. 2014. Stories in action: The cultural influences of school shootings on the terrorist attacks in Norway. *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 7(2), pp. 277–296.
- Santa Barbara County Sheriff’s Office 2015. *Isla Vista mass murder. May 23rd, 2014. Investigative summary*. Available at: <https://schoolshooters.info/sites/default/files/ISLAVISTAINVESTIGATIVESUMMARY.pdf> [Accessed: 6 March 2020].
- Scanlon, T.M. 2000. *What we owe to each other*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Schachter, S. 1959. *The psychology of affiliation: Experimental studies of the sources of gregariousness*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Schiffrin, D. 1981. Tense variation in narrative. *Language* 57(1), pp. 45–62.
- Schiffrin, D. 1996. Narrative as self-portrait: Sociolinguistic constructions of identity. *Language in Society* 25(2), pp. 167–203.
- Schiffrin, D. 2006. *In other words: Variation in reference and narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schlesinger, I.M. 1989. Instruments as agents: On the nature of semantic relations. *Journal of Linguistics* 25(1), pp. 189–210.

- Schneidman, E.S. and Farberow, N.L. 1956. Clues to suicide. *Public Health Reports*. doi: 10.2307/4589373.
- Schofield, D. and Kupiainen, R. 2015. Young people's narratives of media and identity. *Nordicom Review* 36(1), pp. 79–93.
- Schulz, K. 2014. Fake tense in conditional sentences: A modal approach. *Natural Language Semantics* 22(2), pp. 117–144.
- Schuurman, B., Lindekilde, L., Malthaner, S., O'Connor, F., Gill, P. and Bouhana, N. 2019. End of the lone wolf: The typology that should not have been. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 42(8), pp. 771–778.
- Scott, M. 1997. PC analysis of key words - and key key words. *System* 25(2), pp. 233–245.
- Scott, M. 2009. In search of a bad reference corpus. In: Archer, D. ed. *What's in a word-list?: Investigating word frequency and keyword extraction*. London: Routledge, pp. 79–92.
- Scott, M. 2010. Problems in investigating keyness, or clearing the undergrowth and marking out trails.... In: Bondi, M. and Scott, M. eds. *Keyness in texts*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 43–58.
- Scott, M. 2016. *WordSmith Tools (Version 7)*. [Computer Software]. Available at: <https://lexically.net/wordsmith/downloads/>. [Accessed 15 Feb 2019].
- Scott, M. and Tribble, C. 2006. *Textual patterns: Key words and corpus analysis in language education*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Scott, M.B. and Lyman, S.M. 1968. Accounts. *American Sociological Review* 33(1), pp. 46–62.
- Seilonen, M.-L., Wahlström, J. and Aaltonen, J. 2012. Agency displays in stories of drunk driving: Subjectivity, authorship, and reflectivity. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* 25(4), pp. 347–360.
- Seligman, M.E.P. 2006. *Learned optimism: How to change your mind and your life*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Semino, E., Demjén, Z., Hardie, A., Payne, S. and Rayson, P. 2018. *Metaphor, cancer and the end of life: A corpus-based study*. London: Routledge.
- Sherman, L.W. 1993. Defiance, deterrence, and irrelevance: A theory of the criminal sanction. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 30(4), pp. 445–473.
- Sherman and Strang, H. 2007. *Restorative justice: The evidence*. Available at: https://www.iirp.edu/pdf/RJ_full_report.pdf [Accessed: 6 October 2021].
- Shoemaker, D. 2015. *Responsibility from the margins*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shrestha, A., Akrami, N. and Kaati, L. 2020. Introducing Digital-7 threat assessment of individuals in digital environments. In: *Proceedings of the 2020 IEEE/ACM International Conference on Advances in Social Networks Analysis and Mining*. IEEE

- Shrestha, A., Kaati, L. and Akrami, N. 2019. PRAT- a tool for assessing risk in written communication. In: *Proceedings of the 2019 IEEE International Conference on Big Data*. Los Angeles, CA: IEEE
- Simons, A. and Tunkel, R.F. 2014. The assessment of anonymous threatening communications. In: Reid Meoly, J. and Hoffmann, J. eds. *International handbook of threat assessment*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 195–213.
- Sinclair, J. 1991. *Corpus, concordance, collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sinclair, J. 1999. A way with common words. In: *Out of corpora: Studies in honour of Stig Johansson*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 157–179.
- Sinclair, J. 2003. *Reading concordances: An introduction*. Harlow: Longman.
- Sinclair, J. 2004. The search for units of meaning. In: *Trust the text: Language, corpus and discourse*. London: Routledge
- Singer 2010. *Singer 1408 user manual*. Available at: <https://www.manualsdir.com/manuals/153311/singer-1408-1409-promise-instruction-manual> [Accessed: 7 May 2020].
- Smith, A.M. 2015. Responsibility as answerability. *Inquiry (United Kingdom)* 58(2), pp. 99–126.
- Sorlin, S. 2015. Breaking the fourth wall: The pragmatic functions of the second person pronoun in *House of Cards*. In: Gardelle, L. and Sorlin, S. eds. *The pragmatics of personal pronouns*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 125–146.
- Spaaij, R. 2010. The enigma of lone wolf terrorism: An assessment. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 33(9), pp. 854–870.
- Stephenson, N. 2003. *Snow crash: A novel*. London: Roc Books.
- Sterponi, L.A. 2003. Account episodes in family discourse: The making of morality in everyday interaction. *Discourse Studies* 5(1), pp. 79–100.
- Stibbe, A. 2001. Language, power and the social construction of animals. *Society and Animals* 9(2), pp. 145–161.
- Stirling, L. and Manderson, L. 2011. About you: Empathy, objectivity and authority. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(6), pp. 1581–1602.
- Strawson, P. 1982. Freedom and resentment. In: Watson, G. ed. *Free will*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 59–80.
- Stubbs, M. 1996. *Text and corpus analysis: Computer-assisted studies of language and culture*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Stubbs, M. 2005. Conrad in the computer: Examples of quantitative stylistic methods. *Language and Literature* 14(1), pp. 5–24.

Stubbs, M. 2007. Quantitative data on multiword sequences in English: The case of the word 'world'. In: Hoey, M., Mahlberg, M., Stubbs, M., and Teubery, W. eds. *Text, discourse and corpora*. London: Continuum, pp. 163–190.

Suicide Act. 1961. C60. Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Eliz2/9-10/60> [Accessed: 14 January 2021].

Swales, J. 1990. *Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sykes, G.M. and Matza, D. 1957. Techniques of neutralization: A theory of delinquency. *American Sociological Review* 22(6), p. 664.

Tannen, D. 2007. *Talking voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tarrant, B. 2019. *The great replacement*. Available at: https://www.ilfoglio.it/userUpload/The_Great_Replacementconvertito.pdf [Accessed: 6 May 2021].

Taubner, H., Hallén, M. and Wengelin, Å. 2020. Still the same? Self-identity dilemmas when living with post-stroke aphasia in a digitalised society. *Aphasiology* 34(3), pp. 300–318.

Tausczik, Y.R. and Pennebaker, J.W. 2010. The psychological meaning of words: LIWC and computerized text analysis methods. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 29(1), pp. 24–54.

Taylor, C. 1985. *Philosophical papers. 1, Human agency and language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, C. 2013. Searching for similarity using corpus-assisted discourse studies. *Corpora* 8(1), pp. 81–113.

Taylor, C. 2018. Similarity. In: Taylor, C. and Marchi, A. eds. *Corpus approaches to discourse: A critical review*. London: Routledge

The Dart Center 2014. *Working with traumatic imagery*. Available at: <https://dartcenter.org/content/working-with-traumatic-imagery> [Accessed: 7 April 2021].

The REASSURE Project 2021. *Introducing The REASSURE Project*. Available at: <https://www.swansea.ac.uk/law/cytrec/projects/reassure/> [Accessed: 7 April 2021].

Thorenfeldt, G. 2011. 'Sier han har møtt Breiviks hemmelige norske idol.' *Dagbladet*. Available at: <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/sier-han-har-mott-breiviks-hemmelige-norske-idol/63568937> [Accessed: 17 June 2021].

Tognini-Bonelli, E. 2001. *Corpus linguistics at work*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Trew, B. 2020. Extremist video calling for revenge against France released day before Nice attack. *The Independent* October. Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/isis-video-nice-terror-france-islamic-state-telegram-b1428147.html> [Accessed: 23 March 2022].

Turkle, S. 2011. *Life on the screen*. New York: Touchstone.

- Ugelvik, T. 2012. Prisoners and their victims: Techniques of neutralization, techniques of the self. *Ethnography* 13(3), pp. 259–277.
- Ugelvik, T. 2015. The rapist and the proper criminal. In: Presser, L. and Sandberg, S. eds. *Narrative criminology: Understanding stories of crime*. New York: NYU Press, pp. 23–41. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt15r3xt2>.
- United for Global Mental Health 2021. *Decriminalising suicide: Saving lives, reducing stigma*. Available at: <https://unitedgmh.org/decriminalising-suicide-saving-lives-reducing-stigma-our-latest-report> [Accessed: 10 January 2022].
- van Gerven Oei, V. 2011. Anders Breivik: On copying the obscure. *Continent* 1(3), pp. 213–223. Available at: <http://www.continentcontinent.cc/index.php/continent/article/viewarticle/56> [Accessed: 12 March 2020] [Accessed: 24 March 2022].
- van Leeuwen, T. 2008. *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wahlquist, C. 2019. Ardern says she will never speak name of Christchurch suspect. *The Guardian* 19 March. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/19/new-zealand-shooting-ardern-says-she-will-never-speak-suspects-name> [Accessed: 10 August 2020].
- Wales, K. 1996. *Personal pronouns in present-day English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wallace, R.J. 1996. *Responsibility and the moral sentiments*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ware, J. 2020. *Testament to murder: The violent far-right's increasing use of terrorist manifestos*. Available at: <https://icct.nl/publication/testament-to-murder-the-violent-far-rights-increasing-use-of-terrorist-manifestos/> [Accessed: 6 March 2021].
- Watson, G. 1975. Free agency. *The Journal of Philosophy* 72(8), pp. 205–220.
- Weatherburn, D. and Macadam, M. 2013. A review of restorative justice responses to offending. *Evidence Base* 2013(1). doi: 10.21307/eb-2013-004.
- Weiner, E.J. and Labov, W. 1983. Constraints on the agentless passive. *Journal of Linguistics* 72(8), pp. 29–58.
- Weisser, M. 2016. *Practical corpus linguistics*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.
- Williamson, E., Gregory, A., Abrahams, H., Aghtaie, N., Walker, S.J. and Hester, M. 2020. Secondary trauma: Emotional safety in sensitive research. *Journal of Academic Ethics* 18(1), pp. 55–70.
- Wiltsey Stirman, S. and Pennebaker, J.W. 2001. Word use in the poetry of suicidal and nonsuicidal poets. *Psychosomatic Medicine* 63(4), pp. 517–522.

Witt, T. 2020. 'If I cannot have it, I will do everything I can to destroy it.' the canonization of Elliot Rodger: 'Incel' masculinities, secular sainthood, and justifications of ideological violence. *Social Identities* 26(5), pp. 675–689.

Wolf, S. 2015. Responsibility, moral and otherwise. *Inquiry* 58(2), pp. 127–142.

Wollenberg, D. 2014. The new knighthood: Terrorism and the medieval. *Postmedieval* 5(1), pp. 21–33.

Wright, D. and Brookes, G. 2019. 'This is England, speak English!': A corpus-assisted critical study of language ideologies in the right-leaning British press. *Critical Discourse Studies* 16(1), pp. 56–83.

Wright, Mic. 2018. Incel: The online cult for sad, sexless young men is terrorism by any other name. *The New Statesman* 25 April

Yanoshevsky, G. 2009. Three decades of writing on manifesto: The making of a genre. *Poetics Today* 30(2), pp. 257–286.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Construction of the corpus

1.1 Construction of the whole corpus (all perpetrators' texts)

1.2 Breakdown of sections of Breivik corpus

1.3 Breakdown of sections of Rodger corpus

1.4 Breakdown of Sections of Harris corpus

1.5 Breakdown of Sections of Klebold corpus

Appendix 2. Key items in the Breivik corpus

2.1 Key words Breivik corpus Section 1

2.2 Key words Breivik corpus Section 2

2.3 Key words Breivik corpus Section 3

2.4 Key words Breivik corpus Section 4

2.5 Key words Breivik corpus Section 5

2.6 Key words Breivik corpus Section 6

2.7 Key words Breivik corpus Section 7

Appendix 3. Key items in the Rodger corpus

3.1 Key words Rodger corpus Section 1

3.2 Key words Rodger corpus Section 2

3.3 Key words Rodger corpus Section 3

3.4 Key words Rodger corpus Section 4

3.5 Key words Rodger corpus Section 5

3.6 Key words Rodger corpus Section 6

3.8 Key words Rodger corpus Section 8

3.9 Key Terms in Rodger's text

3.9.1 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 1

3.9.2 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 2

3.9.3 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 3

3.9.4 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 4

3.9.5 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 5

3.9.6 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 6

3.9.7 *Key terms Rodger corpus Section 7*

3.9.8 *Key terms Rodger corpus Section 8*

Appendix 4. Key items in the Klebold corpus

4.1 *Key words in Klebold corpus*

4.2 *Key terms in Klebold corpus*

Appendix 5. Key items in the Harris corpus

5.1 *Key words in Harris corpus*

5.2 *Key terms in Harris corpus*

Appendix 6. Collocates

6.1 *Chapter 4 collocates (retribution, will and phase)*

6.2 *Chapter 5 collocates (our and you)*

6.3 *Chapter 6 collocates (virgin)*

Appendix 7. NVivo coding

7.1 *NVivo Codebook*

7.2 *NVivo coding Klebold corpus*

7.3 *NVivo coding Harris corpus*

Appendix 1. Construction of the corpus

1.1 The whole corpus

Perpetrator	Crime	Data included in diachronic analysis	Other data (not included in analysis)	Language	Versions used in diachronic analysis
Anders Breivik	Oslo bomb and Utøya massacre, Norway. 22 nd July 2011	Compendium: 81,260 word self - interview and log (Final two sections of manifesto) Written 2009-2011.	The 1500 page compendium (2083: A European Declaration of Independence) is in three sections. The first two parts are largely plagiarised (van Gerven Oei 2011) from other sources (1405 pages) and has therefore not been included in the analysis. The final 95 pages of the document (included in this corpus) take the form of a self-interview and a journal/log of his preparations.	English	1. Original typed version as distributed by Breivik (Breivik 2011). 2. Plain text version of (1.)
Eric Harris	Shooting at Columbine High School, Colorado, United States. 20 th April 1999	Diary: 6736 words Written April 1998-April 1999 20 entries (10 of which were written between Oct-Dec 1998)	Website entries (dates disputed) Selection of school assessments including: Essay on the Nazis (N.D.) ‘Guns in School’ essay (1997) ‘Hitmen for hire’ business plan (1998) Video: Hitmen for Hire (1998) Fictional video featuring Klebold and Harris as hitmen) All available at Cullen (2019).	English	1. Handwritten scanned originals (Harris 1999) 2. Digitized versions including transcriber comments (Langman 2014b) 3. Plain text version of (2.) without comments.
Dylan Klebold	Shooting at Columbine High School, Colorado, United States. 20 th April 1999	Diary: 6041 words Written March 1997-April 1999 (14 entries)	Notebook entries (994 words). Date unknown but indications are that they were written shortly before the attacks. Dylan’s comments from Eric’s yearbook (476 words) Selection of school assignments including: Story about a man killing ‘preps’ . (1999) Essay on future predictions for senior year (1998) Video: Hitmen for Hire (1998) Fictional video	English	1. Handwritten scanned originals (Klebold 1999) 2. Digitized versions including transcriber comments (Langman 2019a) 3. Plain text version of 2. without comments.

			featuring Klebold and Harris as hitmen) All available at Cullen (2019).		
Elliot Rodger	Shooting, Isla Vista, California, United States. 23 rd May 2014	Autobiography: 107,927 words Titled 'My Twisted World'. It Describes Rodger's life from age 0-22	8 Vlogs uploaded to YouTube between April and May 2014. It is unclear when they were recorded. (3266 words) Brief description of each vlog added by Rodger. Small number of posts from PUAhate.com (Rodger 2013).	English	1. Original typed version as distributed by Rodger (Rodger 2014). 2. Plain text version

1.2 Sections of Breivik corpus

Section	Dates	Summary	Words
1. Interview	Prior to 2009	This takes the format of a <i>self-interview</i> concerning his views on multiculturalism, what he thinks will happen in the future if he does not take action, events from his childhood, and how he has come to be at the point that he now finds himself.	36551
2. Compendium	April-May 2009	During this section, which takes the form of <i>diary entries</i> , Breivik has just completed the part of the manifesto that is borrowed from numerous other sources and begins 'farming' e-mail addresses of what he sees as like-minded individuals in order to distribute the compendium to them at some point in the future.	4588
3. Acquirement	July 2010	In this section Breivik focuses on acquiring weapons and preparing to obtain chemicals by listing what he will need and how he will go about getting it. The majority of entries in this section take the form of <i>diary entries</i> but there is also a <i>log</i> of purchases and equipment including methods of acquirement.	8614
4. Reflection	December 2010	A <i>reflective account</i> of Breivik's family, social life, his approach to maintaining his morale and physical strength and how he thinks he will be viewed after the event.	3800
5. Blueprint	March 2011	A lengthy description of the optimum approach to manufacturing explosives. It takes the form of an <i>instruction manual</i> for those wishing to replicate his production of bombs.	12862
6. Farm	April-June 2011	By this point in time, Breivik has decided to move to a farm on the outskirts of Oslo in order to manufacture explosives without arousing suspicion. This section describes the move to the farm and his preparation once there from April-	8710

		June in the form of <i>diary entries</i> . At this time he is manufacturing explosives and testing bombs.	
7. Final	July 2011	In the final month before the attacks. Breivik has now created the explosives he needs, has weapons ready and is making the final preparations of the attacks. This section, which takes the form of <i>diary entries</i> ends just 3 hours before the attacks take place.	6135

1.3 Sections of Rodger corpus

Section	Words
Section 1: Introduction & A blissful beginning	2525
Section 2: Growing up in America	10525
Section 3: The last period of contentment	17012
Section 4: Stuck in the void	14395
Section 5: Hope and hopelessness	18567
Section 6: Santa Barbara	20418
Section 7: 21 years old	22821
Section 8: Epilogue	1664
Total:	107,927

1.4 Sections of Harris corpus

Section	Entries	Words
April 1998	3	1659
May 1998	3	972
June 1998	2	404
July 1998	1	521
Oct 1998	1	374
Nov 1998	5	1994
Dec 1998	4	596
April 1999	1	216

1.5 Sections of Klebold corpus

Section	Entries	Words
March 1997	1	636
April 1997	1	545
Date Unclear	1	550
July 1997	1	347
September 1997	1	348
October 1997	1	399
November 1997	1	472
January 1998	1	172
February 1998	1	1143
June 1998	2	399
January 1999	1	593
April 1999	2	437

Appendix 2. Key items in the Breivik corpus

2.1 Key words Breivik corpus Section 1

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC score>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	Reference corpus (RC) freq	RC %	BIC	Log_R
Q	76	0.20	0	0.00	109.55	140.06
ISLAM	43	0.12	0	0.00	57.06	139.24
JEWISH	41	0.11	0	0.00	53.88	139.17
SOCIETY	31	0.08	0	0.00	37.98	138.77
GANGS	23	0.06	0	0.00	25.26	138.33
EU	23	0.06	0	0.00	25.26	138.33
YOUTH	20	0.05	0	0.00	20.48	138.13
WEST	20	0.05	0	0.00	20.48	138.13
SUICIDAL	19	0.05	0	0.00	18.89	138.06
STUDY	17	0.05	0	0.00	15.71	137.90
PAKISTANI	17	0.05	0	0.00	15.71	137.90
OPPOSE	15	0.04	0	0.00	12.53	137.72
NAZIS	15	0.04	0	0.00	12.53	137.72
ANALYSIS	15	0.04	0	0.00	12.53	137.72
HERITAGE	14	0.04	0	0.00	10.94	137.62
ELITES	14	0.04	0	0.00	10.94	137.62
CLAIM	14	0.04	0	0.00	10.94	137.62
CHILDREN	14	0.04	0	0.00	10.94	137.62
HOLOCAUST	13	0.03	0	0.00	9.35	137.51
EDUCATION	13	0.03	0	0.00	9.35	137.51
STUDIES	12	0.03	0	0.00	7.76	137.40
INDIGENOUS	12	0.03	0	0.00	7.76	137.40
IDENTITY	12	0.03	0	0.00	7.76	137.40
CHRISTIANITY	12	0.03	0	0.00	7.76	137.40
BEATEN	12	0.03	0	0.00	7.76	137.40
YOUTHS	11	0.03	0	0.00	6.17	137.27
RACISTS	11	0.03	0	0.00	6.17	137.27
JOIN	11	0.03	0	0.00	6.17	137.27
FAMILIES	11	0.03	0	0.00	6.17	137.27
DEMOCRACY	11	0.03	0	0.00	6.17	137.27
CHRISTIANS	11	0.03	0	0.00	6.17	137.27
ARSALAN	11	0.03	0	0.00	6.17	137.27
ACKNOWLEDGE	11	0.03	0	0.00	6.17	137.27
STANCE	10	0.03	0	0.00	4.58	137.13
RUSSIA	10	0.03	0	0.00	4.58	137.13
ROLE	10	0.03	0	0.00	4.58	137.13
PRIVILEGED	10	0.03	0	0.00	4.58	137.13
JIHADI	10	0.03	0	0.00	4.58	137.13
GOVERNMENTS	10	0.03	0	0.00	4.58	137.13

FRANCE	10	0.03	0	0.00	4.58	137.13
FLAWS	10	0.03	0	0.00	4.58	137.13
APPEAL	10	0.03	0	0.00	4.58	137.13
ALLIANCES	10	0.03	0	0.00	4.58	137.13
SOCIETIES	9	0.02	0	0.00	2.99	136.98
PROTESTANT	9	0.02	0	0.00	2.99	136.98
MULTICULTURALISTS	9	0.02	0	0.00	2.99	136.98
INTELLECTUAL	9	0.02	0	0.00	2.99	136.98
HEROES	9	0.02	0	0.00	2.99	136.98
HARASSED	9	0.02	0	0.00	2.99	136.98
GOALS	9	0.02	0	0.00	2.99	136.98
GAIN	9	0.02	0	0.00	2.99	136.98
DIALOGUE	9	0.02	0	0.00	2.99	136.98
CULTURES	9	0.02	0	0.00	2.99	136.98
BECAME	9	0.02	0	0.00	2.99	136.98
ACCEPT	9	0.02	0	0.00	2.99	136.98
JEWS	68	0.18	1	0.00	87.57	6.37
MUSLIM	108	0.29	2	0.00	142.85	6.04
CHRISTIAN	68	0.18	2	0.00	81.06	5.37
COMMUNITY	33	0.09	1	0.00	33.34	5.33
ETHNIC	29	0.08	1	0.00	27.23	5.14
CHURCH	28	0.07	1	0.00	25.71	5.09
SELF	26	0.07	1	0.00	22.67	4.98
ISRAEL	26	0.07	1	0.00	22.67	4.98
ORGANISATION	24	0.06	1	0.00	19.65	4.87
IMMIGRATION	24	0.06	1	0.00	19.65	4.87
FIGHT	35	0.09	2	0.00	31.18	4.41
MUSLIMS	68	0.18	4	0.01	70.73	4.37
POLICIES	16	0.04	1	0.00	7.72	4.28
HOP	16	0.04	1	0.00	7.72	4.28
HIP	16	0.04	1	0.00	7.72	4.28
GANG	16	0.04	1	0.00	7.72	4.28
DEGREE	16	0.04	1	0.00	7.72	4.28
IDEOLOGY	31	0.08	2	0.00	25.29	4.24
MOVEMENTS	15	0.04	1	0.00	6.25	4.19
JIHAD	15	0.04	1	0.00	6.25	4.19
VIOLENT	14	0.04	1	0.00	4.80	4.09
SCIENCE	14	0.04	1	0.00	4.80	4.09
PERCENT	14	0.04	1	0.00	4.80	4.09
HARDCORE	14	0.04	1	0.00	4.80	4.09
GOAL	14	0.04	1	0.00	4.80	4.09
REJECT	13	0.03	1	0.00	3.35	3.98
MAJOR	13	0.03	1	0.00	3.35	3.98
CULTURE	26	0.07	2	0.00	18.02	3.98
NS	38	0.10	3	0.01	31.25	3.94
HATE	25	0.07	2	0.00	16.58	3.92

EUROPEANS	50	0.13	4	0.01	44.48	3.92
SUPPORT	58	0.16	5	0.01	52.00	3.82
DECADES	19	0.05	2	0.00	8.09	3.53
US	104	0.28	11	0.02	94.74	3.52
MOVEMENT	47	0.13	5	0.01	36.51	3.51
PRINCIPLES	27	0.07	3	0.01	15.72	3.45
PCCTS	26	0.07	3	0.01	14.34	3.40
AGAINST	59	0.16	7	0.02	46.28	3.36
WING	39	0.10	5	0.01	25.55	3.24
OUR	194	0.52	25	0.06	171.70	3.24
MEDIA	38	0.10	5	0.01	24.21	3.21
MILLION	30	0.08	4	0.01	16.56	3.19
DEVELOPMENT	15	0.04	2	0.00	2.62	3.19
RIGHT	63	0.17	9	0.02	45.43	3.09
FORCE	21	0.06	3	0.01	7.59	3.09
GROUP	27	0.07	4	0.01	12.58	3.04
WILLING	20	0.05	3	0.01	6.28	3.02
BROTHERS	20	0.05	3	0.01	6.28	3.02
UNDERSTAND	26	0.07	4	0.01	11.27	2.98
ANTI	65	0.17	10	0.02	45.16	2.98
SCHOOL	38	0.10	6	0.01	21.27	2.94
ARMED	19	0.05	3	0.01	4.97	2.94
WARFARE	18	0.05	3	0.01	3.68	2.87
NON	36	0.10	6	0.01	18.69	2.87
NATIONALISTS	18	0.05	3	0.01	3.68	2.87
GOVERNMENT	30	0.08	5	0.01	13.69	2.87
ISLAMIC	41	0.11	7	0.02	22.41	2.83
WAR	33	0.09	6	0.01	14.88	2.74
STRUGGLE	22	0.06	4	0.01	6.15	2.74
POLITICAL	76	0.20	14	0.03	48.56	2.72
RACIST	27	0.07	5	0.01	9.89	2.71
OBVIOUSLY	27	0.07	5	0.01	9.89	2.71
WESTERN	73	0.20	14	0.03	44.83	2.66
UNDER	26	0.07	5	0.01	8.64	2.66
THEIR	153	0.41	30	0.07	104.76	2.63
EUROPE	137	0.37	27	0.06	92.29	2.62
GROUPS	25	0.07	5	0.01	7.41	2.60
EUROPEAN	144	0.39	30	0.07	93.76	2.54
MULTICULTURALISM	47	0.13	10	0.02	22.49	2.51
WE	270	0.72	60	0.13	177.22	2.45
AGE	22	0.06	5	0.01	3.80	2.42
FAMILY	26	0.07	6	0.01	6.35	2.40
EVERYONE	26	0.07	6	0.01	6.35	2.40
COUNTRIES	43	0.12	10	0.02	17.74	2.39
MAJORITY	34	0.09	8	0.02	11.46	2.37
RESISTANCE	38	0.10	9	0.02	14.01	2.36

PROGRESS	21	0.06	5	0.01	2.62	2.35
PART	28	0.07	7	0.02	6.59	2.28
OSLO	64	0.17	16	0.04	29.62	2.28
CURRENT	51	0.14	13	0.03	20.80	2.25
YEAR	27	0.07	7	0.02	5.45	2.23
MANY	105	0.28	28	0.06	52.40	2.19
KNIGHTS	30	0.08	8	0.02	6.88	2.19
OWN	44	0.12	12	0.03	14.88	2.16
WHO	95	0.25	27	0.06	43.23	2.10
RATHER	24	0.06	7	0.02	2.14	2.06
LIFE	41	0.11	12	0.03	11.60	2.05
BUSINESS	27	0.07	8	0.02	3.60	2.04
INDIVIDUALS	37	0.10	11	0.02	9.06	2.03
CULTURAL	126	0.34	38	0.08	57.15	2.01
TEMPLAR	26	0.07	8	0.02	2.54	1.98
CONTRIBUTE	26	0.07	8	0.02	2.54	1.98
MARXIST	51	0.14	16	0.04	15.35	1.95
NORWEGIAN	60	0.16	19	0.04	19.76	1.94
WHY	59	0.16	20	0.04	17.14	1.84
THEY	298	0.80	105	0.23	126.39	1.79
NATIONAL	44	0.12	16	0.04	8.28	1.74
BECAUSE	52	0.14	19	0.04	11.72	1.73
CONSERVATIVE	45	0.12	17	0.04	7.83	1.69
YEARS	96	0.26	37	0.08	28.53	1.66
ARE	357	0.96	140	0.31	133.63	1.63
MULTICULTURALIST	50	0.13	21	0.05	7.19	1.53
PEOPLE	97	0.26	42	0.09	23.07	1.49
NEVER	46	0.12	20	0.04	4.89	1.48
WERE	91	0.24	44	0.10	15.81	1.33
YOUR	104	0.28	53	0.12	16.96	1.25
KNOW	65	0.17	36	0.08	3.72	1.13
THEM	135	0.36	79	0.17	16.43	1.05
OR	197	0.53	136	0.30	14.94	0.82
NOT	205	0.55	152	0.33	10.27	0.71
AND	1,116	2.99	983	2.17	42.85	0.46
THAT	411	1.10	384	0.85	2.37	0.38
METHOD	1	0.00	47	0.10	37.00	-5.27
KG	1	0.00	45	0.10	34.68	-5.21
WATER	2	0.01	87	0.19	77.22	-5.16
COST	1	0.00	36	0.08	24.31	-4.89
STORE	1	0.00	33	0.07	20.88	-4.76
OPTIMAL	1	0.00	27	0.06	14.07	-4.47
YIELD	1	0.00	26	0.06	12.94	-4.42
ADD	1	0.00	26	0.06	12.94	-4.42
WEIGHT	1	0.00	23	0.05	9.58	-4.24
CHARGE	1	0.00	22	0.05	8.46	-4.18

COMPLETED	2	0.01	40	0.09	23.82	-4.04
AL	2	0.01	40	0.09	23.82	-4.04
ROOM	2	0.01	39	0.09	22.72	-4.00
ACQUIRE	1	0.00	19	0.04	5.15	-3.97
COVER	2	0.01	37	0.08	20.52	-3.93
TOWN	1	0.00	18	0.04	4.05	-3.89
RED	1	0.00	18	0.04	4.05	-3.89
BOUGHT	2	0.01	36	0.08	19.43	-3.89
DAYS	3	0.01	53	0.12	33.71	-3.86
TRIP	1	0.00	17	0.04	2.96	-3.81
INSIDE	1	0.00	17	0.04	2.96	-3.81
EMPTY	1	0.00	17	0.04	2.96	-3.81
EURO	6	0.02	94	0.21	65.73	-3.69
WEEKS	2	0.01	26	0.06	8.68	-3.42
USING	7	0.02	86	0.19	53.43	-3.34
ONLINE	2	0.01	24	0.05	6.58	-3.30
EASILY	2	0.01	24	0.05	6.58	-3.30
CONTINUED	3	0.01	32	0.07	11.41	-3.13
INCREASE	2	0.01	21	0.05	3.49	-3.11
JULY	3	0.01	29	0.06	8.37	-2.99
PURE	4	0.01	36	0.08	12.27	-2.89
HOURS	11	0.03	91	0.20	45.71	-2.77
REGULAR	3	0.01	24	0.05	3.44	-2.72
4	14	0.04	108	0.24	53.71	-2.67
RESEARCH	4	0.01	28	0.06	4.56	-2.53
REQUIRED	5	0.01	34	0.07	7.59	-2.48
DAY	26	0.07	173	0.38	83.54	-2.45
TOTAL	5	0.01	33	0.07	6.67	-2.44
90	5	0.01	33	0.07	6.67	-2.44
TOOK	5	0.01	28	0.06	2.19	-2.20
SOLUTION	5	0.01	28	0.06	2.19	-2.20
DOWN	13	0.03	70	0.15	21.38	-2.15
PROBABLY	7	0.02	37	0.08	5.69	-2.12
5	12	0.03	61	0.13	15.79	-2.06
CASE	12	0.03	53	0.12	9.24	-1.86
3	25	0.07	110	0.24	31.18	-1.86
USE	19	0.05	78	0.17	16.62	-1.76
PER	11	0.03	45	0.10	4.73	-1.75
PROCESS	13	0.03	53	0.12	7.51	-1.75
10	17	0.05	67	0.15	11.57	-1.70
NEED	17	0.05	59	0.13	5.79	-1.51
USED	24	0.06	83	0.18	12.63	-1.51
INTO	21	0.06	71	0.16	8.51	-1.48
GET	16	0.04	53	0.12	3.05	-1.45
2	33	0.09	105	0.23	15.45	-1.39
OUT	40	0.11	126	0.28	20.30	-1.37

MAY	20	0.05	61	0.13	3.21	-1.33
AFTER	34	0.09	100	0.22	11.06	-1.28
JUST	41	0.11	107	0.24	7.72	-1.10
NOW	38	0.10	98	0.22	5.69	-1.09
UP	56	0.15	134	0.30	8.28	-0.98
I	670	1.79	1,588	3.50	215.58	-0.96
IT	303	0.81	582	1.28	32.21	-0.66
HAD	103	0.28	196	0.43	2.81	-0.65
FROM	140	0.37	262	0.58	6.34	-0.62
MY	237	0.63	399	0.88	4.88	-0.47

2.2 Key words Breivik corpus Section 2

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC sore>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	RC %	BIC	Log_R
ADDRESSES	8	0.17	0	0.00	34.58	139.80
FB	5	0.11	0	0.00	17.36	139.12
DOCUMENT	5	0.11	0	0.00	17.36	139.12
HANS	4	0.09	0	0.00	11.63	138.80
WEAPONRY	3	0.06	0	0.00	5.89	138.39
JUDGES	3	0.06	0	0.00	5.89	138.39
EUROS	3	0.06	0	0.00	5.89	138.39
DRIVES	3	0.06	0	0.00	5.89	138.39
5000	3	0.06	0	0.00	5.89	138.39
EMAIL	16	0.34	3	0.00	64.25	6.47
BIRTHDAY	5	0.11	1	0.00	12.07	6.38
FACEBOOK	9	0.19	2	0.00	30.12	6.22
PURGE	4	0.09	1	0.00	6.74	6.05
CONTACTS	7	0.15	2	0.00	19.54	5.86
FELLOW	5	0.11	2	0.00	9.22	5.38
2009	5	0.11	2	0.00	9.22	5.38
DISCUSSING	4	0.09	2	0.00	4.22	5.05
INVOLVEMENT	5	0.11	3	0.00	7.13	4.79
BTW	6	0.13	4	0.01	10.11	4.64
ACQUIREMENT	9	0.19	6	0.01	20.83	4.64
FUN	4	0.09	3	0.00	2.42	4.47
COMPENDIUM	15	0.32	15	0.02	34.90	4.05
FARMING	7	0.15	10	0.01	6.97	3.54
BOOK	6	0.13	11	0.01	2.31	3.18
MONTHS	8	0.17	15	0.02	6.61	3.15
RESEARCH	10	0.21	22	0.03	8.87	2.92
FRIEND	7	0.15	16	0.02	2.44	2.86
PARTY	19	0.40	48	0.06	23.40	2.72

HIM	14	0.30	49	0.06	7.99	2.25
PHASE	24	0.51	91	0.12	19.20	2.13
OPERATION	13	0.28	50	0.06	4.97	2.11
FRIENDS	14	0.30	55	0.07	5.82	2.08
HE	24	0.51	138	0.18	6.60	1.53
MY	60	1.28	576	0.74	2.80	0.79
I	181	3.85	2,077	2.66	9.27	0.53
WAS	13	0.28	547	0.70	3.67	-1.34

2.3 Key words Breivik corpus Section 3

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC sore>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC Freq.	RC %	BIC	Log_R
PRAGUE	19	0.22	0	0.00	73.96	140.15
RIFLE	14	0.16	0	0.00	51.52	139.71
VISA	8	0.09	0	0.00	24.58	138.90
COMPONENT	8	0.09	0	0.00	24.58	138.90
CLERK	8	0.09	0	0.00	24.58	138.90
AUTOMATIC	8	0.09	0	0.00	24.58	138.90
FILING	7	0.08	0	0.00	20.10	138.71
DENSITY	7	0.08	0	0.00	20.10	138.71
CUSTOMS	7	0.08	0	0.00	20.10	138.71
ALT	7	0.08	0	0.00	20.10	138.71
25L	7	0.08	0	0.00	20.10	138.71
SHIPPING	6	0.07	0	0.00	15.61	138.49
DEC	6	0.07	0	0.00	15.61	138.49
HOSTEL	5	0.06	0	0.00	11.12	138.22
APPLICATION	5	0.06	0	0.00	11.12	138.22
UNITS	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
TRAILER	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
SUPPLEMENT	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
SULPHURIC	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
SILENCER	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
REGALIA	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
PICATINNY	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
PAYPAL	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
MG	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
MARITIME	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
GRENADES	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
FERRY	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
DREMEL	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
COPENHAGEN	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90

BULLETS	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
BULLET	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
WALKING	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
TUBING	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
TRANSACTION	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
TOURISTS	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
STORIES	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
SN	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
PRESERVATIVE	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
POLISH	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
PHOTO	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
LITRES	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
KETEN	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
INGOTS	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
INFORMING	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
HYUNDAI	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
HOUSINGS	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
GOOGLE	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
FOREST	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
DEMOLITION	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
DEALERS	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
CRYO	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
CRUSHER	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
CALCULATE	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
BAYONET	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
7.62	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
DRUG	19	0.22	1	0.00	66.24	7.32
USD	10	0.11	1	0.00	27.08	6.40
SIZE	10	0.11	1	0.00	27.08	6.40
DELIVERY	10	0.11	1	0.00	27.08	6.40
TERTIARY	9	0.10	1	0.00	22.80	6.25
QUANTITY	9	0.10	1	0.00	22.80	6.25
ALU	15	0.17	2	0.00	44.14	5.98
STEROID	7	0.08	1	0.00	14.29	5.88
RUGER	7	0.08	1	0.00	14.29	5.88
DIGGING	7	0.08	1	0.00	14.29	5.88
STORY	26	0.30	4	0.01	82.71	5.78
PACKAGES	6	0.07	1	0.00	10.09	5.66
EBAY	6	0.07	1	0.00	10.09	5.66
PACKAGE	5	0.06	1	0.00	5.94	5.40
NOVEMBER	5	0.06	1	0.00	5.94	5.40
LEGALLY	5	0.06	1	0.00	5.94	5.40
BATTERY	5	0.06	1	0.00	5.94	5.40
JANUARY	9	0.10	2	0.00	19.09	5.25
DIG	9	0.10	2	0.00	19.09	5.25
DRILL	13	0.15	3	0.00	32.26	5.19

COST	30	0.34	7	0.01	89.01	5.18
SUPPLIER	42	0.48	10	0.01	128.52	5.15
CHEMICAL	12	0.14	3	0.00	28.20	5.08
SUPPLIERS	10	0.11	3	0.00	20.19	4.81
DECEMBER	10	0.11	3	0.00	20.19	4.81
AMMO	10	0.11	3	0.00	20.19	4.81
WEAPONS	16	0.18	5	0.01	38.56	4.75
PURCHASE	15	0.17	5	0.01	34.63	4.66
PISTOL	6	0.07	2	0.00	7.06	4.66
STORES	8	0.09	3	0.00	12.37	4.49
LOOKING	8	0.09	3	0.00	12.37	4.49
2010	13	0.15	5	0.01	26.88	4.45
COVER	28	0.32	11	0.01	70.42	4.42
HUNTING	5	0.06	2	0.00	3.19	4.40
GUN	5	0.06	2	0.00	3.19	4.40
ITEM	9	0.10	4	0.01	13.92	4.25
INTENDED	9	0.10	4	0.01	13.92	4.25
CONNECTION	9	0.10	4	0.01	13.92	4.25
KG	31	0.35	15	0.02	73.10	4.12
PELICAN	6	0.07	3	0.00	4.82	4.08
BATTERIES	6	0.07	3	0.00	4.82	4.08
ORDERED	11	0.13	6	0.01	17.32	3.95
GLOCK	9	0.10	5	0.01	11.94	3.92
MOVIE	7	0.08	4	0.01	6.57	3.88
STORE	21	0.24	13	0.02	40.61	3.77
SITE	8	0.09	5	0.01	8.38	3.75
CYCLE	8	0.09	5	0.01	8.38	3.75
COM	8	0.09	5	0.01	8.38	3.75
TRIP	11	0.13	7	0.01	15.56	3.73
PROTEIN	6	0.07	4	0.01	3.04	3.66
MINI	7	0.08	5	0.01	4.92	3.56
SEMI	7	0.08	6	0.01	3.50	3.30
CONCERNED	7	0.08	6	0.01	3.50	3.30
PURCHASED	9	0.10	8	0.01	7.36	3.25
TRAINING	11	0.13	10	0.01	11.23	3.21
CHARGE	12	0.14	11	0.01	13.16	3.20
BUY	12	0.14	15	0.02	8.80	2.75
CAR	20	0.23	29	0.04	18.68	2.54
EURO	40	0.46	60	0.08	47.06	2.49
BOUGHT	13	0.15	25	0.03	3.81	2.13
30	20	0.23	50	0.07	5.89	1.75
PER	16	0.18	40	0.05	2.45	1.75
PHASE	31	0.35	84	0.11	12.60	1.64
USE	23	0.26	74	0.10	2.24	1.39
FROM	69	0.79	333	0.45	4.40	0.81
FOR	120	1.37	612	0.83	11.31	0.73

I	327	3.73	1,931	2.61	21.30	0.51
CULTURAL	1	0.01	163	0.22	17.50	-4.27
MUSLIM	1	0.01	109	0.15	6.20	-3.69
OUR	3	0.03	216	0.29	18.85	-3.09
MANY	3	0.03	130	0.18	2.59	-2.36
HE	4	0.05	158	0.21	4.53	-2.23
WE	9	0.10	321	0.43	18.43	-2.08
THEIR	6	0.07	177	0.24	2.46	-1.81
THEY	20	0.23	383	0.52	5.16	-1.18
OF	140	1.60	1,829	2.47	16.95	-0.63
THE	340	3.88	3,618	4.89	6.60	-0.34

2.4 Key words Breivik corpus Section 4

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC sore>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC Freq.	RC %	BIC	Log_R
KT	9	0.23	0	0.00	43.75	140.25
PST	7	0.18	0	0.00	31.51	139.89
NSDAP	4	0.10	0	0.00	13.15	139.08
MONSTERS	4	0.10	0	0.00	13.15	139.08
VILIFICATION	3	0.08	0	0.00	7.03	138.66
UDI	3	0.08	0	0.00	7.03	138.66
NDL	3	0.08	0	0.00	7.03	138.66
NAÏVE	3	0.08	0	0.00	7.03	138.66
EDL	11	0.28	2	0.00	45.02	6.80
DEFENSE	4	0.10	1	0.00	8.25	6.34
REPORT	3	0.08	1	0.00	2.63	5.93
MA	3	0.08	1	0.00	2.63	5.93
CHARACTER	3	0.08	1	0.00	2.63	5.93
ANNUAL	3	0.08	1	0.00	2.63	5.93
MONSTER	4	0.10	2	0.00	5.71	5.34
EXTREMIST	4	0.10	2	0.00	5.71	5.34
PROPAGANDA	7	0.18	5	0.01	15.69	4.83
REALITY	4	0.10	3	0.00	3.88	4.76
RENT	6	0.15	5	0.01	10.71	4.61
REGIME	13	0.33	12	0.02	34.76	4.46
TOOL	4	0.10	4	0.01	2.45	4.34
MARTYRDOM	4	0.10	4	0.01	2.45	4.34
PETER	6	0.15	7	0.01	8.12	4.12
MARIUS	5	0.13	6	0.01	4.69	4.08
GIRLFRIEND	6	0.15	10	0.01	5.18	3.61
CONSERVATIVES	8	0.21	22	0.03	4.95	2.89
NAZI	7	0.18	20	0.03	2.53	2.83
MULTICULTURALIST	18	0.46	53	0.07	23.52	2.79

HIS	15	0.39	45	0.06	17.31	2.76
HER	10	0.26	33	0.04	6.40	2.62
EURO	22	0.57	78	0.10	25.41	2.52
SHE	11	0.28	47	0.06	4.16	2.25
HE	30	0.77	132	0.17	29.69	2.21
CULTURAL	23	0.59	141	0.18	9.99	1.73
HAS	19	0.49	139	0.18	2.19	1.47
YOU	5	0.13	547	0.69	14.83	-2.43
WAS	10	0.26	550	0.70	2.39	-1.44

2.5 Key words Breivik corpus Section 5

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC score>2; sorted by Log Ratio/ negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC Freq	RC %	BIC	Log_R
STIRRING	15	0.11	0	0.00	44.05	139.23
POUR	12	0.09	0	0.00	32.98	138.91
OBTAINABLE	11	0.08	0	0.00	29.29	138.79
70C	11	0.08	0	0.00	29.29	138.79
SULFUR	10	0.08	0	0.00	25.59	138.65
PRECIPITATE	9	0.07	0	0.00	21.90	138.50
STIR	8	0.06	0	0.00	18.21	138.33
COLOR	8	0.06	0	0.00	18.21	138.33
BOIL	8	0.06	0	0.00	18.21	138.33
SLOWLY	7	0.05	0	0.00	14.52	138.13
600ML	7	0.05	0	0.00	14.52	138.13
SODA	6	0.05	0	0.00	10.83	137.91
ISOPROPANOL	6	0.05	0	0.00	10.83	137.91
IMPURITIES	6	0.05	0	0.00	10.83	137.91
DISSOLVED	6	0.05	0	0.00	10.83	137.91
DISSOLVE	6	0.05	0	0.00	10.83	137.91
ASSUMED	6	0.05	0	0.00	10.83	137.91
80C	6	0.05	0	0.00	10.83	137.91
GLASSWARE	5	0.04	0	0.00	7.13	137.65
FILL	5	0.04	0	0.00	7.13	137.65
60C	5	0.04	0	0.00	7.13	137.65
0,3G	5	0.04	0	0.00	7.13	137.65
WET	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
SWIRL	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
SOLUBLE	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
RODS	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
PAPER	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
NR	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
MOIST	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
MEASURE	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33

IMPACT	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
GRINDED	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
FILTRATION	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
DISCARD	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
DETERIORATE	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
DETECTION	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
CAUSTIC	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
60923	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
500ML	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
350ML	4	0.03	0	0.00	3.44	137.33
ETHANOL	20	0.15	1	0.00	54.81	6.74
CONICAL	13	0.10	1	0.00	29.81	6.12
TEMP	11	0.08	1	0.00	22.74	5.87
BOTTLES	11	0.08	1	0.00	22.74	5.87
NITRATION	10	0.08	1	0.00	19.24	5.74
CONCENTRATED	10	0.08	1	0.00	19.24	5.74
LOWER	9	0.07	1	0.00	15.74	5.58
BROWN	8	0.06	1	0.00	12.27	5.42
SHEETS	7	0.05	1	0.00	8.83	5.22
BATH	7	0.05	1	0.00	8.83	5.22
BEAKER	41	0.31	6	0.01	106.20	5.19
HEAT	13	0.10	2	0.00	25.58	5.12
CUBES	13	0.10	2	0.00	25.58	5.12
GLASS	19	0.15	3	0.00	42.32	5.08
WASHING	6	0.05	1	0.00	5.43	5.00
NITRIL	6	0.05	1	0.00	5.43	5.00
MAX	6	0.05	1	0.00	5.43	5.00
BAR	6	0.05	1	0.00	5.43	5.00
2,5KG	6	0.05	1	0.00	5.43	5.00
SUBSTANCE	29	0.22	5	0.01	69.06	4.95
ADD	23	0.18	4	0.01	52.31	4.94
TEMPERATURE	28	0.21	5	0.01	65.69	4.90
ML	11	0.08	2	0.00	18.81	4.87
ADDED	11	0.08	2	0.00	18.81	4.87
1L	11	0.08	2	0.00	18.81	4.87
DISTILLED	27	0.21	5	0.01	62.33	4.85
UNPURIFIED	16	0.12	3	0.00	32.20	4.83
ICE	37	0.28	7	0.01	89.12	4.82
WASH	5	0.04	1	0.00	2.07	4.74
SATURATED	5	0.04	1	0.00	2.07	4.74
NITRITE	10	0.08	2	0.00	15.47	4.74
ASSUME	5	0.04	1	0.00	2.07	4.74
CRYSTALS	27	0.21	6	0.01	59.12	4.58
SODIUM	31	0.24	7	0.01	69.22	4.56
YIELD	22	0.17	5	0.01	45.74	4.55
EASILY	21	0.16	5	0.01	42.46	4.49

FILTER	33	0.25	8	0.01	72.78	4.46
ADDING	12	0.09	3	0.00	19.00	4.42
FLASK	11	0.08	3	0.00	15.77	4.29
MAGNETIC	7	0.05	2	0.00	5.67	4.22
BACTERIA	7	0.05	2	0.00	5.67	4.22
2L	24	0.18	7	0.01	46.56	4.19
FILTERS	13	0.10	4	0.01	19.49	4.12
SULFURIC	25	0.19	8	0.01	47.16	4.06
PORCELAIN	6	0.05	2	0.00	2.52	4.00
CIRCULATION	6	0.05	2	0.00	2.52	4.00
ASA	6	0.05	2	0.00	2.52	4.00
APRIL	9	0.07	3	0.00	9.44	4.00
1,5KG	6	0.05	2	0.00	2.52	4.00
NITRATE	17	0.13	6	0.01	27.09	3.92
GUIDES	14	0.11	5	0.01	20.18	3.90
STONES	8	0.06	3	0.00	6.35	3.83
GUIDE	16	0.12	6	0.01	24.02	3.83
PLATES	15	0.11	6	0.01	20.99	3.74
SPECIALTY	7	0.05	3	0.00	3.33	3.64
PAPERS	7	0.05	3	0.00	3.33	3.64
NOTE	7	0.05	3	0.00	3.33	3.64
LAYER	7	0.05	3	0.00	3.33	3.64
COOKING	7	0.05	3	0.00	3.33	3.64
ACETONE	7	0.05	3	0.00	3.33	3.64
PA	63	0.48	27	0.04	120.58	3.64
SOLUTION	23	0.18	10	0.01	36.54	3.62
WATER	62	0.47	27	0.04	117.60	3.61
LAB	9	0.07	4	0.01	7.23	3.58
GLOVES	9	0.07	4	0.01	7.23	3.58
BEAKERS	29	0.22	13	0.02	48.23	3.57
YELLOW	11	0.08	5	0.01	11.13	3.55
PURE	27	0.21	13	0.02	42.37	3.47
3M	10	0.08	5	0.01	8.22	3.42
CONTAINERS	16	0.12	9	0.01	18.17	3.25
BOILING	32	0.24	18	0.03	47.66	3.25
SIGNIFICANTLY	14	0.11	8	0.01	14.27	3.22
REGULAR	17	0.13	10	0.01	19.28	3.18
LITERS	10	0.08	6	0.01	6.49	3.15
MINUTES	24	0.18	15	0.02	30.46	3.09
HOT	24	0.18	15	0.02	30.46	3.09
FINE	8	0.06	5	0.01	2.61	3.09
FILLED	8	0.06	5	0.01	2.61	3.09
COLD	8	0.06	5	0.01	2.61	3.09
STIRRER	14	0.11	9	0.01	12.66	3.05
PURIFIED	9	0.07	6	0.01	3.77	3.00
PLATE	18	0.14	12	0.02	18.87	3.00

MEAT	9	0.07	6	0.01	3.77	3.00
ACID	85	0.65	59	0.08	127.84	2.94
GAS	10	0.08	7	0.01	4.96	2.93
DDNP	51	0.39	36	0.05	71.32	2.92
ACETYLSALICYLIC	24	0.18	17	0.02	27.48	2.91
DRY	14	0.11	10	0.01	11.20	2.90
BLENDERS	12	0.09	9	0.01	7.39	2.83
TIMES	17	0.13	13	0.02	14.85	2.80
95	9	0.07	7	0.01	2.38	2.78
ASPIRIN	19	0.15	15	0.02	17.31	2.76
OVEN	10	0.08	8	0.01	3.61	2.74
EMPTY	10	0.08	8	0.01	3.61	2.74
SURE	21	0.16	17	0.02	19.79	2.72
AMOUNT	14	0.11	12	0.02	8.59	2.64
PLASTIC	34	0.26	30	0.04	36.03	2.60
LIQUID	21	0.16	19	0.03	17.38	2.56
90	19	0.15	19	0.03	12.67	2.42
MANUFACTURING	17	0.13	17	0.02	10.14	2.42
BATCHES	20	0.15	21	0.03	12.91	2.34
X	44	0.34	47	0.07	41.21	2.32
MIX	16	0.12	18	0.03	6.91	2.25
OPTIMAL	13	0.10	15	0.02	3.15	2.21
PICRIC	15	0.11	19	0.03	3.92	2.07
PROCESS	29	0.22	37	0.05	17.93	2.06
POWDER	27	0.21	35	0.05	15.47	2.04
EACH	17	0.13	23	0.03	4.79	1.98
USED	44	0.34	63	0.09	27.82	1.90
REQUIRED	16	0.12	23	0.03	2.85	1.89
AROUND	35	0.27	52	0.07	18.49	1.84
NEED	30	0.23	46	0.07	13.27	1.80
4	46	0.35	76	0.11	22.94	1.69
YOU	205	1.57	347	0.50	136.44	1.66
USE	36	0.28	61	0.09	14.59	1.65
2	51	0.39	87	0.12	25.05	1.64
5	26	0.20	47	0.07	5.74	1.56
10	29	0.22	55	0.08	6.37	1.49
USING	31	0.24	62	0.09	6.04	1.42
3	44	0.34	91	0.13	11.95	1.37
1	38	0.29	79	0.11	8.59	1.36
OUT	49	0.38	117	0.17	8.35	1.16
CAN	63	0.48	160	0.23	10.74	1.07
UP	50	0.38	140	0.20	2.37	0.93
IF	65	0.50	182	0.26	6.48	0.93
IT	201	1.54	684	0.98	17.48	0.65
THEIR	1	0.01	182	0.26	42.51	-5.09
PEOPLE	1	0.01	138	0.20	27.94	-4.69

OUR	2	0.02	217	0.31	47.88	-4.35
WE	4	0.03	326	0.47	72.23	-3.93
EUROPE	2	0.02	162	0.23	30.14	-3.92
OSLO	1	0.01	79	0.11	8.77	-3.89
ANTI	1	0.01	74	0.11	7.18	-3.79
FRIENDS	1	0.01	68	0.10	5.29	-3.67
NEW	1	0.01	66	0.09	4.66	-3.63
CURRENT	1	0.01	63	0.09	3.72	-3.56
HIM	1	0.01	62	0.09	3.41	-3.54
NATIONAL	1	0.01	59	0.08	2.47	-3.47
HIS	1	0.01	59	0.08	2.47	-3.47
WHO	3	0.02	119	0.17	12.49	-2.89
PHASE	3	0.02	112	0.16	10.45	-2.81
YEARS	4	0	129	0.00	11.87	-2.59
THEY	12	0.09	391	0.56	59.39	-2.61
BEEN	5	0.04	144	0.21	12.85	-2.43
DAY	7	0.05	192	0.28	19.89	-2.36
HE	7	0.05	155	0.22	10.11	-2.05
ARE	37	0.28	460	0.66	19.97	-1.22
MY	57	0.44	579	0.83	14.39	-0.93
HAVE	54	0.41	537	0.77	11.26	-0.90
AND	239	1.83	1,860	2.67	21.99	-0.55

2.6 Key words Breivik corpus Section 6

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC score>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	Rc. %	BIC	Log_R
JUNE	35	0.40	0	0.00	145.81	141.03
SURELY	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
SEARCHING	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
PICTURES	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
GOODWILL	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
BOARDS	4	0.05	0	0.00	6.63	137.90
TAKEAWAY	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
OWNERS	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
MIXERS	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
LIGHTS	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
INVOICE	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
EPISODES	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
EFFICIENCY	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
DSL	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.14	137.49
DUMBBELL	9	0.10	1	0.00	22.80	6.25
CRUSHING	9	0.10	1	0.00	22.80	6.25
MONDAY	12	0.14	3	0.00	28.21	5.08

WINDOWS	6	0.07	2	0.00	7.06	4.66
WEDNESDAY	9	0.10	3	0.00	16.26	4.66
TUESDAY	9	0.10	3	0.00	16.26	4.66
THURSDAY	9	0.10	3	0.00	16.26	4.66
SYNTHESIZING	9	0.10	3	0.00	16.26	4.66
EVACUATION	6	0.07	2	0.00	7.06	4.66
CHEMISTRY	9	0.10	3	0.00	16.26	4.66
TOWN	14	0.16	5	0.01	30.75	4.56
SUNDAY	8	0.09	3	0.00	12.37	4.49
BARN	13	0.15	5	0.01	26.89	4.46
RESTAURANT	5	0.06	2	0.00	3.20	4.40
NEIGHBOURS	5	0.06	2	0.00	3.20	4.40
SPIDER	6	0.07	3	0.00	4.83	4.08
HOUSE	14	0.16	7	0.01	26.36	4.08
FRIDAY	8	0.09	4	0.01	10.21	4.08
COMPOUND	10	0.11	5	0.01	15.60	4.08
PC	9	0.10	5	0.01	11.95	3.92
SYNTHESIZE	7	0.08	4	0.01	6.58	3.88
FLOOR	7	0.08	4	0.01	6.58	3.88
BEGAN	7	0.08	4	0.01	6.58	3.88
SATURDAY	8	0.09	5	0.01	8.39	3.75
PRILLS	16	0.18	10	0.01	28.10	3.75
LOG	9	0.10	6	0.01	10.23	3.66
DROVE	6	0.07	4	0.01	3.05	3.66
PUTTING	7	0.08	5	0.01	4.92	3.56
METHOD	26	0.30	22	0.03	44.12	3.32
HOOD	9	0.10	8	0.01	7.37	3.25
FINISHED	8	0.09	8	0.01	4.20	3.08
PURIFICATION	17	0.19	18	0.02	20.54	2.99
CONTINUED	17	0.19	18	0.02	20.54	2.99
FARM	19	0.22	21	0.03	23.33	2.93
FUME	8	0.09	9	0.01	3.10	2.91
WENT	23	0.26	28	0.04	28.00	2.79
DETONATION	9	0.10	11	0.01	4.02	2.79
SHE	26	0.30	32	0.04	32.79	2.78
ROOM	18	0.21	23	0.03	18.41	2.72
DAY	85	0.97	114	0.15	124.18	2.65
EQUIPMENT	17	0.19	23	0.03	15.60	2.64
BATCH	30	0.34	43	0.06	34.12	2.56
MAY	33	0.38	48	0.06	38.08	2.54
LATER	15	0.17	26	0.04	7.99	2.28
COMPLETED	15	0.17	27	0.04	7.32	2.23
DDNP	31	0.35	56	0.08	27.07	2.22
PICRIC	12	0.14	22	0.03	3.33	2.20
LIQUID	14	0.16	26	0.04	5.56	2.18
FERTILIZER	14	0.16	27	0.04	4.93	2.13

ACETYLSALICYLIC	14	0.16	27	0.04	4.93	2.13
COULD	20	0.23	44	0.06	8.82	1.94
LAST	22	0.25	57	0.08	6.75	1.70
ACID	39	0.44	105	0.14	19.07	1.65
HOURS	26	0.30	76	0.10	6.62	1.53
PA	22	0.25	68	0.09	2.57	1.45
WOULD	69	0.79	228	0.31	27.53	1.35
WAS	117	1.33	443	0.60	39.14	1.16
UP	38	0.43	152	0.21	3.17	1.08
HAD	56	0.64	243	0.33	6.12	0.96
I	406	4.63	1,852	2.50	98.76	0.89
THE	541	6.17	3,417	4.62	25.19	0.42
YOUR	1	0.01	156	0.21	16.00	-4.21
US	1	0.01	114	0.15	7.22	-3.76
YOU	6	0.07	546	0.74	71.72	-3.43
EUROPE	2	0.02	162	0.22	12.34	-3.26
ARE	7	0.08	490	0.66	56.29	-3.05
WE	6	0.07	324	0.44	28.21	-2.68
THEIR	4	0.05	179	0.24	8.23	-2.41
YEARS	3	0.03	130	0.18	2.58	-2.36
MANY	3	0.03	130	0.18	2.58	-2.36
EUROPEAN	4	0.05	170	0.23	6.63	-2.33
WILL	15	0.17	474	0.64	28.13	-1.91
IS	30	0.34	747	1.01	36.61	-1.56
THEY	17	0.19	386	0.52	10.56	-1.43

2.7 Key words Breivik corpus Section 7

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC score>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	Rc. %	BIC	Log_R
MIXER	8	0.13%	0	n/a	30.12	139.4
NITROMETHANE	7	0.11%	0	n/a	24.94	139.21
ANALNM	6	0.10%	0	n/a	19.76	138.99
MANUALLY	5	0.08%	0	n/a	14.58	138.72
LANGE	5	0.08%	0	n/a	14.58	138.72
ECA	5	0.08%	0	n/a	14.58	138.72
TRACES	4	0.06%	0	n/a	9.4	138.4
OXIDIZER	4	0.06%	0	n/a	9.4	138.4
LUMPS	4	0.06%	0	n/a	9.4	138.4
GALLON	4	0.06%	0	n/a	9.4	138.4
DREADFUL	4	0.06%	0	n/a	9.4	138.4
63	4	0.06%	0	n/a	9.4	138.4
3,78L	4	0.06%	0	n/a	9.4	138.4

SP	3	0.05%	0	n/a	4.22	137.99
SMEARING	3	0.05%	0	n/a	4.22	137.99
OUTHOUSE	3	0.05%	0	n/a	4.22	137.99
MESSY	3	0.05%	0	n/a	4.22	137.99
MC	3	0.05%	0	n/a	4.22	137.99
HARDENED	3	0.05%	0	n/a	4.22	137.99
EXOTHERMIC	3	0.05%	0	n/a	4.22	137.99
CAPITALIZATION	3	0.05%	0	n/a	4.22	137.99
ABSORBS	3	0.05%	0	n/a	4.22	137.99
8L	3	0.05%	0	n/a	4.22	137.99
EVAPORATION	9	0.15%	1	n/a	28.96	6.79
RC	14	0.23%	2	n/a	49.47	6.43
ANALFO	20	0.32%	3	n/a	74.95	6.36
EVAPORATED	6	0.10%	1	n/a	14.18	6.21
NITRO	16	0.26%	3	n/a	55.47	6.04
STACK	5	0.08%	1	n/a	9.33	5.95
RENTAL	5	0.08%	1	n/a	9.33	5.95
METHANE	10	0.16%	2	n/a	29.99	5.95
EVAPORATE	5	0.08%	1	n/a	9.33	5.95
SARAH	4	0.06%	1	n/a	4.55	5.62
ROUNDS	4	0.06%	1	n/a	4.55	5.62
HOWELLS	4	0.06%	1	n/a	4.55	5.62
CRATE	4	0.06%	1	n/a	4.55	5.62
CACHE	4	0.06%	1	n/a	4.55	5.62
METHANOL	14	0.23%	4	n/a	42.76	5.43
JULY	24	0.39%	8	0.01%	78.28	5.21
FUEL	12	0.19%	4	n/a	33.48	5.21
OIL	8	0.13%	3	n/a	17.7	5.04
INTENSIVE	5	0.08%	2	n/a	6.52	4.95
GRAM	5	0.08%	2	n/a	6.52	4.95
4L	4	0.06%	2	n/a	2.07	4.62
MIXING	19	0.31%	10	0.01%	51.31	4.55
TRAIN	5	0.08%	3	n/a	4.46	4.36
RUBBER	5	0.08%	3	n/a	4.46	4.36
LEAVE	5	0.08%	3	n/a	4.46	4.36
SUIT	8	0.13%	5	n/a	13.58	4.3
INNER	8	0.13%	6	n/a	11.94	4.04
50KG	19	0.31%	15	0.02%	42.79	3.97
ALUMINIUM	11	0.18%	9	0.01%	19.55	3.91
MICRO	12	0.19%	11	0.01%	20.72	3.75
POURED	6	0.10%	6	n/a	4.06	3.62
MIX	17	0.27%	17	0.02%	32.27	3.62
DUST	10	0.16%	10	0.01%	14.32	3.62
ANFO	24	0.39%	24	0.03%	50.22	3.62
BAGS	34	0.55%	35	0.05%	74.65	3.58
BALLOONS	9	0.15%	11	0.01%	9.49	3.34

INSIDE	8	0.13%	10	0.01%	6.95	3.3
13	8	0.13%	11	0.01%	5.98	3.17
DIESEL	12	0.19%	17	0.02%	14.16	3.12
CONTENT	12	0.19%	18	0.02%	13.27	3.04
GEAR	8	0.13%	12	0.02%	5.07	3.04
AL	16	0.26%	26	0.03%	19.81	2.92
WEIGHT	9	0.15%	15	0.02%	5.89	2.89
BAG	17	0.27%	29	0.04%	20.67	2.85
9	10	0.16%	19	0.02%	6.09	2.7
BATCHES	13	0.21%	28	0.04%	9.17	2.52
OUTSIDE	9	0.15%	20	0.03%	2.5	2.47
TOOK	10	0.16%	23	0.03%	3.59	2.42
DAY	60	0.97%	139	0.18%	77.58	2.41
COMPLETE	15	0.24%	37	0.05%	9.68	2.32
BATCH	20	0.32%	53	0.07%	14.83	2.22
DAYS	13	0.21%	43	0.06%	2.05	1.9
X	21	0.34%	70	0.09%	10.07	1.89
CASE	15	0.24%	50	0.07%	3.96	1.89
POWDER	14	0.23%	48	0.06%	2.46	1.85
HOURS	22	0.35%	80	0.10%	8.77	1.76
USING	19	0.31%	74	0.10%	4.48	1.66
4	24	0.39%	98	0.13%	7.32	1.6
INTO	18	0.29%	74	0.10%	2.52	1.59
I	237	3.82%	2,021	2.64%	14.93	0.53
EUROPE	1	0.02	163	0.21	7.07	-3.72
THEY	4	0.06	399	0.52	26.74	-3.02
ARE	14	0.23	483	0.63	8.95	-1.48
AND	107	1.72	1,992	2.60	8.17	-0.59

Appendix 3. Key items in the Rodger corpus

3.1 Key words Rodger corpus Section 1

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC score>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC Freq.	RC %	BIC	Log_R
PREGNANCY	4	0.16	0	0.00	18.45	139.69
SPAIN	3	0.12	0	0.00	10.94	139.28
GREECE	3	0.12	0	0.00	10.94	139.28
FLY	3	0.12	0	0.00	10.94	139.28
VIVIDLY	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
VENTURED	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
TRAVELER	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
TRACTOR	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
TOY	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
TOUCH	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
SIBLING	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
PRESCHOOL	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
POUNDS	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
PETER	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
KITES	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
KITE	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
GARDEN	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
FORTUNE	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
CACTUS	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
CACTI	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
3RD	2	0.08	0	0.00	3.43	138.69
RODGER	10	0.39	2	0.00	52.79	7.71
FIELD	5	0.20	1	0.00	20.60	7.71
RECTORY	4	0.16	1	0.00	13.49	7.38
GRANDFATHER	3	0.12	1	0.00	6.49	6.97
DORSETT	3	0.12	2	0.00	4.30	5.97
FIELDS	4	0.16	3	0.00	9.03	5.80
BORN	4	0.16	3	0.00	9.03	5.80
ELLIOT	5	0.20	4	0.00	13.78	5.71
ILL	3	0.12	3	0.00	2.76	5.38
GEORGE	8	0.32	9	0.01	25.41	5.21
UNITED	4	0.16	6	0.01	5.27	4.80
LONDON	4	0.16	8	0.01	3.55	4.38
MAH	6	0.24	14	0.01	9.70	4.16
AH	6	0.24	14	0.01	9.70	4.16

MEMORIES	5	0.20	12	0.01	5.93	4.12
FILM	4	0.16	10	0.01	2.17	4.06
REMEMBER	14	0.55	41	0.04	33.09	3.83
BABY	5	0.20	16	0.02	3.66	3.71
STORY	7	0.28	23	0.02	9.47	3.67
TRIP	9	0.36	57	0.05	6.12	2.72
BIRTHDAY	9	0.36	59	0.06	5.64	2.67
PARENTS	10	0.39	81	0.08	4.32	2.37
FATHER	18	0.71	218	0.21	6.68	1.79
MY	97	3.83	2,405	2.28	10.07	0.75

3.2 Key words Rodger corpus Section 2

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC score>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC Freq.	RC %	BIC	Log_R
ROCK	9	0.09	0	0.00	30.27	138.80
FARM	8	0.08	0	0.00	25.62	138.63
RILEY	5	0.05	0	0.00	11.66	137.95
SHANE	4	0.04	0	0.00	7.01	137.63
JOEY	4	0.04	0	0.00	7.01	137.63
CLIMB	4	0.04	0	0.00	7.01	137.63
CHRISTINE	4	0.04	0	0.00	7.01	137.63
CAREFREE	4	0.04	0	0.00	7.01	137.63
YELLOW	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.36	137.22
SOUP	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.36	137.22
SEPARATE	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.36	137.22
EARTHQUAKES	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.36	137.22
EARTHQUAKE	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.36	137.22
DISCOVER	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.36	137.22
COURTS	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.36	137.22
CHARIZARD	3	0.03	0	0.00	2.36	137.22
BASKETBALL	10	0.09	1	0.00	28.42	6.53
SERRANIA	9	0.09	1	0.00	23.97	6.38
POKEMON	18	0.17	2	0.00	59.54	6.38
NINE	6	0.06	1	0.00	10.78	5.79
CARD	12	0.11	2	0.00	33.15	5.79
DIVORCE	4	0.04	1	0.00	2.21	5.21
DAN	7	0.07	2	0.00	11.84	5.01
ROUND	10	0.09	3	0.00	21.49	4.94
GROWING	6	0.06	2	0.00	7.73	4.79
THIRD	7	0.07	3	0.00	9.37	4.43
CANYON	6	0.06	3	0.00	5.48	4.21

CARDS	9	0.09	5	0.01	13.05	4.05
TEACHER	9	0.09	7	0.01	9.78	3.57
RIDE	10	0.09	8	0.01	11.84	3.53
TOPANGA	27	0.26	25	0.03	47.12	3.32
NANNY	7	0.07	7	0.01	3.00	3.21
PLAYDATES	8	0.08	10	0.01	2.94	2.88
FOURTH	9	0.09	13	0.01	3.18	2.68
HAIR	10	0.09	17	0.02	2.82	2.44
NAMED	18	0.17	34	0.03	12.04	2.29
REMEMBER	19	0.18	36	0.04	13.28	2.28
FAMILY	19	0.18	36	0.04	13.28	2.28
ELEMENTARY	14	0.13	29	0.03	5.22	2.16
GRADE	25	0.24	56	0.06	16.09	2.04
PARENTS	25	0.24	66	0.07	11.27	1.81
FRIEND	20	0.19	53	0.05	6.61	1.80
OUR	34	0.32	102	0.10	14.57	1.62
SCHOOL	55	0.52	203	0.21	18.62	1.32
YEAR	28	0.26	108	0.11	2.56	1.26
HOUSE	74	0.70	287	0.29	25.40	1.25
FIRST	44	0.42	194	0.20	5.10	1.07
FATHER	43	0.41	193	0.20	4.04	1.04
WOULD	149	1.41	693	0.71	37.96	0.99
VERY	51	0.48	248	0.25	3.47	0.93
WE	76	0.72	383	0.39	8.67	0.87
WERE	61	0.58	321	0.33	2.64	0.81
AND	351	3.32	2,595	2.66	2.84	0.32
I	465	4.40	5,461	5.59	14.94	-0.35
THEM	20	0.19	417	0.43	4.76	-1.18
HAVE	18	0.17	490	0.50	17.31	-1.56
IF	7	0.07	209	0.21	2.17	-1.69
COULD	9	0.09	282	0.29	7.98	-1.76
THEIR	5	0.05	188	0.19	3.93	-2.03

3.3 Key words Rodger corpus Section 3

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC score>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC Freq.	RC %	BIC	Log_R
SKATEPARK	12	0.07	0	0.00	32.74	138.53
HACKY	9	0.05	0	0.00	21.66	138.11
CONNOR	9	0.05	0	0.00	21.66	138.11
SACK	7	0.04	0	0.00	14.27	137.75
SKATEBOARDERS	6	0.04	0	0.00	10.57	137.53
OREN	6	0.04	0	0.00	10.57	137.53

RAMPS	5	0.03	0	0.00	6.88	137.26
PLAYSTATION	5	0.03	0	0.00	6.88	137.26
SUDDENLY	4	0.02	0	0.00	3.19	136.94
NORTHRIDGE	4	0.02	0	0.00	3.19	136.94
MASTER	4	0.02	0	0.00	3.19	136.94
JERKS	4	0.02	0	0.00	3.19	136.94
DIB	4	0.02	0	0.00	3.19	136.94
COUSINS	4	0.02	0	0.00	3.19	136.94
ELIJAH	18	0.11	1	0.00	47.42	6.59
CHARLIE	28	0.16	2	0.00	77.84	6.22
JO	29	0.17	3	0.00	76.66	5.69
SIXTH	9	0.05	1	0.00	15.50	5.59
TRACY	8	0.05	1	0.00	12.03	5.42
CYBER	32	0.19	4	0.00	82.89	5.42
PLANET	31	0.18	4	0.00	79.43	5.37
JOHN	29	0.17	4	0.00	72.54	5.28
MORGAN	6	0.04	1	0.00	5.18	5.00
MATT	6	0.04	1	0.00	5.18	5.00
FIFTH	14	0.08	3	0.00	25.32	4.64
SKATEBOARDING	25	0.15	6	0.01	52.37	4.48
ROBERT	8	0.05	2	0.00	8.64	4.42
CAMP	18	0.11	5	0.01	32.54	4.27
SKATEBOARD	17	0.10	5	0.01	29.35	4.18
XBOX	7	0.04	3	0.00	3.08	3.64
GRADUATION	7	0.04	3	0.00	3.08	3.64
FRIDAY	9	0.05	4	0.00	6.98	3.59
COOL	29	0.17	14	0.02	46.09	3.47
3	12	0.07	6	0.01	11.89	3.42
2	11	0.06	6	0.01	9.03	3.29
PINECREST	18	0.11	10	0.01	21.84	3.27
ELEMENTARY	24	0.14	19	0.02	24.57	2.75
PLAYDATES	10	0.06	8	0.01	3.37	2.74
BEDROOM	10	0.06	8	0.01	3.37	2.74
MIDDLE	25	0.15	21	0.02	24.55	2.67
GROUP	27	0.16	23	0.03	27.06	2.65
WOODLAND	14	0.08	12	0.01	8.36	2.64
INTERESTED	10	0.06	9	0.01	2.15	2.57
WARCRAFT	21	0.12	19	0.02	17.16	2.56
GEORGIA	13	0.08	13	0.01	4.85	2.42
VACATION	12	0.07	13	0.01	2.59	2.30
KIDS	45	0.26	52	0.06	38.54	2.21
VIDEO	18	0.11	23	0.03	6.57	2.06
SUMMER	39	0.23	51	0.06	26.83	2.03
GRADE	35	0.21	46	0.05	22.71	2.02
GAMES	25	0.15	35	0.04	11.28	1.93
BIT	17	0.10	25	0.03	3.10	1.86

GAME	34	0.20	55	0.06	14.52	1.72
FRIENDS	73	0.43	127	0.14	39.19	1.62
FUN	26	0.15	46	0.05	6.07	1.59
PLAYED	28	0.16	54	0.06	5.10	1.47
PLAY	30	0.18	58	0.06	6.22	1.47
SCHOOL	87	0.51	171	0.19	38.70	1.44
OVER	54	0.32	145	0.16	5.00	0.99
WE	118	0.69	341	0.37	18.13	0.89
ALWAYS	55	0.32	159	0.17	2.25	0.89
HOUSE	84	0.49	277	0.30	2.11	0.70
WOULD	180	1.05	662	0.73	6.73	0.54
WITH	237	1.39	908	1.00	7.84	0.48
A	506	2.97	2,207	2.42	4.62	0.29
MY	320	1.88	2,182	2.39	6.06	-0.35
LIFE	51	0.30	477	0.52	5.21	-0.81
ALL	62	0.36	602	0.66	12.01	-0.86
WILL	21	0.12	263	0.29	6.45	-1.23
COULD	21	0.12	270	0.30	7.79	-1.27
IS	16	0.09	239	0.26	9.97	-1.48
THOSE	6	0.04	115	0.13	2.29	-1.84
YOUNG	2	0.01	113	0.12	14.40	-3.40
ARE	1	0.01	88	0.10	11.34	-4.04

3.4 Key words Rodger corpus Section 4

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC sore>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC Freq.	RC %	BIC	Log_R
CRESPI	17	0.12	0	0.00	56.89	139.27
POLLINA	4	0.03	0	0.00	4.52	137.18
MOTORCYCLE	4	0.03	0	0.00	4.52	137.18
CONDOMINIUM	4	0.03	0	0.00	4.52	137.18
ARMOR	4	0.03	0	0.00	4.52	137.18
MAX	21	0.15	1	0.00	65.16	7.09
INDEPENDENCE	9	0.06	1	0.00	18.45	5.87
AYMAN	7	0.05	1	0.00	10.87	5.51
FOURTEEN	6	0.04	1	0.00	7.12	5.28
DEVELOPED	6	0.04	1	0.00	7.12	5.28
SERVER	5	0.03	1	0.00	3.43	5.02
PENIS	7	0.05	2	0.00	7.65	4.51
BUBENHEIMS	7	0.05	2	0.00	7.65	4.51
WOW	47	0.33	21	0.02	99.70	3.86
TAFT	12	0.08	6	0.01	15.55	3.70
MOROCCO	20	0.14	10	0.01	33.65	3.70

SCARED	14	0.10	8	0.01	18.26	3.51
CHARACTER	19	0.13	11	0.01	28.67	3.49
STEVE	8	0.06	5	0.01	4.75	3.38
LEO	12	0.08	8	0.01	12.12	3.28
HIGH	28	0.19	27	0.03	32.71	2.75
JAZZ	12	0.08	12	0.01	6.92	2.70
BABY	10	0.07	11	0.01	2.78	2.56
WORK	15	0.10	20	0.02	6.76	2.28
ONLINE	18	0.12	30	0.03	6.00	1.96
PLAYING	28	0.19	48	0.05	14.92	1.92
SOUMAYA	32	0.22	65	0.07	12.92	1.68
REALLY	25	0.17	51	0.05	7.45	1.67
SCHOOL	82	0.57	176	0.19	46.54	1.60
GAME	26	0.18	63	0.07	3.67	1.42
HOME	29	0.20	75	0.08	3.61	1.33
FATHER'S	38	0.26	106	0.11	5.65	1.22
HE	100	0.69	403	0.43	4.94	0.69
WAS	424	2.94	2,247	2.40	2.50	0.29
WOULD	73	0.51	769	0.82	6.23	-0.70
HAVE	41	0.28	467	0.50	2.34	-0.81
IF	7	0.05	209	0.22	14.68	-2.20
COLLEGE	1	0.01	112	0.12	13.07	-4.11

3.5 Key words Rodger corpus Section 5

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC score>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC Freq.	RC %	BIC	Log_R
KARATE	10	0.05	0	0.00	23.62	138.14
DRIVER'S	6	0.03	0	0.00	9.54	137.40
BELT	5	0.03	0	0.00	6.01	137.14
WILLING	4	0.02	0	0.00	2.49	136.82
STAIRCASE	4	0.02	0	0.00	2.49	136.82
PSYCHOLOGY	4	0.02	0	0.00	2.49	136.82
JOBS	4	0.02	0	0.00	2.49	136.82
ELDEST	4	0.02	0	0.00	2.49	136.82
EIGHTEEN	4	0.02	0	0.00	2.49	136.82
ADDISON'S	4	0.02	0	0.00	2.49	136.82
MOORPARK	19	0.10	1	0.00	47.75	6.52
PIERCE	9	0.05	1	0.00	13.98	5.44
KARL	7	0.04	1	0.00	7.41	5.08
WORKING	13	0.07	2	0.00	23.16	4.97
JOB	19	0.10	5	0.01	32.64	4.19

MALIBU	20	0.11	9	0.01	26.31	3.42
ROB	10	0.05	6	0.01	4.72	3.00
BEACH	23	0.12	15	0.02	24.08	2.88
ADDISON	29	0.16	30	0.03	20.07	2.22
COLLEGE	51	0.27	62	0.07	35.81	1.99
HOPE	32	0.17	48	0.05	11.52	1.68
CLASS	51	0.27	89	0.10	17.94	1.46
HER	64	0.34	165	0.18	4.68	0.90
SHE	76	0.41	216	0.24	2.70	0.76
OF	379	2.04	2,251	2.51	3.38	-0.30
THEM	45	0.24	392	0.44	4.98	-0.85
THEY	51	0.27	457	0.51	9.27	-0.90
PARENTS	4	0.02	87	0.10	2.50	-2.18
SCHOOL	11	0.06	247	0.28	29.41	-2.22
GRADE	2	0.01	79	0.09	6.50	-3.04
WOMEN	1	0.01	73	0.08	8.88	-3.92

3.6 Key words Rodger corpus Section 6

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC score>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC Freq.	RC %	BIC	Log_R
MATH	10	0.05	0	0.00	21.71	138.00
ROSS	7	0.03	0	0.00	11.72	137.49
DANIEL	7	0.03	0	0.00	11.72	137.49
STARBUCKS	6	0.03	0	0.00	8.39	137.26
HOUSEMATE	6	0.03	0	0.00	8.39	137.26
STAN	5	0.02	0	0.00	5.06	137.00
SPLASHED	5	0.02	0	0.00	5.06	137.00
LATTE	5	0.02	0	0.00	5.06	137.00
HUGO	5	0.02	0	0.00	5.06	137.00
CONCERT	5	0.02	0	0.00	5.06	137.00
BOSS	5	0.02	0	0.00	5.06	137.00
ARMANI	5	0.02	0	0.00	5.06	137.00
ANGEL	5	0.02	0	0.00	5.06	137.00
ANDY	7	0.03	1	0.00	6.11	4.91
UNIT	9	0.04	3	0.00	6.14	3.68
CARPET	11	0.05	4	0.00	9.32	3.56
SHIRT	8	0.04	3	0.00	3.42	3.51
WEALTH	11	0.05	6	0.01	5.48	2.97
SPENCER	11	0.05	6	0.01	5.48	2.97

TYPE	11	0.05	7	0.01	3.92	2.75
JACKPOT	15	0.07	11	0.01	7.55	2.55
SITTING	12	0.06	9	0.01	3.46	2.51
CITY	14	0.07	11	0.01	5.35	2.45
HOUSEMATES	17	0.08	14	0.02	8.21	2.38
MONTH	22	0.11	19	0.02	13.02	2.31
CLASSES	20	0.10	21	0.02	7.00	2.03
COLLEGE	48	0.23	65	0.07	21.43	1.66
BARBARA	42	0.21	63	0.07	13.36	1.51
SANTA	42	0.21	73	0.08	7.93	1.30
BEAUTIFUL	43	0.21	87	0.10	3.06	1.08
COULD	89	0.43	202	0.23	11.15	0.92
I	1,255	6.13	4,671	5.32	7.56	0.20
WORLD	20	0.10	214	0.24	8.14	-1.32
SCHOOL	16	0.08	242	0.28	23.23	-1.82
PARENTS	5	0.02	86	0.10	2.40	-2.00
PLAYING	4	0.02	72	0.08	0.59	-2.07
PLAYED	4	0.02	78	0.09	2.48	-2.19
HOUSE	16	0.08	345	0.39	55.39	-2.33
REALLY	3	0.01	73	0.08	3.74	-2.51
MOTHER'S	4	0.02	101	0.12	10.10	-2.56
GRADE	3	0.01	78	0.09	5.45	-2.60
WOW	2	0.01	66	0.08	4.70	-2.94
FATHER'S	4	0.02	140	0.16	23.89	-3.03
PLAY	2	0.01	86	0.10	12.05	-3.33
GAME	2	0.01	87	0.10	12.42	-3.34

3.7 Key words Rodger corpus Section 7

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC score>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC Freq.	RC %	BIC	Log_R
POLICE	17	0.07	0	0.00	41.26	138.61
CRUTCHES	12	0.05	0	0.00	25.72	138.10
ARIZONA	12	0.05	0	0.00	25.72	138.10
POWERBALL	10	0.04	0	0.00	19.50	137.84
2013	9	0.04	0	0.00	16.39	137.69
2014	8	0.03	0	0.00	13.28	137.52
DR	7	0.03	0	0.00	10.17	137.33
YOUTUBE	6	0.03	0	0.00	7.06	137.10
PHASE	6	0.03	0	0.00	7.06	137.10
LEDGE	6	0.03	0	0.00	7.06	137.10
HANDGUN	6	0.03	0	0.00	7.06	137.10

DALE	6	0.03	0	0.00	7.06	137.10
COPS	6	0.03	0	0.00	7.06	137.10
SURGERY	5	0.02	0	0.00	3.95	136.84
SORORITY	5	0.02	0	0.00	3.95	136.84
SOPHY	5	0.02	0	0.00	3.95	136.84
NUMBERS	5	0.02	0	0.00	3.95	136.84
CANE	5	0.02	0	0.00	3.95	136.84
BMW	5	0.02	0	0.00	3.95	136.84
LEG	17	0.07	1	0.00	34.01	5.99
PLAYA	9	0.04	1	0.00	10.36	5.07
GAVIN	9	0.04	1	0.00	10.36	5.07
DEL	9	0.04	1	0.00	10.36	5.07
SHOOTING	8	0.03	1	0.00	7.48	4.90
COUNSELLOR	8	0.03	1	0.00	7.48	4.90
WEBSITE	7	0.03	1	0.00	4.62	4.71
MERCEDES	7	0.03	1	0.00	4.62	4.71
CAST	7	0.03	1	0.00	4.62	4.71
RETRIBUTION	61	0.27	11	0.01	121.72	4.37
VIDEOS	9	0.04	2	0.00	6.91	4.07
ASIAN	8	0.03	2	0.00	4.22	3.90
KILL	30	0.13	8	0.01	46.36	3.81
SUV	10	0.04	3	0.00	6.88	3.64
VENGEANCE	9	0.04	3	0.00	4.32	3.49
ID	9	0.04	3	0.00	4.32	3.49
VISTA	50	0.22	21	0.02	67.60	3.15
ISLA	50	0.22	21	0.02	67.60	3.15
PLANNING	9	0.04	4	0.00	2.24	3.07
ENEMIES	18	0.08	8	0.01	16.07	3.07
PLANS	11	0.05	6	0.01	3.38	2.77
FINAL	18	0.08	10	0.01	12.62	2.75
EXACT	18	0.08	14	0.02	7.16	2.26
WOMEN	37	0.16	37	0.04	18.42	1.90
ARE	41	0.18	48	0.06	15.83	1.67
WILL	129	0.56	155	0.18	71.73	1.64
YOUNG	46	0.20	69	0.08	9.38	1.32
BARBARA	40	0.17	65	0.08	4.07	1.20
SANTA	43	0.19	72	0.08	4.24	1.16
BEAUTIFUL	48	0.21	82	0.10	5.35	1.13
IF	74	0.32	142	0.17	8.22	0.96
HAVE	168	0.73	340	0.40	27.29	0.88
THEIR	63	0.28	130	0.15	2.18	0.86
ALL	206	0.90	458	0.54	23.86	0.75
THEM	135	0.59	302	0.35	11.15	0.74
HAD	268	1.17	731	0.86	6.75	0.45
A	476	2.08	2,237	2.62	10.28	-0.33
WAS	426	1.86	2,245	2.63	34.41	-0.50

AT	155	0.68	817	0.96	5.16	-0.50
HE	72	0.31	431	0.50	3.78	-0.68
NEW	34	0.15	253	0.30	5.37	-1.00
WE	37	0.16	422	0.49	46.50	-1.61
FATHER	19	0.08	217	0.25	18.33	-1.61
STARTED	9	0.04	103	0.12	2.65	-1.62
FRIENDS	16	0.07	184	0.22	13.99	-1.62
US	12	0.05	141	0.17	8.53	-1.65
BECAME	8	0.03	95	0.11	2.13	-1.67
CLASS	10	0.04	130	0.15	9.16	-1.80
TOGETHER	6	0.03	84	0.10	2.85	-1.91
OUR	8	0.03	128	0.15	13.19	-2.10
KIDS	5	0.02	92	0.11	8.24	-2.30
PLAY	4	0.02	84	0.10	8.18	-2.49
REMEMBER	2	0.01	53	0.06	2.60	-2.83
GAMES	2	0.01	58	0.07	4.62	-2.96
JAMES	4	0.02	127	0.15	25.35	-3.09
BIRTHDAY	2	0.01	66	0.08	7.91	-3.14
GAME	2	0.01	87	0.10	16.79	-3.54
MOVIE	1	0.00	48	0.06	4.54	-3.68
GRADE	1	0.00	80	0.09	18.72	-4.42
SCHOOL	3	0.01	255	0.30	86.10	-4.51

3.8 Key words Rodger corpus Section 8

Key word (Wordsmith Tools 7; BIC sore>2; sorted by Log Ratio; negative key words are red)	Freq.	%	RC Freq.	RC%	BIC	Log_R
SEXUALITY	4	0.24	0	0.00	21.81	140.30
GENERATIONS	3	0.18	0	0.00	13.46	139.88
RULER	2	0.12	0	0.00	5.11	139.30
OVERSEE	2	0.12	0	0.00	5.11	139.30
GOVERNMENT	2	0.12	0	0.00	5.11	139.30
EXISTS	2	0.12	0	0.00	5.11	139.30
DEGENERACY	2	0.12	0	0.00	5.11	139.30
CONCENTRATION	2	0.12	0	0.00	5.11	139.30
CIVILIZATION	2	0.12	0	0.00	5.11	139.30
CAMPS	2	0.12	0	0.00	5.11	139.30
BREEDING	2	0.12	0	0.00	5.11	139.30
BRED	2	0.12	0	0.00	5.11	139.30
RACE	4	0.24	3	0.00	12.34	6.42
PURE	4	0.24	4	0.00	10.84	6.00
HUMAN	9	0.54	10	0.01	37.58	5.85
DESIRED	3	0.18	4	0.00	4.02	5.59

DEGENERATE	3	0.18	4	0.00	4.02	5.59
CONTROL	3	0.18	4	0.00	4.02	5.59
DEPRAVED	4	0.24	6	0.01	8.53	5.42
EXIST	4	0.24	7	0.01	7.60	5.19
CANNOT	4	0.24	8	0.01	6.78	5.00
ORDER	8	0.48	17	0.02	24.39	4.91
DESTROY	5	0.30	13	0.01	9.29	4.62
WOMEN	20	1.20	54	0.05	70.72	4.57
EVIL	4	0.24	11	0.01	4.75	4.54
PLEASURE	6	0.36	21	0.02	10.55	4.19
MEN	12	0.72	45	0.04	31.33	4.09
HUMANITY	5	0.30	22	0.02	4.96	3.86
ARE	13	0.78	76	0.07	25.29	3.45
IS	29	1.74	226	0.21	56.90	3.04
WILL	32	1.92	252	0.24	63.43	3.02
SEX	14	0.84	127	0.12	18.01	2.82
WORLD	18	1.08	216	0.20	18.48	2.42
SUCH	13	0.78	160	0.15	9.62	2.38
BE	30	1.80	539	0.51	20.66	1.83
HAVE	22	1.32	486	0.46	6.00	1.54
I	55	3.31	5,871	5.51	5.34	-0.74
HAD	3	0.18	996	0.93	3.49	-2.37
WAS	7	0.42	2,664	2.50	32.22	-2.57
ON	1	0.06	718	0.67	3.86	-3.49

3.9 Key Terms in Rodger's text

3.9.1 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 1

Item (SketchEngine; sorted by Simple Maths Score >1; calculated using N+1)	Relative frequency (RF) per million words (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score	Item	RF (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score
short trip	702.99	0	703.99	little body	351.49	0.00	352.49
first piece	702.99	0	703.99	feeling of utter sadness	351.49	0.00	352.49
toy tractor	702.99	0	703.99	field trip	351.49	0.00	352.49
dark story	351.49	0	352.49	father cry	351.49	0.00	352.49
baby sister	351.49	0	352.49	film industry	351.49	0.00	352.49
fourth country	351.49	0	352.49	twisted humanity	351.49	0.00	352.49
funny incident	351.49	0	352.49	first breath	351.49	0.00	352.49
taking school	351.49	0	352.49	first birthday	351.49	0.00	352.49
helicopter birthday cake	351.49	0	352.49	nursing career	351.49	0.00	352.49

exquisite castlelike house	351.49	0	352.49	old self	351.49	0.00	352.49
favorite childhood	351.49	0	352.49	baby dinosaur	351.49	0.00	352.49
first child	351.49	0	352.49	packing everything	351.49	0.00	352.49
bonfire party	351.49	0	352.49	particular climbing structure	351.49	0.00	352.49
british climate	351.49	0	352.49	renowned photojournalist	351.49	0.00	352.49
utmost happiness	351.49	0	352.49	significant experience	351.49	0.00	352.49
british descent	351.49	0	352.49	superior memory	351.49	0.00	352.49
worthy investment	351.49	0	352.49	utter sadness	351.49	0.00	352.49
time of utmost happiness	351.49	0	352.49	initial look	351.49	0.00	352.49
helicopter birthday	351.49	0	352.49	sad day	351.49	8.46	37.28
childhood film	351.49	0	352.49	special place	351.49	8.46	37.28
vast grass	351.49	0	352.49	eating lunch	351.49	8.46	37.28
single significant experience	351.49	0	352.49	birthday cake	351.49	8.46	37.28
black-haired baby	351.49	0	352.49	holiday season	351.49	8.46	37.28
chinese descent	351.49	0	352.49	innocent bliss	351.49	8.46	37.28
little black-haired baby	351.49	0	352.49	magnificent story	351.49	8.46	37.28
climbing structure	351.49	0	352.49	other side	351.49	16.91	19.68
cold british climate	351.49	0	352.49	short time	351.49	16.91	19.68
tall straw-like grass	351.49	0	352.49	early childhood	351.49	16.91	19.68
cruel injustice	351.49	0	352.49	home country	351.49	16.91	19.68
terrifying experience	351.49	0	352.49	favorite part	702.99	50.74	13.61
professional photographer	351.49	0	352.49	little mind	351.49	25.37	13.37
dangerous world	351.49	0	352.49	entire life	351.49	33.83	10.12
first vacation	351.49	0	352.49	big part	351.49	33.83	10.12
lost fortune	351.49	0	352.49	new world	351.49	33.83	10.12
blissful child	351.49	0	352.49	private school	351.49	42.28	8.14
frail little body	351.49	0	352.49	nice house	351.49	42.28	8.14
several film	351.49	0	352.49	first experience	351.49	42.28	8.14
getting cactus	351.49	0	352.49	good time	351.49	42.28	8.14
red brick	351.49	0	352.49	young age	702.99	143.76	4.86
castlelike house	351.49	0	352.49	new life	351.49	84.57	4.12
world traveler	351.49	0	352.49	much fun	351.49	84.57	4.12
preschool class	351.49	0	352.49	happy life	351.49	93.02	3.75
bad omen	351.49	0	352.49	whole time	351.49	93.02	3.75
single detail	351.49	0	352.49	last day	351.49	93.02	3.75
year old self	351.49	0	352.49	swimming pool	351.49	101.48	3.44
second goalkeeper	351.49	0	352.49	grandma jinx	351.49	101.48	3.44
large house	351.49	0	352.49	first time	702.99	211.42	3.31

favorite childhood film	351.49	0	352.49	long time	351.49	186.05	1.89
straw-like grass	351.49	0	352.49	first day	351.49	219.87	1.60
close relative	351.49	0	352.49	last time	351.49	304.44	1.15

3.9.2 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 2

Item (SketchEngine; sorted by Simple Maths Score >1; calculated using N+1)	Relative frequency (RF) per million words (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score	Item	RF (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score
round house	421.98	0.00	422.98	little knowledge	84.40	0.00	85.40
basketball court	253.19	0.00	254.19	female validation	84.40	0.00	85.40
second grade	253.19	0.00	254.19	huge back yard	84.40	0.00	85.40
seventh birthday	253.19	0.00	254.19	little prick	84.40	0.00	85.40
new girlfriend	253.19	0.00	254.19	happy day	84.40	0.00	85.40
year old boy	253.19	0.00	254.19	common occurrence	84.40	0.00	85.40
old boy	253.19	0.00	254.19	play center	84.40	0.00	85.40
fascinating world	168.79	0.00	169.79	long blonde hair	84.40	0.00	85.40
large portion	168.79	0.00	169.79	long stay	84.40	0.00	85.40
six-year-old self	168.79	0.00	169.79	long summer	84.40	0.00	85.40
good start	168.79	0.00	169.79	shy boy	84.40	0.00	85.40
hair salon	168.79	0.00	169.79	bond fan	84.40	0.00	85.40
new teacher	168.79	0.00	169.79	year old head	84.40	0.00	85.40
carefree child	168.79	0.00	169.79	lovely new home	84.40	0.00	85.40
kicking dust	168.79	0.00	169.79	such bitter irony	84.40	0.00	85.40
playing basketball	168.79	0.00	169.79	main courtyard	84.40	0.00	85.40
whole new life	168.79	0.00	169.79	measuring stick	84.40	0.00	85.40
after-school playtime	84.40	0.00	85.40	midst of elementary school	84.40	0.00	85.40
grade classroom	84.40	0.00	85.40	social structure	84.40	0.00	85.40
entire week	84.40	0.00	85.40	mixed race	84.40	0.00	85.40
eventful party	84.40	0.00	85.40	mountainous community	84.40	0.00	85.40
vast stretch	84.40	0.00	85.40	much candy	84.40	0.00	85.40
short statured	84.40	0.00	85.40	new member	84.40	0.00	85.40
happy self	84.40	0.00	85.40	british musician	84.40	0.00	85.40
huge life-changing	84.40	0.00	85.40	dark atmosphere	84.40	0.00	85.40
third grade	84.40	0.00	85.40	simple amusement park ride	84.40	0.00	85.40
initial sadness	84.40	0.00	85.40	negative way	84.40	0.00	85.40
eight-year-old self	84.40	0.00	85.40	simple amusement park	84.40	0.00	85.40
captivating hobby	84.40	0.00	85.40	first real friend	84.40	0.00	85.40

beautiful backyard	84.40	0.00	85.40	new class	84.40	0.00	85.40
treat time	84.40	0.00	85.40	new directing	84.40	0.00	85.40
grass field	84.40	0.00	85.40	simple amusement	84.40	0.00	85.40
bitter irony	84.40	0.00	85.40	first step	84.40	0.00	85.40
extensive school-searching	84.40	0.00	85.40	new form	84.40	0.00	85.40
role video	84.40	0.00	85.40	time of fair play	84.40	0.00	85.40
birthday meal	84.40	0.00	85.40	disastrous football	84.40	0.00	85.40
south american origin	84.40	0.00	85.40	sloping hill	84.40	0.00	85.40
anime cartoon	84.40	0.00	85.40	small injustice	84.40	0.00	85.40
theme park	84.40	0.00	85.40	new routine	84.40	0.00	85.40
bitter brutality	84.40	0.00	85.40	first time going trick-or-treating	84.40	0.00	85.40
joyful life	84.40	0.00	85.40	good trip	84.40	0.00	85.40
class time	84.40	0.00	85.40	disney-themed party	84.40	0.00	85.40
favorite nanny	84.40	0.00	85.40	small airport	84.40	0.00	85.40
rustic part	84.40	0.00	85.40	new life situation	84.40	0.00	85.40
interesting friendship	84.40	0.00	85.40	skin standing	84.40	0.00	85.40
large grass	84.40	0.00	85.40	dorky hairstyle	84.40	0.00	85.40
large grass field	84.40	0.00	85.40	huge back yard area	84.40	0.00	85.40
favorite peanut	84.40	0.00	85.40	growing boy	84.40	0.00	85.40
favorite show	84.40	0.00	85.40	new thing	84.40	0.00	85.40
worthy replacement	84.40	0.00	85.40	foul-tasting soup	84.40	0.00	85.40
yard area	84.40	0.00	85.40	foul prick	84.40	0.00	85.40
american kid	84.40	0.00	85.40	steep driveway	84.40	0.00	85.40
shooting hoop	84.40	0.00	85.40	time going trick-or-treating	84.40	0.00	85.40
imposing rock	84.40	0.00	85.40	dust-like dirt	84.40	0.00	85.40
close proximity	84.40	0.00	85.40	broad expanse	84.40	0.00	85.40
first female friend	84.40	0.00	85.40	ninth year	84.40	0.00	85.40
loving nature	84.40	0.00	85.40	normal boy	84.40	0.00	85.40
first frustration	84.40	0.00	85.40	wizard hat	84.40	0.00	85.40
fourth grade year	84.40	0.00	85.40	bar code	84.40	0.00	85.40
elegant house	84.40	0.00	85.40	old head	84.40	0.00	85.40
gaining validation	84.40	0.00	85.40	only downside	84.40	0.00	85.40
true nature	84.40	0.00	85.40	fun environment	84.40	0.00	85.40
good-looking haircut	84.40	0.00	85.40	trip cut	84.40	0.00	85.40
plane ride	84.40	0.00	85.40	fun playground	84.40	0.00	85.40
pool area	84.40	0.00	85.40	open courtyard	84.40	0.00	85.40
present day	84.40	0.00	85.40	original trilogy	84.40	0.00	85.40
being part	84.40	0.00	85.40	steep road	84.40	0.00	85.40
recent decision	84.40	0.00	85.40	other hobby	84.40	0.00	85.40
great food	84.40	0.00	85.40	other rock	84.40	0.00	85.40

real parent	84.40	0.00	85.40	outside deck	84.40	0.00	85.40
rugged beauty	84.40	0.00	85.40	queuing area	84.40	0.00	85.40
second nanny	84.40	0.00	85.40	going trick-or-treating	84.40	0.00	85.40
separate reality	84.40	0.00	85.40	park playground	84.40	0.00	85.40
prominent family	84.40	0.00	85.40	park ride	84.40	0.00	85.40
fair manner	84.40	0.00	85.40	joyous school	84.40	0.00	85.40
castle-like house	84.40	0.00	85.40	particular boy	84.40	0.00	85.40
american accent	84.40	0.00	85.40	physical capability	84.40	0.00	85.40
school schedule	84.40	0.00	85.40	possible chance	84.40	0.00	85.40
certain rugged beauty	84.40	0.00	85.40	nice view	84.40	0.00	85.40
successful man	84.40	0.00	85.40	nice week	84.40	0.00	85.40
bit upset	84.40	0.00	85.40	fourth grade classroom	84.40	0.00	85.40
carefree childhood	84.40	0.00	85.40	fourth grade	506.37	18.31	26.28
chubby boy	84.40	0.00	85.40	little mind	253.19	9.15	25.03
fantastic year	84.40	0.00	85.40	first grade	253.19	9.15	25.03
farm school	84.40	0.00	85.40	enjoying life	168.79	9.15	16.72
spontaneous career	84.40	0.00	85.40	new hair	168.79	9.15	16.72
joyous school year	84.40	0.00	85.40	early childhood	168.79	9.15	16.72
weird new hair	84.40	0.00	85.40	new skateboard	168.79	9.15	16.72
lack of physical capability	84.40	0.00	85.40	good time	253.19	27.46	8.93
steep rise	84.40	0.00	85.40	grade year	168.79	18.31	8.79
favorite restaurant	84.40	0.00	85.40	new environment	168.79	18.31	8.79
initial period	84.40	0.00	85.40	german woman	84.40	9.15	8.41
life-changing event	84.40	0.00	85.40	own age	84.40	9.15	8.41
upstairs portion	84.40	0.00	85.40	physical fight	84.40	9.15	8.41
common friend	84.40	0.00	85.40	pleasant experience	84.40	9.15	8.41
little nine-year-old self	84.40	0.00	85.40	real friend	84.40	9.15	8.41
final hill	84.40	0.00	85.40	quiet corner	84.40	9.15	8.41
amusement park ride	84.40	0.00	85.40	extra work	84.40	9.15	8.41
common social structure	84.40	0.00	85.40	great life	84.40	9.15	8.41
long summer break	84.40	0.00	85.40	sad day	84.40	9.15	8.41
lovely deck	84.40	0.00	85.40	great suffering	84.40	9.15	8.41
upscale area	84.40	0.00	85.40	great significance	84.40	9.15	8.41
cool kid	84.40	0.00	85.40	second half	84.40	9.15	8.41
sullen mood	84.40	0.00	85.40	second time	84.40	9.15	8.41
first grade term	84.40	0.00	85.40	short amount	84.40	9.15	8.41
first grade year	84.40	0.00	85.40	extraordinary view	84.40	9.15	8.41

kindergarten year	84.40	0.00	85.40	small private school	84.40	9.15	8.41
short period	84.40	0.00	85.40	holiday season	84.40	9.15	8.41
jubilant period	84.40	0.00	85.40	immense pain	84.40	9.15	8.41
first house	84.40	0.00	85.40	huge swimming pool	84.40	9.15	8.41
back yard area	84.40	0.00	85.40	huge swimming	84.40	9.15	8.41
bad decision	84.40	0.00	85.40	innocent bliss	84.40	9.15	8.41
neighborhood collecting candy	84.40	0.00	85.40	very fun	84.40	9.15	8.41
first nanny	84.40	0.00	85.40	child support	84.40	9.15	8.41
dark hair	84.40	0.00	85.40	kitchen table	84.40	9.15	8.41
uncool clothing	84.40	0.00	85.40	commercial director	84.40	9.15	8.41
new directing career	84.40	0.00	85.40	favorite time	84.40	9.15	8.41
first sight	84.40	0.00	85.40	little sister	84.40	9.15	8.41
american origin	84.40	0.00	85.40	living life	84.40	9.15	8.41
significant role video	84.40	0.00	85.40	living arrangement	84.40	9.15	8.41
brief time	84.40	0.00	85.40	first act	84.40	9.15	8.41
nine-year-old self	84.40	0.00	85.40	complete opposite	84.40	9.15	8.41
french woman	84.40	0.00	85.40	brief interest	84.40	9.15	8.41
fun attitude	84.40	0.00	85.40	crying tantrum	84.40	9.15	8.41
only impression	84.40	0.00	85.40	much concern	84.40	9.15	8.41
car driving	84.40	0.00	85.40	much interaction	84.40	9.15	8.41
other aspect	84.40	0.00	85.40	first kid	84.40	9.15	8.41
end of fourth grade	84.40	0.00	85.40	net worth	84.40	9.15	8.41
entire winter	84.40	0.00	85.40	new home	84.40	9.15	8.41
card collection	84.40	0.00	85.40	directing career	84.40	9.15	8.41
park staff	84.40	0.00	85.40	wealthy family	84.40	9.15	8.41
enough space	84.40	0.00	85.40	first video game	84.40	9.15	8.41
true parent	84.40	0.00	85.40	new phenomenon	84.40	9.15	8.41
card color	84.40	0.00	85.40	first video game console	84.40	9.15	8.41
strange year	84.40	0.00	85.40	foreign country	84.40	9.15	8.41
grade class	84.40	0.00	85.40	next couple	84.40	9.15	8.41
positive experience	84.40	0.00	85.40	new life	421.98	54.92	7.56
grade term	84.40	0.00	85.40	only friend	253.19	36.61	6.76
carefree bliss	84.40	0.00	85.40	first friend	168.79	27.46	5.97
entire winter break	84.40	0.00	85.40	brief period	168.79	27.46	5.97
equal footing	84.40	0.00	85.40	favorite part	253.19	45.77	5.44
rotten little prick	84.40	0.00	85.40	private school	168.79	36.61	4.51
great hatred	84.40	0.00	85.40	nice house	168.79	36.61	4.51
graduation cap	84.40	0.00	85.40	big number	84.40	18.31	4.42
everything fun	84.40	0.00	85.40	great fun	84.40	18.31	4.42
new hometown	84.40	0.00	85.40	hair blonde	84.40	18.31	4.42

great turning point	84.40	0.00	85.40	small get-together	84.40	18.31	4.42
tragic turn	84.40	0.00	85.40	home country	84.40	18.31	4.42
abrupt move	84.40	0.00	85.40	whole day	84.40	18.31	4.42
stylish clothing	84.40	0.00	85.40	last thing	84.40	18.31	4.42
active sport	84.40	0.00	85.40	life situation	84.40	18.31	4.42
rare occurrence	84.40	0.00	85.40	black hair	84.40	18.31	4.42
harsh way	84.40	0.00	85.40	collecting candy	84.40	18.31	4.42
head blonde	84.40	0.00	85.40	miserable time	84.40	18.31	4.42
historic community	84.40	0.00	85.40	first thing	84.40	18.31	4.42
fair play	84.40	0.00	85.40	new kid	84.40	18.31	4.42
fair skin	84.40	0.00	85.40	new house	421.98	109.84	3.82
center area	84.40	0.00	85.40	much fun	253.19	73.23	3.42
fair skin standing	84.40	0.00	85.40	elementary school	253.19	82.38	3.05
same life	84.40	0.00	85.40	game console	84.40	27.46	3.00
huge life-changing event	84.40	0.00	85.40	own room	84.40	27.46	3.00
fair split	84.40	0.00	85.40	good friend	84.40	27.46	3.00
family splitting	84.40	0.00	85.40	recreation center	84.40	27.46	3.00
secluded region	84.40	0.00	85.40	video game console	84.40	27.46	3.00
important person	84.40	0.00	85.40	turning point	84.40	27.46	3.00
family vacation	84.40	0.00	85.40	whole new world	84.40	27.46	3.00
famous british musician	84.40	0.00	85.40	amusement park	84.40	27.46	3.00
well-behaved student	84.40	0.00	85.40	swimming pool	253.19	91.54	2.75
fancy restaurant	84.40	0.00	85.40	next day	168.79	64.08	2.61
innocent environment	84.40	0.00	85.40	video game	168.79	73.23	2.29
interesting experience	84.40	0.00	85.40	entire life	84.40	36.61	2.27
small physical fight	84.40	0.00	85.40	school year	84.40	36.61	2.27
jealous nature	84.40	0.00	85.40	summer break	84.40	36.61	2.27
jealous person	84.40	0.00	85.40	walking distance	84.40	36.61	2.27
upscale part	84.40	0.00	85.40	little boy	84.40	36.61	2.27
second grade class	84.40	0.00	85.40	new world	84.40	36.61	2.27
close friend	84.40	0.00	85.40	first time	421.98	201.38	2.09
unpleasant teacher	84.40	0.00	85.40	blonde hair	168.79	82.38	2.04
two-story house	84.40	0.00	85.40	red carpet premiere	84.40	45.77	1.83
significant role	84.40	0.00	85.40	only time	84.40	45.77	1.83
such trouble	84.40	0.00	85.40	carpet premiere	84.40	45.77	1.83
favorite meal	84.40	0.00	85.40	first day	337.58	210.53	1.60
new journey	84.40	0.00	85.40	summer camp	168.79	128.15	1.32
astonishing experience	84.40	0.00	85.40	female gender	84.40	64.08	1.31

wooden house	84.40	0.00	85.40	red carpet	84.40	73.23	1.15
back yard	84.40	0.00	85.40	first week	84.40	73.23	1.15
young teacher	84.40	0.00	85.40	new room	84.40	91.54	0.92
last memory	84.40	0.00	85.40	long time	168.79	192.23	0.88
actual ride	84.40	0.00	85.40	last day	84.40	100.69	0.84
swimming pool area	84.40	0.00	85.40	winter break	84.40	137.30	0.62
female friend	84.40	0.00	85.40	young age	84.40	164.77	0.52
seeing family	84.40	0.00	85.40	last time	84.40	329.53	0.26
little conflict	84.40	0.00	85.40				

3.9.3 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 3

Item (SketchEngine; sorted by Simple Maths Score >1; calculated using N+1)	Relative frequency (RF) per million words (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score	Item	RF (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score
hacky sack	313.22	0.00	314.22	lovely time	52.20	0.00	53.20
social void	156.61	0.00	157.61	very year	52.20	0.00	53.20
small house	156.61	0.00	157.61	main group	52.20	0.00	53.20
last summer	156.61	0.00	157.61	making everything	52.20	0.00	53.20
school dance	104.41	0.00	105.41	time practicing skateboarding	52.20	0.00	53.20
second trip	104.41	0.00	105.41	famous peanut	52.20	0.00	53.20
game world	104.41	0.00	105.41	mean girl	52.20	0.00	53.20
few video	104.41	0.00	105.41	mellow note	52.20	0.00	53.20
online gaming	104.41	0.00	105.41	memorable year	52.20	0.00	53.20
breast cancer	104.41	0.00	105.41	exquisite new room	52.20	0.00	53.20
particular bedroom	104.41	0.00	105.41	middle-aged man	52.20	0.00	53.20
new interest	104.41	0.00	105.41	following year	52.20	0.00	53.20
new playground	104.41	0.00	105.41	minute decision	52.20	0.00	53.20
hacky sacking	104.41	0.00	105.41	miserable mood	52.20	0.00	53.20
coveted summer	104.41	0.00	105.41	miserable youth	52.20	0.00	53.20
master bedroom	104.41	0.00	105.41	mix of middle school	52.20	0.00	53.20
kind gentleman	104.41	0.00	105.41	morning mother	52.20	0.00	53.20
bouncy castle	104.41	0.00	105.41	small playdate	52.20	0.00	53.20
first glass	104.41	0.00	105.41	foul video	52.20	0.00	53.20
little trip	104.41	0.00	105.41	much importance	52.20	0.00	53.20

little inside	104.41	0.00	105.41	much success	52.20	0.00	53.20
graduation party	104.41	0.00	105.41	life goal	52.20	0.00	53.20
professional skateboarder	104.41	0.00	105.41	networking tool	52.20	0.00	53.20
real world	104.41	0.00	105.41	cultural vacation	52.20	0.00	53.20
american woman	52.20	0.00	53.20	new balcony	52.20	0.00	53.20
vast forested area	52.20	0.00	53.20	small cake	52.20	0.00	53.20
lifetime experience	52.20	0.00	53.20	fourth ticket	52.20	0.00	53.20
female prettiness	52.20	0.00	53.20	new computer	52.20	0.00	53.20
last good summer	52.20	0.00	53.20	new computer game	52.20	0.00	53.20
bad area	52.20	0.00	53.20	new concept	52.20	0.00	53.20
sushi restaurant	52.20	0.00	53.20	daily basis	52.20	0.00	53.20
complete outcast	52.20	0.00	53.20	new friend	52.20	0.00	53.20
very fun personality	52.20	0.00	53.20	new friendship	52.20	0.00	53.20
wild boar hunting	52.20	0.00	53.20	small sip	52.20	0.00	53.20
first trip	52.20	0.00	53.20	humble personality	52.20	0.00	53.20
third grandmother	52.20	0.00	53.20	shy new kid	52.20	0.00	53.20
warm feeling	52.20	0.00	53.20	new hobby	52.20	0.00	53.20
mexican kid	52.20	0.00	53.20	last similar experience	52.20	0.00	53.20
following decade	52.20	0.00	53.20	fun afternoon	52.20	0.00	53.20
boar hunting	52.20	0.00	53.20	utter despair	52.20	0.00	53.20
new change	52.20	0.00	53.20	immature little boy	52.20	0.00	53.20
fourth grader	52.20	0.00	53.20	single minute	52.20	0.00	53.20
french culture	52.20	0.00	53.20	sister min	52.20	0.00	53.20
tragic event	52.20	0.00	53.20	immense satisfaction	52.20	0.00	53.20
unfair struggle	52.20	0.00	53.20	birthday celebration	52.20	0.00	53.20
new pet	52.20	0.00	53.20	fun new friendship	52.20	0.00	53.20
fun waterpark	52.20	0.00	53.20	new present	52.20	0.00	53.20
next year	52.20	0.00	53.20	new revelation	52.20	0.00	53.20
game series	52.20	0.00	53.20	fun wait	52.20	0.00	53.20
disastrous failure	52.20	0.00	53.20	new school	52.20	0.00	53.20
summer camp start school	52.20	0.00	53.20	new seating	52.20	0.00	53.20
first round	52.20	0.00	53.20	small village	52.20	0.00	53.20
old kindergarten class	52.20	0.00	53.20	new type	52.20	0.00	53.20
doing fun	52.20	0.00	53.20	new video	52.20	0.00	53.20
bedroom downstairs	52.20	0.00	53.20	new video game	52.20	0.00	53.20

bedroom house	52.20	0.00	53.20	new video game console	52.20	0.00	53.20
whole class	52.20	0.00	53.20	game manual	52.20	0.00	53.20
only video	52.20	0.00	53.20	whole new type	52.20	0.00	53.20
female body	52.20	0.00	53.20	next decade	52.20	0.00	53.20
kid right	52.20	0.00	53.20	nice gesture	52.20	0.00	53.20
large school	52.20	0.00	53.20	geeky kid	52.20	0.00	53.20
theme song	52.20	0.00	53.20	use email	52.20	0.00	53.20
last person	52.20	0.00	53.20	nice room-service dinner	52.20	0.00	53.20
common interest	52.20	0.00	53.20	nice shirt	52.20	0.00	53.20
vacation experience	52.20	0.00	53.20	nice time	52.20	0.00	53.20
similar experience	52.20	0.00	53.20	little bit	52.20	0.00	53.20
little clique	52.20	0.00	53.20	night elf druid	52.20	0.00	53.20
first inkling	52.20	0.00	53.20	night sleepover	52.20	0.00	53.20
living room	52.20	0.00	53.20	obnoxious mexican kid	52.20	0.00	53.20
small blue house	52.20	0.00	53.20	old console	52.20	0.00	53.20
african american woman	52.20	0.00	53.20	good enough computer	52.20	0.00	53.20
first video	52.20	0.00	53.20	old house	52.20	0.00	53.20
blue lighting	52.20	0.00	53.20	old kindergarten	52.20	0.00	53.20
sunny afternoon	52.20	0.00	53.20	speed internet	52.20	0.00	53.20
asking father	52.20	0.00	53.20	ollie jump	52.20	0.00	53.20
forested area	52.20	0.00	53.20	ominous fear	52.20	0.00	53.20
fourth bedroom	52.20	0.00	53.20	ominous tone	52.20	0.00	53.20
first hacky sack	52.20	0.00	53.20	online fantasy	52.20	0.00	53.20
afternoon skateboarding	52.20	0.00	53.20	online fantasy world	52.20	0.00	53.20
traveling first class	52.20	0.00	53.20	online game	52.20	0.00	53.20
beautiful walkway	52.20	0.00	53.20	impressive feat	52.20	0.00	53.20
fun afternoon skateboarding	52.20	0.00	53.20	favorite video game series	52.20	0.00	53.20
boyish sort	52.20	0.00	53.20	indoor skatepark	52.20	0.00	53.20
whole different world	52.20	0.00	53.20	favorite school	52.20	0.00	53.20
attaining such recognition	52.20	0.00	53.20	online world	52.20	0.00	53.20
so-called popular kid	52.20	0.00	53.20	sole exception	52.20	0.00	53.20
brand new video	52.20	0.00	53.20	elf druid	52.20	0.00	53.20
getting attention	52.20	0.00	53.20	true happiness	52.20	0.00	53.20
dizzy feeling	52.20	0.00	53.20	stupid name	52.20	0.00	53.20

extraordinary day	52.20	0.00	53.20	initial experience	52.20	0.00	53.20
brand new video game console	52.20	0.00	53.20	only video game	52.20	0.00	53.20
good sadness	52.20	0.00	53.20	only video game console	52.20	0.00	53.20
good thing	52.20	0.00	53.20	other boy	52.20	0.00	53.20
good time skateboarding	52.20	0.00	53.20	outdoor skatepark	52.20	0.00	53.20
attracting attention	52.20	0.00	53.20	overseas vacation	52.20	0.00	53.20
true bully	52.20	0.00	53.20	graduation day	52.20	0.00	53.20
own character	52.20	0.00	53.20	inkling of sexual desire	52.20	0.00	53.20
adventure game	52.20	0.00	53.20	favorite school year	52.20	0.00	53.20
starting elementary school	52.20	0.00	53.20	chubby-faced imbecile	52.20	0.00	53.20
whole new level	52.20	0.00	53.20	seating arrangement	52.20	0.00	53.20
particular reason	52.20	0.00	53.20	own home	52.20	0.00	53.20
great anticipation	52.20	0.00	53.20	graduation theme	52.20	0.00	53.20
great experience	52.20	0.00	53.20	graduation theme song	52.20	0.00	53.20
big honor	52.20	0.00	53.20	tall hotel building	52.20	0.00	53.20
absolute blast	52.20	0.00	53.20	parent supervision	52.20	0.00	53.20
great summer	52.20	0.00	53.20	graduation trip	52.20	0.00	53.20
summer camp start	52.20	0.00	53.20	sweet little boy	52.20	0.00	53.20
first playdate	52.20	0.00	53.20	great envy	52.20	0.00	53.20
practicing skateboarding	52.20	0.00	53.20	peculiar habit	52.20	0.00	53.20
camp start school	52.20	0.00	53.20	perfect length	52.20	0.00	53.20
professional cook	52.20	0.00	53.20	special camping retreat	52.20	0.00	53.20
professional at	52.20	0.00	53.20	pet puppy	52.20	0.00	53.20
average-sized outdoor skatepark	52.20	0.00	53.20	physical activity	52.20	0.00	53.20
second group	52.20	0.00	53.20	playing multiplayer	52.20	0.00	53.20
lemelson owned house	52.20	0.00	53.20	special camping	52.20	0.00	53.20
rare occasion	52.20	0.00	53.20	pleasant place	52.20	0.00	53.20
half-black boy	52.20	0.00	53.20	estate agent	52.20	0.00	53.20
exciting life	52.20	0.00	53.20	teenager watching pornography	52.20	0.00	53.20

experience of female cruelty	52.20	0.00	53.20	popular social networking	52.20	0.00	53.20
whole new type of game	52.20	0.00	53.20	popular social networking tool	52.20	0.00	53.20
red skateboard	52.20	0.00	53.20	great toll	52.20	0.00	53.20
bit overweight	52.20	0.00	53.20	same school	52.20	0.00	53.20
intense liking	52.20	0.00	53.20	present moment	52.20	0.00	53.20
start school	52.20	0.00	53.20	prestigious area	52.20	0.00	53.20
just mother	52.20	0.00	53.20	prestigious threestory house	52.20	0.00	53.20
cocky attitude	52.20	0.00	53.20	green design	52.20	0.00	53.20
summer of true happiness	52.20	0.00	53.20	previous attempt	52.20	0.00	53.20
adult supervision	52.20	0.00	53.20	green lighting	52.20	0.00	53.20
street corner	52.20	0.00	53.20	innocent little child	52.20	0.00	53.20
coming summer	52.20	0.00	53.20	special announcement	52.20	0.00	53.20
stoic sort	52.20	0.00	53.20	church parking	52.20	0.00	53.20
true brutality	52.20	0.00	53.20	bit boring	52.20	0.00	53.20
twelfth year	52.20	0.00	53.20	quiet street	52.20	0.00	53.20
last time trick-or-treating	52.20	0.00	53.20	quiet street corner	52.20	0.00	53.20
sixth grade	52.20	0.00	53.20	random meeting	52.20	0.00	53.20
time delay	52.20	0.00	53.20	random seating	52.20	0.00	53.20
secret hobby	52.20	0.00	53.20	random seating arrangement	52.20	0.00	53.20
sloping backyard	52.20	0.00	53.20	little innocent mind	52.20	0.00	53.20
skateboard trick-or-treating	52.20	0.00	53.20	real estate	52.20	0.00	53.20
well-needed break	52.20	0.00	53.20	real estate agent	52.20	0.00	53.20
time skateboarding	52.20	0.00	53.20	real friendship	52.20	0.00	53.20
first inkling of sexual desire	52.20	0.00	53.20	insightful brother	52.20	0.00	53.20
wild boar	52.20	0.00	53.20	exquisite deck	52.20	0.00	53.20
long pier	52.20	0.00	53.20	whole new school	52.20	0.00	53.20
satisfying social life	52.20	0.00	53.20	hide-and-seek tag	52.20	0.00	53.20
first skatepark	52.20	0.00	53.20	room-service dinner	52.20	0.00	53.20
core group	52.20	0.00	53.20	tall hotel	52.20	0.00	53.20
lovely place	52.20	0.00	53.20	legendary mode	52.20	0.00	53.20

low-class area	52.20	0.00	53.20	very time	52.20	0.00	53.20
coveted summer break	52.20	0.00	53.20	instant messenger	52.20	0.00	53.20
marvelous trip	52.20	0.00	53.20	favorite video game	52.20	0.00	53.20
coveted treasure	52.20	0.00	53.20	great time	261.01	9.81	24.24
remarkable experience	52.20	0.00	53.20	summer camp	626.44	39.24	15.59
cruel joke	52.20	0.00	53.20	video game console	156.61	9.81	14.58
footage of school life	52.20	0.00	53.20	whole new world	156.61	9.81	14.58
cruel treatment	52.20	0.00	53.20	game console	156.61	9.81	14.58
small plaza	52.20	0.00	53.20	cell phone	156.61	9.81	14.58
boisterous german man	52.20	0.00	53.20	school time	156.61	9.81	14.58
multiplayer mode	52.20	0.00	53.20	big deal	208.81	19.62	10.18
beautiful view	52.20	0.00	53.20	black hair	104.41	9.81	9.75
innocent mind	52.20	0.00	53.20	little child	104.41	9.81	9.75
cyber café	52.20	0.00	53.20	new nanny	104.41	9.81	9.75
fragile mind	52.20	0.00	53.20	dinner party	104.41	9.81	9.75
boisterous middle-aged man	52.20	0.00	53.20	own mother	104.41	9.81	9.75
time trick-or-treating	52.20	0.00	53.20	great fun	104.41	9.81	9.75
new hair color	52.20	0.00	53.20	hair blonde	104.41	9.81	9.75
full-blonde look	52.20	0.00	53.20	quiet kid	104.41	9.81	9.75
decent world	52.20	0.00	53.20	camping trip	104.41	9.81	9.75
hotel television	52.20	0.00	53.20	school life	104.41	9.81	9.75
defensive shell	52.20	0.00	53.20	video game	313.22	39.24	7.81
fun personality	52.20	0.00	53.20	little boy	156.61	19.62	7.64
different world	52.20	0.00	53.20	new world	156.61	19.62	7.64
watching pornography	52.20	0.00	53.20	school year	156.61	19.62	7.64
funny face	52.20	0.00	53.20	middle school	261.01	49.05	5.24
brand new playground	52.20	0.00	53.20	last year	208.81	39.24	5.21
bedroom apartment	52.20	0.00	53.20	only time	156.61	29.43	5.18
social group	52.20	0.00	53.20	first experience	156.61	29.43	5.18
dire news	52.20	0.00	53.20	same age	156.61	29.43	5.18
nice meal	52.20	0.00	53.20	new experience	104.41	19.62	5.11
german man	52.20	0.00	53.20	own room	104.41	19.62	5.11
night elf	52.20	0.00	53.20	recreation center	104.41	19.62	5.11
glorious day	52.20	0.00	53.20	social situation	52.20	9.81	4.92
good change	52.20	0.00	53.20	social networking	52.20	9.81	4.92

brand new video game	52.20	0.00	53.20	special place	52.20	9.81	4.92
routine back	52.20	0.00	53.20	intense fear	52.20	9.81	4.92
good laugh	52.20	0.00	53.20	alpha male	52.20	9.81	4.92
good life	52.20	0.00	53.20	last period	52.20	9.81	4.92
good memory	52.20	0.00	53.20	last minute	52.20	9.81	4.92
online pc	52.20	0.00	53.20	first couple	52.20	9.81	4.92
good summer	52.20	0.00	53.20	very foundation	52.20	9.81	4.92
little puppy	52.20	0.00	53.20	very end	52.20	9.81	4.92
only playdate	52.20	0.00	53.20	very fun	52.20	9.81	4.92
social networking tool	52.20	0.00	53.20	beautiful model	52.20	9.81	4.92
emotional attachment	52.20	0.00	53.20	living arrangement	52.20	9.81	4.92
graduation award	52.20	0.00	53.20	long relationship	52.20	9.81	4.92
end of sixth grade	52.20	0.00	53.20	lonely period	52.20	9.81	4.92
intense eagerness	52.20	0.00	53.20	first video game console	52.20	9.81	4.92
enough computer	52.20	0.00	53.20	first video game	52.20	9.81	4.92
own skateboard	52.20	0.00	53.20	movie theatre	52.20	9.81	4.92
entire game	52.20	0.00	53.20	foreign country	52.20	9.81	4.92
same name	52.20	0.00	53.20	dark day	52.20	9.81	4.92
brutality of human nature	52.20	0.00	53.20	new character	52.20	9.81	4.92
personal balcony	52.20	0.00	53.20	crying tantrum	52.20	9.81	4.92
epic experience	52.20	0.00	53.20	new phenomenon	52.20	9.81	4.92
playing multiplayer mode	52.20	0.00	53.20	nice dinner	52.20	9.81	4.92
camp start	52.20	0.00	53.20	dining room	52.20	9.81	4.92
popular boy	52.20	0.00	53.20	old friend	52.20	9.81	4.92
exact last time	52.20	0.00	53.20	early age	52.20	9.81	4.92
joyful experience	52.20	0.00	53.20	only computer	52.20	9.81	4.92
great week	52.20	0.00	53.20	only place	52.20	9.81	4.92
excellent precision	52.20	0.00	53.20	brutal place	52.20	9.81	4.92
excitable mix	52.20	0.00	53.20	own grade	52.20	9.81	4.92
computer game	52.20	0.00	53.20	peculiar experience	52.20	9.81	4.92
camping retreat	52.20	0.00	53.20	pleasant time	52.20	9.81	4.92
exciting birthday	52.20	0.00	53.20	great liking	52.20	9.81	4.92
hair color	52.20	0.00	53.20	great life	52.20	9.81	4.92
same girl	52.20	0.00	53.20	extreme jealousy	52.20	9.81	4.92
happy experience	52.20	0.00	53.20	same week	52.20	9.81	4.92
happy interest	52.20	0.00	53.20	huge fan	52.20	9.81	4.92

awesome time	52.20	0.00	53.20	second time	52.20	9.81	4.92
ultimate game	52.20	0.00	53.20	huge swimming	52.20	9.81	4.92
american culture	52.20	0.00	53.20	huge swimming pool	52.20	9.81	4.92
right salon	52.20	0.00	53.20	extreme sense	52.20	9.81	4.92
high speed	52.20	0.00	53.20	shy kid	52.20	9.81	4.92
high speed internet	52.20	0.00	53.20	human nature	52.20	9.81	4.92
unworthy little mouse	52.20	0.00	53.20	fantasy world	52.20	9.81	4.92
rude lout	52.20	0.00	53.20	child support	52.20	9.81	4.92
horrific downfall	52.20	0.00	53.20	small private school	52.20	9.81	4.92
extra bed	52.20	0.00	53.20	favorite time	52.20	9.81	4.92
big sleepover	52.20	0.00	53.20	elementary school	261.01	58.86	4.38
same middle school	52.20	0.00	53.20	same time	208.81	49.05	4.19
hotel building	52.20	0.00	53.20	new house	365.42	98.09	3.70
extraordinary news	52.20	0.00	53.20	summer break	104.41	29.43	3.46
video game series	52.20	0.00	53.20	first class	104.41	29.43	3.46
hotel suite	52.20	0.00	53.20	very day	104.41	29.43	3.46
wilderness area	52.20	0.00	53.20	walking distance	104.41	29.43	3.46
extreme enthusiasm	52.20	0.00	53.20	blue house	104.41	29.43	3.46
school bus	52.20	0.00	53.20	entire life	104.41	29.43	3.46
huge crying tantrum	52.20	0.00	53.20	own bathroom	104.41	39.24	2.62
rotation schedule	52.20	0.00	53.20	popular kid	104.41	39.24	2.62
chat room	52.20	0.00	53.20	private school	104.41	39.24	2.62
utmost dismay	52.20	0.00	53.20	last thing	52.20	19.62	2.58
female cruelty	52.20	0.00	53.20	collecting candy	52.20	19.62	2.58
true social group	52.20	0.00	53.20	week-one week	52.20	19.62	2.58
cheering crowd	52.20	0.00	53.20	little mouse	52.20	19.62	2.58
subconscious preconception	52.20	0.00	53.20	apartment building	52.20	19.62	2.58
huge relief	52.20	0.00	53.20	new hair	52.20	19.62	2.58
church parking lot	52.20	0.00	53.20	new level	52.20	19.62	2.58
such recognition	52.20	0.00	53.20	new kid	52.20	19.62	2.58
intense level	52.20	0.00	53.20	front door	52.20	19.62	2.58
showing recognition	52.20	0.00	53.20	new skateboard	52.20	19.62	2.58
close group	52.20	0.00	53.20	only person	52.20	19.62	2.58
complete loner	52.20	0.00	53.20	parking lot	52.20	19.62	2.58

short vacation	52.20	0.00	53.20	powerful laptop	52.20	19.62	2.58
fair environment	52.20	0.00	53.20	regular basis	52.20	19.62	2.58
kind-hearted person	52.20	0.00	53.20	big number	52.20	19.62	2.58
few chat	52.20	0.00	53.20	hot girl	52.20	19.62	2.58
kindergarten class	52.20	0.00	53.20	second bedroom	52.20	19.62	2.58
video game world	52.20	0.00	53.20	last time	626.44	245.24	2.55
large screen	52.20	0.00	53.20	social life	208.81	98.09	2.12
first baby	52.20	0.00	53.20	much fun	156.61	78.48	1.98
first boy	52.20	0.00	53.20	long time	313.22	166.76	1.87
ruthless struggle	52.20	0.00	53.20	fourth grade	104.41	58.86	1.76
first cell	52.20	0.00	53.20	spending time	52.20	29.43	1.75
last minute decision	52.20	0.00	53.20	whole experience	52.20	29.43	1.75
first cell phone	52.20	0.00	53.20	good friend	52.20	29.43	1.75
simple sport	52.20	0.00	53.20	baby brother	52.20	29.43	1.75
first character	52.20	0.00	53.20	grade year	52.20	29.43	1.75
true brutality of human nature	52.20	0.00	53.20	hotel room	52.20	29.43	1.75
last summer of true happiness	52.20	0.00	53.20	first time	313.22	206.00	1.52
sexual desire	52.20	0.00	53.20	first week	104.41	68.67	1.51
community recreation	52.20	0.00	53.20	red carpet	104.41	68.67	1.51
time learning	52.20	0.00	53.20	black boy	52.20	39.24	1.32
black kid	52.20	0.00	53.20	big part	52.20	39.24	1.32
such dinner	52.20	0.00	53.20	tragic life	52.20	39.24	1.32
short haircut	52.20	0.00	53.20	first friend	52.20	39.24	1.32
awesome time learning	52.20	0.00	53.20	hard time	52.20	39.24	1.32
community recreation center	52.20	0.00	53.20	brief period	52.20	39.24	1.32
large selection	52.20	0.00	53.20	winter break	156.61	127.52	1.23
first experience of female cruelty	52.20	0.00	53.20	first day	261.01	215.81	1.21
regular group	52.20	0.00	53.20	new room	104.41	88.28	1.18
blonde color	52.20	0.00	53.20	blonde hair	104.41	88.28	1.18
skateboard camp	52.20	0.00	53.20	japanese restaurant	52.20	49.05	1.06
upper-middle class	52.20	0.00	53.20	last trip	52.20	49.05	1.06
huge online fantasy world	52.20	0.00	53.20	free time	52.20	49.05	1.06
very word	52.20	0.00	53.20	nice house	52.20	49.05	1.06
whole chapter	52.20	0.00	53.20	new apartment	52.20	49.05	1.06
satisfying experience	52.20	0.00	53.20	good time	52.20	49.05	1.06

whole new level of fascination	52.20	0.00	53.20	carpet premiere	52.20	49.05	1.06
little vacation	52.20	0.00	53.20	red carpet premiere	52.20	49.05	1.06
baseball player	52.20	0.00	53.20	downstairs room	52.20	49.05	1.06
slow dance	52.20	0.00	53.20	swimming pool	104.41	107.90	0.97
cool skateboarder	52.20	0.00	53.20	only friend	52.20	58.86	0.89
Three story house	52.20	0.00	53.20	whole world	104.41	117.71	0.89
first session	52.20	0.00	53.20	pretty girl	104.41	117.71	0.89
huge online fantasy	52.20	0.00	53.20	way home	52.20	68.67	0.76
loud surround-sound	52.20	0.00	53.20	next day	52.20	78.48	0.67
lovely bedroom	52.20	0.00	53.20	same thing	52.20	88.28	0.60
lovely little trip	52.20	0.00	53.20	last day	52.20	107.90	0.49
lovely new house	52.20	0.00	53.20	high school	52.20	137.33	0.39
lovely summer	52.20	0.00	53.20				

3.9.4 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 4

Item (SketchEngine; sorted by Simple Maths Score >1; calculated using N+1)	Relative frequency (RF) per million words (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score	Item	RF (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score
summer school	308.26	0.00	309.26	luxurious downstairs	61.65	0.00	62.65
baby jazz	246.61	0.00	247.61	luxurious downstairs room	61.65	0.00	62.65
whole school	123.30	0.00	124.31	first break	61.65	0.00	62.65
same server	123.30	0.00	124.31	invisible shy kid	61.65	0.00	62.65
serious thought	123.30	0.00	124.31	main office	61.65	0.00	62.65
small respite	123.30	0.00	124.31	major concern	61.65	0.00	62.65
shallow end	123.30	0.00	124.31	major depression	61.65	0.00	62.65
plane ticket	123.30	0.00	124.31	own little world	61.65	0.00	62.65
bottom floor	123.30	0.00	124.31	many homework	61.65	0.00	62.65
cruel world	123.30	0.00	124.31	memorable day	61.65	0.00	62.65
old blue house	123.30	0.00	124.31	memorable night	61.65	0.00	62.65
full exposure	61.65	0.00	62.65	sour mood	61.65	0.00	62.65
complete dork	61.65	0.00	62.65	big tantrum	61.65	0.00	62.65
actual house	61.65	0.00	62.65	wearing plain polo	61.65	0.00	62.65
drinking age	61.65	0.00	62.65	miserable journey	61.65	0.00	62.65
traumatizing thing	61.65	0.00	62.65	first feature film	61.65	0.00	62.65
very thing	61.65	0.00	62.65	motorcycle riding	61.65	0.00	62.65
positive attention	61.65	0.00	62.65	mountain dew	61.65	0.00	62.65

regular social interaction	61.65	0.00	62.65	torturous experience	61.65	0.00	62.65
second expansion	61.65	0.00	62.65	depraved world	61.65	0.00	62.65
horrible news	61.65	0.00	62.65	much attention	61.65	0.00	62.65
european porn	61.65	0.00	62.65	birthday present	61.65	0.00	62.65
pool party	61.65	0.00	62.65	much serious thought	61.65	0.00	62.65
special mountain dew flavor	61.65	0.00	62.65	first masturbation	61.65	0.00	62.65
important accomplishment	61.65	0.00	62.65	nervous excitement	61.65	0.00	62.65
exact reason	61.65	0.00	62.65	grudging respect	61.65	0.00	62.65
favorite character	61.65	0.00	62.65	depressing stage	61.65	0.00	62.65
complete despair	61.65	0.00	62.65	rightful place	61.65	0.00	62.65
blonde-haired girlfriend	61.65	0.00	62.65	first year	61.65	0.00	62.65
vicious hatred	61.65	0.00	62.65	perfect set	61.65	0.00	62.65
lonely celibacy	61.65	0.00	62.65	five-hour raid	61.65	0.00	62.65
own pace	61.65	0.00	62.65	intense anguish	61.65	0.00	62.65
plain polo	61.65	0.00	62.65	flight schedule	61.65	0.00	62.65
required time	61.65	0.00	62.65	production company	61.65	0.00	62.65
emotional conversation	61.65	0.00	62.65	different flight	61.65	0.00	62.65
whole audience	61.65	0.00	62.65	legal drinking age	61.65	0.00	62.65
hopeless everything	61.65	0.00	62.65	foul time	61.65	0.00	62.65
film producer	61.65	0.00	62.65	gigantic roller coaster	61.65	0.00	62.65
horrendous travel experience	61.65	0.00	62.65	new show	61.65	0.00	62.65
travel experience	61.65	0.00	62.65	newborn baby	61.65	0.00	62.65
hurrying home	61.65	0.00	62.65	newborn baby boy	61.65	0.00	62.65
own voice	61.65	0.00	62.65	sprawling mansion	61.65	0.00	62.65
telling anyone	61.65	0.00	62.65	next person	61.65	0.00	62.65
intense stirring numbness	61.65	0.00	62.65	nice fire	61.65	0.00	62.65
comfort zone	61.65	0.00	62.65	nice piece	61.65	0.00	62.65
travel assistance	61.65	0.00	62.65	small walk	61.65	0.00	62.65
unfair everything	61.65	0.00	62.65	nostalgic experience	61.65	0.00	62.65
unfair life	61.65	0.00	62.65	old bedroom	61.65	0.00	62.65
late birthday	61.65	0.00	62.65	much loneliness	61.65	0.00	62.65
failing work	61.65	0.00	62.65	old office	61.65	0.00	62.65
light switch	61.65	0.00	62.65	old server	61.65	0.00	62.65
whole bottom floor	61.65	0.00	62.65	online friend	61.65	0.00	62.65

wealthy hotel	61.65	0.00	62.65	only bad thing	61.65	0.00	62.65
horrid experience	61.65	0.00	62.65	own clique	61.65	0.00	62.65
social outcast	61.65	0.00	62.65	full speed	61.65	0.00	62.65
whole bottom	61.65	0.00	62.65	only game	61.65	0.00	62.65
whole summer	61.65	0.00	62.65	funny feeling	61.65	0.00	62.65
bitter coincidence	61.65	0.00	62.65	uplifting experience	61.65	0.00	62.65
elf character	61.65	0.00	62.65	only source	61.65	0.00	62.65
new office	61.65	0.00	62.65	funny part	61.65	0.00	62.65
state of complete despair	61.65	0.00	62.65	furious rage	61.65	0.00	62.65
different flight schedule	61.65	0.00	62.65	whelping baby	61.65	0.00	62.65
different plane	61.65	0.00	62.65	onset of spring break	61.65	0.00	62.65
doing work	61.65	0.00	62.65	outgoing nineteen-year-old french guy	61.65	0.00	62.65
special mountain dew	61.65	0.00	62.65	generous man	61.65	0.00	62.65
bad part	61.65	0.00	62.65	popular skateboarder	61.65	0.00	62.65
whole week	61.65	0.00	62.65	imaginary girlfriend	61.65	0.00	62.65
blood elf	61.65	0.00	62.65	voice recording	61.65	0.00	62.65
exploring everything	61.65	0.00	62.65	vow of finishing high school	61.65	0.00	62.65
past friendship	61.65	0.00	62.65	first kiss	61.65	0.00	62.65
unfair place	61.65	0.00	62.65	downstairs room	308.26	9.53	29.36
polo shirt	61.65	0.00	62.65	lonely life	246.61	9.53	23.50
efficient dark-colored laptop	61.65	0.00	62.65	baby brother	184.96	9.53	17.65
bad thing	61.65	0.00	62.65	single second	184.96	9.53	17.65
hide-andseek tag	61.65	0.00	62.65	financial crisis	184.96	9.53	17.65
real life	61.65	0.00	62.65	amusement park	184.96	9.53	17.65
rare armor	61.65	0.00	62.65	high school	678.18	38.14	17.35
active sex	61.65	0.00	62.65	new job	123.30	9.53	11.80
same restaurant	61.65	0.00	62.65	front door	123.30	9.53	11.80
fair price	61.65	0.00	62.65	powerful laptop	123.30	9.53	11.80
successful film producer	61.65	0.00	62.65	regular basis	123.30	9.53	11.80
bright picture	61.65	0.00	62.65	young person	123.30	9.53	11.80
scared little boy	61.65	0.00	62.65	blue house	184.96	19.07	9.27
horrific experience	61.65	0.00	62.65	sex drive	184.96	19.07	9.27
horrendous travel	61.65	0.00	62.65	much time	184.96	28.60	6.28
huge high school	61.65	0.00	62.65	new expansion	184.96	28.60	6.28
very kind	61.65	0.00	62.65	own bathroom	184.96	28.60	6.28
big day	61.65	0.00	62.65	new laptop	123.30	19.07	6.19

public school	61.65	0.00	62.65	previous year	123.30	19.07	6.19
intense anticipation	61.65	0.00	62.65	sex life	123.30	19.07	6.19
sound system	61.65	0.00	62.65	spring break	123.30	19.07	6.19
exciting day	61.65	0.00	62.65	new character	61.65	9.53	5.95
just place	61.65	0.00	62.65	depressing life	61.65	9.53	5.95
big hug	61.65	0.00	62.65	food court	61.65	9.53	5.95
something extreme	61.65	0.00	62.65	new plan	61.65	9.53	5.95
ugly front building	61.65	0.00	62.65	only computer	61.65	9.53	5.95
secret crush	61.65	0.00	62.65	dreadful day	61.65	9.53	5.95
late birthday present	61.65	0.00	62.65	own grade	61.65	9.53	5.95
tongue kiss	61.65	0.00	62.65	german woman	61.65	9.53	5.95
life of lonely celibacy	61.65	0.00	62.65	passionate sex	61.65	9.53	5.95
horrible thing	61.65	0.00	62.65	own world	61.65	9.53	5.95
little celebration	61.65	0.00	62.65	perfect opportunity	61.65	9.53	5.95
ultimate end	61.65	0.00	62.65	early age	61.65	9.53	5.95
feature film	61.65	0.00	62.65	bad mood	61.65	9.53	5.95
sensible thing	61.65	0.00	62.65	pleasant time	61.65	9.53	5.95
short school	61.65	0.00	62.65	great satisfaction	61.65	9.53	5.95
big screen	61.65	0.00	62.65	good friendship	61.65	9.53	5.95
condominium close	61.65	0.00	62.65	great social life	61.65	9.53	5.95
financial setback	61.65	0.00	62.65	eating lunch	61.65	9.53	5.95
small hope	61.65	0.00	62.65	quiet corner	61.65	9.53	5.95
lucky bastard	61.65	0.00	62.65	real friend	61.65	9.53	5.95
fine relief	61.65	0.00	62.65	high level	61.65	9.53	5.95
finishing high school	61.65	0.00	62.65	school system	61.65	9.53	5.95
total bitch	61.65	0.00	62.65	barbaric act	61.65	9.53	5.95
cultured vibe	61.65	0.00	62.65	set everything right	61.65	9.53	5.95
daily progression	61.65	0.00	62.65	set everything	61.65	9.53	5.95
sheer cruelty	61.65	0.00	62.65	entire summer	61.65	9.53	5.95
small party	61.65	0.00	62.65	shy kid	61.65	9.53	5.95
completing middle school	61.65	0.00	62.65	short amount	61.65	9.53	5.95
big talk	61.65	0.00	62.65	huge house	61.65	9.53	5.95
bad luck	61.65	0.00	62.65	everything right	61.65	9.53	5.95
new baby	61.65	0.00	62.65	intense fear	61.65	9.53	5.95
roller coaster	61.65	0.00	62.65	exchange student	61.65	9.53	5.95
weird kid	61.65	0.00	62.65	last couple	61.65	9.53	5.95
dew flavor	61.65	0.00	62.65	last minute	61.65	9.53	5.95
true representative	61.65	0.00	62.65	commercial director	61.65	9.53	5.95

black baseball	61.65	0.00	62.65	level cap	61.65	9.53	5.95
prestigious private school	61.65	0.00	62.65	fantasy world	61.65	9.53	5.95
four-year-old jazz	61.65	0.00	62.65	extra work	61.65	9.53	5.95
fourth premiere	61.65	0.00	62.65	week-one week arrangement	61.65	9.53	5.95
free day	61.65	0.00	62.65	week arrangement	61.65	9.53	5.95
nineteen-year-old french guy	61.65	0.00	62.65	complete opposite	61.65	9.53	5.95
french guy	61.65	0.00	62.65	abolishing sex	61.65	9.53	5.95
front building	61.65	0.00	62.65	little sister	61.65	9.53	5.95
anticipated movie	61.65	0.00	62.65	little time	61.65	9.53	5.95
gigantic roller	61.65	0.00	62.65	amazing life	61.65	9.53	5.95
dreaded day	61.65	0.00	62.65	lonely period	61.65	9.53	5.95
only social interaction	61.65	0.00	62.65	deep breath	61.65	9.53	5.95
dreaded suspicion	61.65	0.00	62.65	lot of free time	61.65	9.53	5.95
little blue house	61.65	0.00	62.65	long walk	61.65	9.53	5.95
gaming experience	61.65	0.00	62.65	magnificent story	61.65	9.53	5.95
garbage truck	61.65	0.00	62.65	first couple	61.65	9.53	5.95
arrogant jerk	61.65	0.00	62.65	major turning point	61.65	9.53	5.95
quality big screen	61.65	0.00	62.65	first episode	61.65	9.53	5.95
blood elf character	61.65	0.00	62.65	first kid	61.65	9.53	5.95
high quality big screen	61.65	0.00	62.65	much hatred	61.65	9.53	5.95
early time	61.65	0.00	62.65	next day	246.61	47.67	5.09
high quality	61.65	0.00	62.65	whole time	308.26	66.74	4.57
bad reputation	61.65	0.00	62.65	middle school	246.61	57.21	4.25
sticky fluid	61.65	0.00	62.65	summer break	123.30	28.60	4.20
dark-colored laptop	61.65	0.00	62.65	big part	123.30	28.60	4.20
mid-life crisis	61.65	0.00	62.65	very day	123.30	28.60	4.20
backwater country	61.65	0.00	62.65	last day	246.61	76.28	3.20
blue zip	61.65	0.00	62.65	free time	123.30	38.14	3.18
safe playing	61.65	0.00	62.65	whole body	123.30	38.14	3.18
hasty plan	61.65	0.00	62.65	new nanny	61.65	19.07	3.12
popular young person	61.65	0.00	62.65	new person	61.65	19.07	3.12
end of middle school	61.65	0.00	62.65	new kid	61.65	19.07	3.12
upsetting news	61.65	0.00	62.65	only person	61.65	19.07	3.12
little world	61.65	0.00	62.65	going home	61.65	19.07	3.12

end of school time	61.65	0.00	62.65	quiet kid	61.65	19.07	3.12
high school system	61.65	0.00	62.65	high sex drive	61.65	19.07	3.12
enjoying everything	61.65	0.00	62.65	high sex	61.65	19.07	3.12
break time	61.65	0.00	62.65	enjoying life	61.65	19.07	3.12
such misery	61.65	0.00	62.65	school life	61.65	19.07	3.12
enough money	61.65	0.00	62.65	sexual starvation	61.65	19.07	3.12
successful film	61.65	0.00	62.65	hot girl	61.65	19.07	3.12
baby boy	61.65	0.00	62.65	camping trip	61.65	19.07	3.12
story house	61.65	0.00	62.65	big number	61.65	19.07	3.12
horrible place	61.65	0.00	62.65	last thing	61.65	19.07	3.12
horrible school	61.65	0.00	62.65	week-one week	61.65	19.07	3.12
epic transformation	61.65	0.00	62.65	life situation	61.65	19.07	3.12
erect penis	61.65	0.00	62.65	whole day	61.65	19.07	3.12
stopping everyone	61.65	0.00	62.65	main character	61.65	19.07	3.12
better-paying job	61.65	0.00	62.65	much pleasure	61.65	19.07	3.12
ridiculous plan	61.65	0.00	62.65	miserable time	61.65	19.07	3.12
calm environment	61.65	0.00	62.65	only friend	123.30	47.67	2.55
small plane	61.65	0.00	62.65	new room	184.96	76.28	2.41
evil bastard	61.65	0.00	62.65	winter break	246.61	114.42	2.15
volcanic eruption	61.65	0.00	62.65	brother jazz	123.30	57.21	2.14
evil bitch	61.65	0.00	62.65	way home	123.30	57.21	2.14
immature brat	61.65	0.00	62.65	new place	61.65	28.60	2.12
immediate goal	61.65	0.00	62.65	good friend	61.65	28.60	2.12
orientation event	61.65	0.00	62.65	happy birthday	61.65	28.60	2.12
baby brother jazz	61.65	0.00	62.65	school time	61.65	28.60	2.12
second week	61.65	0.00	62.65	turning point	61.65	28.60	2.12
active sex life	61.65	0.00	62.65	little kid	61.65	28.60	2.12
stirring numbness	61.65	0.00	62.65	exact revenge	61.65	28.60	2.12
invisible quiet kid	61.65	0.00	62.65	swimming pool	184.96	95.35	1.93
little girl	61.65	0.00	62.65	first day	369.91	200.23	1.84
expecting something	61.65	0.00	62.65	first week	123.30	66.74	1.84
school uniform	61.65	0.00	62.65	social interaction	123.30	66.74	1.84
last airbender	61.65	0.00	62.65	only thing	184.96	104.88	1.76
expecting something extreme	61.65	0.00	62.65	social life	184.96	104.88	1.76

summer school term	61.65	0.00	62.65	pleasurable life	61.65	38.14	1.60
secret spot	61.65	0.00	62.65	entire life	61.65	38.14	1.60
exquisite city	61.65	0.00	62.65	brief period	61.65	38.14	1.60
whole household	61.65	0.00	62.65	little boy	61.65	38.14	1.60
extra homework	61.65	0.00	62.65	first class	61.65	38.14	1.60
horrible experience	61.65	0.00	62.65	last time	431.57	286.04	1.51
unfair life situation	61.65	0.00	62.65	new house	184.96	133.49	1.38
legal drinking	61.65	0.00	62.65	long time	246.61	181.16	1.36
complete disaster	61.65	0.00	62.65	whole life	123.30	95.35	1.29
horrible school life	61.65	0.00	62.65	big deal	61.65	47.67	1.29
actual teenager	61.65	0.00	62.65	only time	61.65	47.67	1.29
midnight playing	61.65	0.00	62.65	great time	61.65	47.67	1.29
toxic nightmare	61.65	0.00	62.65	red carpet premiere	61.65	47.67	1.29
miserable pit	61.65	0.00	62.65	same age	61.65	47.67	1.29
first feature	61.65	0.00	62.65	private school	61.65	47.67	1.29
small school	61.65	0.00	62.65	japanese restaurant	61.65	47.67	1.29
ultimate loser	61.65	0.00	62.65	town center	61.65	47.67	1.29
sexual development	61.65	0.00	62.65	last trip	61.65	47.67	1.29
special mountain	61.65	0.00	62.65	carpet premiere	61.65	47.67	1.29
deep financial setback	61.65	0.00	62.65	first experience	61.65	47.67	1.29
few fun	61.65	0.00	62.65	whole world	123.30	114.42	1.08
school term	61.65	0.00	62.65	female gender	61.65	66.74	0.93
house right	61.65	0.00	62.65	summer camp	123.30	133.49	0.92
total obscurity	61.65	0.00	62.65	only way	184.96	219.30	0.84
lonely routine	61.65	0.00	62.65	blonde girl	61.65	76.28	0.81
horrific storm	61.65	0.00	62.65	same time	61.65	76.28	0.81
mountain dew flavor	61.65	0.00	62.65	red carpet	61.65	76.28	0.81
first girl	61.65	0.00	62.65	first time	184.96	228.84	0.81
back home	61.65	0.00	62.65	young age	123.30	162.09	0.76
lower-class area	61.65	0.00	62.65	blonde hair	61.65	95.35	0.65
peaceful island	61.65	0.00	62.65				

3.9.5 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 5

Item (SketchEngine; sorted by Simple Maths Score >1;	Relative frequency (RF) per million words	RF (ref corpus)	Score	Item	RF (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score
---	---	-----------------------	-------	------	-------------------------	-----------------------	-------

calculated using N+1)	(focus corpus)						
karate class	240.86	0.00	241.86	shared room	48.17	0.00	49.17
private beach	144.52	0.00	145.52	new book series	48.17	0.00	49.17
eldest son	144.52	0.00	145.52	new car	48.17	0.00	49.17
drive home	144.52	0.00	145.52	temporary apartment	48.17	0.00	49.17
walking hand	96.34	0.00	97.34	new commitment	48.17	0.00	49.17
release date	96.34	0.00	97.34	five-year-old boy	48.17	0.00	49.17
waiting room	96.34	0.00	97.34	five-year-old brother	48.17	0.00	49.17
television series	96.34	0.00	97.34	shameful tragedy	48.17	0.00	49.17
other day	96.34	0.00	97.34	new facebook	48.17	0.00	49.17
new chance	96.34	0.00	97.34	new facebook profile	48.17	0.00	49.17
white belt	96.34	0.00	97.34	new game	48.17	0.00	49.17
bleak loneliness	96.34	0.00	97.34	new hope	48.17	0.00	49.17
fifth book	96.34	0.00	97.34	form of social interaction	48.17	0.00	49.17
other way	96.34	0.00	97.34	whole afternoon	48.17	0.00	49.17
summer class	96.34	0.00	97.34	same class	48.17	0.00	49.17
weak man	96.34	0.00	97.34	fourth book	48.17	0.00	49.17
driving test	96.34	0.00	97.34	new level cap	48.17	0.00	49.17
brown belt	96.34	0.00	97.34	fourth glass	48.17	0.00	49.17
old kid	96.34	0.00	97.34	single room	48.17	0.00	49.17
whole night	96.34	0.00	97.34	free reign	48.17	0.00	49.17
jury service	96.34	0.00	97.34	new player-base	48.17	0.00	49.17
year old kid	96.34	0.00	97.34	simple smile	48.17	0.00	49.17
complete loser	96.34	0.00	97.34	same lonely celibate life	48.17	0.00	49.17
doing everything	96.34	0.00	97.34	new social networking	48.17	0.00	49.17
life right	96.34	0.00	97.34	new start	48.17	0.00	49.17
eighteenth year	96.34	0.00	97.34	new status	48.17	0.00	49.17
huge undertaking	96.34	0.00	97.34	television adaptation	48.17	0.00	49.17
college class	96.34	0.00	97.34	new year	48.17	0.00	49.17
last stint	48.17	0.00	49.17	newfound optimism	48.17	0.00	49.17
social credibility	48.17	0.00	49.17	stupid head	48.17	0.00	49.17
social boy	48.17	0.00	49.17	virgin life	48.17	0.00	49.17
subtle lightning	48.17	0.00	49.17	intense determination	48.17	0.00	49.17
lonely virgin life	48.17	0.00	49.17	fully-grown teenage girl	48.17	0.00	49.17
few family	48.17	0.00	49.17	next episode	48.17	0.00	49.17
blazer coat	48.17	0.00	49.17	next high level	48.17	0.00	49.17
lot of delicious food	48.17	0.00	49.17	mountain area	48.17	0.00	49.17
first apartment	48.17	0.00	49.17	next move	48.17	0.00	49.17

apartment room	48.17	0.00	49.17	next semester	48.17	0.00	49.17
medieval fantasy	48.17	0.00	49.17	girl of such beauty	48.17	0.00	49.17
large community	48.17	0.00	49.17	year old man	48.17	0.00	49.17
first apartment building	48.17	0.00	49.17	night tradition	48.17	0.00	49.17
whole story	48.17	0.00	49.17	normal school	48.17	0.00	49.17
morning history class	48.17	0.00	49.17	normal school system	48.17	0.00	49.17
much injustice	48.17	0.00	49.17	novice white belt	48.17	0.00	49.17
temporary job opportunity	48.17	0.00	49.17	noxious feud	48.17	0.00	49.17
morning history	48.17	0.00	49.17	obnoxious jock	48.17	0.00	49.17
medieval fantasy series	48.17	0.00	49.17	obnoxious prick	48.17	0.00	49.17
crucial turning point	48.17	0.00	49.17	real reason	48.17	0.00	49.17
new kind	48.17	0.00	49.17	old contemplation	48.17	0.00	49.17
foul situation	48.17	0.00	49.17	old contemplation spot	48.17	0.00	49.17
watching julian sweet-talk	48.17	0.00	49.17	intimate experience	48.17	0.00	49.17
beautiful face	48.17	0.00	49.17	old man	48.17	0.00	49.17
walking home	48.17	0.00	49.17	good news	48.17	0.00	49.17
dinner meeting	48.17	0.00	49.17	online countdown	48.17	0.00	49.17
look of extreme hatred	48.17	0.00	49.17	online group	48.17	0.00	49.17
usual dinner place	48.17	0.00	49.17	whole new person	48.17	0.00	49.17
waking minute	48.17	0.00	49.17	mountain air	48.17	0.00	49.17
office building	48.17	0.00	49.17	wicked experience	48.17	0.00	49.17
good future	48.17	0.00	49.17	exact same person	48.17	0.00	49.17
community college	48.17	0.00	49.17	only class	48.17	0.00	49.17
science class	48.17	0.00	49.17	gorgeous girlfriend	48.17	0.00	49.17
small hint	48.17	0.00	49.17	moonlit ocean	48.17	0.00	49.17
secluded area	48.17	0.00	49.17	only other social interaction	48.17	0.00	49.17
bathing suit	48.17	0.00	49.17	only part	48.17	0.00	49.17
semester apartment	48.17	0.00	49.17	only solution	48.17	0.00	49.17
feeling intense anger	48.17	0.00	49.17	luxurious life	48.17	0.00	49.17
television screen	48.17	0.00	49.17	great chase	48.17	0.00	49.17
treacherous little bastard	48.17	0.00	49.17	small sense of competitive satisfaction	48.17	0.00	49.17
ultimate question	48.17	0.00	49.17	other place	48.17	0.00	49.17
aggravating experience	48.17	0.00	49.17	great place	48.17	0.00	49.17
very edge	48.17	0.00	49.17	leading right	48.17	0.00	49.17
main reason	48.17	0.00	49.17	typical pretty girl	48.17	0.00	49.17
weak little kid	48.17	0.00	49.17	school graduate	48.17	0.00	49.17
miserable place	48.17	0.00	49.17	job opportunity	48.17	0.00	49.17
same person	48.17	0.00	49.17	outraged surprise	48.17	0.00	49.17

world history	48.17	0.00	49.17	overall pressure	48.17	0.00	49.17
very theatre	48.17	0.00	49.17	dry spell	48.17	0.00	49.17
damnable couple	48.17	0.00	49.17	first experience driving	48.17	0.00	49.17
temporary apartment unit	48.17	0.00	49.17	own living	48.17	0.00	49.17
first try	48.17	0.00	49.17	residential neighborhood	48.17	0.00	49.17
first book	48.17	0.00	49.17	own place	48.17	0.00	49.17
book series	48.17	0.00	49.17	hard way	48.17	0.00	49.17
few racing	48.17	0.00	49.17	own way	48.17	0.00	49.17
low-class service	48.17	0.00	49.17	hateful facebook	48.17	0.00	49.17
boy experience	48.17	0.00	49.17	particular date	48.17	0.00	49.17
breaking point	48.17	0.00	49.17	life coach	48.17	0.00	49.17
newfound zest	48.17	0.00	49.17	julian sweet-talk	48.17	0.00	49.17
bright place	48.17	0.00	49.17	peaceful residential neighborhood	48.17	0.00	49.17
nice restaurant	48.17	0.00	49.17	healthy mood	48.17	0.00	49.17
beneficial thing	48.17	0.00	49.17	peaceful walk	48.17	0.00	49.17
same dark	48.17	0.00	49.17	undesirable loser	48.17	0.00	49.17
good idea	48.17	0.00	49.17	second apartment	48.17	0.00	49.17
disturbing new player-base	48.17	0.00	49.17	secluded spot	48.17	0.00	49.17
afternoon get-together	48.17	0.00	49.17	exciting experience	48.17	0.00	49.17
bicycle ride	48.17	0.00	49.17	perfect girlfriend	48.17	0.00	49.17
winding road	48.17	0.00	49.17	perfect place	48.17	0.00	49.17
gorgeous mountain area	48.17	0.00	49.17	smoking marijuana	48.17	0.00	49.17
downward spiral	48.17	0.00	49.17	perfect temporary job opportunity	48.17	0.00	49.17
great detail	48.17	0.00	49.17	period of great yearning	48.17	0.00	49.17
other social interaction	48.17	0.00	49.17	permanent living	48.17	0.00	49.17
artificial insemination	48.17	0.00	49.17	permanent living place	48.17	0.00	49.17
great year	48.17	0.00	49.17	petty form	48.17	0.00	49.17
lease deal	48.17	0.00	49.17	phone call	48.17	0.00	49.17
temporary job	48.17	0.00	49.17	terrible illness	48.17	0.00	49.17
own living place	48.17	0.00	49.17	pick-up truck	48.17	0.00	49.17
calm session	48.17	0.00	49.17	elegant blazer	48.17	0.00	49.17
cascading blonde hair	48.17	0.00	49.17	historical fiction	48.17	0.00	49.17
paying money	48.17	0.00	49.17	taking root	48.17	0.00	49.17
hateful facebook message	48.17	0.00	49.17	elegant blazer coat	48.17	0.00	49.17
big leap	48.17	0.00	49.17	renowned film editor	48.17	0.00	49.17

perfect temporary job	48.17	0.00	49.17	second apartment building	48.17	0.00	49.17
heavy discussion	48.17	0.00	49.17	popular apartment complex	48.17	0.00	49.17
casual dinner	48.17	0.00	49.17	emotional pain	48.17	0.00	49.17
astonishing turn	48.17	0.00	49.17	changed everything	48.17	0.00	49.17
physical pain	48.17	0.00	49.17	sophisticated personality	48.17	0.00	49.17
high school graduate	48.17	0.00	49.17	pretty blonde girl	48.17	0.00	49.17
plenty of free time	48.17	0.00	49.17	huge array	48.17	0.00	49.17
facebook message	48.17	0.00	49.17	sociology class right	48.17	0.00	49.17
famous character	48.17	0.00	49.17	karate session	48.17	0.00	49.17
lightning bolt	48.17	0.00	49.17	exciting world	48.17	0.00	49.17
political science class	48.17	0.00	49.17	private environment	48.17	0.00	49.17
popular apartment	48.17	0.00	49.17	private movie	48.17	0.00	49.17
awkward experience	48.17	0.00	49.17	private movie theatre	48.17	0.00	49.17
large community college	48.17	0.00	49.17	private room	48.17	0.00	49.17
bitter struggle	48.17	0.00	49.17	profound effect	48.17	0.00	49.17
bitter enemy	48.17	0.00	49.17	profound excitement	48.17	0.00	49.17
bittersweet sense	48.17	0.00	49.17	psychology class	48.17	0.00	49.17
small chance	48.17	0.00	49.17	usual secluded area	48.17	0.00	49.17
facebook profile	48.17	0.00	49.17	quiet neighborhood	48.17	0.00	49.17
renewed sense	48.17	0.00	49.17	racing video	48.17	0.00	49.17
utter shit	48.17	0.00	49.17	raw hatred	48.17	0.00	49.17
fantasy series	48.17	0.00	49.17	steep winding road	48.17	0.00	49.17
starting karate	48.17	0.00	49.17	ridiculous place	48.17	0.00	49.17
favorite television	48.17	0.00	49.17	roiling ocean	48.17	0.00	49.17
conservative attire	48.17	0.00	49.17	experience driving	48.17	0.00	49.17
lonely celibate life	48.17	0.00	49.17	subtle lightning bolt	48.17	0.00	49.17
construction work	48.17	0.00	49.17	upper class restaurant	48.17	0.00	49.17
renewed effort	48.17	0.00	49.17	sensual body	48.17	0.00	49.17
contemplation spot	48.17	0.00	49.17	beach house	529.89	9.97	48.41
masturbation session	48.17	0.00	49.17	little kid	144.52	9.97	13.27
couple watch	48.17	0.00	49.17	small get-together	96.34	9.97	8.88
service job	48.17	0.00	49.17	social anxiety	96.34	9.97	8.88
lovely beach	48.17	0.00	49.17	living place	96.34	9.97	8.88
course father	48.17	0.00	49.17	main character	96.34	9.97	8.88
crucial period	48.17	0.00	49.17	apartment building	96.34	9.97	8.88
large array	48.17	0.00	49.17	other college	96.34	9.97	8.88
extreme hassle	48.17	0.00	49.17	high sex	96.34	9.97	8.88

seven-day dry spell	48.17	0.00	49.17	high sex drive	96.34	9.97	8.88
cruel darkness	48.17	0.00	49.17	regional center	96.34	9.97	8.88
much information	48.17	0.00	49.17	epic story	96.34	9.97	8.88
time dinner	48.17	0.00	49.17	kissless virgin	96.34	9.97	8.88
weak person	48.17	0.00	49.17	birthday party	96.34	9.97	8.88
whole evening	48.17	0.00	49.17	desperate hope	144.52	19.93	6.95
same game	48.17	0.00	49.17	pretty girl	385.38	59.80	6.36
custodial job	48.17	0.00	49.17	new semester	192.69	29.90	6.27
white-colored mansion	48.17	0.00	49.17	wealthy man	144.52	29.90	4.71
much homework	48.17	0.00	49.17	new expansion	144.52	29.90	4.71
first college	48.17	0.00	49.17	free time	144.52	29.90	4.71
much jealousy	48.17	0.00	49.17	house party	144.52	29.90	4.71
very moment	48.17	0.00	49.17	sociology class	96.34	19.93	4.65
dark place	48.17	0.00	49.17	final exam	96.34	19.93	4.65
similar situation	48.17	0.00	49.17	happy birthday	96.34	19.93	4.65
boiling point	48.17	0.00	49.17	set everything right	48.17	9.97	4.48
usual dinner	48.17	0.00	49.17	set everything	48.17	9.97	4.48
deep anger	48.17	0.00	49.17	extreme jealousy	48.17	9.97	4.48
trusty pocket knife	48.17	0.00	49.17	shopping center	48.17	9.97	4.48
following afternoon	48.17	0.00	49.17	last incident	48.17	9.97	4.48
form of peaceful revenge	48.17	0.00	49.17	last straw	48.17	9.97	4.48
depressing day	48.17	0.00	49.17	late spring	48.17	9.97	4.48
same pattern	48.17	0.00	49.17	small sense	48.17	9.97	4.48
depressing loneliness	48.17	0.00	49.17	level cap	48.17	9.97	4.48
unpleasant surprise	48.17	0.00	49.17	social networking	48.17	9.97	4.48
accepting type	48.17	0.00	49.17	extreme rage	48.17	9.97	4.48
single hate-fueled ideal	48.17	0.00	49.17	strange reason	48.17	9.97	4.48
fresh mountain	48.17	0.00	49.17	living life	48.17	9.97	4.48
fresh mountain air	48.17	0.00	49.17	fantasy story	48.17	9.97	4.48
different table	48.17	0.00	49.17	long relationship	48.17	9.97	4.48
vast amount	48.17	0.00	49.17	long walk	48.17	9.97	4.48
difficult situation	48.17	0.00	49.17	lot of free time	48.17	9.97	4.48
gate leading right	48.17	0.00	49.17	vehement rage	48.17	9.97	4.48
getting nothing	48.17	0.00	49.17	upper class	48.17	9.97	4.48
written test	48.17	0.00	49.17	vicious circle	48.17	9.97	4.48
goal work	48.17	0.00	49.17	very end	48.17	9.97	4.48
good exercise	48.17	0.00	49.17	magnificent view	48.17	9.97	4.48
dinner place	48.17	0.00	49.17	magnificent person	48.17	9.97	4.48
room rent	48.17	0.00	49.17	week-one week arrangement	48.17	9.97	4.48
official countdown	48.17	0.00	49.17	week arrangement	48.17	9.97	4.48
good luck	48.17	0.00	49.17	whole area	48.17	9.97	4.48
dizzy invigoration	48.17	0.00	49.17	first episode	48.17	9.97	4.48

good note	48.17	0.00	49.17	movie theatre	48.17	9.97	4.48
only chance	48.17	0.00	49.17	worth something	48.17	9.97	4.48
good work	48.17	0.00	49.17	year old virgin	48.17	9.97	4.48
gorgeous mountain	48.17	0.00	49.17	young girl	48.17	9.97	4.48
ultimate climax	48.17	0.00	49.17	much interaction	48.17	9.97	4.48
calm meditation	48.17	0.00	49.17	first place	48.17	9.97	4.48
other guy	48.17	0.00	49.17	new book	48.17	9.97	4.48
other hand	48.17	0.00	49.17	day trip	48.17	9.97	4.48
world history class	48.17	0.00	49.17	new sense	48.17	9.97	4.48
other week	48.17	0.00	49.17	fresh start	48.17	9.97	4.48
great yearning	48.17	0.00	49.17	next couple	48.17	9.97	4.48
first glance	48.17	0.00	49.17	full advantage	48.17	9.97	4.48
major disappointment	48.17	0.00	49.17	beautiful new town	48.17	9.97	4.48
early morning	48.17	0.00	49.17	old virgin	48.17	9.97	4.48
hate-fueled ideal	48.17	0.00	49.17	great social life	48.17	9.97	4.48
early morning history	48.17	0.00	49.17	brutal place	48.17	9.97	4.48
particular destination	48.17	0.00	49.17	own father	48.17	9.97	4.48
early morning history class	48.17	0.00	49.17	dreadful day	48.17	9.97	4.48
heated argument	48.17	0.00	49.17	own world	48.17	9.97	4.48
perfect environment	48.17	0.00	49.17	heavenly life	48.17	9.97	4.48
temporary pressure	48.17	0.00	49.17	peculiar experience	48.17	9.97	4.48
eldest grandson	48.17	0.00	49.17	peaceful revenge	48.17	9.97	4.48
casual dinner meeting	48.17	0.00	49.17	high level	48.17	9.97	4.48
petty attempt	48.17	0.00	49.17	pleasant experience	48.17	9.97	4.48
computer class	48.17	0.00	49.17	abrupt decision	48.17	9.97	4.48
big move	48.17	0.00	49.17	pocket knife	48.17	9.97	4.48
teenage girl	48.17	0.00	49.17	hot blonde girl	48.17	9.97	4.48
political science	48.17	0.00	49.17	positive attitude	48.17	9.97	4.48
retail job	48.17	0.00	49.17	hot tub	48.17	9.97	4.48
apartment rent	48.17	0.00	49.17	huge house	48.17	9.97	4.48
special occasion	48.17	0.00	49.17	huge fan	48.17	9.97	4.48
precious time	48.17	0.00	49.17	entire day	48.17	9.97	4.48
enjoying pleasurable sex	48.17	0.00	49.17	important money	48.17	9.97	4.48
sole reason	48.17	0.00	49.17	insignificant life	48.17	9.97	4.48
whole town	48.17	0.00	49.17	epic fantasy story	48.17	9.97	4.48
huge change	48.17	0.00	49.17	epic fantasy	48.17	9.97	4.48
class mid-session	48.17	0.00	49.17	internet homepage	48.17	9.97	4.48
huge gap	48.17	0.00	49.17	everything right	48.17	9.97	4.48
big party	48.17	0.00	49.17	same week	48.17	9.97	4.48
entry fee	48.17	0.00	49.17	exchange student	48.17	9.97	4.48
little worm	48.17	0.00	49.17	school system	48.17	9.97	4.48

unpleasant experience	48.17	0.00	49.17	birthday cake	48.17	9.97	4.48
public bus	48.17	0.00	49.17	kitchen table	48.17	9.97	4.48
huge house party	48.17	0.00	49.17	social interaction	192.69	49.83	3.81
quiet 18th birthday	48.17	0.00	49.17	history class	144.52	39.87	3.56
hyper energy	48.17	0.00	49.17	same position	144.52	39.87	3.56
class restaurant	48.17	0.00	49.17	sex drive	96.34	29.90	3.15
attending karate	48.17	0.00	49.17	apartment complex	96.34	29.90	3.15
computer screen	48.17	0.00	49.17	only hope	96.34	29.90	3.15
relieving sense	48.17	0.00	49.17	hard time	96.34	29.90	3.15
important goal	48.17	0.00	49.17	way home	144.52	49.83	2.86
class right	48.17	0.00	49.17	last day	192.69	79.73	2.40
renowned film	48.17	0.00	49.17	blonde girl	144.52	59.80	2.39
indonesian boy	48.17	0.00	49.17	new apartment	96.34	39.87	2.38
inferior insect	48.17	0.00	49.17	new college	96.34	39.87	2.38
universal force	48.17	0.00	49.17	japanese restaurant	96.34	39.87	2.38
tall blonde-haired girl	48.17	0.00	49.17	short time	48.17	19.93	2.35
universe everything	48.17	0.00	49.17	life situation	48.17	19.93	2.35
warm welcome	48.17	0.00	49.17	spring semester	48.17	19.93	2.35
rich family	48.17	0.00	49.17	week-one week	48.17	19.93	2.35
expert black-belt	48.17	0.00	49.17	whole day	48.17	19.93	2.35
local restaurant	48.17	0.00	49.17	much pleasure	48.17	19.93	2.35
first college class	48.17	0.00	49.17	first thing	48.17	19.93	2.35
extreme hatred	48.17	0.00	49.17	delicious food	48.17	19.93	2.35
short distance	48.17	0.00	49.17	new job	48.17	19.93	2.35
short visit	48.17	0.00	49.17	new person	48.17	19.93	2.35
renewed hope	48.17	0.00	49.17	new level	48.17	19.93	2.35
apartment right	48.17	0.00	49.17	desirable life	48.17	19.93	2.35
such beauty	48.17	0.00	49.17	new town	48.17	19.93	2.35
terrible mistake	48.17	0.00	49.17	dinner party	48.17	19.93	2.35
complicated video game	48.17	0.00	49.17	other side	48.17	19.93	2.35
small town	48.17	0.00	49.17	parking lot	48.17	19.93	2.35
fair world	48.17	0.00	49.17	celibate life	48.17	19.93	2.35
spiral staircase	48.17	0.00	49.17	pleasurable sex	48.17	19.93	2.35
second wife	48.17	0.00	49.17	envious rage	48.17	19.93	2.35
second attempt	48.17	0.00	49.17	ideal world	48.17	19.93	2.35
little bastard	48.17	0.00	49.17	exact same position	48.17	19.93	2.35
jackpot reset	48.17	0.00	49.17	same way	48.17	19.93	2.35
bittersweet way	48.17	0.00	49.17	beautiful girlfriend	240.86	119.60	2.01
much alcohol	48.17	0.00	49.17	social life	192.69	99.66	1.92
same pretty girl	48.17	0.00	49.17	college life	96.34	49.83	1.92
insolent little worm	48.17	0.00	49.17	beautiful girl	144.52	79.73	1.80
local japanese restaurant	48.17	0.00	49.17	whole time	144.52	89.70	1.60

favorite television series	48.17	0.00	49.17	single second	48.17	29.90	1.59
lonely celibate	48.17	0.00	49.17	small part	48.17	29.90	1.59
teenage couple	48.17	0.00	49.17	single day	48.17	29.90	1.59
lonely despair	48.17	0.00	49.17	spending time	48.17	29.90	1.59
lonely existence	48.17	0.00	49.17	turning point	48.17	29.90	1.59
lonely status	48.17	0.00	49.17	financial crisis	48.17	29.90	1.59
insulting behavior	48.17	0.00	49.17	new experience	48.17	29.90	1.59
climactic meeting	48.17	0.00	49.17	new environment	48.17	29.90	1.59
few gift	48.17	0.00	49.17	new laptop	48.17	29.90	1.59
long stroll	48.17	0.00	49.17	new place	48.17	29.90	1.59
bleak life	48.17	0.00	49.17	good friend	48.17	29.90	1.59
sense of dizzy invigoration	48.17	0.00	49.17	own room	48.17	29.90	1.59
few racing video	48.17	0.00	49.17	previous year	48.17	29.90	1.59
twelve year	48.17	0.00	49.17	swimming pool	144.52	99.66	1.45
twelve year old kid	48.17	0.00	49.17	next day	96.34	69.76	1.38
sense of competitive satisfaction	48.17	0.00	49.17	same time	96.34	69.76	1.38
unbelievable turn	48.17	0.00	49.17	whole world	144.52	109.63	1.32
lovely beach house	48.17	0.00	49.17	same thing	96.34	79.73	1.21
low-class job	48.17	0.00	49.17	sexual attraction	48.17	39.87	1.20
film editor	48.17	0.00	49.17	last chance	48.17	39.87	1.20
low-class service job	48.17	0.00	49.17	tragic life	48.17	39.87	1.20
lowlife scum	48.17	0.00	49.17	walking distance	48.17	39.87	1.20
luscious blonde hair	48.17	0.00	49.17	first friend	48.17	39.87	1.20
sense comfort	48.17	0.00	49.17	first month	48.17	39.87	1.20
bleak world	48.17	0.00	49.17	last time	337.20	298.99	1.13
seventh day	48.17	0.00	49.17	first day	240.86	219.26	1.10
useful knowledge	48.17	0.00	49.17	first time	240.86	219.26	1.10
setup of many two-bedroom	48.17	0.00	49.17	blonde hair	96.34	89.70	1.07
first car	48.17	0.00	49.17	new life	96.34	89.70	1.07
many two-bedroom	48.17	0.00	49.17	living hell	48.17	49.83	0.97
first chapter	48.17	0.00	49.17	town center	48.17	49.83	0.97
same rejection	48.17	0.00	49.17	whole body	48.17	49.83	0.97
first cigarette	48.17	0.00	49.17	first experience	48.17	49.83	0.97
current environment	48.17	0.00	49.17	nice house	48.17	49.83	0.97
talented writer	48.17	0.00	49.17	next morning	48.17	49.83	0.97
blonde-haired girl	48.17	0.00	49.17	big deal	48.17	49.83	0.97
misfortunate night	48.17	0.00	49.17	own bathroom	48.17	49.83	0.97
current moment	48.17	0.00	49.17	popular kid	48.17	49.83	0.97
epic defeat	48.17	0.00	49.17	same age	48.17	49.83	0.97
competitive satisfaction	48.17	0.00	49.17	college town	48.17	49.83	0.97
intelligent gentleman	48.17	0.00	49.17	whole life	96.34	99.66	0.97
apartment room rent	48.17	0.00	49.17	only friend	48.17	59.80	0.81

temporary wave	48.17	0.00	49.17	only thing	96.34	119.60	0.81
menial custodial job	48.17	0.00	49.17	long time	144.52	199.33	0.73
long talk	48.17	0.00	49.17	female gender	48.17	69.76	0.70
daily routine	48.17	0.00	49.17	brother jazz	48.17	69.76	0.70
last experience	48.17	0.00	49.17	apartment unit	48.17	69.76	0.70
windy day	48.17	0.00	49.17	new house	96.34	149.49	0.65
same lonely celibate	48.17	0.00	49.17	young couple	48.17	79.73	0.61
intense anger	48.17	0.00	49.17	young age	96.34	169.43	0.57
attending karate class	48.17	0.00	49.17	video game	48.17	89.70	0.54
much pain	48.17	0.00	49.17	middle school	48.17	89.70	0.54
simple retail job	48.17	0.00	49.17	much fun	48.17	99.66	0.49
my house	48.17	0.00	49.17	high school	48.17	139.53	0.35
nasty fight	48.17	0.00	49.17	winter break	48.17	149.49	0.33
trusty pocket	48.17	0.00	49.17	only way	48.17	249.16	0.20

3.9.6 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 6

Item (SketchEngine; sorted by Simple Maths Score >1; calculated using N+1)	Relative frequency (RF) per million words (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score	Item	RF (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score
math class	262.57	0.00	263.57	huge bridge	43.76	0.00	44.76
black carpet	218.81	0.00	219.81	bitter argument	43.76	0.00	44.76
geography class	175.05	0.00	176.05	desirable college	43.76	0.00	44.76
summer session	175.05	0.00	176.05	main campus	43.76	0.00	44.76
small talk	175.05	0.00	176.05	great panic	43.76	0.00	44.76
lottery jackpot	131.29	0.00	132.29	beautiful model girlfriend	43.76	0.00	44.76
new housemate	131.29	0.00	132.29	super soaker	43.76	0.00	44.76
blonde white girl	131.29	0.00	132.29	manager everything	43.76	0.00	44.76
superior gentleman	87.52	0.00	88.52	masculine face	43.76	0.00	44.76
small inkling	87.52	0.00	88.52	relaxing journey	43.76	0.00	44.76
pleasant contrast	87.52	0.00	88.52	renowned bridge	43.76	0.00	44.76
bus stop	87.52	0.00	88.52	great value	43.76	0.00	44.76
wrong type	87.52	0.00	88.52	mature sort	43.76	0.00	44.76
leasing office	87.52	0.00	88.52	mere mention	43.76	0.00	44.76
catastrophic way	87.52	0.00	88.52	middle finger	43.76	0.00	44.76
good enough	87.52	0.00	88.52	minimal social interaction	43.76	0.00	44.76
lonely room	87.52	0.00	88.52	miserable disaster	43.76	0.00	44.76
permanent apartment	87.52	0.00	88.52	miserable loneliness	43.76	0.00	44.76
common area	87.52	0.00	88.52	fabulous clothing	43.76	0.00	44.76
orange juice	87.52	0.00	88.52	model girlfriend	43.76	0.00	44.76
russian student	87.52	0.00	88.52	morning latte	43.76	0.00	44.76

upscale restaurant	87.52	0.00	88.52	computer programmer	43.76	0.00	44.76
mexican guy	87.52	0.00	88.52	satisfying youth	43.76	0.00	44.76
cocksure attitude	87.52	0.00	88.52	fast metabolism	43.76	0.00	44.76
cafeteria area	87.52	0.00	88.52	much intensity	43.76	0.00	44.76
excessive opulence	87.52	0.00	88.52	much rejection	43.76	0.00	44.76
security guard	87.52	0.00	88.52	tall blonde surfer-type boy	43.76	0.00	44.76
same apartment	87.52	0.00	88.52	much trauma	43.76	0.00	44.76
twenty-year-old virgin	87.52	0.00	88.52	much wine	43.76	0.00	44.76
first impression	87.52	0.00	88.52	mundane professional job	43.76	0.00	44.76
old apartment	87.52	0.00	88.52	sort of supernatural power	43.76	0.00	44.76
permanent apartment unit	87.52	0.00	88.52	muscular surfer-jock	43.76	0.00	44.76
efficient way	87.52	0.00	88.52	couple of new polo	43.76	0.00	44.76
same apartment complex	87.52	0.00	88.52	feverish enthusiasm	43.76	0.00	44.76
beautiful ocean-side	43.76	0.00	44.76	ugly whore	43.76	0.00	44.76
doing anything rash	43.76	0.00	44.76	new collection	43.76	0.00	44.76
attractive appearance	43.76	0.00	44.76	feverish hope	43.76	0.00	44.76
drinking alcohol	43.76	0.00	44.76	renowned luxury designer	43.76	0.00	44.76
indignant surprise	43.76	0.00	44.76	group of popular college	43.76	0.00	44.76
including admittance	43.76	0.00	44.76	renowned luxury designer clothing	43.76	0.00	44.76
beautiful thing	43.76	0.00	44.76	group of typical popular-type	43.76	0.00	44.76
capital city	43.76	0.00	44.76	new lease	43.76	0.00	44.76
casual comment	43.76	0.00	44.76	invisible ghost	43.76	0.00	44.76
anxious feeling	43.76	0.00	44.76	new living	43.76	0.00	44.76
last semester	43.76	0.00	44.76	new living place	43.76	0.00	44.76
heart beating	43.76	0.00	44.76	new obsession	43.76	0.00	44.76
chubby guy	43.76	0.00	44.76	spiteful gratification	43.76	0.00	44.76
waking moment	43.76	0.00	44.76	new permanent apartment unit	43.76	0.00	44.76
literal sense	43.76	0.00	44.76	first actual semester	43.76	0.00	44.76
ultimate betrayal	43.76	0.00	44.76	crucial twelve	43.76	0.00	44.76
wrong everything	43.76	0.00	44.76	underground subway	43.76	0.00	44.76
exact ultimate vengeance	43.76	0.00	44.76	crushing defeat	43.76	0.00	44.76

college campus	43.76	0.00	44.76	winning ticket	43.76	0.00	44.76
social circle	43.76	0.00	44.76	handsome blonde jock	43.76	0.00	44.76
wild drinking	43.76	0.00	44.76	very core	43.76	0.00	44.76
extraordinary experience	43.76	0.00	44.76	new song	43.76	0.00	44.76
bitter form	43.76	0.00	44.76	spoiled brat	43.76	0.00	44.76
active place	43.76	0.00	44.76	new unit	43.76	0.00	44.76
hispanic race	43.76	0.00	44.76	special way	43.76	0.00	44.76
horrible feeling	43.76	0.00	44.76	cultural city	43.76	0.00	44.76
horrific first impression	43.76	0.00	44.76	immediate family	43.76	0.00	44.76
hot model	43.76	0.00	44.76	west campus	43.76	0.00	44.76
iconic bridge	43.76	0.00	44.76	satisfying vengeance	43.76	0.00	44.76
important association	43.76	0.00	44.76	nice hotel	43.76	0.00	44.76
such money	43.76	0.00	44.76	nice warm latte	43.76	0.00	44.76
ad supremacy	43.76	0.00	44.76	nine-year-old boy	43.76	0.00	44.76
english class	43.76	0.00	44.76	normal birthday	43.76	0.00	44.76
enjoyable story	43.76	0.00	44.76	obnoxious little animal	43.76	0.00	44.76
journey home	43.76	0.00	44.76	obnoxious punk	43.76	0.00	44.76
unattractive guy	43.76	0.00	44.76	obsessed stalker	43.76	0.00	44.76
upper class family	43.76	0.00	44.76	same eagerness	43.76	0.00	44.76
ugly pig	43.76	0.00	44.76	satisfying life	43.76	0.00	44.76
same shopping mall	43.76	0.00	44.76	upbeat music	43.76	0.00	44.76
little nine-year-old boy	43.76	0.00	44.76	sad thing	43.76	0.00	44.76
hot girlfriend	43.76	0.00	44.76	despair-ridden trance	43.76	0.00	44.76
birthday money	43.76	0.00	44.76	old face	43.76	0.00	44.76
typical popular-type	43.76	0.00	44.76	old friendship	43.76	0.00	44.76
any party	43.76	0.00	44.76	ominous aura	43.76	0.00	44.76
exclusive event	43.76	0.00	44.76	ominous foreboding	43.76	0.00	44.76
main building	43.76	0.00	44.76	online class	43.76	0.00	44.76
doing nothing	43.76	0.00	44.76	fourth day	43.76	0.00	44.76
college year	43.76	0.00	44.76	stupid documentary	43.76	0.00	44.76
coming semester	43.76	0.00	44.76	only other thing	43.76	0.00	44.76
virgin while	43.76	0.00	44.76	only persona	43.76	0.00	44.76
beautiful architecture	43.76	0.00	44.76	only pretty girl	43.76	0.00	44.76
weak flitter	43.76	0.00	44.76	studying biology	43.76	0.00	44.76
bitter hatred	43.76	0.00	44.76	front entrance	43.76	0.00	44.76
fateful drawing	43.76	0.00	44.76	opportunistic environment	43.76	0.00	44.76

bitter loneliness	43.76	0.00	44.76	subconscious impression	43.76	0.00	44.76
anything rash	43.76	0.00	44.76	original idea	43.76	0.00	44.76
new bedroom	43.76	0.00	44.76	other building	43.76	0.00	44.76
renowned luxury designer clothing store	43.76	0.00	44.76	whole premiere	43.76	0.00	44.76
huge drinking	43.76	0.00	44.76	gaining admittance	43.76	0.00	44.76
sort of despair-ridden trance	43.76	0.00	44.76	other school	43.76	0.00	44.76
twentieth year	43.76	0.00	44.76	desperate bid	43.76	0.00	44.76
epitome of gratifying perfection	43.76	0.00	44.76	table outside	43.76	0.00	44.76
long drive	43.76	0.00	44.76	brief moment	43.76	0.00	44.76
filthy scum	43.76	0.00	44.76	over-glorified actress	43.76	0.00	44.76
crispy pork	43.76	0.00	44.76	pack everything	43.76	0.00	44.76
beautiful city	43.76	0.00	44.76	pain society	43.76	0.00	44.76
new polo	43.76	0.00	44.76	girl walk	43.76	0.00	44.76
upstairs room	43.76	0.00	44.76	particular burning	43.76	0.00	44.76
new shirt	43.76	0.00	44.76	same day	43.76	0.00	44.76
new set	43.76	0.00	44.76	passionate heavenly sex	43.76	0.00	44.76
beautiful college	43.76	0.00	44.76	passionate love	43.76	0.00	44.76
step mother	43.76	0.00	44.76	passionate sexual attraction	43.76	0.00	44.76
nice enough	43.76	0.00	44.76	pathetic feeling	43.76	0.00	44.76
amazing decade	43.76	0.00	44.76	pathetic position	43.76	0.00	44.76
tough jock-type	43.76	0.00	44.76	very jackpot	43.76	0.00	44.76
undesirable outcast	43.76	0.00	44.76	such filth	43.76	0.00	44.76
long argument	43.76	0.00	44.76	desperate home	43.76	0.00	44.76
ocean-side town	43.76	0.00	44.76	tall blonde surfer-type	43.76	0.00	44.76
damnable mother	43.76	0.00	44.76	little alcohol	43.76	0.00	44.76
dark-skinned mexican guy	43.76	0.00	44.76	same page	43.76	0.00	44.76
blonde jock	43.76	0.00	44.76	asian-american student	43.76	0.00	44.76
beautiful college campus	43.76	0.00	44.76	such suffering	43.76	0.00	44.76
unit director	43.76	0.00	44.76	plate number	43.76	0.00	44.76
opulent mansion	43.76	0.00	44.76	such cruelty	43.76	0.00	44.76
frustrating college	43.76	0.00	44.76	amazing sex	43.76	0.00	44.76
actual semester	43.76	0.00	44.76	popular college	43.76	0.00	44.76
british aristocracy	43.76	0.00	44.76	delicious peanut	43.76	0.00	44.76
hedonistic scum	43.76	0.00	44.76	grand terrace	43.76	0.00	44.76
brutal failure	43.76	0.00	44.76	warm body	43.76	0.00	44.76
sex-starved self	43.76	0.00	44.76	positive effect	43.76	0.00	44.76

buffet system	43.76	0.00	44.76	wide variety	43.76	0.00	44.76
short day	43.76	0.00	44.76	pretty girl walk	43.76	0.00	44.76
beautiful ocean-side town	43.76	0.00	44.76	such wealth	43.76	0.00	44.76
heavy-set russian student	43.76	0.00	44.76	private jet	43.76	0.00	44.76
hot blonde white girl	43.76	0.00	44.76	private jet company	43.76	0.00	44.76
disastrous trip	43.76	0.00	44.76	professional actor	43.76	0.00	44.76
white blonde girl	43.76	0.00	44.76	professional job	43.76	0.00	44.76
ugly black filth	43.76	0.00	44.76	profound annoyance	43.76	0.00	44.76
business idea	43.76	0.00	44.76	profound frustration	43.76	0.00	44.76
stifling loneliness	43.76	0.00	44.76	brilliant scenery	43.76	0.00	44.76
buzz cut	43.76	0.00	44.76	same store	43.76	0.00	44.76
sense of ominous foreboding	43.76	0.00	44.76	healthy restaurant	43.76	0.00	44.76
beauty ad	43.76	0.00	44.76	quick lunch	43.76	0.00	44.76
embarrassing night	43.76	0.00	44.76	quiet asian-american student	43.76	0.00	44.76
empty stomach	43.76	0.00	44.76	quiet russian student	43.76	0.00	44.76
interesting person	43.76	0.00	44.76	rage-fueled excitement	43.76	0.00	44.76
beauty ad supremacy	43.76	0.00	44.76	desirable college life	43.76	0.00	44.76
utter dismay	43.76	0.00	44.76	sunny day	43.76	0.00	44.76
enticing body	43.76	0.00	44.76	sudden sense	43.76	0.00	44.76
sexy bare stomach	43.76	0.00	44.76	renowned event	43.76	0.00	44.76
karat golden necklace	43.76	0.00	44.76	renowned luxury	43.76	0.00	44.76
single month	43.76	0.00	44.76	whole film	43.76	0.00	44.76
bedroom unit	43.76	0.00	44.76	surreal experience	43.76	0.00	44.76
single party	43.76	0.00	44.76	surfer-type boy	43.76	0.00	44.76
usual fantasy	43.76	0.00	44.76	supernatural power	43.76	0.00	44.76
small inkling of desperate home	43.76	0.00	44.76	throes of passionate sexual attraction	43.76	0.00	44.76
envious hatred	43.76	0.00	44.76	witty personality	43.76	0.00	44.76
life struggle	43.76	0.00	44.76	different sort	43.76	0.00	44.76
age limit	43.76	0.00	44.76	black boy	175.05	10.18	15.75
ultimate vengeance	43.76	0.00	44.76	whole year	131.29	10.18	11.83
little eyebrow	43.76	0.00	44.76	college town	175.05	20.36	8.24
clothing store	43.76	0.00	44.76	celibate life	87.52	10.18	7.92
whole college year	43.76	0.00	44.76	envious rage	87.52	10.18	7.92
typical fraternity	43.76	0.00	44.76	exquisite meal	87.52	10.18	7.92
cocky smirk	43.76	0.00	44.76	new town	87.52	10.18	7.92

bad feeling	43.76	0.00	44.76	other room	87.52	10.18	7.92
excellent college	43.76	0.00	44.76	desirable life	87.52	10.18	7.92
lot of deep thinking	43.76	0.00	44.76	apartment unit	218.81	30.54	6.97
exciting college	43.76	0.00	44.76	first month	131.29	20.36	6.19
luxury designer clothing	43.76	0.00	44.76	apartment complex	131.29	20.36	6.19
exquisite lunch	43.76	0.00	44.76	history class	175.05	30.54	5.58
toilet stall	43.76	0.00	44.76	red carpet	218.81	40.71	5.27
main common area	43.76	0.00	44.76	only way	568.90	132.32	4.28
major flaw	43.76	0.00	44.76	same thing	218.81	50.89	4.24
extraordinary sex	43.76	0.00	44.76	town center	131.29	30.54	4.20
extraordinary sex life	43.76	0.00	44.76	carpet premiere	131.29	30.54	4.20
extravagant view	43.76	0.00	44.76	new college	131.29	30.54	4.20
extreme agony	43.76	0.00	44.76	next morning	131.29	30.54	4.20
minimum amount	43.76	0.00	44.76	red carpet premiere	131.29	30.54	4.20
extreme envy	43.76	0.00	44.76	whole experience	87.52	20.36	4.15
fabulous self	43.76	0.00	44.76	final exam	87.52	20.36	4.15
usual place	43.76	0.00	44.76	new place	87.52	20.36	4.15
continuous analyzing	43.76	0.00	44.76	second half	43.76	10.18	4.00
temporary boost	43.76	0.00	44.76	directing career	43.76	10.18	4.00
convenient setup	43.76	0.00	44.76	heavenly life	43.76	10.18	4.00
muscular frame	43.76	0.00	44.76	doing anything	43.76	10.18	4.00
beautiful blonde girl	43.76	0.00	44.76	burning hatred	43.76	10.18	4.00
violent person	43.76	0.00	44.76	epic fantasy story	43.76	10.18	4.00
couple standing	43.76	0.00	44.76	shopping center	43.76	10.18	4.00
few party	43.76	0.00	44.76	small sense	43.76	10.18	4.00
film class	43.76	0.00	44.76	hot blonde girl	43.76	10.18	4.00
lonely misery	43.76	0.00	44.76	doing something	43.76	10.18	4.00
crispy pork sausage	43.76	0.00	44.76	social situation	43.76	10.18	4.00
new permanent apartment	43.76	0.00	44.76	whole area	43.76	10.18	4.00
black filth	43.76	0.00	44.76	whole apartment	43.76	10.18	4.00
vodka bottle	43.76	0.00	44.76	important money	43.76	10.18	4.00
young couple standing	43.76	0.00	44.76	inferior mouse	43.76	10.18	4.00
spiteful satisfaction	43.76	0.00	44.76	tremendous amount	43.76	10.18	4.00
cultural atmosphere	43.76	0.00	44.76	internet homepage	43.76	10.18	4.00
next class	43.76	0.00	44.76	entire being	43.76	10.18	4.00
starving man	43.76	0.00	44.76	beautiful place	43.76	10.18	4.00
image of beauty ad supremacy	43.76	0.00	44.76	entire day	43.76	10.18	4.00
cunt actress	43.76	0.00	44.76	last couple	43.76	10.18	4.00
flashy new shirt	43.76	0.00	44.76	last incident	43.76	10.18	4.00

current jackpot	43.76	0.00	44.76	upper class	43.76	10.18	4.00
same shopping	43.76	0.00	44.76	last second	43.76	10.18	4.00
foreign student	43.76	0.00	44.76	entire world	43.76	10.18	4.00
form of small talk	43.76	0.00	44.76	very foundation	43.76	10.18	4.00
foul bitch	43.76	0.00	44.76	vehement rage	43.76	10.18	4.00
only misery	43.76	0.00	44.76	entire body	43.76	10.18	4.00
french reality	43.76	0.00	44.76	visit home	43.76	10.18	4.00
blonde surfer-type	43.76	0.00	44.76	wealthy family	43.76	10.18	4.00
dark turn	43.76	0.00	44.76	epic fantasy	43.76	10.18	4.00
opportunistic place	43.76	0.00	44.76	lonely bed	43.76	10.18	4.00
blonde surfer-type boy	43.76	0.00	44.76	exact same thing	43.76	10.18	4.00
funny video	43.76	0.00	44.76	bad mood	43.76	10.18	4.00
suave persona	43.76	0.00	44.76	magnificent person	43.76	10.18	4.00
deep contemplation	43.76	0.00	44.76	abrupt decision	43.76	10.18	4.00
top designer	43.76	0.00	44.76	major turning point	43.76	10.18	4.00
other thing	43.76	0.00	44.76	extra money	43.76	10.18	4.00
gift card	43.76	0.00	44.76	much concern	43.76	10.18	4.00
gift of great value	43.76	0.00	44.76	much suffering	43.76	10.18	4.00
deep depression	43.76	0.00	44.76	much hatred	43.76	10.18	4.00
deep thinking	43.76	0.00	44.76	fateful night	43.76	10.18	4.00
hate-fueled excitement	43.76	0.00	44.76	net worth	43.76	10.18	4.00
same location	43.76	0.00	44.76	fantasy story	43.76	10.18	4.00
last night	43.76	0.00	44.76	new home	43.76	10.18	4.00
particular burning hatred	43.76	0.00	44.76	next month	43.76	10.18	4.00
passing day	43.76	0.00	44.76	first place	43.76	10.18	4.00
glorious sunset	43.76	0.00	44.76	first night	43.76	10.18	4.00
deep wish	43.76	0.00	44.76	attending college	43.76	10.18	4.00
golden blonde hair	43.76	0.00	44.76	food court	43.76	10.18	4.00
boiling oil	43.76	0.00	44.76	following day	43.76	10.18	4.00
delectable food	43.76	0.00	44.76	fresh start	43.76	10.18	4.00
ugly black boy	43.76	0.00	44.76	dark day	43.76	10.18	4.00
perfect life	43.76	0.00	44.76	full advantage	43.76	10.18	4.00
good choice	43.76	0.00	44.76	day trip	43.76	10.18	4.00
phone number	43.76	0.00	44.76	own age	43.76	10.18	4.00
whole purpose	43.76	0.00	44.76	peaceful revenge	43.76	10.18	4.00
pig-faced thug	43.76	0.00	44.76	beautiful model	43.76	10.18	4.00
good impression	43.76	0.00	44.76	physical fight	43.76	10.18	4.00
pleasant feeling	43.76	0.00	44.76	good friendship	43.76	10.18	4.00
pleasant mood	43.76	0.00	44.76	boiling water	43.76	10.18	4.00
good movie	43.76	0.00	44.76	positive attitude	43.76	10.18	4.00
delicious japanese food	43.76	0.00	44.76	pork sausage	43.76	10.18	4.00
boisterous jock	43.76	0.00	44.76	great pleasure	43.76	10.18	4.00

warm latte	43.76	0.00	44.76	great liking	43.76	10.18	4.00
young adult	43.76	0.00	44.76	brief interest	43.76	10.18	4.00
depressed mood	43.76	0.00	44.76	brief friendship	43.76	10.18	4.00
japanese food	43.76	0.00	44.76	same effect	43.76	10.18	4.00
previous month	43.76	0.00	44.76	beautiful new town	43.76	10.18	4.00
gratifying perfection	43.76	0.00	44.76	same night	43.76	10.18	4.00
great amount	43.76	0.00	44.76	same experience	43.76	10.18	4.00
different type	43.76	0.00	44.76	healthy life	43.76	10.18	4.00
heavenly sex	43.76	0.00	44.76	heavenly bliss	43.76	10.18	4.00
dire situation	43.76	0.00	44.76	same weekend	43.76	10.18	4.00
second day	43.76	0.00	44.76	beautiful girlfriend	350.09	91.61	3.79
high class	43.76	0.00	44.76	white girl	175.05	50.89	3.39
high metabolism	43.76	0.00	44.76	young couple	175.05	50.89	3.39
disadvantageous life	43.76	0.00	44.76	blonde girl	175.05	50.89	3.39
second look	43.76	0.00	44.76	college life	131.29	40.71	3.17
great business	43.76	0.00	44.76	first class	87.52	30.54	2.81
designer clothing	43.76	0.00	44.76	only hope	87.52	30.54	2.81
second unit director	43.76	0.00	44.76	desperate hope	87.52	30.54	2.81
disturbed mood	43.76	0.00	44.76	hard time	87.52	30.54	2.81
second unit	43.76	0.00	44.76	favorite part	131.29	50.89	2.55
horrible incident	43.76	0.00	44.76	whole life	175.05	71.25	2.44
horrible night	43.76	0.00	44.76	first week	131.29	61.07	2.13
horrific agony	43.76	0.00	44.76	whole body	87.52	40.71	2.12
secluded japanese restaurant	43.76	0.00	44.76	living hell	87.52	40.71	2.12
amused grin	43.76	0.00	44.76	new apartment	87.52	40.71	2.12
ugly cunt	43.76	0.00	44.76	second bedroom	43.76	20.36	2.10
burning vitriol	43.76	0.00	44.76	home country	43.76	20.36	2.10
serious interest	43.76	0.00	44.76	social anxiety	43.76	20.36	2.10
dollar designer	43.76	0.00	44.76	spring semester	43.76	20.36	2.10
legal age limit	43.76	0.00	44.76	kissless virgin	43.76	20.36	2.10
iced tea	43.76	0.00	44.76	entire time	43.76	20.36	2.10
sense of spiteful gratification	43.76	0.00	44.76	living place	43.76	20.36	2.10
image of beauty ad	43.76	0.00	44.76	birthday party	43.76	20.36	2.10
drunken contempt	43.76	0.00	44.76	exact same position	43.76	20.36	2.10
dumb bitch	43.76	0.00	44.76	lonely virgin	43.76	20.36	2.10
legal age	43.76	0.00	44.76	collecting candy	43.76	20.36	2.10
eating delicious food	43.76	0.00	44.76	miserable time	43.76	20.36	2.10
in-depth view	43.76	0.00	44.76	new person	43.76	20.36	2.10
subconscious mind	43.76	0.00	44.76	other side	43.76	20.36	2.10
violent act	43.76	0.00	44.76	parking lot	43.76	20.36	2.10

such night	43.76	0.00	44.76	other college	43.76	20.36	2.10
inferior mexican guy	43.76	0.00	44.76	going home	43.76	20.36	2.10
inferior position	43.76	0.00	44.76	delicious food	43.76	20.36	2.10
inflicting suffering	43.76	0.00	44.76	same way	43.76	20.36	2.10
inkling of desperate home	43.76	0.00	44.76	new semester	87.52	50.89	1.71
insulting way	43.76	0.00	44.76	beautiful girl	131.29	81.43	1.61
intense hatred	43.76	0.00	44.76	happy life	131.29	91.61	1.43
sexy warm body	43.76	0.00	44.76	sex life	43.76	30.54	1.42
english countryside	43.76	0.00	44.76	sociology class	43.76	30.54	1.42
shopping mall	43.76	0.00	44.76	spending time	43.76	30.54	1.42
true paradise	43.76	0.00	44.76	small part	43.76	30.54	1.42
hometown feeling	43.76	0.00	44.76	spring break	43.76	30.54	1.42
jet company	43.76	0.00	44.76	turning point	43.76	30.54	1.42
jet lag	43.76	0.00	44.76	cell phone	43.76	30.54	1.42
jock-type guy	43.76	0.00	44.76	unwanted outcast	43.76	30.54	1.42
scenic drive	43.76	0.00	44.76	ultimate retribution	43.76	30.54	1.42
ugly pig-face	43.76	0.00	44.76	exact revenge	43.76	30.54	1.42
single insult	43.76	0.00	44.76	new experience	43.76	30.54	1.42
bad taste	43.76	0.00	44.76	new environment	43.76	30.54	1.42
silky blonde hair	43.76	0.00	44.76	next week	43.76	30.54	1.42
entire friendship	43.76	0.00	44.76	final solution	43.76	30.54	1.42
single young couple	43.76	0.00	44.76	grade year	43.76	30.54	1.42
entire movie	43.76	0.00	44.76	golden necklace	43.76	30.54	1.42
short day trip	43.76	0.00	44.76	happy birthday	43.76	30.54	1.42
big meal	43.76	0.00	44.76	first day	262.57	213.75	1.23
ugly animal	43.76	0.00	44.76	social interaction	87.52	71.25	1.23
sexy-looking blonde girl	43.76	0.00	44.76	social life	131.29	111.96	1.17
license plate	43.76	0.00	44.76	only thing	131.29	111.96	1.17
license plate number	43.76	0.00	44.76	pretty girl	131.29	111.96	1.17
great business idea	43.76	0.00	44.76	young age	175.05	152.68	1.15
psychological problem	43.76	0.00	44.76	sexual attraction	43.76	40.71	1.07
pure hatred	43.76	0.00	44.76	big part	43.76	40.71	1.07
great insult	43.76	0.00	44.76	last chance	43.76	40.71	1.07
designer clothing store	43.76	0.00	44.76	walking distance	43.76	40.71	1.07
brief conversation	43.76	0.00	44.76	magnificent gentleman	43.76	40.71	1.07
class family	43.76	0.00	44.76	lonely life	43.76	40.71	1.07
little animal	43.76	0.00	44.76	last time	306.33	305.36	1.00
bare stomach	43.76	0.00	44.76	new room	87.52	91.61	0.96
smug look	43.76	0.00	44.76	blonde hair	87.52	91.61	0.96

ultimate dream	43.76	0.00	44.76	japanese restaurant	43.76	50.89	0.86
true winning ticket	43.76	0.00	44.76	wealthy man	43.76	50.89	0.86
small sense of spiteful gratification	43.76	0.00	44.76	popular kid	43.76	50.89	0.86
whole college	43.76	0.00	44.76	whole time	87.52	101.79	0.86
usual day	43.76	0.00	44.76	first time	175.05	234.11	0.75
lonely depression	43.76	0.00	44.76	same position	43.76	61.07	0.72
vile incident	43.76	0.00	44.76	high school	87.52	132.32	0.66
exact thing	43.76	0.00	44.76	female gender	43.76	71.25	0.62
long black carpet	43.76	0.00	44.76	winter break	87.52	142.50	0.62
long conversation	43.76	0.00	44.76	same time	43.76	81.43	0.54
hatred burn	43.76	0.00	44.76	much fun	43.76	101.79	0.44
long period	43.76	0.00	44.76	new life	43.76	101.79	0.44
long scenic drive	43.76	0.00	44.76	elementary school	43.76	111.96	0.40
low-class scum	43.76	0.00	44.76	beach house	43.76	111.96	0.40
luxury designer	43.76	0.00	44.76	grandma jinx	43.76	111.96	0.40
social environment	43.76	0.00	44.76	whole world	43.76	132.32	0.34
luxury designer clothing store	43.76	0.00	44.76	long time	43.76	223.93	0.20

3.9.7 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 7

Item (SketchEngine; sorted by Simple Maths Score >1; calculated using N+1)	Relative frequency (RF) per million words (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score	Item	RF (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score
little brother	352.24	0.00	353.24	wooden practice sword	39.14	0.00	40.14
blonde girlfriend	195.69	0.00	196.69	pretty night	39.14	0.00	40.14
beautiful blonde girlfriend	195.69	0.00	196.69	main attacker	39.14	0.00	40.14
front yard	156.55	0.00	157.55	taking advantage	39.14	0.00	40.14
sole purpose	117.41	0.00	118.41	major role	39.14	0.00	40.14
walking cast	117.41	0.00	118.41	making use	39.14	0.00	40.14
high opinion	117.41	0.00	118.41	interesting email	39.14	0.00	40.14
beautiful environment	117.41	0.00	118.41	many good	39.14	0.00	40.14
little brother jazz	117.41	0.00	118.41	massacring everyone	39.14	0.00	40.14
red wine	117.41	0.00	118.41	mere sight	39.14	0.00	40.14
great wealth	78.27	0.00	79.28	miserable experience	39.14	0.00	40.14
searing pain	78.27	0.00	79.28	moonlit beach	39.14	0.00	40.14
new counsellor	78.27	0.00	79.28	moonlit darkness	39.14	0.00	40.14
main complex	78.27	0.00	79.28	mother being	39.14	0.00	40.14

special golden necklace	78.27	0.00	79.28	sweet act	39.14	0.00	40.14
final phase	78.27	0.00	79.28	much fun everyone	39.14	0.00	40.14
similar role	78.27	0.00	79.28	much fun right	39.14	0.00	40.14
last ditch effort	78.27	0.00	79.28	unique sunset	39.14	0.00	40.14
powerful god	78.27	0.00	79.28	delicious wine	39.14	0.00	40.14
one-thousand fold	78.27	0.00	79.28	need something	39.14	0.00	40.14
important conversation	78.27	0.00	79.28	final straw	39.14	0.00	40.14
exact date	78.27	0.00	79.28	sunset spot	39.14	0.00	40.14
twisted way	78.27	0.00	79.28	new cast	39.14	0.00	40.14
lonely virginity	78.27	0.00	79.28	final time	39.14	0.00	40.14
ample amount	78.27	0.00	79.28	little taste	39.14	0.00	40.14
ditch effort	78.27	0.00	79.28	final year	39.14	0.00	40.14
second phase	78.27	0.00	79.28	world of constant suffering	39.14	0.00	40.14
brief glimpse	78.27	0.00	79.28	new life of heavenly bliss	39.14	0.00	40.14
final date	78.27	0.00	79.28	single female	39.14	0.00	40.14
taking place	78.27	0.00	79.28	pretty night life	39.14	0.00	40.14
shooting range	78.27	0.00	79.28	new psychologist	39.14	0.00	40.14
dark path	78.27	0.00	79.28	fine vintage	39.14	0.00	40.14
phi sorority	78.27	0.00	79.28	therapy session	39.14	0.00	40.14
entire town	78.27	0.00	79.28	new setup	39.14	0.00	40.14
shattered leg	78.27	0.00	79.28	new weapon	39.14	0.00	40.14
last ditch	78.27	0.00	79.28	desperate attempt	39.14	0.00	40.14
party weekend	78.27	0.00	79.28	terrible injury	39.14	0.00	40.14
health agency	78.27	0.00	79.28	next school	39.14	0.00	40.14
asian guy	78.27	0.00	79.28	next school year	39.14	0.00	40.14
enough courage	78.27	0.00	79.28	next step	39.14	0.00	40.14
same scenario	78.27	0.00	79.28	timid boy	39.14	0.00	40.14
entire bottle	39.14	0.00	40.14	nice atmosphere	39.14	0.00	40.14
very existence	39.14	0.00	40.14	life of lonely virginity	39.14	0.00	40.14
local gun	39.14	0.00	40.14	nice enough area	39.14	0.00	40.14
inferior scum	39.14	0.00	40.14	enjoyable college	39.14	0.00	40.14
such evil	39.14	0.00	40.14	chiseled jaw	39.14	0.00	40.14
intense conflict	39.14	0.00	40.14	night life	39.14	0.00	40.14
essence of human nature	39.14	0.00	40.14	night sky	39.14	0.00	40.14
exact image	39.14	0.00	40.14	night trip	39.14	0.00	40.14
last spiteful lash	39.14	0.00	40.14	normal party-goer	39.14	0.00	40.14
crude drinking game	39.14	0.00	40.14	normal party	39.14	0.00	40.14
cruelty one-thousand	39.14	0.00	40.14	normal party weekend	39.14	0.00	40.14
unwanted virgin	39.14	0.00	40.14	normal weekend	39.14	0.00	40.14
luxurious furniture	39.14	0.00	40.14	obnoxious boy	39.14	0.00	40.14

waiting period	39.14	0.00	40.14	obnoxious slob	39.14	0.00	40.14
exquisite japanese restaurant	39.14	0.00	40.14	old age	39.14	0.00	40.14
dark chapter	39.14	0.00	40.14	old counsellor	39.14	0.00	40.14
climactic massacre	39.14	0.00	40.14	whole case	39.14	0.00	40.14
hip hop music	39.14	0.00	40.14	old psychologist	39.14	0.00	40.14
sexual pleasure	39.14	0.00	40.14	welcome respite	39.14	0.00	40.14
closed room door	39.14	0.00	40.14	haired boy	39.14	0.00	40.14
imminent move	39.14	0.00	40.14	ramming anyone	39.14	0.00	40.14
whole house	39.14	0.00	40.14	happy conclusion	39.14	0.00	40.14
spring break party	39.14	0.00	40.14	enjoyable college life	39.14	0.00	40.14
intelligent person	39.14	0.00	40.14	ominous drive	39.14	0.00	40.14
beautiful town	39.14	0.00	40.14	last ditch effort of desperation	39.14	0.00	40.14
titanium plate	39.14	0.00	40.14	only path	39.14	0.00	40.14
last month	39.14	0.00	40.14	food chain	39.14	0.00	40.14
last set	39.14	0.00	40.14	tragic end	39.14	0.00	40.14
beer pong	39.14	0.00	40.14	enjoyable life	39.14	0.00	40.14
late night	39.14	0.00	40.14	fractured bone	39.14	0.00	40.14
exquisite breakfast buffet	39.14	0.00	40.14	beautiful eurasian	39.14	0.00	40.14
second handgun	39.14	0.00	40.14	actual evidence	39.14	0.00	40.14
exquisite place	39.14	0.00	40.14	wise decision	39.14	0.00	40.14
stinging pain	39.14	0.00	40.14	only young person	39.14	0.00	40.14
successful actor	39.14	0.00	40.14	orange glow	39.14	0.00	40.14
living god	39.14	0.00	40.14	other delectable treat	39.14	0.00	40.14
life of heavenly bliss	39.14	0.00	40.14	other hope	39.14	0.00	40.14
wild frat	39.14	0.00	40.14	other path	39.14	0.00	40.14
wondrous place	39.14	0.00	40.14	other psychiatrist	39.14	0.00	40.14
wearing beach	39.14	0.00	40.14	other reason	39.14	0.00	40.14
fast time	39.14	0.00	40.14	funny-looking curly haired boy	39.14	0.00	40.14
feeling of overwhelming dizziness	39.14	0.00	40.14	overwhelming dizziness	39.14	0.00	40.14
deadly vengeance	39.14	0.00	40.14	gaining wealth	39.14	0.00	40.14
upper-class car	39.14	0.00	40.14	wealthy man right	39.14	0.00	40.14
magnificent place	39.14	0.00	40.14	own version	39.14	0.00	40.14
accurate weapon	39.14	0.00	40.14	pain medication	39.14	0.00	40.14
final act	39.14	0.00	40.14	painful life	39.14	0.00	40.14
man right	39.14	0.00	40.14	painful way	39.14	0.00	40.14
definite decision	39.14	0.00	40.14	particular young couple	39.14	0.00	40.14
delectable treat	39.14	0.00	40.14	hard thing	39.14	0.00	40.14
final outcome	39.14	0.00	40.14	whole month	39.14	0.00	40.14
delicious dinner	39.14	0.00	40.14	wooden ledge	39.14	0.00	40.14

amount of hard liquor	39.14	0.00	40.14	relaxing month	39.14	0.00	40.14
final respite	39.14	0.00	40.14	enjoyable youth	39.14	0.00	40.14
whole group	39.14	0.00	40.14	peaceful contemplation	39.14	0.00	40.14
wooden practice	39.14	0.00	40.14	peaceful place	39.14	0.00	40.14
final video	39.14	0.00	40.14	peculiar elegance	39.14	0.00	40.14
semiautomatic pistol	39.14	0.00	40.14	perfect day	39.14	0.00	40.14
constant suffering	39.14	0.00	40.14	drunken carelessness	39.14	0.00	40.14
current room	39.14	0.00	40.14	perfect revelation	39.14	0.00	40.14
local orthopedist	39.14	0.00	40.14	whole tragic life	39.14	0.00	40.14
wild tantrum	39.14	0.00	40.14	personal torture	39.14	0.00	40.14
fine scenario	39.14	0.00	40.14	perverted sexual attraction	39.14	0.00	40.14
whole reason	39.14	0.00	40.14	petty conflict	39.14	0.00	40.14
wind blow	39.14	0.00	40.14	philosophical insight	39.14	0.00	40.14
bank account	39.14	0.00	40.14	pickup day	39.14	0.00	40.14
break party	39.14	0.00	40.14	cocky little smirk	39.14	0.00	40.14
wild house	39.14	0.00	40.14	hate-fueled eagerness	39.14	0.00	40.14
luxurious bedseat	39.14	0.00	40.14	hate-fueled rage	39.14	0.00	40.14
wretched town	39.14	0.00	40.14	enough anguish	39.14	0.00	40.14
devastating culmination	39.14	0.00	40.14	playing annoying hip hop	39.14	0.00	40.14
devastating fear	39.14	0.00	40.14	playing annoying hip hop music	39.14	0.00	40.14
breakfast buffet	39.14	0.00	40.14	great delight	39.14	0.00	40.14
act of deadly vengeance	39.14	0.00	40.14	great intelligence	39.14	0.00	40.14
unjust world	39.14	0.00	40.14	pleasurable youth	39.14	0.00	40.14
familiar frustration	39.14	0.00	40.14	easy going man	39.14	0.00	40.14
old redneck cashier	39.14	0.00	40.14	type of exquisite breakfast	39.14	0.00	40.14
first young girl	39.14	0.00	40.14	pong table	39.14	0.00	40.14
flickering flame	39.14	0.00	40.14	great sex	39.14	0.00	40.14
annoying hip hop music	39.14	0.00	40.14	hatred one-thousand	39.14	0.00	40.14
high enough status	39.14	0.00	40.14	practice sword	39.14	0.00	40.14
wrong thing	39.14	0.00	40.14	practicing shooting	39.14	0.00	40.14
seeing footage	39.14	0.00	40.14	sense peace	39.14	0.00	40.14
entire city	39.14	0.00	40.14	hatred one-thousand fold	39.14	0.00	40.14
single thing	39.14	0.00	40.14	enough area	39.14	0.00	40.14
shameful grandson	39.14	0.00	40.14	civilized state	39.14	0.00	40.14
immediate assistance	39.14	0.00	40.14	previous conflict	39.14	0.00	40.14
human species	39.14	0.00	40.14	gun shop	39.14	0.00	40.14
single person	39.14	0.00	40.14	profound eagerness	39.14	0.00	40.14

entire year	39.14	0.00	40.14	providing someone	39.14	0.00	40.14
single time	39.14	0.00	40.14	punishing everyone	39.14	0.00	40.14
envy-fueled rage	39.14	0.00	40.14	pure rage	39.14	0.00	40.14
lot of extensive research	39.14	0.00	40.14	ultimate purpose	39.14	0.00	40.14
controversial medication	39.14	0.00	40.14	raucous debauchery	39.14	0.00	40.14
virgin outcast	39.14	0.00	40.14	rebellious demeanor	39.14	0.00	40.14
only solace	39.14	0.00	40.14	recent visit	39.14	0.00	40.14
exact apartment	39.14	0.00	40.14	hard liquor	39.14	0.00	40.14
exact apartment unit	39.14	0.00	40.14	redneck cashier	39.14	0.00	40.14
crippled state	39.14	0.00	40.14	hasty mockery	39.14	0.00	40.14
sort of health agency	39.14	0.00	40.14	twisted world of constant suffering	39.14	0.00	40.14
absolute despair	39.14	0.00	40.14	restless sleep	39.14	0.00	40.14
family of great wealth	39.14	0.00	40.14	roast chicken	39.14	0.00	40.14
absolute agony	39.14	0.00	40.14	room door	39.14	0.00	40.14
sexy girlfriend	39.14	0.00	40.14	rowdy atmosphere	39.14	0.00	40.14
last thought	39.14	0.00	40.14	rowdy jock-type	39.14	0.00	40.14
cruel place	39.14	0.00	40.14	sad story	39.14	0.00	40.14
last weekend	39.14	0.00	40.14	sad story will	39.14	0.00	40.14
initial week	39.14	0.00	40.14	ultimate video	39.14	0.00	40.14
bitter envy	39.14	0.00	40.14	healthy college	39.14	0.00	40.14
left leg	39.14	0.00	40.14	same exact apartment	39.14	0.00	40.14
curly haired boy	39.14	0.00	40.14	same exact apartment unit	39.14	0.00	40.14
second counsellor	39.14	0.00	40.14	annoying hip hop	39.14	0.00	40.14
bitter experience	39.14	0.00	40.14	vicious hostility	39.14	0.00	40.14
little flame	39.14	0.00	40.14	same extreme	39.14	0.00	40.14
very tip	39.14	0.00	40.14	healthy college life	39.14	0.00	40.14
insignificant little mouse	39.14	0.00	40.14	climactic end	39.14	0.00	40.14
blissful life	39.14	0.00	40.14	same sunset	39.14	0.00	40.14
whole plan	39.14	0.00	40.14	high-class car	39.14	0.00	40.14
very party	39.14	0.00	40.14	same type	39.14	0.00	40.14
subsequent lack	39.14	0.00	40.14	closed room	39.14	0.00	40.14
dead inside	39.14	0.00	40.14	wild house party	39.14	0.00	40.14
summer sociology	39.14	0.00	40.14	same party	39.14	0.00	40.14
deadly drug	39.14	0.00	40.14	ultimate showdown	39.14	0.00	40.14
summer sociology class	39.14	0.00	40.14	usual sunset	39.14	0.00	40.14
wearing beach gear	39.14	0.00	40.14	website puahate	39.14	0.00	40.14
luxurious trip	39.14	0.00	40.14	enough status	39.14	0.00	40.14
female counsellor	39.14	0.00	40.14	magnificent gentleman	156.55	10.47	13.74
severe importance	39.14	0.00	40.14	pleasurable life	156.55	10.47	13.74

filet mignon	39.14	0.00	40.14	hotel room	117.41	10.47	10.33
main target	39.14	0.00	40.14	single day	117.41	10.47	10.33
final dark chapter	39.14	0.00	40.14	ultimate retribution	117.41	10.47	10.33
many contemplation	39.14	0.00	40.14	final solution	117.41	10.47	10.33
final effort	39.14	0.00	40.14	next week	117.41	10.47	10.33
final farewell	39.14	0.00	40.14	golden necklace	117.41	10.47	10.33
final insult	39.14	0.00	40.14	last trip	156.55	20.93	7.18
much anger	39.14	0.00	40.14	sexual starvation	78.27	10.47	6.91
boa steakhouse	39.14	0.00	40.14	entire time	78.27	10.47	6.91
much salt	39.14	0.00	40.14	twisted world	78.27	10.47	6.91
back window	39.14	0.00	40.14	little mouse	78.27	10.47	6.91
unnatural life	39.14	0.00	40.14	lonely virgin	78.27	10.47	6.91
depressing drive	39.14	0.00	40.14	pleasurable sex	78.27	10.47	6.91
new golden necklace	39.14	0.00	40.14	brother jazz	195.69	31.40	6.07
boiling hatred	39.14	0.00	40.14	sexual attraction	117.41	20.93	5.40
same type of exquisite breakfast	39.14	0.00	40.14	last chance	117.41	20.93	5.40
desk chair	39.14	0.00	40.14	happy life	273.96	52.33	5.16
third handgun	39.14	0.00	40.14	white girl	195.69	41.87	4.59
first counsellor	39.14	0.00	40.14	last year	156.55	41.87	3.68
whole ordeal	39.14	0.00	40.14	female gender	156.55	41.87	3.68
destroying everything	39.14	0.00	40.14	house party	117.41	31.40	3.66
first handgun	39.14	0.00	40.14	much time	117.41	31.40	3.66
devastating blow	39.14	0.00	40.14	small part	78.27	20.93	3.61
terrible cold	39.14	0.00	40.14	exact revenge	78.27	20.93	3.61
first phase	39.14	0.00	40.14	unwanted outcast	78.27	20.93	3.61
first police	39.14	0.00	40.14	heavenly bliss	39.14	10.47	3.50
first police car	39.14	0.00	40.14	entire body	39.14	10.47	3.50
first second	39.14	0.00	40.14	same weekend	39.14	10.47	3.50
devastating vengeance	39.14	0.00	40.14	hot tub	39.14	10.47	3.50
whole ride	39.14	0.00	40.14	entire summer	39.14	10.47	3.50
beach gear	39.14	0.00	40.14	human nature	39.14	10.47	3.50
old redneck	39.14	0.00	40.14	entire being	39.14	10.47	3.50
disastrous experience	39.14	0.00	40.14	immense pain	39.14	10.47	3.50
tragic suffering	39.14	0.00	40.14	entire world	39.14	10.47	3.50
distant past	39.14	0.00	40.14	inferior mouse	39.14	10.47	3.50
form of gratifying vengeance	39.14	0.00	40.14	entire youth	39.14	10.47	3.50
ample amount of hard liquor	39.14	0.00	40.14	beautiful place	39.14	10.47	3.50
worthless loser	39.14	0.00	40.14	amazing life	39.14	10.47	3.50
only world	39.14	0.00	40.14	insignificant life	39.14	10.47	3.50

full force	39.14	0.00	40.14	alpha male	39.14	10.47	3.50
virgin status	39.14	0.00	40.14	strange reason	39.14	10.47	3.50
other form	39.14	0.00	40.14	exact same thing	39.14	10.47	3.50
full truth	39.14	0.00	40.14	last period	39.14	10.47	3.50
beach park	39.14	0.00	40.14	last second	39.14	10.47	3.50
fun everyone	39.14	0.00	40.14	last straw	39.14	10.47	3.50
fun right	39.14	0.00	40.14	late spring	39.14	10.47	3.50
bright blonde hair	39.14	0.00	40.14	vicious circle	39.14	10.47	3.50
dollar mark	39.14	0.00	40.14	visit home	39.14	10.47	3.50
unjust experience	39.14	0.00	40.14	extra money	39.14	10.47	3.50
usual sunset spot	39.14	0.00	40.14	attending college	39.14	10.47	3.50
whole bottle	39.14	0.00	40.14	whole apartment	39.14	10.47	3.50
game player	39.14	0.00	40.14	little time	39.14	10.47	3.50
getting high enough	39.14	0.00	40.14	extreme rage	39.14	10.47	3.50
dollar ticket	39.14	0.00	40.14	extraordinary view	39.14	10.47	3.50
getting sex	39.14	0.00	40.14	extreme sense	39.14	10.47	3.50
torturous life	39.14	0.00	40.14	fateful night	39.14	10.47	3.50
passenger seat	39.14	0.00	40.14	worth something	39.14	10.47	3.50
glass of red wine	39.14	0.00	40.14	year old virgin	39.14	10.47	3.50
drinking game	39.14	0.00	40.14	lonely bed	39.14	10.47	3.50
beautiful blonde-haired clique	39.14	0.00	40.14	young girl	39.14	10.47	3.50
pathetic loser	39.14	0.00	40.14	magnificent view	39.14	10.47	3.50
going man	39.14	0.00	40.14	deep breath	39.14	10.47	3.50
drug mixture	39.14	0.00	40.14	aunt min	39.14	10.47	3.50
animal-like thinking	39.14	0.00	40.14	new book	39.14	10.47	3.50
person of high intelligence	39.14	0.00	40.14	depressing life	39.14	10.47	3.50
good-looking guy	39.14	0.00	40.14	new plan	39.14	10.47	3.50
absolute last weekend	39.14	0.00	40.14	new sense	39.14	10.47	3.50
good liar	39.14	0.00	40.14	first act	39.14	10.47	3.50
drunken confidence	39.14	0.00	40.14	next month	39.14	10.47	3.50
brunette white girl	39.14	0.00	40.14	nice dinner	39.14	10.47	3.50
drunken sleep	39.14	0.00	40.14	first night	39.14	10.47	3.50
type of exquisite breakfast buffet	39.14	0.00	40.14	brief friendship	39.14	10.47	3.50
ping pong	39.14	0.00	40.14	old friend	39.14	10.47	3.50
ping pong table	39.14	0.00	40.14	dining room	39.14	10.47	3.50
gratifying vengeance	39.14	0.00	40.14	old virgin	39.14	10.47	3.50
place of great significance	39.14	0.00	40.14	following day	39.14	10.47	3.50
great deal	39.14	0.00	40.14	only place	39.14	10.47	3.50
car hierarchy	39.14	0.00	40.14	doing anything	39.14	10.47	3.50

entire apartment	39.14	0.00	40.14	boiling water	39.14	10.47	3.50
very essence of human nature	39.14	0.00	40.14	own father	39.14	10.47	3.50
high enough	39.14	0.00	40.14	doing something	39.14	10.47	3.50
whole weekend	39.14	0.00	40.14	passionate sex	39.14	10.47	3.50
absolute wrong thing	39.14	0.00	40.14	perfect opportunity	39.14	10.47	3.50
little smirk	39.14	0.00	40.14	burning hatred	39.14	10.47	3.50
hip hop	39.14	0.00	40.14	pocket knife	39.14	10.47	3.50
very essence	39.14	0.00	40.14	pork sausage	39.14	10.47	3.50
hop music	39.14	0.00	40.14	great significance	39.14	10.47	3.50
horrible situation	39.14	0.00	40.14	great suffering	39.14	10.47	3.50
entire population	39.14	0.00	40.14	great satisfaction	39.14	10.47	3.50
single morning	39.14	0.00	40.14	civilized society	39.14	10.47	3.50
sexy body	39.14	0.00	40.14	healthy life	39.14	10.47	3.50
shooting anyone	39.14	0.00	40.14	same experience	39.14	10.47	3.50
beautiful little town	39.14	0.00	40.14	same night	39.14	10.47	3.50
high intelligence	39.14	0.00	40.14	same effect	39.14	10.47	3.50
similar scenario	39.14	0.00	40.14	beautiful girl	195.69	62.80	3.08
single fantasy	39.14	0.00	40.14	young couple	156.55	52.33	2.95
beautiful little town center	39.14	0.00	40.14	only thing	234.82	83.73	2.78
so-called expert	39.14	0.00	40.14	same position	117.41	41.87	2.76
immune system	39.14	0.00	40.14	young age	313.10	115.13	2.71
small twinge	39.14	0.00	40.14	tragic life	78.27	31.40	2.45
welcome company	39.14	0.00	40.14	whole world	195.69	94.20	2.07
drunken state	39.14	0.00	40.14	wealthy man	78.27	41.87	1.85
infuriating experience	39.14	0.00	40.14	living hell	78.27	41.87	1.85
initial training	39.14	0.00	40.14	next morning	78.27	41.87	1.85
apartment door	39.14	0.00	40.14	popular kid	78.27	41.87	1.85
very fabric	39.14	0.00	40.14	same way	39.14	20.93	1.83
erection-causing body	39.14	0.00	40.14	second bedroom	39.14	20.93	1.83
instant liking	39.14	0.00	40.14	hot girl	39.14	20.93	1.83
typical obnoxious slob	39.14	0.00	40.14	short time	39.14	20.93	1.83
ugly old redneck	39.14	0.00	40.14	epic story	39.14	20.93	1.83
police car	39.14	0.00	40.14	spring semester	39.14	20.93	1.83
intense desperation	39.14	0.00	40.14	exact same position	39.14	20.93	1.83
intense searing pain	39.14	0.00	40.14	little child	39.14	20.93	1.83
cramped room	39.14	0.00	40.14	exquisite meal	39.14	20.93	1.83
taking care	39.14	0.00	40.14	young person	39.14	20.93	1.83
temporary cast	39.14	0.00	40.14	delicious food	39.14	20.93	1.83
killing chamber	39.14	0.00	40.14	first thing	39.14	20.93	1.83

last conversation	39.14	0.00	40.14	only person	39.14	20.93	1.83
late night trip	39.14	0.00	40.14	own mother	39.14	20.93	1.83
crude drinking	39.14	0.00	40.14	other room	39.14	20.93	1.83
tragic day	39.14	0.00	40.14	going home	39.14	20.93	1.83
beautiful world	39.14	0.00	40.14	regional center	39.14	20.93	1.83
sort dose	39.14	0.00	40.14	winter break	195.69	115.13	1.69
exact same scenario	39.14	0.00	40.14	only way	313.10	188.39	1.66
typical obnoxious boy	39.14	0.00	40.14	grandma jinx	156.55	94.20	1.66
single girl	39.14	0.00	40.14	college life	78.27	52.33	1.49
expansive view	39.14	0.00	40.14	new room	117.41	83.73	1.40
sorry excuse	39.14	0.00	40.14	long time	234.82	177.93	1.32
expensive designer	39.14	0.00	40.14	way home	78.27	62.80	1.24
emotional journey	39.14	0.00	40.14	apartment unit	78.27	62.80	1.24
experience of spending time	39.14	0.00	40.14	sex life	39.14	31.40	1.24
spiteful lash	39.14	0.00	40.14	sociology class	39.14	31.40	1.24
expert skateboarder	39.14	0.00	40.14	spring break	39.14	31.40	1.24
sex-starved body	39.14	0.00	40.14	spending time	39.14	31.40	1.24
cruelty one-thousand fold	39.14	0.00	40.14	whole year	39.14	31.40	1.24
exquisite breakfast	39.14	0.00	40.14	whole experience	39.14	31.40	1.24
lax airport	39.14	0.00	40.14	new laptop	39.14	31.40	1.24
utter annihilation	39.14	0.00	40.14	first grade	39.14	31.40	1.24
exquisite dinner	39.14	0.00	40.14	recreation center	39.14	31.40	1.24
video game player	39.14	0.00	40.14	previous year	39.14	31.40	1.24
life of sexual starvation	39.14	0.00	40.14	beautiful girlfriend	156.55	136.06	1.15
same useless advice	39.14	0.00	40.14	school year	39.14	41.87	0.94
walking arm	39.14	0.00	40.14	human race	39.14	41.87	0.94
little twinge	39.14	0.00	40.14	very day	39.14	41.87	0.94
little difficulty	39.14	0.00	40.14	brief period	39.14	41.87	0.94
story will	39.14	0.00	40.14	old rectory	39.14	41.87	0.94
extensive research	39.14	0.00	40.14	first month	39.14	41.87	0.94
strong immune system	39.14	0.00	40.14	first friend	39.14	41.87	0.94
whole bar	39.14	0.00	40.14	only hope	39.14	41.87	0.94
utter realization	39.14	0.00	40.14	same thing	78.27	83.73	0.94
little town	39.14	0.00	40.14	blonde hair	78.27	94.20	0.83
little town center	39.14	0.00	40.14	new life	78.27	94.20	0.83
extreme desperation	39.14	0.00	40.14	much fun	78.27	94.20	0.83
whole future	39.14	0.00	40.14	town center	39.14	52.33	0.75

dark room	39.14	0.00	40.14	college town	39.14	52.33	0.75
utmost importance	39.14	0.00	40.14	japanese restaurant	39.14	52.33	0.75
local gun shop	39.14	0.00	40.14	whole body	39.14	52.33	0.75
ultimate culmination	39.14	0.00	40.14	new apartment	39.14	52.33	0.75
great sex life	39.14	0.00	40.14	new college	39.14	52.33	0.75
fake little taste	39.14	0.00	40.14	nice house	39.14	52.33	0.75
lonely hell	39.14	0.00	40.14	only time	39.14	52.33	0.75
blonde-haired clique	39.14	0.00	40.14	good time	39.14	52.33	0.75
suitable place	39.14	0.00	40.14	same age	39.14	52.33	0.75
long stretch	39.14	0.00	40.14	whole life	78.27	104.66	0.75
last twinge	39.14	0.00	40.14	new semester	39.14	62.80	0.63
long trip	39.14	0.00	40.14	social interaction	39.14	83.73	0.47
amazing world	39.14	0.00	40.14	same time	39.14	83.73	0.47
attractive city	39.14	0.00	40.14	first week	39.14	83.73	0.47
deadly drug mixture	39.14	0.00	40.14	blonde girl	39.14	83.73	0.47
luxurious mansion	39.14	0.00	40.14	video game	39.14	94.20	0.42
useless advice	39.14	0.00	40.14	last day	39.14	115.13	0.35
luxurious vacation	39.14	0.00	40.14	whole time	39.14	115.13	0.35
luxury food	39.14	0.00	40.14	swimming pool	39.14	125.60	0.32
emotional refuge	39.14	0.00	40.14	first time	78.27	261.66	0.30
serious extent	39.14	0.00	40.14	pretty girl	39.14	136.06	0.29
ugly old redneck cashier	39.14	0.00	40.14	last time	78.27	366.32	0.22
catastrophic act	39.14	0.00	40.14				

3.9.8 Key terms Rodger corpus Section 8

Item (SketchEngine; sorted by Simple Maths Score >1; calculated using N+1)	Relative frequency (RF) per million words (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score	Item	RF (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score
human female	1066.10	0.00	1067.10	first strike	533.05	0.00	534.05
true worth	1066.10	0.00	1067.10	new order	533.05	0.00	534.05
pure world	1066.10	0.00	1067.10	fitting way	533.05	0.00	534.05
perfect civilization	533.05	0.00	534.05	state of perfect civilization	533.05	0.00	534.05
entire youth suffering	533.05	0.00	534.05	perfect ideology	533.05	0.00	534.05
worthy place	533.05	0.00	534.05	powerful type	533.05	0.00	534.05

unfulfilled desire	533.05	0.00	534.05	pure place	533.05	0.00	534.05
complete control	533.05	0.00	534.05	question everyone	533.05	0.00	534.05
single woman	533.05	0.00	534.05	sad truth	533.05	0.00	534.05
happy place	533.05	0.00	534.05	vast majority	533.05	0.00	534.05
beautiful woman	533.05	0.00	534.05	evil concept	533.05	0.00	534.05
depraved nature	533.05	0.00	534.05	ideology of abolishing sex	533.05	0.00	534.05
horrific fate	533.05	0.00	534.05	human race	2132.20	8.39	227.23
divine ruler	533.05	0.00	534.05	ideal world	1066.10	8.39	113.67
whole viewpoint	533.05	0.00	534.05	much suffering	533.05	8.39	56.89
good guy	533.05	0.00	534.05	civilized society	533.05	8.39	56.89
enormous tower	533.05	0.00	534.05	abolishing sex	533.05	8.39	56.89
entire concentration	533.05	0.00	534.05	great pleasure	533.05	8.39	56.89
shameful pity	533.05	0.00	534.05	barbaric act	533.05	8.39	56.89
entire concentration camp	533.05	0.00	534.05	tremendous amount	533.05	8.39	56.89
true victim	533.05	0.00	534.05	entire youth	533.05	8.39	56.89
ultimate evil	533.05	0.00	534.05	new level	533.05	16.78	30.04
human psyche	533.05	0.00	534.05	much pleasure	533.05	16.78	30.04
concentration camp	533.05	0.00	534.05	unwanted outcast	533.05	25.16	20.41
current state	533.05	0.00	534.05	tragic life	533.05	33.55	15.46
youth suffering	533.05	0.00	534.05	living hell	533.05	41.94	12.44
human society	533.05	0.00	534.05	happy life	533.05	92.27	5.73
fair place	533.05	0.00	534.05	whole life	533.05	92.27	5.73
miserable life	533.05	0.00	534.05	whole world	533.05	109.04	4.85
female population	533.05	0.00	534.05	only way	533.05	209.70	2.54
heavenly pleasure	533.05	0.00	534.05				

Appendix 4. Key items in the Klebold corpus

4.1 Key words in Klebold corpus

Item (SketchEngine; sorted by Simple Maths Score >1; calculated using N+1)	Relative frequency (RF) per million words (focus corpus)	RF (reference corpus)	Score	Item	RF (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score
zombies	1734.26	0.35	1288.10	friends	1467.45	113.54	12.82

thru	1200.64	0.18	1020.05	warrant	133.40	9.51	12.79
VoDkA	933.83	0.00	934.83	Anything	133.40	9.58	12.71
Klebold	667.02	0.00	668.02	ignorance	133.40	9.63	12.64
halcyon	800.43	0.39	575.88	bad	1600.85	127.17	12.50
Dylan	1867.66	2.27	571.50	observer	133.40	9.76	12.50
halcyons	533.62	0.00	534.62	shy	133.40	9.81	12.43
ponderer	533.62	0.01	529.90	miserable	133.40	9.85	12.38
Existence	667.02	0.28	519.93	memories	266.81	20.79	12.29
fuckin	667.02	0.53	435.46	boundaries	266.81	20.81	12.28
zombie	533.62	0.50	356.78	tragic	133.40	10.00	12.22
FUCK	400.21	0.12	356.76	hearts	133.40	10.09	12.12
morons	400.21	0.20	333.03	Peace	133.40	10.15	12.06
GOD	533.62	0.62	329.39	bombs	133.40	10.15	12.06
existences	400.21	0.24	323.47	everyone	1067.24	87.76	12.04
bliss	933.83	2.26	286.68	sunshine	133.40	10.29	11.91
thoughtz	266.81	0.00	267.81	bastard	133.40	10.35	11.84
VoDKA	266.81	0.00	267.81	true	1734.26	145.84	11.82
martyrism	266.81	0.00	267.81	OK	266.81	21.72	11.79
infinince	266.81	0.00	267.81	poetry	266.81	21.73	11.78
Hahaha	266.81	0.01	265.45	Light	133.40	10.57	11.62
HAHAHAHA	266.81	0.01	265.45	nobody	400.21	33.93	11.49
soulmates	266.81	0.05	254.23	acceptance	266.81	22.44	11.43
happiness	3601.92	13.58	247.06	happy	1067.24	92.94	11.37
NIN	266.81	0.09	245.92	challenges	133.40	10.87	11.33
soulmate	266.81	0.12	238.13	worries	133.40	10.90	11.29
illegible	400.21	0.69	238.06	soul	266.81	22.88	11.21
jocks	266.81	0.13	236.26	symbols	133.40	11.00	11.20
overdeveloped	266.81	0.17	229.07	deserve	133.40	11.05	11.16
HATE	266.81	0.19	225.63	perfect	533.62	46.94	11.15
jock	266.81	0.20	222.30	True	133.40	11.14	11.08
doings	400.21	0.84	218.44	laying	133.40	11.21	11.01
semester	266.81	0.25	214.38	remembering	133.40	11.23	10.99
Oooh	266.81	0.29	207.00	scared	133.40	11.24	10.98
LOVE	533.62	1.65	201.99	partially	133.40	11.25	10.97
Ignorance	266.81	0.34	200.12	abandon	133.40	11.36	10.88
someday	266.81	0.45	185.33	occurring	133.40	11.37	10.87
fucked	400.21	1.57	156.32	Things	133.40	11.46	10.78
YES	266.81	0.85	145.11	likes	266.81	23.95	10.73
shit	2001.07	13.26	140.37	thinking	1200.64	111.04	10.73
Thoughts	266.81	0.93	138.43	calling	400.21	36.57	10.68
outcast	266.81	0.96	136.55	loving	133.40	11.73	10.56
perceivations	133.40	0.00	134.40	shallow	133.40	11.79	10.51
Beeerr	133.40	0.00	134.40	charm	133.40	11.80	10.50
everexistent	133.40	0.00	134.40	commit	133.40	11.81	10.49
everlong	133.40	0.00	134.40	exploration	133.40	11.85	10.46
whassup	133.40	0.00	134.40	waved	133.40	11.92	10.40

EXISTENCES	133.40	0.00	134.40	killing	266.81	24.76	10.40
unsalvageable	133.40	0.00	134.40	earth	533.62	50.53	10.38
superior13	133.40	0.00	134.40	stranger	133.40	12.03	10.32
xpl	133.40	0.00	134.40	hell	400.21	38.01	10.29
NBK14	133.40	0.00	134.40	blocked	133.40	12.09	10.27
FUCKIN	133.40	0.00	134.40	human	1600.85	155.69	10.22
wads1	133.40	0.00	134.40	knowing	400.21	38.26	10.22
undefineable	133.40	0.00	134.40	induced	133.40	12.16	10.21
dumass	133.40	0.00	134.40	exceptions	133.40	12.20	10.18
Thoughtz	133.40	0.00	134.40	me	11606.19	1151.52	10.07
doubtedly	133.40	0.00	134.40	lacking	133.40	12.44	10.00
TTYL	133.40	0.00	134.40	truly	266.81	25.80	10.00
un-existable	133.40	0.00	134.40	moments	266.81	25.90	9.96
Atlanta15	133.40	0.00	134.40	poems	133.40	12.53	9.93
tormentations	133.40	0.00	134.40	chances	266.81	26.00	9.92
everything5	133.40	0.00	134.40	Anyway	266.81	26.08	9.89
LIVEZ	133.40	0.00	134.40	unknown	266.81	26.10	9.88
zombie-based	133.40	0.00	134.40	alike	133.40	12.67	9.84
depressioners	133.40	0.00	134.40	kid	133.40	12.72	9.80
HAHAHAH	133.40	0.00	134.40	clouds	133.40	12.78	9.75
Spiral10	133.40	0.00	134.40	relax	133.40	12.80	9.74
SHITLOAD	133.40	0.00	134.40	barrier	133.40	12.87	9.69
undevelopeds	133.40	0.00	134.40	seeks	133.40	12.96	9.63
cloud-made	133.40	0.00	134.40	suits	133.40	13.00	9.60
NBK	133.40	0.00	134.40	achievements	133.40	13.09	9.54
Laterz	133.40	0.00	134.40	trick	133.40	13.10	9.53
existor	133.40	0.00	134.40	sorry	667.02	69.98	9.41
Life-existence	133.40	0.00	134.40	toilet	133.40	13.29	9.41
Jeah	133.40	0.00	134.40	vice	133.40	13.35	9.37
ThoughtZ	133.40	0.00	134.40	Life	266.81	27.62	9.36
Benet2	133.40	0.00	134.40	sad	266.81	27.85	9.28
friend6	133.40	0.00	134.40	ours	133.40	13.63	9.19
THOUGHTZOS	133.40	0.00	134.40	gun	266.81	28.17	9.18
dylan	133.40	0.00	134.40	feels	266.81	28.19	9.18
spaceless	133.40	0.00	134.40	my	10405.55	1136.29	9.15
Highway3	133.40	0.00	134.40	depressed	133.40	13.75	9.11
spree11	133.40	0.00	134.40	dimension	133.40	13.79	9.09
ASSHOLE	133.40	0.01	133.22	guilt	133.40	13.79	9.09
Hehehe	133.40	0.01	133.22	drinking	266.81	28.54	9.07
bitchin	133.40	0.01	133.22	About	266.81	28.80	8.99
motherfuckin	133.40	0.01	133.22	connected	266.81	29.02	8.92
shitloads	133.40	0.01	133.22	self	266.81	29.13	8.89
heheheheh	133.40	0.01	133.22	Bible	133.40	14.18	8.85
ever-lasting	133.40	0.01	133.22	hoping	266.81	29.34	8.83
Pensive	133.40	0.01	133.22	throwing	133.40	14.24	8.82
non-thinking	133.40	0.01	133.22	Being	133.40	14.35	8.76

shithead	133.40	0.02	132.05	senses	133.40	14.37	8.75
pornos	133.40	0.02	132.05	lecture	133.40	14.42	8.72
cruelest	133.40	0.02	132.05	song	266.81	29.90	8.67
Goodbye	667.02	4.09	131.13	lifetime	133.40	14.54	8.65
Haha	133.40	0.03	130.91	solely	133.40	14.57	8.63
sucks	266.81	1.05	130.62	accepting	133.40	14.57	8.63
BAM	133.40	0.04	129.78	Almost	133.40	14.60	8.62
oxymoron	133.40	0.04	128.68	suffer	266.81	30.13	8.60
sooo	133.40	0.04	128.68	opinions	133.40	14.70	8.56
zippo	133.40	0.04	128.68	survive	266.81	30.34	8.54
eternities	133.40	0.04	128.68	brick	133.40	14.77	8.52
Reversed	133.40	0.05	127.59	movie	133.40	14.81	8.50
SOB	133.40	0.06	126.52	Me	133.40	14.82	8.50
Downward	133.40	0.06	126.52	primitive	133.40	15.01	8.40
SUICIDE	133.40	0.08	124.44	never	3735.33	447.69	8.33
SHIT	133.40	0.09	123.42	mind	1867.66	224.40	8.29
unexplainable	133.40	0.09	123.42	lucky	266.81	31.38	8.27
delusional	133.40	0.11	121.43	symbol	133.40	15.27	8.26
Sadness	133.40	0.11	121.43	laugh	266.81	31.46	8.25
soo	133.40	0.11	121.43	free	1334.04	160.93	8.24
redneck	133.40	0.11	121.43	vertical	133.40	15.39	8.20
Unpredictable	133.40	0.11	121.43	afraid	400.21	48.32	8.14
soon-to-be	133.40	0.11	121.43	grip	133.40	15.66	8.07
	400.21	2.32	120.73	understand	1067.24	131.86	8.04
sorta	133.40	0.12	119.51	gets	533.62	66.06	7.97
Abandonment	133.40	0.12	119.51	My	1334.04	166.51	7.97
phony	133.40	0.12	119.51	denied	266.81	32.66	7.96
assholes	133.40	0.13	118.57	influential	133.40	16.04	7.89
bettering	133.40	0.13	118.57	grade	133.40	16.05	7.88
Fate	266.81	1.30	116.46	artificial	133.40	16.07	7.88
math	133.40	0.16	115.84	wherever	133.40	16.25	7.79
godlike	133.40	0.16	115.84	thinks	266.81	33.51	7.76
everlasting	266.81	1.33	115.12	mentally	133.40	16.49	7.68
favorite	133.40	0.17	114.96	reward	133.40	16.68	7.60
gawd	133.40	0.18	114.09	caring	133.40	16.69	7.60
godliness	133.40	0.20	111.56	solve	133.40	16.73	7.58
humanity	1200.64	9.83	110.99	Nobody	133.40	16.80	7.55
EVERYTHING	133.40	0.21	110.75	write	667.02	88.14	7.49
Vodka	133.40	0.22	109.94	knows	533.62	71.12	7.41
transceiver	133.40	0.24	108.36	dream	266.81	35.18	7.40
pisses	133.40	0.26	106.83	cloud	133.40	17.25	7.36
MIGHT	133.40	0.27	106.08	doubts	133.40	17.28	7.35
Hypnosis	133.40	0.27	106.08	lost	1200.64	162.47	7.35
triviality	133.40	0.27	106.08	reactions	133.40	17.42	7.30
goddamn	133.40	0.28	105.34	sky	266.81	35.99	7.24
wont	266.81	1.56	104.71	conviction	133.40	17.57	7.24

brainless	133.40	0.29	103.89	Back	133.40	17.58	7.23
Farther	133.40	0.30	103.18	superior	133.40	17.62	7.22
NOTHING	133.40	0.31	102.48	depression	133.40	17.70	7.19
nerve-wracking	133.40	0.31	102.48	errors	133.40	17.72	7.18
crushes	133.40	0.33	101.11	enjoying	133.40	17.79	7.15
Cutter	133.40	0.33	101.11	climbing	133.40	17.81	7.15
THOUGHT	133.40	0.34	100.43	viewed	133.40	18.04	7.06
psycho	133.40	0.35	99.77	universe	133.40	18.22	6.99
asshole	133.40	0.36	99.12	contrast	400.21	56.45	6.98
runes	133.40	0.36	99.12	innocent	133.40	18.28	6.97
multiplies	133.40	0.36	98.47	tool	133.40	18.31	6.96
favor	133.40	0.37	97.83	ever	1600.85	229.68	6.94
Techno	133.40	0.37	97.83	directions	133.40	18.37	6.94
depleting	133.40	0.38	97.20	nothing	1734.26	249.62	6.92
girlfriends	266.81	1.77	96.64	writing	667.02	96.17	6.88
unknowing	133.40	0.39	96.58	letting	133.40	18.56	6.87
weird	933.83	8.79	95.53	chair	400.21	57.50	6.86
chaise	133.40	0.41	95.36	entering	133.40	18.72	6.82
rec	133.40	0.41	95.36	doors	266.81	39.23	6.66
HA	133.40	0.42	94.76	pipe	133.40	19.28	6.63
meanest	133.40	0.45	92.44	o	400.21	59.90	6.59
Humanity	133.40	0.46	91.88	dreams	133.40	19.48	6.56
yea	133.40	0.46	91.88	hope	933.83	142.31	6.52
infinitely	533.62	4.95	89.87	spiritual	133.40	19.78	6.47
parentheses	133.40	0.50	89.70	granted	266.81	40.51	6.45
FAIR	133.40	0.50	89.70	life	2934.90	454.83	6.44
Lately	133.40	0.50	89.70	Everyone	133.40	20.13	6.36
infinite	800.43	7.98	89.29	equation	133.40	20.15	6.35
condoning	133.40	0.51	89.17	wondering	133.40	20.19	6.34
outhouse	133.40	0.51	89.17	ultimate	133.40	20.41	6.28
PEACE	133.40	0.51	89.17	entry	266.81	41.92	6.24
nothin	133.40	0.52	88.64	actions	266.81	41.96	6.23
BAD	133.40	0.52	88.64	ignore	133.40	20.59	6.23
locker	266.81	2.09	86.62	solutions	133.40	20.67	6.20
fuck	800.43	8.35	85.72	separated	133.40	20.68	6.20
symbolizes	133.40	0.61	83.73	completion	133.40	20.70	6.20
Situation	133.40	0.61	83.73	confused	133.40	20.86	6.15
stasis	133.40	0.67	80.60	topic	133.40	21.10	6.08
conceive	400.21	3.98	80.59	hoped	266.81	43.18	6.06
checkpoint	133.40	0.68	80.17	History	133.40	21.19	6.06
Hate	133.40	0.68	80.17	anyone	667.02	109.68	6.04
Amazingly	133.40	0.69	79.75	helped	400.21	65.48	6.04
BUT	266.81	2.37	79.52	want	2934.90	486.19	6.03
anymore	266.81	2.39	79.11	shared	266.81	43.61	6.00
gazes	133.40	0.70	78.91	imagination	133.40	21.39	6.00
BEING	133.40	0.71	78.50	wait	400.21	65.94	5.99

Hurt	133.40	0.72	78.10	IT	133.40	21.67	5.93
scribble	133.40	0.72	78.10	wanting	133.40	21.91	5.87
BIG	266.81	2.43	78.08	rooms	266.81	44.84	5.84
smarter	133.40	0.73	77.70	Book	133.40	22.12	5.81
purity	533.62	5.88	77.67	I	44290.29	7692.96	5.76
harassing	133.40	0.74	77.30	knife	133.40	22.39	5.75
Lucifer	133.40	0.74	77.30	evil	133.40	22.48	5.73
numbed	133.40	0.74	77.30	ca	1467.45	256.83	5.70
mEEK	133.40	0.75	76.90	imagine	266.81	46.12	5.68
EL	133.40	0.76	76.51	liked	266.81	46.43	5.65
fetish	133.40	0.76	76.51	songs	133.40	22.82	5.64
Id	133.40	0.80	74.62	smoking	133.40	22.96	5.61
caverns	133.40	0.86	72.13	stop	667.02	118.14	5.61
deleting	133.40	0.86	72.13	Another	400.21	71.63	5.52
nigger	133.40	0.89	71.11	overcome	133.40	23.37	5.51
Forever	133.40	0.91	70.45	battle	266.81	47.72	5.50
warmest	133.40	0.91	70.45	friend	533.62	96.57	5.48
cleanse	133.40	0.91	70.45	contrary	133.40	23.61	5.46
non-human	133.40	0.91	70.45	determination	133.40	23.76	5.43
fake	400.21	4.73	70.06	rocks	133.40	23.91	5.40
Virtual	133.40	0.93	69.80	finally	400.21	73.48	5.39
self-awareness	133.40	0.93	69.80	honest	133.40	24.02	5.37
god	1467.45	20.21	69.22	distant	133.40	24.03	5.37
Mt	133.40	0.95	68.84	feel	1200.64	223.20	5.36
calculus	133.40	0.96	68.53	Earth	133.40	24.16	5.34
depressions	133.40	0.96	68.53	necessarily	266.81	49.82	5.27
overcomes	133.40	0.96	68.53	minds	133.40	24.50	5.27
Suicide	133.40	1.00	67.31	Until	133.40	24.75	5.22
journeyed	133.40	1.00	67.31	Without	133.40	24.78	5.21
Fuck	266.81	2.99	67.11	almost	1334.04	255.46	5.21
entranced	133.40	1.02	66.42	everywhere	133.40	24.89	5.19
realities	533.62	7.08	66.20	advantages	133.40	24.96	5.18
Piggy	133.40	1.03	66.13	visible	133.40	25.03	5.16
cuddling	133.40	1.05	65.55	nervous	133.40	25.15	5.14
hate	1734.26	25.54	65.39	strange	266.81	51.51	5.10
Sinai	133.40	1.06	65.27	Whether	133.40	25.57	5.06
deceiving	133.40	1.06	65.27	exception	133.40	25.68	5.04
thwart	133.40	1.07	64.99	physical	400.21	78.76	5.03
mournful	133.40	1.07	64.99	stupid	133.40	25.80	5.02
TRUE	133.40	1.08	64.71	sports	133.40	26.03	4.97
fags	133.40	1.09	64.43	wonder	266.81	53.20	4.94
abyss	133.40	1.09	64.16	understanding	400.21	80.74	4.91
never-ending	133.40	1.13	63.09	crossed	133.40	26.42	4.90
DOES	133.40	1.14	62.83	purpose	400.21	80.91	4.90
foggy	133.40	1.14	62.83	blow	133.40	26.48	4.89
conceivable	266.81	3.32	61.99	Unfortunately	133.40	26.54	4.88

bondage	133.40	1.17	61.80	except	400.21	81.29	4.88
masturbation	133.40	1.18	61.55	complicated	133.40	26.57	4.88
STILL	133.40	1.18	61.55	sake	133.40	26.63	4.86
ditched	133.40	1.19	61.30	cycle	133.40	26.72	4.85
Fact	133.40	1.25	59.84	routine	133.40	26.84	4.83
purest	133.40	1.25	59.84	please	400.21	82.24	4.82
ok	133.40	1.26	59.60	ride	133.40	27.11	4.78
spiral	400.21	5.74	59.52	reality	266.81	55.07	4.78
HER	133.40	1.26	59.37	helps	133.40	27.17	4.77
OH	133.40	1.26	59.37	destroyed	133.40	27.30	4.75
NEVER	133.40	1.28	58.90	finds	133.40	27.33	4.75
TEAM	133.40	1.33	57.78	concluded	133.40	27.46	4.72
Ever	400.21	5.95	57.69	Within	133.40	27.50	4.72
Awareness	133.40	1.34	57.56	frame	133.40	27.54	4.71
limbo	133.40	1.34	57.34	fears	133.40	27.65	4.69
pure	1600.85	27.07	57.07	judgment	133.40	27.95	4.64
petty	400.21	6.06	56.82	decide	266.81	57.09	4.61
conspiring	133.40	1.37	56.69	Man	133.40	28.23	4.60
cuddle	133.40	1.42	55.44	genuine	133.40	28.42	4.57
Humans	133.40	1.44	55.04	fight	266.81	58.21	4.52
highway	400.21	6.31	54.88	miss	133.40	28.86	4.50
Difficult	133.40	1.46	54.64	plane	133.40	29.27	4.44
desolation	133.40	1.48	54.25	impossible	266.81	59.55	4.42
hopelessness	133.40	1.50	53.86	stable	133.40	29.40	4.42
sadness	400.21	6.56	53.07	moves	133.40	29.97	4.34
trampled	133.40	1.54	52.92	aware	400.21	92.35	4.30
dimensions	667.02	11.70	52.58	mainly	266.81	61.31	4.30
Properties	133.40	1.60	51.65	knowledge	533.62	124.01	4.28
eternal	400.21	6.78	51.55	powerful	266.81	62.03	4.25
hmm	133.40	1.61	51.47	anger	133.40	30.66	4.25
abandonment	266.81	4.21	51.40	thought	2001.07	473.73	4.22
waterfalls	133.40	1.62	51.30	stars	133.40	31.20	4.17
forever	800.43	14.80	50.72	extreme	133.40	31.30	4.16
cigars	133.40	1.66	50.44	know	4402.35	1057.41	4.16
martyr	133.40	1.66	50.44	stands	133.40	31.39	4.15
existence	2934.90	57.38	50.29	beauty	133.40	31.45	4.14
Stupid	133.40	1.68	50.11	owned	133.40	31.48	4.14
scary	133.40	1.69	49.94	tells	133.40	31.63	4.12
Lost	266.81	4.47	48.97	somehow	133.40	31.88	4.09
reacts	133.40	1.80	48.04	admit	133.40	31.94	4.08
experimented	133.40	1.82	47.73	mostly	133.40	32.01	4.07
screwdriver	133.40	1.83	47.43	Maybe	133.40	32.20	4.05
Blessed	133.40	1.84	47.28	fair	266.81	65.21	4.05
conceived	533.62	10.43	46.77	tears	133.40	32.60	4.00
emotions	800.43	16.21	46.57	explain	266.81	66.18	3.99
weakest	133.40	1.89	46.56	framework	133.40	32.76	3.98

realization	266.81	4.78	46.34	truth	266.81	66.39	3.97
Possible	133.40	1.91	46.13	anything	933.83	234.78	3.97
scenarios	133.40	1.91	46.13	society	533.62	134.32	3.95
Highway	133.40	1.91	46.13	peace	266.81	66.82	3.95
scientifically	133.40	1.91	46.13	think	3068.30	776.61	3.95
HERE	133.40	1.93	45.85	tired	133.40	33.23	3.93
monotonous	133.40	1.95	45.57	wrong	533.62	135.80	3.91
intimidated	133.40	1.97	45.30	stay	400.21	101.73	3.91
punishments	133.40	1.97	45.30	valuable	133.40	33.72	3.87
shines	133.40	1.97	45.30	sit	266.81	68.43	3.86
cascade	133.40	1.99	44.89	taste	133.40	34.00	3.84
WHY	133.40	2.00	44.76	master	133.40	34.20	3.82
reprieve	133.40	2.03	44.37	inner	133.40	34.25	3.81
Evil	133.40	2.07	43.85	meaning	266.81	69.29	3.81
dwellers	133.40	2.13	42.98	grass	133.40	34.34	3.80
Yo	133.40	2.13	42.98	To	933.83	245.06	3.80
love	7737.46	179.47	42.88	sometimes	533.62	139.74	3.80
cliff	400.21	8.40	42.67	funny	133.40	34.50	3.79
connects	133.40	2.15	42.61	things	1334.04	352.30	3.78
declarations	133.40	2.15	42.61	nature	533.62	140.88	3.77
5th	266.81	5.29	42.60	rejected	133.40	34.69	3.77
timeless	133.40	2.16	42.49	girls	266.81	70.13	3.77
realm	400.21	8.45	42.47	world	1334.04	354.36	3.76
ridicule	133.40	2.17	42.37	myself	400.21	105.88	3.75
downs	133.40	2.19	42.14	learn	266.81	70.41	3.75
numb	133.40	2.23	41.56	normal	400.21	105.99	3.75
Da	133.40	2.23	41.56	periods	133.40	34.97	3.74
consciously	266.81	5.54	40.97	beautiful	266.81	70.87	3.73
BS	133.40	2.29	40.88	caught	266.81	71.82	3.68
desolate	133.40	2.29	40.88	rarely	133.40	35.64	3.67
sabotage	133.40	2.29	40.88	live	533.62	144.86	3.67
hobbies	133.40	2.30	40.77	criminal	133.40	35.71	3.66
replication	133.40	2.31	40.55	note	266.81	72.49	3.64
Burn	133.40	2.34	40.23	containing	133.40	36.07	3.63
ups	133.40	2.35	40.12	advanced	133.40	36.14	3.62
vodka	133.40	2.46	38.88	sick	133.40	36.19	3.61
gods	400.21	9.33	38.85	thing	1067.24	295.88	3.60
inseparable	133.40	2.47	38.78	together	933.83	259.06	3.60
strapped	133.40	2.47	38.68	past	800.43	222.56	3.59
Einstein	133.40	2.50	38.39	forest	133.40	36.56	3.58
thoughts	1467.45	37.74	37.91	controls	133.40	36.61	3.57
believer	133.40	2.57	37.62	anybody	133.40	36.74	3.56
GOOD	133.40	2.58	37.53	stayed	133.40	36.75	3.56
crazy	533.62	13.31	37.37	badly	133.40	36.78	3.56
Shit	133.40	2.61	37.25	compared	266.81	74.32	3.56
trait	133.40	2.62	37.16	matters	266.81	74.39	3.55

blocking	266.81	6.25	36.95	Nothing	133.40	37.20	3.52
solitude	133.40	2.71	36.27	ends	133.40	37.26	3.51
lonely	533.62	13.81	36.11	fear	266.81	75.49	3.50
fate	667.02	17.55	36.01	involving	133.40	37.41	3.50
Everything	667.02	17.69	35.75	terrible	133.40	37.54	3.49
fashions	133.40	2.77	35.67	good	2267.88	650.63	3.48
vandalism	133.40	2.84	35.01	music	400.21	114.32	3.48
unconsciously	133.40	2.88	34.69	kill	133.40	37.89	3.46
distrust	133.40	2.89	34.53	sections	133.40	38.18	3.43
explores	133.40	2.92	34.29	wants	266.81	77.13	3.43
Innocent	133.40	2.96	33.91	sum	133.40	38.41	3.41
exiled	133.40	2.98	33.75	happening	133.40	38.45	3.41
supernatural	133.40	3.00	33.60	anyway	266.81	77.62	3.41
pornography	133.40	3.02	33.46	Please	133.40	38.78	3.38
collapsing	133.40	3.03	33.38	W	133.40	39.11	3.35
everything	4669.16	139.25	33.30	find	1200.64	357.67	3.35
unthinkable	133.40	3.07	33.02	Or	266.81	78.99	3.35
newest	133.40	3.09	32.87	ourselves	133.40	39.25	3.34
insane	133.40	3.12	32.66	stopped	266.81	79.39	3.33
ambition	400.21	11.29	32.66	causes	133.40	39.37	3.33
ordained	133.40	3.12	32.59	piece	266.81	79.58	3.32
dwell	133.40	3.13	32.52	laughed	133.40	39.57	3.31
gym	133.40	3.14	32.45	passing	133.40	40.05	3.27
slit	133.40	3.25	31.63	vast	133.40	40.30	3.26
hates	133.40	3.32	31.11	acting	133.40	40.41	3.25
guess	800.43	24.76	31.11	death	533.62	163.88	3.24
tightening	133.40	3.35	30.92	signs	133.40	40.95	3.20
NOT	266.81	7.66	30.91	how	2134.47	666.59	3.20
interpreter	133.40	3.37	30.73	body	667.02	208.29	3.19
persecution	133.40	3.44	30.30	getting	533.62	167.08	3.18
deeper	533.62	16.99	29.71	green	266.81	83.39	3.17
piss	133.40	3.52	29.70	enter	133.40	41.65	3.15
destroy	533.62	17.04	29.64	something	1334.04	422.79	3.15
compulsion	133.40	3.54	29.59	L	133.40	41.67	3.15
loved	1200.64	40.33	29.07	try	533.62	168.93	3.15
uncertainties	133.40	3.68	28.74	Also	133.40	42.08	3.12
revenge	266.81	8.33	28.70	accept	266.81	84.90	3.12
slavery	133.40	3.75	28.31	lack	266.81	84.94	3.12
plateau	133.40	3.81	27.95	school	800.43	256.57	3.11
7th	133.40	3.85	27.74	catch	133.40	42.20	3.11
skip	133.40	3.85	27.74	Her	400.21	130.52	3.05
childish	133.40	3.85	27.69	else	533.62	176.20	3.02
ambitions	266.81	8.71	27.59	sets	133.40	43.63	3.01
truths	133.40	3.87	27.59	greatest	133.40	43.71	3.01
cunning	133.40	3.88	27.54	picture	266.81	88.14	3.00
relish	133.40	3.89	27.49	noticed	133.40	43.88	3.00

Thought	133.40	3.89	27.49	wall	266.81	88.75	2.98
greed	133.40	3.92	27.34	like	3735.33	1251.99	2.98
Soon	400.21	13.89	26.94	others	667.02	223.40	2.98
curiosity	266.81	9.00	26.78	Jesus	133.40	44.67	2.94
die	1200.64	44.32	26.52	farm	133.40	44.84	2.93
Abraham	133.40	4.09	26.43	passed	266.81	90.47	2.93
prevail	133.40	4.10	26.34	moral	133.40	45.30	2.90
suicide	400.21	14.24	26.32	just	2934.90	1020.25	2.88
whoever	266.81	9.20	26.25	beyond	266.81	92.54	2.86
farther	133.40	4.12	26.25	sounds	133.40	45.96	2.86
destination	266.81	9.44	25.64	brief	133.40	46.05	2.86
repeats	133.40	4.30	25.36	neck	133.40	46.07	2.86
arrogance	133.40	4.32	25.28	committed	133.40	46.33	2.84
possesses	133.40	4.33	25.19	rain	133.40	46.48	2.83
screwed	133.40	4.36	25.07	runs	133.40	46.50	2.83
unaware	266.81	9.87	24.63	mental	133.40	46.67	2.82
Eric	400.21	15.31	24.60	pieces	133.40	46.82	2.81
sorrow	133.40	4.49	24.50	Does	133.40	46.86	2.81
await	133.40	4.51	24.38	empty	133.40	47.05	2.80
entity	266.81	10.07	24.20	always	1067.24	383.09	2.78
Somewhere	133.40	4.71	23.54	appear	266.81	95.57	2.77
treats	133.40	4.74	23.40	remember	400.21	144.97	2.75
manipulate	133.40	4.80	23.18	weather	133.40	48.12	2.74
dwelling	133.40	4.80	23.18	seem	400.21	146.65	2.72
w	400.21	16.46	22.98	wanted	533.62	195.88	2.72
pleasures	133.40	4.86	22.94	tonight	133.40	48.75	2.70
dumb	133.40	4.88	22.87	test	266.81	98.35	2.70
Questions	133.40	4.90	22.76	difference	266.81	98.52	2.69
deeds	133.40	4.92	22.70	will	5869.80	2183.55	2.69
paradox	133.40	4.93	22.66	notes	133.40	49.11	2.68
morally	133.40	4.98	22.46	equally	133.40	49.49	2.66
exist	1067.24	47.67	21.95	choice	266.81	100.82	2.63
1st	266.81	11.27	21.83	absence	133.40	50.12	2.63
hardest	133.40	5.20	21.68	happens	133.40	50.67	2.60
downward	133.40	5.20	21.68	display	133.40	50.73	2.60
answers	667.02	30.08	21.50	band	133.40	50.84	2.59
floated	133.40	5.28	21.41	end	1067.24	411.50	2.59
controller	133.40	5.29	21.38	people	2534.69	978.71	2.59
loves	266.81	11.55	21.33	every	800.43	310.70	2.57
punishment	400.21	17.97	21.15	easier	133.40	51.31	2.57
Always	266.81	11.80	20.92	twice	133.40	51.36	2.57
liking	133.40	5.43	20.90	trying	400.21	155.52	2.56
Heaven	133.40	5.48	20.73	nice	266.81	103.94	2.55
hesitation	133.40	5.49	20.70	quiet	133.40	51.88	2.54
drunk	400.21	18.64	20.43	God	400.21	157.07	2.54
clinging	133.40	5.59	20.40	beginning	266.81	104.54	2.54

blessed	133.40	5.60	20.37	immediate	133.40	52.01	2.54
snap	133.40	5.62	20.31	pick	133.40	52.07	2.53
Hell	133.40	5.63	20.26	changing	133.40	52.22	2.53
despair	266.81	12.33	20.09	content	133.40	52.32	2.52
gay	266.81	12.35	20.05	dark	266.81	105.96	2.50
understands	133.40	5.74	19.94	knew	533.62	212.99	2.50
perfection	133.40	5.77	19.86	common	400.21	159.80	2.50
explore	400.21	19.37	19.70	equal	133.40	53.26	2.48
Think	266.81	12.60	19.69	feeling	266.81	107.11	2.48
contrasting	133.40	5.92	19.43	challenge	133.40	53.36	2.47
heaven	266.81	12.84	19.36	onto	133.40	53.41	2.47
versa	133.40	6.08	18.99	soon	400.21	161.72	2.47
Absolutely	133.40	6.09	18.96	driving	133.40	53.59	2.46
endless	266.81	13.14	18.94	People	133.40	53.83	2.45
ending	400.21	20.22	18.90	theory	266.81	108.33	2.45
appreciated	266.81	13.29	18.74	finding	133.40	54.10	2.44
oneself	133.40	6.20	18.66	even	1600.85	657.70	2.43
denial	133.40	6.20	18.66	probably	533.62	220.80	2.41
Space	133.40	6.25	18.54	enjoy	133.40	54.87	2.41
repeating	133.40	6.34	18.32	choose	133.40	55.52	2.38
shell	266.81	13.65	18.29	why	667.02	284.50	2.34
ignorant	133.40	6.36	18.27	Not	400.21	170.55	2.34
stops	266.81	13.72	18.20	hear	266.81	113.81	2.33
slaves	133.40	6.44	18.05	see	2267.88	978.97	2.32
Dark	133.40	6.49	17.95	sun	133.40	57.09	2.31
seas	133.40	6.51	17.91	here	1200.64	518.56	2.31
wit	133.40	6.56	17.78	felt	533.62	231.70	2.30
suffering	667.02	36.78	17.68	H	133.40	57.88	2.28
bye	133.40	6.60	17.67	close	400.21	174.81	2.28
Yet	1334.04	75.53	17.45	Christian	133.40	58.20	2.27
lately	133.40	6.75	17.35	possibly	133.40	58.37	2.26
wanna	400.21	22.15	17.33	tell	533.62	235.78	2.26
wonders	133.40	6.78	17.27	now	2267.88	1009.08	2.25
helpless	133.40	6.82	17.19	apparently	133.40	58.98	2.24
proven	133.40	6.82	17.19	prevent	133.40	59.14	2.24
crimes	266.81	14.58	17.19	questions	266.81	119.20	2.23
limits	533.62	30.24	17.12	none	133.40	59.45	2.22
hated	266.81	14.71	17.04	achieve	133.40	59.59	2.22
grades	133.40	6.92	16.98	search	133.40	59.85	2.21
imminent	133.40	7.01	16.77	time	2934.90	1331.88	2.20
possessions	133.40	7.13	16.53	each	1067.24	484.29	2.20
asylum	133.40	7.14	16.51	done	667.02	303.39	2.20
swear	133.40	7.24	16.32	Let	133.40	60.42	2.19
experiencing	133.40	7.25	16.30	strength	133.40	60.71	2.18
maybe	933.83	56.90	16.14	doing	533.62	244.93	2.17
Miles	133.40	7.33	16.13	greater	266.81	122.59	2.17

fucking	400.21	24.07	16.01	foot	133.40	61.51	2.15
fun	667.02	40.76	16.00	putting	133.40	61.87	2.14
Obviously	266.81	15.84	15.90	this	6536.82	3058.09	2.14
Below	133.40	7.46	15.89	sleep	133.40	62.01	2.13
toy	133.40	7.55	15.72	possibility	133.40	62.02	2.13
Check	133.40	7.57	15.69	Okay	133.40	62.35	2.12
slightest	133.40	7.59	15.64	clock	133.40	62.52	2.12
2nd	133.40	7.69	15.47	parents	266.81	125.81	2.11
technically	133.40	7.72	15.42	Like	133.40	62.71	2.11
humans	266.81	16.46	15.34	d	133.40	62.91	2.10
am	3468.52	225.95	15.29	race	133.40	63.57	2.08
perceive	133.40	7.90	15.10	begin	133.40	63.69	2.08
Love	266.81	16.81	15.03	Society	133.40	64.23	2.06
wheat	133.40	7.98	14.98	real	400.21	194.20	2.06
scratch	133.40	8.00	14.93	From	266.81	129.40	2.05
supposedly	133.40	8.01	14.92	eventually	133.40	64.48	2.05
abandoned	400.21	26.32	14.69	apart	133.40	64.53	2.05
goodbye	133.40	8.19	14.63	scale	133.40	64.70	2.05
hall	667.02	45.28	14.43	views	133.40	65.23	2.03
hollow	133.40	8.33	14.40	drink	133.40	65.53	2.02
shells	133.40	8.34	14.39	shown	266.81	132.00	2.01
exploring	133.40	8.37	14.35	Ah	133.40	66.46	1.99
yet	3201.71	226.11	14.10	More	133.40	66.52	1.99
mist	133.40	8.62	13.98	touch	133.40	66.54	1.99
wrist	133.40	8.64	13.94	place	800.43	408.28	1.96
twist	133.40	8.66	13.91	wo	266.81	136.85	1.94
settings	133.40	8.71	13.85	science	133.40	68.49	1.93
boyfriend	133.40	8.74	13.80	days	533.62	276.24	1.93
exists	400.21	28.08	13.80	someone	266.81	138.03	1.93
imaginative	133.40	8.87	13.61	Good	133.40	69.13	1.92
images	400.21	28.96	13.39	her	4935.97	2576.89	1.92
stuck	400.21	29.04	13.36	presence	133.40	69.36	1.91
smallest	133.40	9.12	13.28	How	400.21	209.28	1.91
blocks	266.81	19.22	13.25	relevant	133.40	69.57	1.91
mine	667.02	49.61	13.20	no	2668.09	1401.22	1.90
pain	800.43	59.88	13.17	fit	133.40	69.80	1.90
Time	533.62	39.86	13.08	covered	133.40	70.24	1.89
awareness	400.21	29.95	12.96	though	667.02	359.39	1.85
journey	533.62	40.27	12.96	do	4002.13	2161.76	1.85

4.2 Key terms in Klebold corpus

Item (SketchEngine; sorted by Simple Maths Score >1;	Relative frequency (RF) per million words	RF (ref)	Score	Item	RF (foc)	RF (ref)	Score
---	---	-------------	-------	------	----------	-------------	-------

calculated using N+1)	(focus corpus)						
lost highway	400.21	0.00	401.21	existor life in solitude	133.40	0.00	134.40
pure happiness	400.21	0.03	390.78	like ignorance	133.40	0.00	134.40
god of sadness	266.81	0.00	267.81	petty others action	133.40	0.00	134.40
cliff theory	266.81	0.00	267.81	limit of exploration	133.40	0.00	134.40
part of existence	266.81	0.01	265.45	extreme liking	133.40	0.00	134.40
pure heaven	266.81	0.01	265.45	fake love	133.40	0.00	134.40
pure bliss	266.81	0.03	260.84	transceiver of the everything	133.40	0.00	134.40
illegible word	266.81	0.04	256.40	little zombie	133.40	0.00	134.40
true love	400.21	1.06	194.84	little zombie human fag	133.40	0.00	134.40
great hall	266.81	0.78	150.18	locker information	133.40	0.00	134.40
down of fate	133.40	0.00	134.40	shell of happiness	133.40	0.00	134.40
perceivation of purity	133.40	0.00	134.40	locker saying anything	133.40	0.00	134.40
everything of purity	133.40	0.00	134.40	favorite contrasting symbol	133.40	0.00	134.40
place of pure happiness	133.40	0.00	134.40	zombie bliss	133.40	0.00	134.40
true controller	133.40	0.00	134.40	asshole in gym	133.40	0.00	134.40
zombie bliss side	133.40	0.00	134.40	virtual book	133.40	0.00	134.40
scale of difference	133.40	0.00	134.40	majority of zombies	133.40	0.00	134.40
called hobby	133.40	0.00	134.40	petty other	133.40	0.00	134.40
stupid pleasure	133.40	0.00	134.40	martyrism revenge	133.40	0.00	134.40
illegible word in parentheses	133.40	0.00	134.40	math equation	133.40	0.00	134.40
head of the chair	133.40	0.00	134.40	meaning of each life	133.40	0.00	134.40
poor sob	133.40	0.00	134.40	vast wonder of the stars	133.40	0.00	134.40
killing spree11	133.40	0.00	134.40	mind for the cliff	133.40	0.00	134.40
knowledge of the everything	133.40	0.00	134.40	mind for the cliff theory	133.40	0.00	134.40
everything existence	133.40	0.00	134.40	mind from the fucking deeds	133.40	0.00	134.40
true existor life	133.40	0.00	134.40	happy feeling in the presence	133.40	0.00	134.40
influential number	133.40	0.00	134.40	miserable existence in the history	133.40	0.00	134.40
warrant for suffering	133.40	0.00	134.40	hate for jocks	133.40	0.00	134.40
awareness journey	133.40	0.00	134.40	moral sort of way	133.40	0.00	134.40
true existor life in solitude	133.40	0.00	134.40	thru dimension	133.40	0.00	134.40
weird time	133.40	0.00	134.40	shallow existence	133.40	0.00	134.40
shit life	133.40	0.00	134.40	fucking deed of zombies	133.40	0.00	134.40
1st semester	133.40	0.00	134.40	framework of society stands	133.40	0.00	134.40
piece of death	133.40	0.00	134.40	stage in this shit life	133.40	0.00	134.40

enough bitchin	133.40	0.00	134.40	never-ending hall	133.40	0.00	134.40
shit motherfuckin goddamn piece	133.40	0.00	134.40	death thought	133.40	0.00	134.40
spaceless place of pure happiness	133.40	0.00	134.40	fuckin ambition	133.40	0.00	134.40
ending vertical cliff	133.40	0.00	134.40	weird existence	133.40	0.00	134.40
cavern of the human books	133.40	0.00	134.40	nigger human	133.40	0.00	134.40
reprieve life	133.40	0.00	134.40	night of the self- awareness	133.40	0.00	134.40
society stand	133.40	0.00	134.40	night of the self- awareness journey	133.40	0.00	134.40
shitload of thinking	133.40	0.00	134.40	sea of pure happiness	133.40	0.00	134.40
visible ending	133.40	0.00	134.40	non-thinking stasis	133.40	0.00	134.40
imaginative halcyon	133.40	0.00	134.40	none of this calculus	133.40	0.00	134.40
thoughtz shit	133.40	0.00	134.40	none of this calculus shit	133.40	0.00	134.40
existor life	133.40	0.00	134.40	timeless spaceless place	133.40	0.00	134.40
like shit	133.40	0.00	134.40	nothin fuck	133.40	0.00	134.40
exploring room	133.40	0.00	134.40	nothin fuck fuck	133.40	0.00	134.40
beginning of the halcyons	133.40	0.00	134.40	ok enough bitchin	133.40	0.00	134.40
favorite contrast	133.40	0.00	134.40	nothing humanity	133.40	0.00	134.40
conceived boundary	133.40	0.00	134.40	ones self	133.40	0.00	134.40
feeling in the presence	133.40	0.00	134.40	gay nigger	133.40	0.00	134.40
pure pure happiness	133.40	0.00	134.40	die everything	133.40	0.00	134.40
calculus shit	133.40	0.00	134.40	gay nigger human	133.40	0.00	134.40
zombie human fag	133.40	0.00	134.40	setting of existence	133.40	0.00	134.40
2nd dimension	133.40	0.00	134.40	gay shit	133.40	0.00	134.40
asshole in gym class	133.40	0.00	134.40	petty declaration of others	133.40	0.00	134.40
5th period	133.40	0.00	134.40	goddamn piece of death	133.40	0.00	134.40
infinity time	133.40	0.00	134.40	shit matter	133.40	0.00	134.40
bondage extreme	133.40	0.00	134.40	weird entry	133.40	0.00	134.40
toilet earth	133.40	0.00	134.40	weird life	133.40	0.00	134.40
petty declaration	133.40	0.00	134.40	fucking zombie	133.40	0.00	134.40
goddamn piece	133.40	0.00	134.40	bliss happiness	133.40	0.00	134.40
true ponderer	133.40	0.00	134.40	pipe bomb	133.40	0.01	133.22
piece of happiness	133.40	0.00	134.40	happiness shine	133.40	0.01	133.22
boundary of space	133.40	0.00	134.40	word in parentheses	133.40	0.01	133.22
sorrow death	133.40	0.00	134.40	head twist	133.40	0.01	133.22
brainless zombie	133.40	0.00	134.40	human book	133.40	0.01	133.22
dumass shithead	133.40	0.00	134.40	eternal suffering	133.40	0.01	133.22
rec thing	133.40	0.00	134.40	human year	133.40	0.01	133.22
ending grass	133.40	0.00	134.40	state of humanity	133.40	0.01	133.22

virtual book existence	133.40	0.00	134.40	illegible scribble	133.40	0.01	133.22
others advantage	133.40	0.00	134.40	awareness part	133.40	0.01	133.22
7th grade	133.40	0.00	134.40	infinite reality	133.40	0.01	133.22
hope for others advantages	133.40	0.00	134.40	kid with a new toy	133.40	0.01	133.22
bad grade	133.40	0.00	134.40	everything everything	133.40	0.01	133.22
possible girlfriend	133.40	0.00	134.40	known limit	133.40	0.01	133.22
ambition desolation	133.40	0.00	134.40	barrier block	133.40	0.01	133.22
spaceless place	133.40	0.00	134.40	love for a long time	133.40	0.01	133.22
everexistent compulsion	133.40	0.00	134.40	contrasting symbol	133.40	0.01	133.22
redneck music	133.40	0.00	134.40	moral sort	133.40	0.01	133.22
immediate physical boundary	133.40	0.00	134.40	found mine	133.40	0.01	133.22
infinite direction in infinite realities	133.40	0.00	134.40	destination unknown	133.40	0.01	133.22
everlong waterfall	133.40	0.00	134.40	only interpreter	133.40	0.02	132.05
bad right	133.40	0.00	134.40	past pain	133.40	0.02	132.05
ambition of life	133.40	0.00	134.40	possible abandonment	133.40	0.02	132.05
shit motherfuckin	133.40	0.00	134.40	endless journey	133.40	0.02	132.05
vast wonder	133.40	0.00	134.40	realm of thought	133.40	0.02	132.05
true despair	133.40	0.00	134.40	s thought	133.40	0.02	132.05
couple of good friends	133.40	0.00	134.40	search of answers	133.40	0.02	132.05
anger denial	133.40	0.00	134.40	eternal hell	133.40	0.02	132.05
room in the great hall	133.40	0.00	134.40	history of time	133.40	0.02	132.05
everything on this world	133.40	0.00	134.40	infinite sadness	133.40	0.02	132.05
shell of happiness shines	133.40	0.00	134.40	insane asylum	133.40	0.02	132.05
beautiful past	133.40	0.00	134.40	forest green	133.40	0.02	132.05
land of purity	133.40	0.00	134.40	big exception	133.40	0.02	132.05
compulsion of everything	133.40	0.00	134.40	only challenge	133.40	0.03	130.91
true existor	133.40	0.00	134.40	gym class	133.40	0.03	130.91
conceivable number	133.40	0.00	134.40	second of every day	133.40	0.03	130.91
little insane asylum	133.40	0.00	134.40	true god	133.40	0.04	129.78
fake reality	133.40	0.00	134.40	everlasting love	133.40	0.04	129.78
locker say	133.40	0.00	134.40	lacking something	133.40	0.04	129.78
conceived boundary of space	133.40	0.00	134.40	life know	133.40	0.04	129.78
lot on the past	133.40	0.00	134.40	nature of existence	133.40	0.04	129.78
way in existence	133.40	0.00	134.40	new existence	133.40	0.04	129.78
phony shit	133.40	0.00	134.40	perfect face	133.40	0.04	128.68
controller of existence	133.40	0.00	134.40	physical boundary	133.40	0.04	128.68
foggy everything	133.40	0.00	134.40	powerful thing	133.40	0.04	128.68
foot fetish	133.40	0.00	134.40	everyone move	133.40	0.04	128.68

cause of martyrism	133.40	0.00	134.40	average human	133.40	0.04	128.68
acting shy	133.40	0.00	134.40	vertical cliff	133.40	0.04	128.68
unexplainable bliss	133.40	0.00	134.40	last day of school	133.40	0.04	128.68
motherfuckin goddamn piece	133.40	0.00	134.40	little death	133.40	0.04	128.68
motherfuckin goddamn piece of death	133.40	0.00	134.40	happy feeling	133.40	0.05	127.59
true controller of existence	133.40	0.00	134.40	everyone try	133.40	0.05	127.59
highway repeat	133.40	0.00	134.40	big shit	133.40	0.05	127.59
shit god	133.40	0.00	134.40	only master	133.40	0.06	126.52
view of shit	133.40	0.00	134.40	limit of time	133.40	0.06	126.52
asylum with the outhouse	133.40	0.00	134.40	framework of society	133.40	0.06	126.52
stupid gay nigger	133.40	0.00	134.40	good fuck	133.40	0.07	125.47
thought writing	133.40	0.00	134.40	dark time	133.40	0.07	125.47
fun of people	133.40	0.00	134.40	miserable existence	133.40	0.08	124.44
advanced go	133.40	0.00	134.40	people climb	133.40	0.09	123.42
bliss side	133.40	0.00	134.40	petty thing	133.40	0.09	123.42
self-awareness journey	133.40	0.00	134.40	end of the beginning	133.40	0.09	123.42
gay shit god	133.40	0.00	134.40	pure hell	133.40	0.09	123.42
different view of shit	133.40	0.00	134.40	large cloud	133.40	0.09	123.42
direction in infinite realities	133.40	0.00	134.40	lucky bastard	133.40	0.09	123.42
cloud-made chair	133.40	0.00	134.40	music playing	133.40	0.09	123.42
bondage extreme liking	133.40	0.00	134.40	day of school	133.40	0.10	122.42
wonder of the stars	133.40	0.00	134.40	hard road	133.40	0.11	121.43
god of the everything	133.40	0.00	134.40	human thing	133.40	0.11	121.43
tormentations people	133.40	0.00	134.40	inner thought	133.40	0.11	121.43
book existence	133.40	0.00	134.40	strange word	133.40	0.13	118.57
goddamn piece of death thought	133.40	0.00	134.40	supernatural force	133.40	0.16	115.84
godlike thing	133.40	0.00	134.40	innocent person	133.40	0.16	115.84
piece of death thought	133.40	0.00	134.40	nice family	133.40	0.16	115.84
advanced go for the undevelopeds	133.40	0.00	134.40	fuck fuck	133.40	0.16	115.84
self close	133.40	0.00	134.40	good body	133.40	0.17	114.96
dylan fuck	133.40	0.00	134.40	human side	133.40	0.17	114.96
gaze with an open heart	133.40	0.00	134.40	ultimate destination	133.40	0.17	114.96
pure existence	133.40	0.00	134.40	nothing worth	133.40	0.17	114.96
dylan goodbye	133.40	0.00	134.40	bad memory	133.40	0.18	114.09
emotion of a ponderer	133.40	0.00	134.40	open heart	133.40	0.19	113.24
overdeveloped mind	133.40	0.00	134.40	purpose of life	133.40	0.19	113.24
awareness sign	133.40	0.00	134.40	strange name	133.40	0.19	113.24

harassing letter	133.40	0.00	134.40	small time	133.40	0.20	111.56
fuckin hate	133.40	0.00	134.40	changing time	133.40	0.21	110.75
1st love	133.40	0.00	134.40	good house	133.40	0.23	109.15
understanding of the everything	133.40	0.00	134.40	last entry	133.40	0.28	104.61
zombie-based thought	133.40	0.00	134.40	physical barrier	133.40	0.30	103.18
others action	133.40	0.00	134.40	letting people	133.40	0.31	102.48
calculus shit matter	133.40	0.00	134.40	new toy	133.40	0.38	97.20
nobody accept	133.40	0.00	134.40	wrong people	133.40	0.41	95.36
fuckin hate for jocks	133.40	0.00	134.40	much change	133.40	0.41	95.36
declaration of others	133.40	0.00	134.40	done thing	133.40	0.45	92.44
hope for others	133.40	0.00	134.40	common man	133.40	0.47	91.32
power of infinity	133.40	0.00	134.40	powerful tool	133.40	0.59	84.67
house vandalism	133.40	0.00	134.40	human form	133.40	0.68	80.17
entity contain	133.40	0.00	134.40	mental picture	133.40	0.71	78.50
human fag	133.40	0.00	134.40	same meaning	133.40	0.72	78.10
go for the undevelopeds	133.40	0.00	134.40	real difference	133.40	0.77	75.75
society band	133.40	0.00	134.40	other friend	133.40	0.85	72.82
perfect soulmate	133.40	0.00	134.40	common people	133.40	0.96	68.53
ever-lasting contrast	133.40	0.00	134.40	physical world	133.40	1.01	66.71
go for the undevelopeds realm	133.40	0.00	134.40	big time	133.40	1.02	66.42
hypnosis place	133.40	0.00	134.40	brief moment	133.40	1.07	64.99
small stupid pleasure	133.40	0.00	134.40	doing everything	133.40	1.14	62.83
everexistent compulsion of everything	133.40	0.00	134.40	own thing	133.40	1.18	61.55
getting bad grade	133.40	0.00	134.40	worth remember	133.40	1.19	61.30
everlasting contrast	133.40	0.00	134.40	real people	133.40	1.26	59.37
sort of a cloud-made chair	133.40	0.00	134.40	saying anything	133.40	1.39	56.27
infinite direction	133.40	0.00	134.40	big problem	133.40	1.50	53.86
infinite memory	133.40	0.00	134.40	sort of way	133.40	1.72	49.45
redneck music playing	133.40	0.00	134.40	frame of mind	133.40	1.74	49.13
stage in this shit	133.40	0.00	134.40	same person	133.40	1.83	47.43
true human nature	133.40	0.00	134.40	high school	133.40	1.85	47.14
cause of martyrism revenge	133.40	0.00	134.40	normal life	133.40	1.87	46.84
everything dweller	133.40	0.00	134.40	only place	133.40	1.94	45.71
helpless martyrism	133.40	0.00	134.40	last few day	133.40	1.96	45.43
journeyed wall	133.40	0.00	134.40	common interest	133.40	2.04	44.24
pure halcyon	133.40	0.00	134.40	different view	133.40	2.65	36.80
fuckin moron	133.40	0.00	134.40	few time	133.40	3.23	31.77
fucking deed	133.40	0.00	134.40	bad thing	133.40	3.28	31.44
deed of zombies	133.40	0.00	134.40	doing thing	133.40	3.66	28.85

knowledge pain	133.40	0.00	134.40	human nature	133.40	4.41	24.82
everything for the first time	133.40	0.00	134.40	good friend	133.40	4.63	23.88
known limit of time	133.40	0.00	134.40	last day	133.40	5.17	21.78
stupid gay nigger human	133.40	0.00	134.40	piece of paper	133.40	5.87	19.58
acceptance despair	133.40	0.00	134.40	good thing	133.40	9.54	12.75
undevelopeds realm	133.40	0.00	134.40	period of time	133.40	9.60	12.68
existence in the history	133.40	0.00	134.40	right hand	133.40	10.00	12.22
endless purity	133.40	0.00	134.40	long time	266.81	37.71	6.92
existence ride	133.40	0.00	134.40	few day	133.40	23.38	5.51
un-existable brainless zombie	133.40	0.00	134.40	same way	133.40	24.83	5.20
legal conviction	133.40	0.00	134.40	many people	133.40	34.89	3.75
touch of triviality	133.40	0.00	134.40	same time	133.40	68.06	1.95
life in solitude	133.40	0.00	134.40	first time	133.40	73.90	1.80

Appendix 5. Key items in the Harris corpus

5.1 Key words in Harris corpus

Item (SketchEngine; sorted by Simple Maths Score >1; calculated using N+1)	Relative frequency (RF) per million words (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score	Item	RF (focus Corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score
Vodka	1240.54	0.14	1086.77	Everything	124.05	18.17	6.52
fucker	1612.70	0.60	1010.86	college	372.16	56.52	6.49
fuckin	1364.60	0.53	890.18	tonight	372.16	57.02	6.43
Heh	744.33	0.41	528.81	schedule	248.11	37.91	6.40
carbine	620.27	0.23	504.51	mask	124.05	18.59	6.39
NBK	496.22	0.00	497.22	quick	372.16	57.56	6.37
fleisch	372.16	0.00	373.16	explosion	124.05	18.66	6.36
fuckhead	372.16	0.02	366.64	shame	124.05	18.76	6.33
napalm	496.22	0.39	357.29	waste	496.22	77.58	6.33
fuck	12529.46	39.42	309.98	just	7071.08	1124.39	6.28
Doom	496.22	0.81	274.71	desk	248.11	38.66	6.28
weisse	248.11	0.00	249.11	weak	248.11	39.24	6.19
Booga	248.11	0.00	249.11	bone	248.11	39.74	6.11
Adios	248.11	0.01	246.91	Jewish	124.05	19.49	6.10
reb	248.11	0.02	244.75	innocent	124.05	19.52	6.09
shithead	248.11	0.04	240.54	garage	124.05	19.56	6.08
Reb	248.11	0.04	240.54	planet	124.05	19.57	6.08

ga	372.16	0.55	240.46	actual	372.16	60.48	6.07
spic	248.11	0.05	238.49	wonderful	248.11	40.61	5.99
ahhh	248.11	0.07	232.55	rat	124.05	20.05	5.94
KMFDM	248.11	0.07	232.55	nowhere	124.05	20.09	5.93
heh	248.11	0.08	230.63	folk	124.05	20.35	5.86
worthless	868.38	3.07	213.56	people	6326.76	1079.93	5.85
ass	868.38	3.12	211.25	cancel	124.05	20.44	5.83
Tequila	248.11	0.20	208.32	stranger	124.05	20.50	5.82
Ich	248.11	0.26	198.00	blow	372.16	63.50	5.79
ammo	248.11	0.29	192.55	ultimate	124.05	20.67	5.77
Arlene	248.11	0.30	191.23	justice	248.11	42.46	5.73
snotty	248.11	0.32	188.66	cool	248.11	42.68	5.70
BTW	248.11	0.32	188.66	universe	124.05	20.94	5.70
goddamn	248.11	0.34	186.15	wipe	124.05	21.11	5.66
psycho	248.11	0.43	174.54	society	992.43	174.74	5.65
shotgun	868.38	4.10	170.65	hunt	124.05	21.19	5.63
NO	372.16	1.22	168.13	orange	124.05	21.53	5.55
anymore	496.22	2.39	146.87	confuse	124.05	21.59	5.54
illegible	248.11	0.71	145.50	want	4341.89	784.71	5.53
retarded	372.16	1.58	144.89	bell	124.05	21.68	5.51
shit	2357.03	15.90	139.55	shut	248.11	44.19	5.51
Nazism	248.11	0.84	135.63	agenda	124.05	21.70	5.51
civilized	496.22	2.87	128.61	swallow	124.05	21.82	5.48
flask	496.22	2.97	125.15	besides	124.05	21.92	5.46
yearbook10	124.05	0.00	125.05	copy	496.22	90.49	5.43
woohoo	124.05	0.00	125.05	shelf	124.05	22.15	5.40
woohah	124.05	0.00	125.05	pen	124.05	22.19	5.39
stogy	124.05	0.00	125.05	trick	124.05	22.50	5.32
saugen	124.05	0.00	125.05	album	124.05	22.50	5.32
report13	124.05	0.00	125.05	America	496.22	93.17	5.28
nooooo	124.05	0.00	125.05	wanna	124.05	22.73	5.27
nooo	124.05	0.00	125.05	hard	1116.49	211.96	5.25
medication8	124.05	0.00	125.05	personally	124.05	22.89	5.24
lieeebe	124.05	0.00	125.05	pump	124.05	22.92	5.23
jokes3	124.05	0.00	125.05	me	6078.65	1163.01	5.22
iccchhh	124.05	0.00	125.05	wrap	124.05	23.13	5.18
frags25	124.05	0.00	125.05	natural	620.27	119.21	5.17
fragen	124.05	0.00	125.05	shot	248.11	47.53	5.13
fleiscchhhh	124.05	0.00	125.05	twist	124.05	23.40	5.12
everyfuckingthing	124.05	0.00	125.05	Americans	124.05	23.78	5.05
erregt	124.05	0.00	125.05	Nick	124.05	23.94	5.02
dumbshit	124.05	0.00	125.05	drain	124.05	24.24	4.96
dumbasse	124.05	0.00	125.05	map	248.11	49.34	4.95
denk	124.05	0.00	125.05	cricket	124.05	24.41	4.92
dadsy	124.05	0.00	125.05	boost	124.05	24.59	4.89

copout	124.05	0.00	125.05	dead	496.22	100.78	4.89
YAAAAAA	124.05	0.00	125.05	fight	620.27	126.54	4.87
Weisses	124.05	0.00	125.05	why	2108.92	433.21	4.86
Soopers	124.05	0.00	125.05	breast	124.05	24.75	4.86
Reznor19	124.05	0.00	125.05	cap	124.05	24.91	4.83
Neener	124.05	0.00	125.05	my	6202.70	1288.43	4.81
NBK7	124.05	0.00	125.05	pride	124.05	25.10	4.79
MITLEID	124.05	0.00	125.05	evil	124.05	25.29	4.76
MAMMA	124.05	0.00	125.05	bottle	248.11	51.56	4.74
KEINE	124.05	0.00	125.05	shell	124.05	25.42	4.73
HOE2	124.05	0.00	125.05	filter	124.05	25.43	4.73
Ghandhi	124.05	0.00	125.05	tomorrow	372.16	78.08	4.72
Geeewd	124.05	0.00	125.05	probably	1116.49	236.17	4.71
Frifuckingday	124.05	0.00	125.05	Irish	248.11	52.11	4.69
E1M311	124.05	0.00	125.05	tired	124.05	25.68	4.69
Afrifuckingca	124.05	0.00	125.05	eventually	372.16	78.86	4.67
nigger	372.16	2.00	124.27	thing	3101.35	664.18	4.66
woopie	124.05	0.01	123.95	native	124.05	25.85	4.66
sooooooooo	124.05	0.01	123.95	luck	124.05	25.96	4.64
casted	124.05	0.01	123.95	flash	124.05	26.09	4.62
REB	124.05	0.01	123.95	advanced	124.05	26.09	4.62
MANKIND	124.05	0.01	123.95	love	1116.49	242.30	4.59
BOMBS	124.05	0.01	123.95	alcohol	124.05	26.31	4.58
ALIENS	124.05	0.01	123.95	lie	868.38	190.42	4.54
nuking	124.05	0.02	122.87	constantly	124.05	26.59	4.53
keine	124.05	0.02	122.87	guidance	124.05	26.67	4.52
egal	124.05	0.02	122.87	dominant	124.05	26.71	4.51
Wooh	124.05	0.02	122.87	selection	248.11	54.41	4.50
Ug	124.05	0.02	122.87	bite	124.05	26.93	4.48
Kein	124.05	0.02	122.87	gonna	496.22	110.39	4.46
HATE	124.05	0.02	122.87	think	5830.54	1306.98	4.46
bigtime	124.05	0.03	121.80	species	124.05	27.10	4.45
FH	124.05	0.03	121.80	bad	992.43	223.35	4.43
Dich	124.05	0.03	121.80	brand	124.05	27.40	4.40
AWARENESS	124.05	0.03	121.80	proud	124.05	27.46	4.39
retard	248.11	1.06	120.97	bury	124.05	27.58	4.37
doch	124.05	0.04	120.75	too	2605.14	595.09	4.37
Mit	124.05	0.04	120.75	bet	124.05	27.67	4.36
bullshit	248.11	1.08	119.93	Dad	124.05	27.72	4.35
nur	124.05	0.05	119.73	van	124.05	27.73	4.35
gunshop	124.05	0.05	119.73	thought	496.22	114.02	4.32
Lem	124.05	0.05	119.73	try	2108.92	487.72	4.32
Gigolo	124.05	0.05	119.73	confident	124.05	28.05	4.31
FUCKING	124.05	0.05	119.73	bus	248.11	57.80	4.24
mich	124.05	0.05	118.71	discovery	124.05	28.57	4.23
animalistic	124.05	0.06	117.72	TV	248.11	58.01	4.22

Closer	124.05	0.06	117.72	stop	992.43	234.44	4.22
whiskey	248.11	1.15	115.96	cream	124.05	28.66	4.22
KKK	124.05	0.08	115.78	what	6574.87	1566.26	4.20
Dein	124.05	0.08	115.78	throat	124.05	28.93	4.18
mumsy	124.05	0.09	114.83	behave	124.05	29.12	4.15
squish	124.05	0.10	113.90	cigarette	124.05	29.52	4.10
plow	124.05	0.10	113.90	law	992.43	242.73	4.08
mein	124.05	0.10	113.90	TRUE	620.27	151.59	4.07
Nigg	124.05	0.10	113.90	impossible	248.11	60.26	4.07
HAPPENING	124.05	0.10	113.90	anything	992.43	243.93	4.06
UNIVERSE	124.05	0.12	112.08	school	1612.70	397.01	4.05
degrading	248.11	1.24	111.35	shirt	124.05	29.85	4.05
hund	124.05	0.13	111.20	choose	620.27	152.64	4.04
reloading	124.05	0.13	110.32	saving	124.05	29.96	4.04
mir	124.05	0.13	110.32	God	744.33	184.13	4.03
WWII	124.05	0.15	108.62	pure	124.05	30.19	4.01
rooster	124.05	0.16	107.78	dealer	124.05	30.20	4.01
nuke	124.05	0.16	107.78	beer	124.05	30.28	4.00
FS	124.05	0.16	107.78	ability	372.16	92.38	4.00
Nein	124.05	0.18	106.16	weekend	248.11	61.39	3.99
toady	124.05	0.20	104.58	I	30641.36	7698.10	3.98
outa	124.05	0.20	104.58	goal	372.16	93.79	3.94
schnapps	124.05	0.21	103.04	mixture	124.05	30.83	3.93
favorite	124.05	0.21	103.04	awareness	124.05	30.91	3.92
christ	124.05	0.22	102.29	senior	248.11	62.87	3.90
Wilk	124.05	0.23	101.55	off	2357.03	604.95	3.89
downtown	248.11	1.48	100.54	crack	124.05	31.27	3.88
helluva	124.05	0.25	100.10	thinking	124.05	31.37	3.86
scotch	248.11	1.50	99.47	guy	124.05	31.43	3.86
ist	124.05	0.28	98.01	spare	124.05	31.61	3.84
existentialism	124.05	0.28	98.01	unless	372.16	96.47	3.83
V1	124.05	0.29	96.66	dad	124.05	31.67	3.83
manmade	124.05	0.30	96.00	different	1612.70	423.21	3.80
Nin	124.05	0.30	96.00	blind	124.05	31.91	3.80
rampage	248.11	1.61	95.40	dollar	124.05	32.04	3.79
copycat	124.05	0.31	95.35	Well	248.11	64.98	3.78
Wadsworth	124.05	0.31	95.35	pipe	124.05	32.16	3.77
DIE	124.05	0.33	94.07	animal	496.22	131.00	3.77
MY	124.05	0.34	93.45	always	1488.65	394.61	3.77
ripping	124.05	0.35	92.83	bend	124.05	32.23	3.76
OB	124.05	0.37	91.62	like	5210.27	1384.95	3.76
Ein	124.05	0.37	91.62	real	744.33	198.52	3.74
Aliens	124.05	0.42	88.17	mine	248.11	65.72	3.73
freshman	124.05	0.43	87.62	world	1488.65	398.16	3.73
sidetrack	124.05	0.45	86.54	belief	248.11	65.82	3.73

hey	868.38	9.11	86.03	sweep	124.05	32.68	3.71
gym	372.16	3.37	85.32	routine	124.05	32.91	3.69
pissed	124.05	0.47	84.97	stream	124.05	33.25	3.65
brainwash	124.05	0.50	83.45	correct	248.11	67.50	3.64
subliminal	124.05	0.52	82.48	spell	124.05	33.50	3.63
nosy	124.05	0.52	82.48	dramatic	124.05	33.50	3.62
IC	124.05	0.53	81.99	boss	124.05	33.56	3.62
scoreboard	124.05	0.54	81.05	white	620.27	171.95	3.59
damn	1612.70	18.93	80.96	rich	248.11	69.03	3.56
racist	620.27	6.85	79.19	happen	992.43	278.47	3.55
punching	124.05	0.63	76.63	parent	620.27	175.17	3.53
calico	124.05	0.63	76.63	smooth	124.05	34.47	3.53
BS	248.11	2.31	75.36	clock	248.11	69.68	3.52
calmness	124.05	0.71	73.04	wrong	496.22	140.37	3.52
quadratic	124.05	0.73	72.29	Society	248.11	69.91	3.51
color	124.05	0.77	70.48	final	496.22	140.58	3.51
chainsaw	124.05	0.79	69.78	beauty	124.05	34.89	3.48
rip	868.38	11.59	69.06	sometimes	620.27	177.59	3.48
vodka	248.11	2.67	67.87	possession	124.05	35.10	3.46
sidewalk	124.05	0.86	67.11	angry	124.05	35.57	3.42
drool	124.05	0.86	67.11	unusual	124.05	35.69	3.41
Tempest	124.05	0.86	67.11	throughout	372.16	109.03	3.39
flawless	124.05	0.89	66.16	survive	248.11	72.86	3.37
AM	124.05	0.94	64.64	fair	248.11	73.37	3.35
Caliban	124.05	0.94	64.34	something	1488.65	446.05	3.33
stat	124.05	0.95	64.05	how	2232.97	671.75	3.32
ole	124.05	0.95	64.05	naturally	124.05	36.77	3.31
bitch	620.27	8.72	63.90	pop	124.05	36.83	3.31
downfall	248.11	2.93	63.41	thank	496.22	149.65	3.30
SS	248.11	2.94	63.27	relative	248.11	74.56	3.30
Fuck	124.05	1.00	62.62	suppose	496.22	150.14	3.29
Broken	124.05	1.00	62.62	respect	372.16	112.67	3.28
clip	744.33	11.06	61.83	incorporate	124.05	37.30	3.26
max	124.05	1.02	61.80	nice	372.16	113.32	3.26
cation	124.05	1.05	60.99	should	3101.35	950.49	3.26
memorize	124.05	1.07	60.47	somehow	124.05	37.57	3.24
kiddy	124.05	1.07	60.47	life	1736.76	537.32	3.23
doughnut	124.05	1.07	60.47	convince	124.05	37.78	3.23
skyscraper	124.05	1.09	59.95	bond	124.05	37.95	3.21
crippled	124.05	1.09	59.95	hot	248.11	77.95	3.16
welt	124.05	1.10	59.70	drop	372.16	117.74	3.14
swastika	124.05	1.10	59.44	figure	744.33	236.74	3.14
pucker	124.05	1.11	59.19	funny	124.05	39.01	3.13
nullify	124.05	1.14	58.45	drink	372.16	118.50	3.12
awesome	248.11	3.27	58.38	phrase	124.05	39.20	3.11
weird	620.27	9.67	58.24	ourselves	124.05	39.29	3.10

avoidable	124.05	1.17	57.73	gift	124.05	39.29	3.10
Kid	124.05	1.17	57.73	choice	372.16	119.32	3.10
kinda	124.05	1.18	57.26	teach	248.11	79.75	3.08
swig	124.05	1.19	57.03	get	5706.49	1854.63	3.08
Fly	124.05	1.21	56.57	iron	124.05	39.91	3.06
chink	124.05	1.23	56.12	wheel	124.05	39.92	3.06
Ultimate	124.05	1.27	55.02	opinion	248.11	80.54	3.06
foreshadow	124.05	1.28	54.81	channel	124.05	39.94	3.05
brit	124.05	1.31	54.17	wonder	372.16	121.41	3.05
piss	496.22	8.22	53.95	tank	124.05	40.13	3.04
rearrange	248.11	3.62	53.89	crash	124.05	40.20	3.04
ok	124.05	1.33	53.76	expectation	124.05	40.27	3.03
bayonet	124.05	1.34	53.55	fat	124.05	40.56	3.01
Denver	124.05	1.34	53.35	relax	124.05	40.95	2.98
Minnesota	124.05	1.36	52.95	eat	372.16	124.72	2.97
mall	124.05	1.38	52.55	science	248.11	83.41	2.95
Dumb	124.05	1.38	52.55	brown	124.05	41.46	2.95
Safeway	124.05	1.41	51.97	plenty	124.05	41.57	2.94
firearm	248.11	3.83	51.60	double	248.11	84.06	2.93
Brady	248.11	3.84	51.51	Would	124.05	42.15	2.90
Kill	124.05	1.43	51.40	s	124.05	42.16	2.90
Mmm	124.05	1.45	51.02	faith	124.05	42.43	2.88
mom	124.05	1.48	50.47	pick	372.16	129.40	2.86
pussy	124.05	1.49	50.29	April	372.16	130.76	2.83
yank	124.05	1.51	49.76	pocket	124.05	43.51	2.81
salty	124.05	1.52	49.58	bill	248.11	87.77	2.81
crazy	744.33	14.29	48.76	oh	1612.70	575.52	2.80
Cream	124.05	1.58	48.39	everybody	124.05	43.69	2.80
robot	372.16	6.87	47.41	religion	124.05	43.87	2.79
weaponry	124.05	1.65	47.25	cause	744.33	266.89	2.78
god	1488.65	30.57	47.19	majority	248.11	88.62	2.78
hypocrite	124.05	1.67	46.78	ready	248.11	88.85	2.77
basketball	124.05	1.67	46.78	all	6574.87	2380.64	2.76
overpower	124.05	1.69	46.47	All	248.11	89.49	2.75
spree	124.05	1.70	46.31	actually	620.27	226.54	2.73
instinct	744.33	15.19	46.05	advantage	248.11	90.28	2.73
considerate	124.05	1.77	45.12	yourself	248.11	90.81	2.71
lighter	124.05	1.79	44.84	chain	124.05	45.12	2.71
ALL	124.05	1.79	44.84	smoke	124.05	45.38	2.70
Sanders	124.05	1.83	44.27	tooth	124.05	45.49	2.69
Buck	124.05	1.84	43.99	except	248.11	91.96	2.68
pointless	248.11	4.75	43.30	technology	248.11	92.07	2.68
naïve	124.05	1.91	43.05	wild	124.05	45.79	2.67
demon	248.11	4.86	42.51	baby	248.11	92.50	2.66
alas	248.11	4.87	42.45	label	124.05	45.97	2.66
Nazi	372.16	7.91	41.87	word	992.43	372.33	2.66

dumb	248.11	5.07	41.07	chance	372.16	139.73	2.65
Utopia	124.05	2.06	40.92	constant	124.05	46.63	2.63
trash	124.05	2.08	40.56	ever	620.27	235.93	2.62
Nazi	124.05	2.08	40.56	we	8187.57	3123.00	2.62
math	248.11	5.23	39.96	entitle	124.05	47.06	2.60
comet	124.05	2.15	39.65	bridge	124.05	47.14	2.60
mindless	124.05	2.16	39.54	rely	124.05	47.22	2.59
Hmm	248.11	5.31	39.51	busy	124.05	47.37	2.59
anarchy	124.05	2.22	38.88	theme	124.05	47.45	2.58
You	124.05	2.37	37.13	military	248.11	95.90	2.57
Nazis	124.05	2.37	37.13	sorry	248.11	95.92	2.57
pistol	248.11	5.82	36.52	feel	1364.60	531.44	2.56
deeper	124.05	2.51	35.63	fire	372.16	144.74	2.56
sometime	248.11	6.12	34.97	so	5458.38	2131.41	2.56
disgraceful	124.05	2.64	34.41	learn	496.22	194.61	2.54
Tec	124.05	2.68	33.99	violence	124.05	48.21	2.54
originality	124.05	2.70	33.83	pleasure	124.05	48.35	2.53
ignorant	248.11	6.44	33.50	Monday	124.05	48.38	2.53
rapist	124.05	2.76	33.26	judge	248.11	97.50	2.53
immoral	124.05	2.79	33.03	little	1364.60	539.63	2.53
Self	124.05	2.80	32.95	Jesus	124.05	48.54	2.52
cop	248.11	6.60	32.80	fill	248.11	97.93	2.52
ha	744.33	22.06	32.33	till	124.05	48.75	2.51
Nietzsche	124.05	2.89	32.12	because	2232.97	895.78	2.49
quicker	124.05	2.90	32.05	taste	124.05	49.42	2.48
lunatic	124.05	2.92	31.91	act	496.22	200.30	2.47
doom	248.11	6.98	31.22	sound	496.22	200.44	2.47
stupid	868.38	27.27	30.75	you	14638.38	5947.37	2.46
smother	124.05	3.08	30.65	program	124.05	49.94	2.46
insane	124.05	3.18	29.93	dangerous	124.05	50.10	2.45
courageous	124.05	3.22	29.62	Friday	124.05	50.21	2.44
Plus	248.11	7.50	29.29	neck	124.05	50.34	2.44
engulf	124.05	3.29	29.13	surround	124.05	50.53	2.43
symbolism	124.05	3.33	28.89	original	248.11	101.88	2.42
Everyone	620.27	20.53	28.86	will	7071.08	2942.28	2.40
hate	1364.60	46.61	28.69	factory	124.05	51.07	2.40
individualism	124.05	3.38	28.54	birth	124.05	51.08	2.40
flesh	620.27	21.04	28.19	few	992.43	412.92	2.40
squeal	124.05	3.45	28.14	especially	372.16	154.57	2.40
bomb	1116.49	39.17	27.82	hide	124.05	52.04	2.36
slug	124.05	3.51	27.75	How	496.22	210.77	2.35
worthy	372.16	12.47	27.70	aircraft	124.05	52.37	2.34
liar	124.05	3.55	27.48	code	124.05	52.44	2.34
blond	124.05	3.67	26.79	sure	496.22	211.63	2.34
unfit	124.05	3.69	26.69	yeah	496.22	213.01	2.32
narrator	124.05	3.69	26.69	insurance	124.05	53.09	2.31

pant	248.11	8.40	26.49	opposite	124.05	53.19	2.31
gun	1240.54	46.04	26.40	mind	620.27	268.60	2.30
Hudson	124.05	3.77	26.24	save	248.11	107.40	2.30
fun	1116.49	41.62	26.22	your	2729.19	1187.99	2.30
hell	1116.49	41.85	26.08	almost	620.27	270.38	2.29
whine	124.05	3.85	25.76	onto	124.05	53.71	2.29
pro	248.11	8.89	25.18	lovely	124.05	53.73	2.29
mercy	248.11	8.90	25.16	destroy	124.05	53.76	2.28
firing	124.05	3.98	25.12	normal	248.11	108.48	2.28
revenge	248.11	8.94	25.07	feeling	248.11	109.32	2.26
THAT	124.05	4.03	24.85	big	620.27	275.77	2.24
smart	372.16	14.27	24.44	recall	124.05	54.78	2.24
glamour	124.05	4.17	24.21	jump	124.05	54.78	2.24
gay	372.16	14.42	24.20	trip	124.05	54.84	2.24
human	4341.89	178.92	24.14	enough	620.27	276.92	2.24
protester	124.05	4.29	23.64	treat	248.11	110.60	2.23
developed	124.05	4.40	23.17	boy	372.16	166.49	2.23
commons	124.05	4.45	22.94	today	496.22	222.18	2.23
Ie	124.05	4.51	22.68	head	868.38	389.73	2.23
evaporate	124.05	4.55	22.54	construction	124.05	55.33	2.22
strangle	124.05	4.58	22.39	forest	124.05	55.37	2.22
Huh	124.05	4.66	22.11	step	372.16	167.50	2.21
hopefully	372.16	16.41	21.44	famous	124.05	55.92	2.20
follower	248.11	10.68	21.33	strange	124.05	55.95	2.20
tragedy	372.16	16.51	21.31	if	4962.16	2259.34	2.20
em	372.16	16.57	21.24	buy	496.22	226.18	2.19
stereo	124.05	4.94	21.05	proper	124.05	56.19	2.19
Intelligence	124.05	4.96	20.99	audience	124.05	56.19	2.19
infinitely	124.05	5.03	20.74	protest	124.05	56.40	2.18
morally	124.05	5.11	20.47	song	124.05	56.45	2.18
liquor	124.05	5.14	20.38	no	3721.62	1710.36	2.18
chick	124.05	5.25	20.00	bind	124.05	56.60	2.17
addict	124.05	5.30	19.86	lot	620.27	285.68	2.17
stump	124.05	5.32	19.78	them	3225.41	1489.20	2.17
countless	124.05	5.49	19.26	or	7071.08	3288.22	2.15
dub	124.05	5.51	19.21	appearance	124.05	57.23	2.15
cigar	124.05	5.55	19.08	nation	124.05	57.37	2.14
practically	248.11	12.10	19.02	machine	248.11	116.05	2.13
sponge	124.05	5.72	18.60	civil	124.05	57.80	2.13
This	124.05	5.79	18.43	not	14514.33	6838.79	2.12
radar	124.05	5.80	18.38	history	372.16	175.32	2.12
pathetic	124.05	5.80	18.38	warn	124.05	58.69	2.10
contradict	124.05	5.81	18.36	switch	124.05	58.97	2.09
kidnap	124.05	5.85	18.26	can	4714.06	2260.94	2.08
kill	2481.08	135.26	18.22	protection	124.05	59.37	2.07
filthy	124.05	5.88	18.17	then	2853.24	1377.73	2.07

suck	248.11	12.76	18.10	bloody	124.05	59.46	2.07
miracle	248.11	12.79	18.06	only	2729.19	1323.30	2.06
tricky	124.05	6.04	17.78	video	124.05	59.70	2.06
gut	248.11	13.09	17.68	either	496.22	241.81	2.05
deceive	124.05	6.08	17.66	free	372.16	181.87	2.04
blade	248.11	13.34	17.37	row	124.05	60.39	2.04
realize	868.38	49.32	17.28	community	372.16	182.20	2.04
differently	248.11	13.48	17.21	commit	124.05	60.45	2.04
everyone	1612.70	93.03	17.16	previously	124.05	60.51	2.03
madness	124.05	6.37	16.96	black	372.16	183.44	2.02
killing	248.11	13.69	16.96	drive	372.16	183.84	2.02
NOT	124.05	6.51	16.66	deal	496.22	246.28	2.01
deem	248.11	14.03	16.58	who	3597.57	1789.54	2.01
maybe	1488.65	89.22	16.51	confidence	124.05	61.54	2.00
Oscar	124.05	6.60	16.46	boat	124.05	62.24	1.98
flaw	124.05	6.66	16.33	politics	124.05	62.25	1.98
mankind	124.05	6.74	16.16	concentrate	124.05	62.29	1.98
excellence	124.05	6.83	15.98	rain	124.05	62.30	1.98
fault	620.27	38.03	15.92	well	2729.19	1385.89	1.97
hormone	124.05	6.98	15.67	plus	124.05	62.54	1.97
shove	124.05	7.06	15.52	watch	372.16	188.62	1.97
homework	124.05	7.17	15.32	person	496.22	251.92	1.97
nature	2232.97	147.59	15.03	heart	248.11	125.83	1.96
compliment	124.05	7.41	14.88	test	372.16	190.38	1.95
bust	124.05	7.42	14.86	reality	124.05	63.51	1.94
Jo	124.05	7.51	14.69	equal	124.05	63.75	1.93
cheat	124.05	7.58	14.57	war	372.16	192.32	1.93
con	124.05	7.59	14.55	around	744.33	385.51	1.93
corrupt	124.05	7.74	14.32	gas	124.05	64.34	1.91
lucky	496.22	33.74	14.31	out	3349.46	1750.93	1.91
discriminate	124.05	7.74	14.30	couple	248.11	129.73	1.91
Must	124.05	7.83	14.16	purchase	124.05	64.74	1.90
brave	248.11	16.66	14.10	tie	124.05	64.93	1.90
wolf	124.05	7.87	14.10	tell	1240.54	654.16	1.90
triangle	124.05	8.06	13.80	king	124.05	65.53	1.88
refuge	124.05	8.12	13.72	exist	248.11	131.91	1.87
pity	248.11	17.38	13.55	escape	124.05	65.83	1.87
spelling	124.05	8.26	13.50	son	248.11	132.91	1.86
lesbian	124.05	8.39	13.33	deny	124.05	66.28	1.86
delete	124.05	8.41	13.29	catch	248.11	133.24	1.86
quote	620.27	46.67	13.03	sight	124.05	66.41	1.86
deserve	372.16	28.27	12.75	live	620.27	334.24	1.85
brain	620.27	47.82	12.73	E	124.05	66.50	1.85
irony	124.05	8.86	12.69	spot	124.05	66.61	1.85
hop	124.05	8.88	12.65	bottom	124.05	66.87	1.84
shoot	868.38	68.49	12.51	name	620.27	336.82	1.84

rob	124.05	9.01	12.50	here	1116.49	607.48	1.84
teenage	124.05	9.08	12.41	some	2729.19	1489.21	1.83
hatred	124.05	9.10	12.39	T	124.05	67.36	1.83
Jew	124.05	9.21	12.25	do	8683.79	4761.99	1.82
strive	124.05	9.32	12.12	apparently	124.05	67.65	1.82
guess	496.22	40.14	12.08	class	372.16	204.02	1.82
survivor	124.05	9.41	12.01	good	2232.97	1226.75	1.82
ditch	124.05	9.44	11.98	therefore	372.16	204.56	1.82
torch	124.05	9.44	11.97	themselves	372.16	204.79	1.81
trunk	124.05	9.46	11.95	leader	248.11	136.61	1.81
shooting	124.05	9.55	11.85	stuff	124.05	68.25	1.81
chew	124.05	9.58	11.82	our	1488.65	824.07	1.81
holy	124.05	9.66	11.73	accident	124.05	68.55	1.80
conspiracy	124.05	9.74	11.65	consequence	124.05	68.83	1.79
sympathy	248.11	20.46	11.61	meaning	124.05	68.89	1.79
race	1116.49	95.44	11.59	every	620.27	347.77	1.78
simplify	124.05	9.83	11.55	know	2853.24	1603.70	1.78
bless	124.05	9.83	11.55	earth	124.05	69.44	1.78
universal	248.11	20.79	11.43	those	1364.60	775.66	1.76
Darwin	124.05	9.95	11.42	lady	124.05	70.31	1.75
slap	124.05	10.09	11.27	even	1364.60	780.52	1.75
Boy	124.05	10.34	11.02	still	1116.49	642.00	1.74
bullet	124.05	10.37	11.00	stare	124.05	72.11	1.71
bull	124.05	10.37	11.00	ship	124.05	72.20	1.71
rib	124.05	10.39	10.98	imagine	124.05	72.24	1.71
fame	124.05	10.53	10.85	much	1364.60	799.71	1.71
explosive	124.05	10.59	10.79	attack	248.11	146.30	1.69
tragic	124.05	10.62	10.76	they	6326.76	3741.60	1.69
fool	248.11	22.20	10.74	beautiful	124.05	73.51	1.68
skull	124.05	10.79	10.61	up	3101.35	1849.57	1.68
tribe	124.05	10.90	10.51	obvious	124.05	73.85	1.67
observer	248.11	23.13	10.33	corner	124.05	74.31	1.66
rid	248.11	23.17	10.31	track	124.05	74.59	1.65
bin	124.05	11.18	10.27	another	868.38	526.18	1.65
misery	124.05	11.21	10.24	put	992.43	603.43	1.64
torture	124.05	11.30	10.17	might	868.38	528.41	1.64
Ha	124.05	11.30	10.17	great	868.38	531.34	1.63
disagree	124.05	11.30	10.16	directly	124.05	76.54	1.61
yer	124.05	11.33	10.14	band	124.05	76.72	1.61
sweet	372.16	36.09	10.06	confirm	124.05	76.89	1.61
cage	124.05	11.52	9.99	otherwise	124.05	76.96	1.60
Good	124.05	11.55	9.96	let	496.22	313.01	1.58
moral	496.22	49.03	9.94	store	124.05	78.25	1.58
chaos	124.05	11.60	9.93	fully	124.05	78.26	1.58
burn	496.22	49.19	9.91	length	124.05	78.44	1.57

betray	124.05	11.72	9.83	clean	124.05	80.01	1.54
axe	124.05	11.74	9.82	card	124.05	80.65	1.53
movie	248.11	24.48	9.78	rest	248.11	162.52	1.52
tear	620.27	62.92	9.72	need	1240.54	814.43	1.52
plain	372.16	38.21	9.52	solution	124.05	81.83	1.51
someone	1488.65	158.15	9.36	really	620.27	413.28	1.50
motivate	124.05	12.46	9.29	speed	124.05	82.77	1.49
barrel	124.05	12.49	9.27	it	13894.06	9385.01	1.48
grab	248.11	26.02	9.22	stick	124.05	83.64	1.48
tire	124.05	12.68	9.14	single	248.11	168.24	1.47
fighting	124.05	12.68	9.14	go	2977.30	2034.01	1.46
enemy	372.16	40.02	9.10	make	2729.19	1873.41	1.46
stab	124.05	12.80	9.06	King	124.05	84.89	1.46
monster	124.05	12.92	8.99	extra	124.05	85.01	1.45
everything	1240.54	139.78	8.82	sit	372.16	255.81	1.45
marine	124.05	13.20	8.81	challenge	124.05	85.07	1.45
dare	248.11	27.76	8.66	strong	248.11	170.49	1.45
decay	124.05	13.49	8.63	blood	124.05	85.33	1.45
sword	124.05	13.72	8.50	stay	248.11	171.20	1.45
Earth	124.05	13.88	8.41	phone	124.05	85.50	1.45
else	1488.65	177.01	8.37	full	372.16	257.34	1.44
ton	124.05	13.95	8.37	show	868.38	602.80	1.44
knife	248.11	28.79	8.36	apart	124.05	86.86	1.42
collar	124.05	13.98	8.35	arm	248.11	174.12	1.42
Yes	124.05	14.04	8.32	payment	124.05	87.26	1.42
ooh	124.05	14.12	8.27	apply	248.11	175.00	1.42
deprive	124.05	14.18	8.24	keep	620.27	438.28	1.41
collector	124.05	14.21	8.22	ah	124.05	87.45	1.41
melt	124.05	14.41	8.11	soon	248.11	175.49	1.41
jaw	124.05	14.42	8.11	able	372.16	264.26	1.41
jet	124.05	14.45	8.10	start	620.27	441.87	1.40
Hollywood	124.05	14.45	8.10	half	372.16	265.27	1.40
myself	868.38	106.48	8.09	cross	124.05	88.37	1.40
Hitler	124.05	14.55	8.04	say	3969.73	2841.09	1.40
scandal	124.05	14.60	8.02	dress	124.05	88.98	1.39
tribute	124.05	14.62	8.01	middle	124.05	89.10	1.39
chemistry	124.05	14.65	7.99	expect	372.16	268.07	1.39
Anyone	124.05	14.87	7.88	drug	124.05	89.45	1.38
explode	124.05	14.90	7.86	easy	248.11	180.08	1.38
equation	248.11	30.75	7.85	long	744.33	541.07	1.37
kick	372.16	46.64	7.83	back	1240.54	902.20	1.37
fantasy	124.05	15.01	7.81	leave	868.38	635.00	1.37
temple	124.05	15.04	7.80	foot	248.11	181.28	1.37
sooner	124.05	15.08	7.78	same	744.33	544.39	1.37
lung	124.05	15.11	7.76	medium	124.05	90.58	1.37
criticize	124.05	15.14	7.75	discover	124.05	91.22	1.36

amazing	124.05	15.30	7.67	see	2232.97	1650.44	1.35
smash	124.05	15.33	7.66	exactly	124.05	91.76	1.35
prince	124.05	15.48	7.59	disease	124.05	92.17	1.34
whatever	868.38	113.88	7.57	government	744.33	554.31	1.34
officially	124.05	15.58	7.54	us	744.33	555.97	1.34
ai	248.11	32.06	7.53	prevent	124.05	92.68	1.33
self	248.11	32.09	7.53	job	372.16	279.08	1.33
capability	124.05	15.79	7.45	sleep	124.05	92.93	1.33
die	1488.65	201.21	7.37	more	2481.08	1865.98	1.33
excuse	248.11	32.91	7.35	aware	124.05	93.16	1.33
Eric	124.05	16.11	7.31	own	868.38	654.96	1.33
suicide	124.05	16.26	7.24	brother	124.05	93.48	1.32
juice	124.05	16.33	7.21	bring	496.22	376.43	1.32
perfect	372.16	50.83	7.20	never	620.27	471.98	1.31
eh	124.05	16.97	6.96	and	30517.31	23355.35	1.31
load	372.16	52.73	6.95	rule	248.11	191.41	1.29
worth	744.33	106.38	6.94	round	372.16	289.53	1.28
People	124.05	17.24	6.86	room	372.16	291.64	1.28
beg	124.05	17.27	6.85	while	620.27	487.35	1.27
Big	124.05	17.27	6.85	mean	868.38	682.77	1.27
following	124.05	17.38	6.81	German	124.05	97.40	1.27
satellite	124.05	17.45	6.78	though	496.22	390.88	1.27
motive	124.05	17.55	6.74	listen	124.05	98.38	1.26
instant	124.05	17.62	6.72	lay	124.05	98.49	1.26
anyone	744.33	112.21	6.58	would	3101.35	2476.86	1.25
disappoint	124.05	18.03	6.57	leg	124.05	99.00	1.25

5.2 Key terms in Harris corpus

Item (SketchEngine; sorted by Simple Maths Score >1; calculated using N+1)	Relative frequency (RF) per million words (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score	Item	RF (focus corpus)	RF (ref corpus)	Score
god damn	620.27	0.00	621.27	dangerous shit	124.05	0.00	125.05
gym class	372.16	0.01	370.20	day routine shit	124.05	0.00	125.05
human race	1116.49	2.72	300.16	fuck shit	124.05	0.00	125.05
human equation	248.11	0.00	249.11	reality shit	124.05	0.00	125.05
gun show	248.11	0.00	249.11	routine shit	124.05	0.00	125.05
fucking place	248.11	0.05	236.57	fuckin shot	124.05	0.00	125.05
fuck fuck	248.11	0.16	214.75	long fuckin shot	124.05	0.00	125.05
human nature	992.43	4.39	184.38	next gun show	124.05	0.00	125.05
wonderful thing	248.11	0.65	151.07	copy someone	124.05	0.00	125.05
bad-ass ab-10	124.05	0.00	125.05	btw spelling	124.05	0.00	125.05
good ole hudson	124.05	0.00	125.05	salty sweet	124.05	0.00	125.05

ole hudson	124.05	0.00	125.05	god damn thing	124.05	0.00	125.05
disgraceful tv	124.05	0.00	125.05	goddamn thing	124.05	0.00	125.05
fucking ability	124.05	0.00	125.05	spare tire	124.05	0.00	125.05
fucking accident	124.05	0.00	125.05	trunk tonight	124.05	0.00	125.05
amount of dramatic irony	124.05	0.00	125.05	fucking use	124.05	0.00	125.05
fucking bill	124.05	0.00	125.05	fucking van	124.05	0.00	125.05
bit of human nature	124.05	0.00	125.05	fucking welt	124.05	0.00	125.05
little bit of human nature	124.05	0.00	125.05	last war worth	124.05	0.00	125.05
fucking blade	124.05	0.00	125.05	war worth	124.05	0.00	125.05
switch blade	124.05	0.00	125.05	fucking area	124.05	0.01	124.06
flawless body	124.05	0.00	125.05	whole fucking area	124.05	0.01	124.06
innocent flawless body	124.05	0.00	125.05	big ass	124.05	0.01	124.06
fuckin boy	124.05	0.00	125.05	double barrel	124.05	0.01	124.06
bullet cause	124.05	0.00	125.05	level everything	124.05	0.01	124.06
real world cause	124.05	0.00	125.05	true evil	124.05	0.01	124.06
world cause	124.05	0.00	125.05	nazi government	124.05	0.01	124.06
discovery channel	124.05	0.00	125.05	picture half	124.05	0.01	124.06
fucking close	124.05	0.00	125.05	racist mother	124.05	0.01	124.06
irish cream	124.05	0.00	125.05	fucking name	124.05	0.01	124.06
lucky god damn	124.05	0.00	125.05	fucking piece	124.05	0.01	124.06
much god damn	124.05	0.00	125.05	worthless place	124.05	0.01	124.06
own god damn	124.05	0.00	125.05	fucking problem	124.05	0.01	124.06
ditch day	124.05	0.00	125.05	copying someone	124.05	0.01	124.06
senior ditch day	124.05	0.00	125.05	perfect song	124.05	0.01	124.06
flask deal	124.05	0.00	125.05	scotch whiskey	124.05	0.01	124.06
fucking disease	124.05	0.00	125.05	fucking world	124.05	0.01	124.06
senior ditch	124.05	0.00	125.05	own ass	124.05	0.02	122.96
bin doch	124.05	0.00	125.05	college basketball	124.05	0.02	122.96
fucking dumbshit	124.05	0.00	125.05	fucking boss	124.05	0.02	122.96
stupid fucking dumbshit	124.05	0.00	125.05	same consequence	124.05	0.02	122.96
so-called education	124.05	0.00	125.05	many fun	124.05	0.02	122.96
mir egal	124.05	0.00	125.05	gift of human life	124.05	0.02	122.96
fleisch erregt	124.05	0.00	125.05	worth killing	124.05	0.02	122.96
god everything	124.05	0.00	125.05	side note	124.05	0.02	122.96
nuking everything	124.05	0.00	125.05	hell outa	124.05	0.02	122.96
my fault	124.05	0.00	125.05	only science	124.05	0.02	122.96
great firing	124.05	0.00	125.05	fucking bit	124.05	0.03	121.89
fuckin news flash	124.05	0.00	125.05	fucking dog	124.05	0.03	121.89
damn flask	124.05	0.00	125.05	mother fucker	124.05	0.03	121.89
keine fragen	124.05	0.00	125.05	holy shit	124.05	0.03	121.89
extra frags25	124.05	0.00	125.05	shooting spree	124.05	0.03	121.89
few extra frags25	124.05	0.00	125.05	sweet flesh	124.05	0.04	120.83

little freshman	124.05	0.00	125.05	own god	124.05	0.04	120.83
weak little freshman	124.05	0.00	125.05	final month	124.05	0.04	120.83
brain fuck	124.05	0.00	125.05	filthy place	124.05	0.04	120.83
civilized fuck	124.05	0.00	125.05	iron cross	124.05	0.05	119.78
fuck justice fuck	124.05	0.00	125.05	plain sight	124.05	0.05	119.78
fuck money fuck	124.05	0.00	125.05	perfect society	124.05	0.05	119.78
fuck money fuck justice fuck	124.05	0.00	125.05	much shit	124.05	0.05	118.76
justice fuck	124.05	0.00	125.05	taking someone	124.05	0.05	118.76
money fuck	124.05	0.00	125.05	real bitch	124.05	0.06	117.75
money fuck justice fuck	124.05	0.00	125.05	news flash	124.05	0.06	117.75
racist mother fucker	124.05	0.00	125.05	jewish problem	124.05	0.06	117.75
crazy fuckin	124.05	0.00	125.05	car right	124.05	0.06	117.75
long fuckin	124.05	0.00	125.05	white trash	124.05	0.06	117.75
lucky god	124.05	0.00	125.05	life science	124.05	0.07	116.76
much god	124.05	0.00	125.05	basketball player	124.05	0.08	115.79
early nazi government	124.05	0.00	125.05	clean record	124.05	0.08	115.79
next gun	124.05	0.00	125.05	self awareness	124.05	0.09	114.83
actual hell	124.05	0.00	125.05	worth fighting	124.05	0.09	114.83
mein hund	124.05	0.00	125.05	fuck fuck fuck	124.05	0.11	113.07
saugen mein hund	124.05	0.00	125.05	dramatic irony	124.05	0.11	113.07
fuck justice	124.05	0.00	125.05	universal law	124.05	0.13	111.26
fuck money fuck justice	124.05	0.00	125.05	private dealer	124.05	0.13	110.37
money fuck justice	124.05	0.00	125.05	s house	124.05	0.13	110.37
few kick	124.05	0.00	125.05	busy weekend	124.05	0.13	110.37
fucking law	124.05	0.00	125.05	personal protection	124.05	0.14	109.50
last time human life	124.05	0.00	125.05	worth saving	124.05	0.14	109.50
time human life	124.05	0.00	125.05	important day	124.05	0.15	108.65
fucking lighter	124.05	0.00	125.05	pump action	124.05	0.18	106.16
fuck load	124.05	0.00	125.05	civilized world	124.05	0.19	105.44
ab-10 machine	124.05	0.00	125.05	same phrase	124.05	0.21	103.86
bad-ass ab-10 machine	124.05	0.00	125.05	release date	124.05	0.23	101.59
fucking great marine	124.05	0.00	125.05	rib cage	124.05	0.25	100.12
great marine	124.05	0.00	125.05	natural instinct	124.05	0.25	100.12
helluva mask	124.05	0.00	125.05	making fun	124.05	0.31	95.39
saugen mein	124.05	0.00	125.05	little old lady	124.05	0.32	94.74
fuck money	124.05	0.00	125.05	final solution	124.05	0.35	92.84
2nd mother	124.05	0.00	125.05	bad boy	124.05	0.37	91.08
animalistic movement	124.05	0.00	125.05	school bus	124.05	0.45	86.54
goddamn movie	124.05	0.00	125.05	whole project	124.05	0.60	78.35
fucking nature	124.05	0.00	125.05	food chain	124.05	0.85	67.78
only nature	124.05	0.00	125.05	same species	124.05	0.86	67.13
pure human nature	124.05	0.00	125.05	damn thing	124.05	0.86	67.13
fuckin news	124.05	0.00	125.05	front seat	124.05	1.05	61.00

damn nigger	124.05	0.00	125.05	rain forest	124.05	1.09	59.98
god damn nigger	124.05	0.00	125.05	human life	248.11	3.21	59.13
lucky god damn nigger	124.05	0.00	125.05	new album	124.05	1.19	57.05
fucking nooo	124.05	0.00	125.05	real world	372.16	5.87	54.36
bin doch nur	124.05	0.00	125.05	last war	124.05	1.39	52.37
doch nur	124.05	0.00	125.05	single person	124.05	1.42	51.78
opposite of pure human nature	124.05	0.00	125.05	such thing	248.11	4.18	48.06
different pen	124.05	0.00	125.05	great pleasure	124.05	1.64	47.42
fucking filthy place	124.05	0.00	125.05	natural selection	248.11	4.44	45.78
college basketball player	124.05	0.00	125.05	bad thing	124.05	2.40	36.75
hell prince	124.05	0.00	125.05	orange juice	124.05	2.49	35.81
big fucking problem	124.05	0.00	125.05	own mind	124.05	2.64	34.41
crazy fuckin racist	124.05	0.00	125.05	right side	124.05	3.20	29.75
fuckin racist	124.05	0.00	125.05	real life	124.05	4.93	21.08
big raise	124.05	0.00	125.05	long run	124.05	5.05	20.68
crazy fuckin racist rapist	124.05	0.00	125.05	old lady	124.05	5.82	18.33
fuckin racist rapist	124.05	0.00	125.05	civil war	124.05	8.20	13.60
racist rapist	124.05	0.00	125.05	next time	124.05	11.02	10.40
nazi report13	124.05	0.00	125.05	same thing	124.05	12.84	9.03
fucking revenge	124.05	0.00	125.05	little bit	124.05	23.66	5.07
ultimate fucking revenge	124.05	0.00	125.05	last time	124.05	24.77	4.85
real life science	124.05	0.00	125.05				

Appendix 6. Collocates

6.1 Chapter 4 collocates (*retribution, will and phase*)

<p>Perpetrator: Rodger Section: 7 MI Score: >3 Node: <i>retribution</i> Span: n-5 and n+5 Min length: 3 Min frequency: 3</p>	<p>Perpetrator: Rodger Section: 7 MI Score: >3 Node: <i>will</i> Span: n+5 Min length: 3 Min frequency: 3</p>	<p>Perpetrator: Breivik Section: Whole text MI Score: >3 Node: <i>phase</i> Span: n-1 and n+1 Min length: 3 Min frequency: 3</p>
<p>day (7.96) happen (7.55) ultimate (7.55) choice (7.33) exact (6.70) date (6.68) plan (6.43) now (5.23) place (5.14) before (4.88) just (4.71) very (4.71) will (4.71) isla (4.49) the (4.46) for (4.26) but (4.07) when (4.07) would (4.06) about (3.83) time (3.74) out (3.51) this (3.47) have (3.16)</p>	<p>destroy (6.47) punish (6.25) god (6.05) start (6.05) away (5.98) come (5.56) become (5.47) take (5.38) drive (5.15) finally (5.15) never (5.03) everything (4.83) into (4.60) their (4.49) not (4.11) place (4.05) them (3.98) back (3.77) very (3.63) all (3.37) one (3.19) have (3.08)</p>	<p>shift (9.49), acquirement (9.28) acquisition (8.27) vulnerable (8.07) research (7.95) chemistry (7.90) manufacturing (7.40) planning (7.37) next (6.52) last (4.77) this (3.34).</p>

6.2 Chapter 5 collocates (*our and you*)

<p>Perpetrator: Breivik Section: 1 MI Score: >3 Node: <i>our</i> Span: n+5 Min length: 3 Min frequency: 3</p>	<p>Perpetrator: Breivik Section: 5 MI Score: >3 Node: <i>you</i> Span: n+1 Min length: 3 Min frequency: 3</p>
<p>enemies (7.31) foundational (7.16) agenda (7.16) lives (6.84) societies (6.73) women (6.58) problems (6.35)</p>	<p>you're (6.02) fill (5.28) can (5.16) must (5.02) want (5.02) don't (4.87) have (4.73)</p>

<p>cause (6.30) brothers (6.25) cultures (5.99) alliances (5.84) eastern (5.84) regime (5.84) side (5.84) struggle (5.70) own (5.44) elites (5.35) heritage (5.35) modern (5.35) principles (4.82) age (4.70) day (4.46) everyone (4.46) current (4.23) life (4.22) christian (4.07) phase (4.03) countries (3.74) only (3.31) oslo (3.21) cultural (3.18) very (3.07)</p>	<p>may (4.70) should (4.67) need (4.57) are (4.40) will (4.30) now (4.02) make (3.52)</p>
--	---

6.3 Chapter 6 collocates (*virgin*)

<p>Perpetrator: Rodger Section: 5, 6 and 7 MI Score: >3 Node: <i>virgin</i> Span: n-5 Min length: 3 Min frequency: 3</p>
<p>kissless (10.71) lonely (8.16) old (7.77) year (7.39) still (7.19) miserable (7.12) being (7.05) was (3.69)</p>

7.1 NVivo Codebook

Code	Description
3rd Person	Referring to themselves in the 3 rd person
different to other people	Describing themselves as different to other people
human	Referring to themselves as human
martyr	Describing their planned death as martyrdom
pseudonym	Using an alternative name rather than their real name
special Insight	Presenting themselves as having an insight into the world that other people do not have
stigmatised labels	Referring to themselves using terms that carry social stigma
sub-human	Describes themselves as beings that are not-human/that dehumanise them
superhuman	Describing themselves as a superhuman being or deity

7.2 NVivo coding Klebold corpus

Fact: People are so unaware. . . well, Ignorance is bliss I guess that would explain my depression. — Dylan

About in the middle

A Virtual Book

EXISTENCES

By: Dylan

Properties: This book cannot be opened by anyone except Dylan (some supernatural force blocks common people from entering).

<<-VoDkA->>

<<-Dylan->>

<<-Vodka->>

3-31-97

Life-existence

EL THOUGHTZOS

Ah yes, this is me writing just writing, nobody technically did anything, just I felt like throwing out my thoughts — this is a weird time, weird life, weird existence. As I sit here (partially drunk with a screwdriver) I think a lot. Think . . . think.....that's all my life is, just shitloads of thinking . . . all the time . . . my mind never stopsmusic runs 24/7 (except for sleep), just songs I hear, not necessarily good or bad, & thinkingabout the asshole in gym class, how he worries me, about driving, & my family, about friends & doings with them, about girls I know (mainly &) how I know I can never have them, yet I can still dream . . .

I do shit to supposedly 'cleanse' myself in a spiritual, moral sort of way (deleting the wads1 on my computer, not getting drunk for periods of time, trying not to ridicule/make fun of people () at school), yet it does nothing to help my life morally. My existence is shit to me — how I feel that I am in eternal suffering, in infinite directions in infinite realities. Yet these realities are fake — artificial, induced [?] by thought, how everything connects, yet its all so far apart. . . & I sit & think science is the way to find solutions to everything, right? I still think that, yet I see different views of shit now — like the mind — yet if the mind is viewed scientificallyhmm

I dwell in the past.....thinking of good & bad memories

A lot on the past though I've always had a thing for the past — how it reacts to the present & the future — or rather vice versa. I wonder how/when I got so fucked up w my mind,

existence, problem — when Dylan Benet2 Klebold got covered up by this entity containing Dylan's body..... as I see the people at school — some good, some bad — I see how different I am (aren't we all you'll say) yet I'm on such a greater scale of difference than everyone else (as far as I know, or guess). I see jocks having fun, friends, women, LIVEZ.

Or rather shallow existences compared to mine (maybe like ignorance = bliss. They don't know beyond this world (how I do in my mind or in reality or in this existence) yet we each are lacking something that the other possesses — I lack the true human nature that Dylan owned & they lack the overdeveloped mind/imagination/knowledge too [?].

I don't fit in here thinking of suicide gives me hope, that I'll be in my place wherever I go after this life that I'll finally not be at war with myself, the world, the universe — my mind, body, everywhere, everything at PEACE in me — my soul (existence). & the routine is still monotonous, go to school, be scared & nervous, hoping that people can accept me that I can accept them . . . the NIN song Piggy is good for thought writing The

Lost Highway3 sounds like a movie about me I'm gonna write later, bye <<-VoDkA->>

<<-VoDkA->>

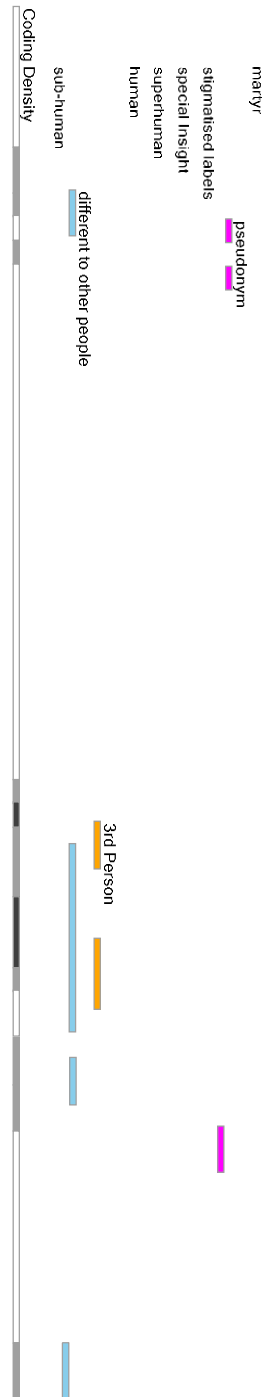
4-15-97

poetry [?] my way

Da ThoughtZ Jeah

Well well, back at it, yes (you say) whoever the fuck 'you' is, but yea. My life is still fucked, in case you care . . . maybe, (not?) I have just lost fuckin 45\$, & before that I lost my zippo & knife (I did get those back) Why the fuck is he being such an ASSHOLE??? (god I guess, whoever is the being which controls shit). He's fucking me over big time & it pisses me off.

Oooh god I HATE my life, I want to die really bad right now — let's see what I have that's good: A nice family, a good house, food, a couple of good friends, & possessions. What's bad — no girls (friends or girlfriends), no other friends except a few, nobody accepting me



even though I want to be accepted, me doing badly & being intimidated in any & all sports,

me looking weird & acting shy — BIG problem, me getting bad grades, having no ambition of life, that's the big shit. Anyway . . .

I was Mr. Cutter tonight — I have 11 depressioners on my right hand now, & my favorite contrasting symbol, because it is so true & means so much.4 The battle between good & bad never ends . . . OK enough bitchin . . . well I'm not done yet. OK go . . . I don't know why I do wrong with people (mainly women) — it's like they are set out to hate & ignore me, I never know what to say or do. is soo fuckin lucky he has no idea how I suffer.

Okay here's some poetry.....this is a display of one man [?] in search of answers, never finding them, yet in hopelessness understands things . . .

Existence what a strange word. He set out by determination & curiosity, knows no existence, knows nothing relevant to himself. The petty declarations of others & everything

on this world, in this world, he knows the answers to. Yet they have no purpose to him. He seeks knowledge of the unthinkable, of the undefineable, of the unknown. He explores the everything5 using his mind, the most powerful tool known to him. Not a physical barrier blocking the limits of exploration, time thru thought thru dimensions the everything is his realm. Yet, the more he thinks, hoping to find answers to his questions, the more come up. Amazingly, the petty things mean much to him at this time, how he wants to be normal,

not this transceiver of the everything. Then occurring to him, the answer. How everything is connected yet separate. By experiencing the petty others actions, reactions, emotions, doings, and thoughts, he gets a mental picture of what, in his mind, is a cycle.

Existence is a great hall, life is one of the rooms, death is passing thru the doors, & the everexistent compulsion of everything is the curiosity to keep moving down the hall, thru the doors, exploring rooms, down this never-ending hall. Questions make answers, answers conceive questions, and at long last he is content. TTYL <<-VoDkA->>

<<-VoDkA->>

5-2

1[?]-97

my thoughtz shit

Thoughtz

Yo . . . whassup . . . heheheheh.....know what's weird? Everyone knows everyone. I swear — like I'm an outcast, & everyone is conspiring against me . . . Check it..... (this isn't good, but I need to write, so here. . . .

Within the known limits of time . . . within the conceived boundaries of spacethe average human thinks those are the settings of existence..... yet the ponderer, the outcast, the believer, helps out the human. "Think not of 2 dimensions," says the ponderer, "but of 3,

as your world is conceived of 3 dimensions, so is mine. While you explore the immediate physical boundaries of your body, you see in your 3 dimensions — L, W, & H, yet I, who is more mentally open to anything, see my 3 dimensions. My realm of thought — Time, Space, & THOUGHT. Thought is the most powerful thing that exists — anything conceivable can be produced, anything & everything is possible, even in your physical world." After this so called "lecture" the common man feels confused, empty, & unaware. Yet those are the best emotions of a ponderer. The real difference is, a true ponderer will explore these emotions & what caused them.

Another a dream.

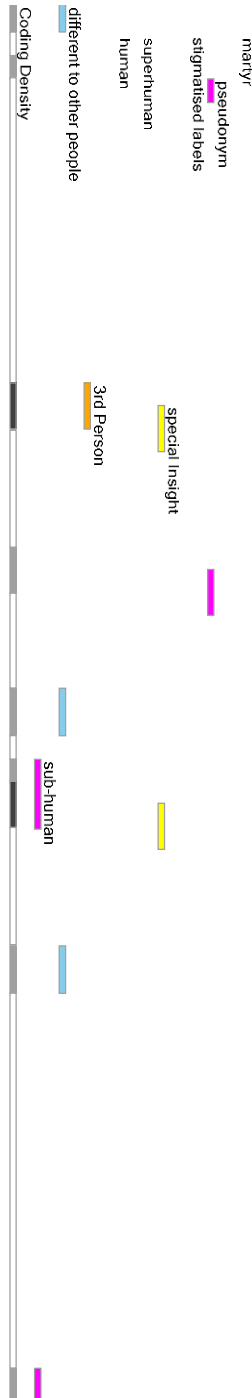
Miles & miles of never ending grass, like a wheat. A farm, sunshine, a happy feeling in the presence, Absolutely nothing wrong, nothing ever is, contrary 180 to normal life.

No awareness, just pure bliss, unexplainable bliss, The only challenges are no challenge, & thenBAM!!! realization sets in, the world is the greatest punishment. Life.

Hypnosis place — It is a sky — with one large cloud, & sort of a cloud-made chair — the sun is at the head of the chair . . . 10 o'clock up into the sky.....Below, I sometimes see mist, & the green (forest green) earth — sorta a city, yet I hear nothing. I relax on this chair — actually like a chaise — & I am talking to what? I don't know — it's just there, I have the feeling that I know him, even though I consciously don't & we talk like we are the same person — like he's my soul. . . .

The everlasting contrast. . . .

Dark. Light. God. Lucifer. Heaven. Hell. GOOD. BAD. Yes, the ever-lasting contrast. Since existence has known the 'fight' between good & evil has continued. Obviously, this fight can never end. Good things turn bad, bad things become good, the 'people' on the earth see it as a battle they can win. HA fuckin morons. If people looked at History, they would



see what happens. I think, too much, I understand, I am GOD compared to some of those un-existable brainless zombies. Yet, the actions of them interest me, like a kid with a new toy. Another contrast, more of a paradox, actually, like the advanced go for the undeveloped realm, while some of the morons become everything dwellers — but exceptions to every rule, & this is a BIG exception — most morons never change, they never decide to live in the 'everything' frame of mind!

Laterz

<<-VoDKA->>

7-23-97

A changing time

<<-VoDkA->>'s Thoughts

The Situation

It is not good for me right now (like it ever is) . . . but anyway . . . My best friend6 ever: the friend who shared, experimented, laughed, took chances with & appreciated me more than any friend ever did has been ordained . . . "passed on" . . . in my book. Ever since 7 (who I wouldn't mind killing) has loved him . . . that's the only place he's been with her . . . if anyone had any idea how sad I am . . . I mean we were the TEAM. When him & I first were friends, well I finally found someone who was like me: who appreciated me & shared very common interests. Ever since 7th grade, I've felt lonely . . . when came around, I finally felt happiness (sometimes) we did cigars, drinking, sabotage to houses, EVERYTHING for the first time together & now that he's "moved on" I feel so lonely, without a friend. Oh well, maybe he'll come around ? . . . I hope.

That's all — for this topic — maybe I'll never see this again.8

o = — = o

<<-VoDKA->>

My 1st Love????

OH my God . . . I am almost sure I am in love . . . with .9 Hehehe . . . such a strange name, like mine . . . yet everything about her I love. From her good body to her almost perfect face, her charm, her wit & cunning, her NOT being popular. Her friends (who I know) — some — I just hope she likes me as much as I LOVE her. I think of her every second of every day. I want to be with her. I imagine me & her doing things together, the sound of her laugh, I picture her face, I love her. If [crossed out] soulmates exist, then I think I've found mine. I hope she likes Techno . . . :-)

, I love you

— Dylan

<<-VoDkA->>

9-5-97

Life, sucks

My thoughts

Oooh god I want to die sooo bad . . . such a sad desolate lonely unsalvageable I feel I am . . . not fair, NOT FAIR!!! I wanted happiness!! I never got it . . . Let's sum up my life . . . the most

miserable existence in the history of time . . . my best friend has ditched me forever, lost in bettering himself & having/enjoying/taking for granted his love..... I've NEVER knew this . . . not 100 times near this . . . they look at me like I'm a stranger..... I helped them both out thru life, & they left me in the abyss of suffering when I gave them the [?] The one who I thought was my true love, is not. Just a shell of what I want the most..... the meanest trick was played on me a fake love..... she in reality doesn't give a good fuck about me . . . doesn't even know me..... I have no happiness, no ambitions, no friends, & no LOVE!!! can get me that gun I hope, I wanna use it on a poor SOB. I know his name is vodka, dylan is his name too. What else can I do/give I stopped the pornography. I try not to pick on people. Obviously at least one power is against me funny how I've been thinking about her over the last few days giving myself fake realities that she, others MIGHT have liked me, just a bit my [bad?] I have always been hated, by everyone & everything, just never aware. . . . Goodbye all the crushes I've ever had, just shells images, no truths . . . BUT WHY? YES, you can read this, why did [illegible words].

A dark time, infinite sadness, I want to find love.

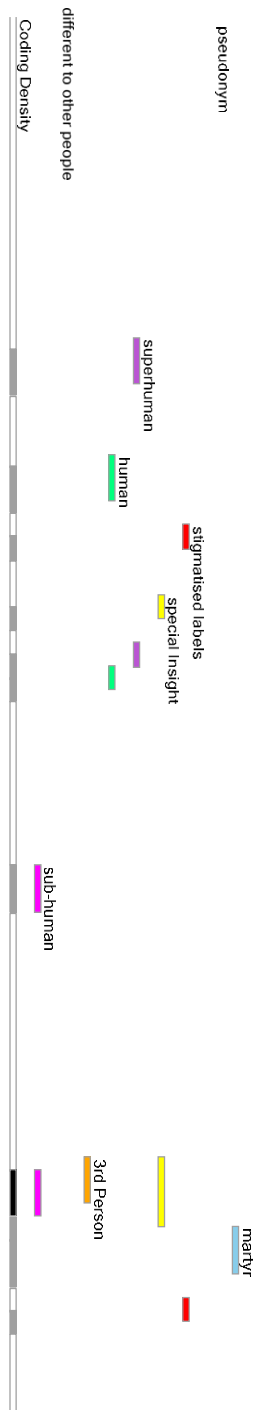
Ignorance is bliss

happiness is ambition

sub-human
Coding Density
special insight
superhuman
human
martyr
stigmatised labels
pseudonym
3rd Person

different to other people

desolation is knowledge
 pain is acceptance
 despair is anger
 denial is helpless
 martyrism is hope for others
 advantages taken are causes of martyrism
 revenge is sorrow
 death is a reprieve
 life is a punishment
 others' achievements are tormentations
 people are alike
 I am different — Dylan
 Goodbye, sorry to everyone . . . I just can't take it . . . all the thoughts . . .
 too many . . . make my head twist . . . I must have happiness, love, peace. Goodbye
 me is a god, a god of sadness
 exiled to this eternal hell
 the people I helped, abandon me
 I am denied what I want,
 To love & to be happy
 Being made a human
 Without the possibility of BEING human
 The cruelest of all punishments
 To some I am crazy
 It is so clear, yet so foggy
 Everything's connected, separated
 I am the only interpreter of this
 I'd rather have nothing than be nothing
 Some say godliness isn't nothing
 Humanity is the something I long for
 I just want something I can never have
 The story of my existence. — Dylan
 Fuck that ? Dylan Klebold
 Me
 10-14-97
 fuck [?]
 thoughtz
 Me. sorry I didn't write, A SHITLOAD in my existence ride. ok . . . hell & back . . . I've been
 to the zombie bliss side..... & I hate it as much if not more than the awareness part. I'm
 back now. . . . a taste of what I thought I wantwrong. Possible girlfriends are coming then
 I'll give the phony shit up in a second want TRUE love.....I just want something I can
 never have. . . . True true I hate everything, why can't I die . . . not fair. I want pure bliss to
 be cuddling with , who I think I love deeper than everI was hollow, thought I was
 right. Another form of the Downward Spiral10 deeper & deeper it goes, to cuddle with
 her, to be one w her, to love, just laying there. I need a girl. This is a weird entry I should
 feel happy, but shit brought me down. I feel terrible. The Lost Highway apparently repeats
 . . . itself. I won't drink. Now, lucky bastard gets a perfect soulmate, who he can
 admit FUCKIN SUICIDE to & I get rejected for being honest about fuckin hate for jocks.
 From the wrong people maybe . . . & Anyway.....here are 2 poems.
 Fuck me die me
 Awareness signs the warrant for suffering. Why is it that the zombies achieve something
 me wants (overdeveloped me). They can love, why can't I? The true existor lives in solitude,
 always aware, always infinite, always looking for, his love. Peace might be the ultimate destination
 . . . destination unknown. . . . I want happiness abandonment is present for the
 martyr. My thoughts exist in, want to live in. I want to find a room in the great hall & stay
 there w my love forever. Sadness seems infinite, & the shell of happiness shines around. Yet
 the true despair overcomes in this lifetime. How tragic for my [?] dumass shithead I HATE
 SHIT motherfuckin goddamn piece of death thought and nothin FUCK FUCK FUCK
 No emotions, not caring, yet another stage in this shit life. Suicide Dylan Klebold
 this



11-3-97

fuck all
Thoughts

Farther and farther distant . . . That's what's happening . . . **me & everything that zombies consider real** . . . just images, not life. Soon I will be at peace I hope . . . Burn ? "with all your life fucked up around you" I get more depressed with each day . . . more Evil . . . & I can't ever stop it!!! [illegible scribble]

Some god I am . . . All people I ever might have loved have abandoned me, my parents piss me off & hate me . . . want me to have fuckin ambition!! How can I when I get screwed & destroyed by everything??!! I have no money, no happiness, no friends . . . Eric will be getting further away soon. . . I'll have less than nothing . . . how normal. I wanted to love . . . I wanted to be happy and ambitions and free & nice & good & ignorant. . . everyone abandoned me . . . I have small stupid pleasures . . . my so called hobbies & doings . . . those are all that's left for me . . . clinging onto the smallest rocks . . . many people climbing up a never ending vertical cliff. . . & found a plateau to exist on . . . they walked up me to get to it. Nobody will help me . . . only exist with me if it suits them. I helped, why can't they? will get me a gun, I'll go on my killing spree11 against anyone I want. More crazy . . . deeper in the spiral, lost highway repeating, dwelling on the beautiful past (& getting drunk) with me, everyone moves up, I always stayed. Abandonment. This room sucks wanna die everything is as least expected. The meek are trampled on, the assholes prevail, the gods are deceiving, **lost in my little insane asylum** with the outhouse [?] redneck music playing. . . wanna die & be free with my love . . . if she even exists. She probably hates me . . . finds a [?] or a jock who treats her like shit. I remember details . . . nothing worth remembering I remember. I don't know my love: could be , or , or , or anyone. I don't know & I'm sick of not knowing!! To be kept in the dark is a punishment!! I have lost my emotions . . . like in Hurt the song. NIN. people eventually find happiness I never will. **Does that make me a non-human?** YES. The god of sadness. . . church was so fun . . . the rec thing with [?].

1-2-98

Beeerr . . . Man I don't know what's up lately . . . never do in existence. All this shit with & friends . . . so weird & different from past . . . yet again, that's the way in existence. I wonder if I'll ever have a love . . . my love. got his, I don't, won't ever get mine. Here's all the people I've loved, or at least liked (or thought I loved) — all the same meaning is the newest . . . the purest (for now) . . . seems perfect for me . . . I seem perfect for her. I was delusional and thought she waved at me the last day of school. Oh well . . . my emotions are gone. So much past pain at once, my senses are numbed. The beauty of being numb.

One of my symbols ?

No, everything

No, everything

No, everything

No, everything

No, everything

No, everything

Everything

the cliff theory everyone trying to get higher & stable

|

2-2-98

the everything

Existence to understand

Well well . . . so much changes . . . (like existence). I understand almost everything now . . . so close to my love — . . . The runes have shown it, she has shown it, I have felt it. I know the meaning of each life: to be loved by your love, & to be happy with ones self. **Only for the gods though (me, , etc.) the zombies & their society band together & try to destroy what is superior13** (what they don't understand & are afraid of. Soon . . . either I'll commit suicide, or I'll get with & it will be NBK14 for us. My happiness. Her happiness. NOTHING else matters. I've been caught with most of my crimes — xpl [for example] drinking, smoking & the house vandalism, & the pipe bombs. If, by fate's choice, didn't love me, I'd slit my wrist & blow up Atlanta15 strapped to my neck. It's good, understanding a hard road since my realization, but it gets easier. BUT IT DOESN'T! that's part of existence. Unpredictable.

Coding Density

sub-human

different to other people

3rd Person

special insight

pseudonym

martyr

superhuman

stigmatised labels

human

Existence is pure hell & pure heaven at the same time. I will never stop wondering. The lost highway will never end, the music in my head will never stop . . . total [?] part of existence. The hell will never end. The love will always be there. GOD I LOVE HER!!! It's so great to love. Society is tightening its grip on me, & soon I & will snap. We will have our revenge on society, & then be free, to exist in a timeless spaceless place of pure happiness. The purpose of life is to be happy & be with your love who is equally happy. Not much more to say. Goodbye. Almost happiness is slavery — the real people (gods) are slaves to the majority of zombies, but we know & love being superior.

I didn't want to be a jock. I hated the happiness that they have — & I will have something infinitely better.

I love her & she loves me.

(By the way, some zombies are smarter than others, some manipulate . . . like my parents.)

I am GOD, is GOD

the zombies will pay for their arrogance, hate, fear, abandoned, & distrust

I love you that's all I think about anymore . . . I know that this humanity is almost over,

that we will be free. We have proven to fate that we are the everything of purity & halcyon,

& that we deserve, need, love, can't exist without each other. It's hard, I think that I might

not be enough, my mind sometimes gets stuck on its own things, I think about human

things — all I try to do is imagine the happiness between us. That is something we cannot

even conceive in this toilet earth. The everything, the halcyon, the happiness is ours, there

will be no notes from me. Let the humans suffer without my knowledge of the everything.

I am trying not to think about the happiness, somehow thinking that 16 will destroy it if I

conceive/relish in it when I'm a human, but I love her. We are soulmates.

I love you

You don't consciously know who I am (please don't skip to the back: read the note as it was

written), & doubtedly unconsciously too. I, who write this, love you beyond infinity. I think

about you all the time, how this world would be a better place if you loved me as I do you.

I know what you're thinking: "(some psycho wrote me this harassing letter)" I hoped we

could have been together . . . you seem a bit like me. Pensive, quiet, an observer, not wanting

what is offered here (school, life, etc.) you almost seem lonely, like me. You probably have a

boyfriend though, & might not have given this note another thought. I have thought you my

true love for a long time now, but . . . well . . . there was hesitation. You see I can't tell if you

think of anyone as I do you, & if you did who that would be. Fate put me in need of you, yet

this earth blocked that with uncertainties. I will go away soon, but I just had to write this to

you, the one I truly loved. Please, for my sake, don't tell anybody about this, as it was only

meant for you. Also, please don't feel any guilt about my soon-to-be "absence" of this world

(it is solely my decision: no one else's) oh . . . the thoughts of us . . . doing everything together,

not necessarily anything, just to be together would have been pure heaven. I guess it's time

to tell you who I am. I was in a class with you 1st semester, & was blessed with being with

you in a report. I still remember your laugh. Innocent, beautiful, pure. This semester I still

see you — rarely. I am entranced

during 5th period, as we both have it off. To most people, I appear . . . well . . . almost scary,

but that's who I appear to be as people are afraid of what they don't understand. I denied

who I was for a long time. Until high school..... anyway, you have noticed me a few times, I

catch every one of these gazes with an open heart. I think you know who I am by now. Unfortunately

. . . even if you did like me even the slightest bit, you would hate me if you knew

who I was. I am a criminal. I have done things that almost nobody would even think about

condoning. The reason that I'm writing you now is that I have been caught for the crimes I

committed, & I want to go to a new existence. You know what I mean (suicide). I have nothing

to live for, & I won't be able to survive in this world after this legal conviction. However,

if it was true that you loved me as I do you.....I would find a way to survive. Anything to be

with you. I would enjoy life knowing that you loved me. 99/100 chances you probably think

I'm crazy, & want to stay as far away as possible. If that's the case, then I'm very sorry for

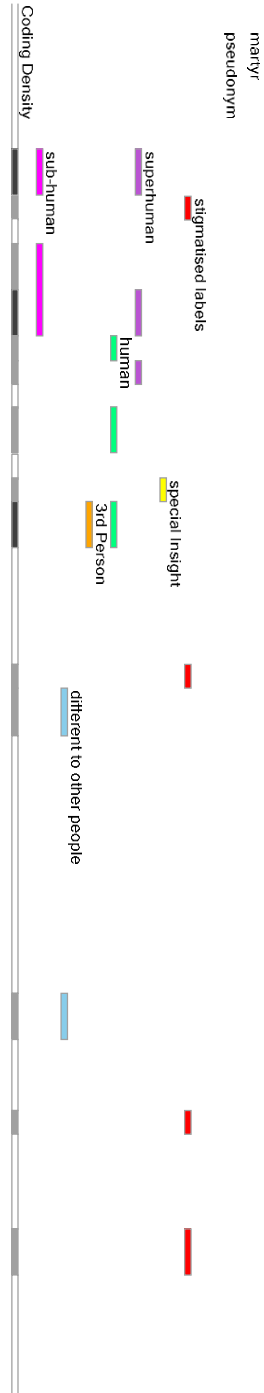
involving an innocent person in my problems, & please don't think twice. However, if you are

who I hoped for in my dreams & realities, then do me a favor: leave a piece of paper in my

locker saying anything that comes to you. Well, I guess this is it — goodbye, & I love(d) you.

Dylan Klebold [with locker information]

6-8-98



Our halcyon
 I LOVE !! I love her to infinence. I look back on my awareness journey, see the parts & sections of my understanding . . . it's almost done, yet it is never done, I love . She is my soulmate, my [?] all the imaginative halcyons & pure existences I have with her (to me) are almost happiness . . . I just wish I could call her. . .something blocks me from calling her, my human side is putting up a wall to prevent me from calling her, like a fear of "its" truth. BS. I will overcome all fears, doubts, & zombie-based thoughts (oxymoron) . . . I will follow our hearts to the halcyon, loving her. I love you me

6-10-98

I think
 don't care (?)

Forever fate, up & down spiral

1.5 human years . . . so much changed in small time, my friends (at my choice) are depleting & collapsing under each other (Eric &) like I thought they would, I am ready to be with . The ups & downs of fate are forever, good & bad, equal me. The lost highway, & downward spiral never end. Existence is like infinity times itself. ?? [symbolizes infinity to the power of infinity] I have passed thru this much of the ever existence, this is almost a checkpoint. The zombies have set their [place? plane?] in my mind for the cliff theory I've [?] off with & we've floated away to the halcyon. The zombies will pay for their being, their nature. I know everything, yet I know nothing. I am a true god. My infinite memories, thoughts, perceptions of purity come a lot more with her, there is pure pure happiness — the purpose of our existence. I hate, love things, hate everything, love me & . I understand that I can never ever be a zombie, even if I wanted to. The nature of my entity. Soon we will live in the halcyons of our minds, the one thing that made me a god. Things are so simple, now that they are infinitely complicated. HAHAHAHA.

I understand whatever of everything. I am the god of the everything.

Fate is my only master.

This is probably my last entry. I love my self close second to my everlasting love.

Goodbye.

I will never stop learning

Dylan Klebold

Dylan

1-20-99

This Shit

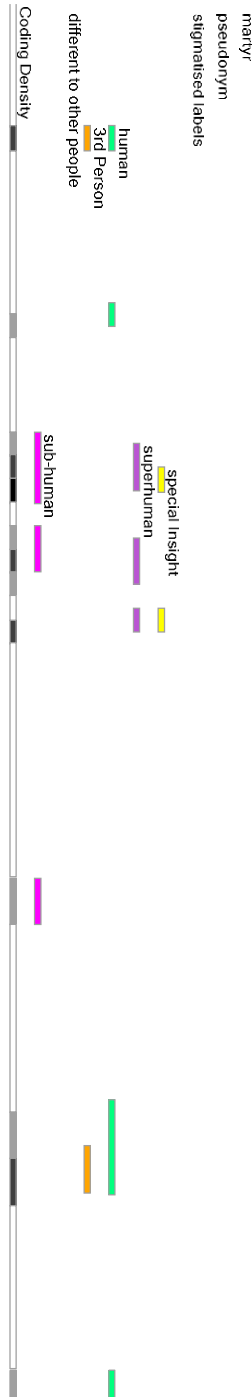
This shit again. Back at writing, doing just like a fucking zombie. Lately I can't change my mind from the fucking deeds of zombies. Earth, humanity, HERE. That's mostly what I think about. I hate it. I want to be free . . . free . . . I thought it would have been time by now. The pain multiplies infinitely never stops Yet [?] I'm here, STILL alone, still in pain, so is she. The thing I have concluded is that fate will decide when we should be together. decided when our existence started, it should end the same way, with us unknowing, in limbo. I love you . Always have, will. The scenarios, images, pieces of happiness still come. they always will. I love her she loves me. I know she is tired of suffering as I am. It is time. It is time. I love her the journey, the endless journey started, it has to end. We need to be happy to exist truly. I see her in perfection, the halcyons. I await endless purity. I exist as less than nothing without her. -O. my humanity, -O. I don't know if I should call her, or wait for to act. Yet, calling her is a state of humanity. I'm forever sorry, infinitely, about the pornos. My humanity has a foot fetish & bondage extreme liking. I try to thwart it sometimes to no effect. Yet the masturbation has stopped. I'm sorry . Always I feel the [?] happiness here, thinking of her for brief moments. That's how I know the everything is true.

I hate this non-thinking stasis. I'm stuck in humanity. Maybe going "NBK" (gawd) with Eric is the way to break free. I hate this.

The weather is a replication of our thoughts. The happiness is possible, imminent, I [?] on

The happiness is close visible ending, end of the beginning of the halcyons.

The humanity is blocking me again. Time to go. HAHAHAHA fuck all. Hate this shit, need



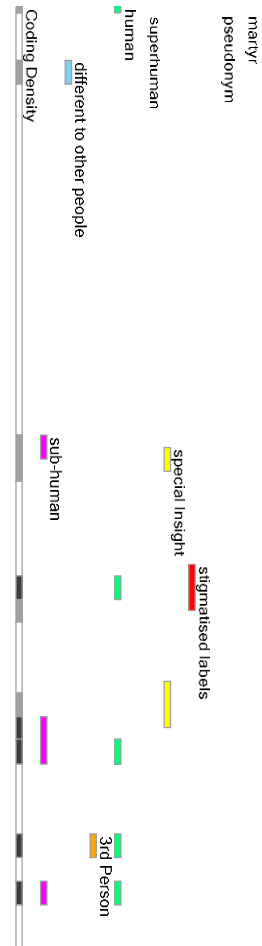
to be me, [?], love her.

The framework of society stands above & below me. The hardest thing to destroy, yet the weakest thing that exists. I know that I am different, yet I am afraid to tell the society. The possible abandonment, persecution is not something I want to face, yet it is so primitive to me. I guess being yourself means letting people know about inner thoughts too, not just opinions & fashions [illegible word in parentheses] I will be free one day, in the land of purity & my happiness, I will have a love, someone who is me in a way. someday . . . possibly thru this life, maybe another, but it will happen . . .

Love is more valuable than anything I know. To love is to enter a completion of oneself. I hate those who choose to destroy a love, who take it for granted. love is greater than life even. As I look for love, I feel I can't find it. Ever. But something tells me I will, someday. Somewhere. As my love will find me, she feels as I do right now, I can feel it, we will be inseparable. Her & I. Whether it is or not, I think I'll find it (my love). We will be free, to explore the vast wonders of the stars. To cascade down everlong waterfalls, & thru the warmest seas of pure happiness . . . no limits . . . no limits. Nothing will stop us.
?

The humanity of here & now clouds all that I see. Yet the me, the one, can now control the pain, & it is done. 5 more days. 5a very influential number, another brick in my journeyed wall. Humans are zombies, they scratch for acceptance & greed & kill themselves thru each other. They will never learn, or maybe they will, but wont have the strength to learn to be aware is not a trait, it's a godlike thing. Blessed God, not a Christian, Jesus, Mt. Sinai, Abraham, David, Bible gay shit god, but a true controller of existence. was to make us this way. These moments will be lost in the depressions & caverns of the human books forever, like, tears, in, rain, but the thoughts will be eternal. To explain the happiness is impossible even for fate. It's just a pure halcyon set to last more existences than a conceivable number. Stupid gay nigger humans think I'm "crazy." Or they think I'm childish. Hahaha, because I can't solve [math equation]. That makes me dumb! Because I can't stay thinking in a 2nd dimension, I go to the 5th!17 Haha. So I wait 5 more days. 5 more days. 5 eternities, & I know her & I are all conceived from ourselves & each other, every night of the self-awareness journey, every thought we conceived, we have finished the race. Time to die. Everything we knew we were able to understand it, to perceive it, into what we should. Everything we knew, we know & use. An understanding of the everything. An Einstein stuck in an ant's body. We are the nature of existence. The zombies were a test, to see if our love was genuine. We are in wait of our reward, each other. The zombies will never cause us pain anymore. The humanity was a test. I love you, love. Time to die, time to be free, time to love. 1.

One day, one is the beginning, [?] the end. Hahaha. Reversed, yet true. About 26.5 hours from now the judgment will begin. Difficult, but not impossible, necessary, nerve-wracking & fun. What fun is life without a little death? It's interesting, when I'm in my human form, knowing I'm going to die. Everything has a touch of triviality to it. Like how none of this calculus shit matters. The way it shouldn't. the truth. In 26.4 hours, I'll be dead, & in happiness. The little zombie human fags will know their errors, & be forever suffering and mournful. HAHAAH, of course I will miss things. Not really.



7.3 NVivo coding Harris corpus

I hate the fucking world, too much god damn fuckers in it. Too many thoughts and different societies all wrapped up together in this fucking place called AMERICA. Everyone has their own god damn opinions on every god damn thing and you may be saying "well what makes you so different?" because I have something only me and V1 have, SELF AWARENESS. Call it existentialism or whatever the fuck you want. We know what we are to this world and what everyone else is. We learn more than what caused the civil war and how to simplify quadratics in school. We have been watching you people. We know what you think and how you act. All talk and no actions. People who are said to be brave or courageous are usually just STUPID. Then they say later that they did it on purpose cause they are brave when they did on fucking accident. GOD everything is so corrupt and so filled with opinions and points of view and people's own little agendas and schedules. This isn't a world anymore. It's HOE2 and no one knows it. Self awareness is a wonderful thing. I know I will die soon, so will you and everyone else. Maybe we will be lucky and a comet will smash us back to day 1. people say it is immoral to follow others, they say be a leader. Well here is a fuckin news flash for you stupid shits, everyone is a follower! Everyone who says they aren't followers and then dresses different or acts different . . . they got that from something they saw on TV or in film or in life. No originality. How many Jo MAMMA jokes3 are there and how many do you think are original and not copied. KEINE . It's a fucking filthy place we live in. All these standards and laws and great expectations [?] are making people into robots even though they might "think" they aren't and try to deny it. No matter how hard I try to NOT copy someone I still AM! Except for this fucking piece of paper right here, and BTW spelling is stupid unless I say, I say spell it how it sounds, it's the fuckin easiest way! Hey try this sometime, when someone tells you something, ask "why?" eventually they will be stumped and can't answer any more. That's because they only know what they need to know in society and school. Not real life science. They will end up saying words = to this "because! Just shut up!" People that only know stupid facts that aren't important should be shot, what fucking use are they. NATURAL SELECTION. Kill all retards, people with brain fuck ups, drug addicts, people who can't figure out how to use a fucking lighter. Geeeawd! People spend millions of dollars on saving the lives of retards, and why. I don't buy that shit like "oh, he's my son, though!" so the fuck what, he ain't normal, kill him. Put him out of his misery. He is only a waste of time and money, then people say "but he is worth the time, he is human too." No he isn't, if he was then he would swallow a bullet cause he would realize what a fucking [illegible] he was. 4/10/98

As I said before, self-awareness is a wonderful thing. I know what all you fuckers are thinking and what to do to piss you off and make you feel bad. I always try to be different, but I always end up copying someone else. I try to be a mixture of different things and styles, but when I step out of myself I end up looking like others or others THINK I am copying. One big fucking problem is people telling me what to fuckin do, think, say, act, and everything else. I'll do what you say IF I feel like it. But people (ie, parents, cops, God, teachers) telling me what to makes me not want to fucking do it! That's why my fucking name is REB!!! No one is worthy of shit unless I say they are. I feel like God and I wish I was, having everyone being OFFICIALLY lower than me. I already know that I am higher than most anyone in the fucking welt in terms of universal Intelligence.

And where we stand in the universe compared to the rest of the UNIVERSE. and if you think I don't know what I'm talking about then you can just "BUCK DICH" [German: bend over]4 and saugen mein hund ! Isn't America supposed to be the land of the free? How come, If I'm free, I can't deprive a stupid fucking dumbshit from his possessions if he leaves them sitting in the front seat of his fucking van out in plain sight and in the middle of fucking nowhere on a Frifuckingday night.5 NATURAL SELECTION. Fucker should be shot. Same thing with all those rich snotty toadies at my school. Fuckers think they are higher than me and everyone else with all their \$ just because they were born into it? Ich denk NEIN. BTW, "sorry" is just a word. It doesn't mean SHIT to me. Everyone should be put to a test, an ULTIMATE DOOM test, see who can survive in an environment using only 'smarts' and military skills. Put them in a Doom world, no authority, no refuge, no BS copout excuses. If you can't figure out the area of a triangle or what "cation" means, you die! If you can't take down a demon with a chainsaw or kill a hell prince with a shotgun, you die! Fucking



snotty rich fuckheads [apparently a name] who rely on others or on sympathy or \$ to

get them through life should be put to this challenge. Plus it would get rid of all the fat, retarded, crippled, stupid, dumb, ignorant, worthless people of this world. No one is worthy of this planet, only me and who ever I choose, there is just no respect for anything higher than your fucking boss or parent. Everyone should be shot out into space and only those people I say should be left behind.

4/12/98

Ever wonder why we go to school? Besides getting a so-called education. It's not too obvious to most of you stupid fucks but for those who think a little more and deeper you should realize it. Its society's way of turning all the young people into good little robots and factory workers. That's why we sit in desks in rows and go by bell schedules, to get prepared for the real world cause "that's what its like." Well god damn it no it isn't! one thing that separates us from other animals is the fact that we can carry actual thoughts. So why don't we? People go on day by day routine shit. Why can't we learn in school how we want to, why can't we sit on desks and on shelves and put our feet up and relax while we learn? Cause that's not what the "real world is like." Well hey fuckheads, there is no such thing as an actual "real world." Its just another word like justice, sorry, pity, religion, faith, luck and so on. We are humans, if we don't like something we have the fucking ability to change! But we don't, at least you don't, I would. You just whine/bitch throughout life but never do a goddamn thing to change anything. "man can eat, drink, fuck, and hunt and anything else he does is madness" — Based on Lem's quote.6 Boy oh fuckin boy is that true. When I go NBK7 and people say things like, "oh, it was so tragic," or "oh he is crazy!" or "It was so bloody." I think, so the fuck what you think that's a bad thing? Just because your mumsy and dasy told you blood and violence is bad, you think it's a fucking law of nature? Wrong. Only science and math are true, everything, and I mean everyfuckingthing else is Man made. My doctor wants to put me on medication8 to stop thinking about so many things and to stop getting angry. Well, I think that anyone who doesn't think like me is just bullshitting themselves. Try it sometime if you think you are worthy, which you probably will you little shits, drop all your beliefs and views and ideas that have been burned into your head and try to think about why your here. But I bet most of you fuckers can't even think that deep, so that is why you must die. How dare you think that I and you are part of the same species when we are soooooo different.9 You aren't human. You are a robot. You don't take advantage of your capabilities given to you at birth. You just drop them and hop onto the boat and head down the stream of life with all the other fuckers of your time. Well god damn it I won't be part of it! I have thought too much, realized too much, found out too much, and I am too self aware to just stop what I am thinking and go back to society because what I do and think isn't "right" or "morally accepted." NO, NO, NO. God fucking damn it NO! I will sooner die than betray my own thoughts. But before I leave this worthless place, I will kill who ever I deem unfit for anything at all. Especially life. And if you pissed me off in the past, you will die if I see you. Because you might be able to piss off others and have it eventually blow over, but not me. I don't forget people who wronged me, like . He will never get a chance to read this because he will be dead by me before this is discovered.

4/21/98

The human race sucks. Human nature is smothered out by society, job, and work and school. Instincts are deleted by laws. I see people say things that contradict themselves, or people that don't take any advantage to the gift of human life. They waste their minds on memorizing the stats of every college basketball player or how many words should be in a report when they should be using their brain on more important things. The human race isn't worth fighting for anymore. WWII was the last war worth fighting and was the last time human life and human brains did any good and made us proud. Now, with the government having scandals and conspiracies all over the fucking place and lying to everyone all the time and with worthless, pointless, mindless, disgraceful TV shows on and with everyone ob-fucking-sessed with Hollywood and beauty and fame and glamour and politics and anything famous, people just aren't worth saving. Society may not realize what is happening but I have; you go to school, to get used to studying and learning how your "supposed to" so that drains or filters out a little bit of human nature. But that's after your parents taught you what's right and wrong even though you may think differently, you still must follow the rules. After school you are expected to

Coding Density

pseudonym
stigmatised labels
superhuman

sub-human

human

special insight
different to other people

get a job or go to college. To have more of your human nature blown out your ass. Society tries to make everyone act the same by burying all human nature and instincts. That's what schools, laws, jobs, and parents do. If they realize it or not. And then, the few who stick to their natural instincts are casted out as psychos or lunatics or strangers or just plain different. crazy, strange, weird, wild, these words are not bad or degrading. If humans were let to live how we would naturally, it would be chaos and anarchy and the human race wouldn't probably last that long, but hey guess what, that's how it's supposed to be!!!! Societies and government are only created to have order and calmness, which is exactly the opposite of pure human nature. Take away all your laws and morals and just see what you can do if the governments in our own little so called self-created "civilized world" and get rid of all those damn [or Darwin?] instincts everyone has!! Bullshit. I'm too tired to write anymore tonight, so until next time, fuck you all.

5/6/98

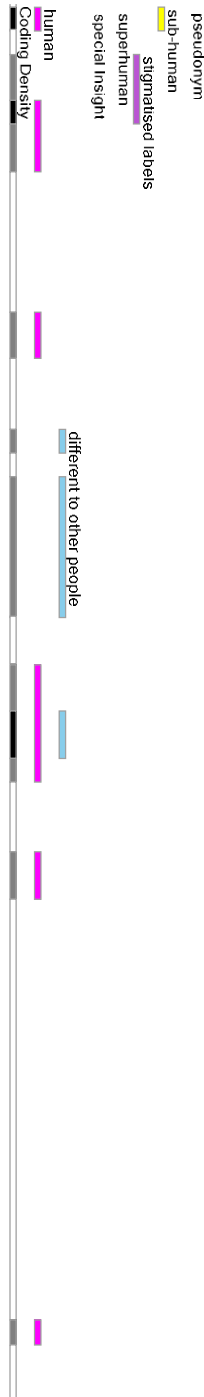
It has been confirmed, after getting my yearbook10 and watching people like and the human race isn't worth fighting for, only worth killing. Give the Earth back to the animals, they deserve it infinitely more than we do. Nothing means anything anymore, most quotes are worthless, especially the rearranged ones like "don't fight your enemies, make your enemies fight." You know, quotes that use the same phrase just rearranged, Dumb fuck shit [illegible] it's funny, people say "you shouldn't be so different" to me, and 1st I say fuck you don't tell me what I should and shouldn't be and 2nd mother fuckers different is good, I don't want to be like you or anyone which is almost impossible this day with all the little shits trying to be "original copycats", I expect shits like you to criticize anyone who isn't one your social words, "normal" or "civilized" — see: Tempest and Caliban. All you degrading worthless shits all caught up and brainwashed into the 90's society. "what? You AREN'T going to college, are you crazy!" holy SHIT that is one fucking BIG quote that just proves my point. Step back and look at yourself fuckers, I dare you, maybe I'll get lucky and you'll step back to far like Nick in E1M311 with the same consequence.

5/9/98

Wooh, different pen. HA! All right you pathetic fools listen up; I have figured it out. The human race strives for excellence in life and community always wanting to bring more =good= into the community. And nullify "bad" things. Anyone who thinks differently than the majority or the leaders is deemed "unusual" or weird or crazy. People want to be a part of something, a family, a service, a club, a union, a community, whatever. That's what humans want. Who cares what you as an individual thinks, you must do what you are told, whether it is jump off a bridge or drive on the right side of the road. Protesters in the past protested because the human race that was dominant (Ghandhi and the Brits or the king or the Americans) wasn't working out = they had fault = they failed = their ideas didn't work. Humans don't change that much, they only get better technology to do their work quicker/easier. People always say we shouldn't be racist. Why not? Blacks ARE different. Like it or not they are. They started out on the bottom so why not keep em there. It took them centuries to convince us that they are equal but they still use their color as an excuse or they just discriminate us because we are white. Fuck you, we should ship yer black asses back to Afrifuckingca were you came from. We brought you here and we will take you back. America = white. Gays.....well all gays, ALL gays, should be killed. Mit keine fragen. Lesbians are fun to watch if they are hot but still, its not human. It's a fucking disease. You don't see bulls or roosters trying to fuck, do you? No, I didn't think so. Women, you will always be under men. It's been seen throughout nature, males are almost always doing the dangerous shit while the women stay back. It's your animal instincts, deal with it or commit suicide, just do it quick. That's all for now.

5/20/98

If you recall your history the Nazis came up with a "final solution" to the Jewish problem. Kill them all. Well, in case you haven't figured it out yet, I say "KILL MANKIND" no one should survive. We all live in lies [?]. People are always saying they want to live in a perfect society, well utopia doesn't exist. It is human to have flaws. You know what. Fuck it. Why should I have to explain myself to you survivors when half of this shit I say you shitheads won't understand and if you can then woopie fucking do. That just means you have something



to say as my reason for killing. And the majority of the audience won't even understand my motives either! They'll say "ah, he's crazy, he's insane, worthless! All you fuckers should die! DIE! What the fuck is the point if only some people see what I am saying, there will always be ones who don't, ones that are to dumb or naïve or ignorant or just plain retarded. If I can't pound it into every single persons head then it is pointless. Fuck money fuck justice fuck morals fuck civilized fuck rules fuck laws . . . DIE manmade words . . . people think they apply to everything when they don't/can't. There's no such thing as True Good or True evil, it's all relative to the observer. It's just all nature, chemistry, and math. Deal with it. But since dealing with it seems impossible for mankind, since we have to slap warning labels on nature, then . . . you die, burn, melt, evaporate, decay. Just go the fuck away. YAAAAAA!!!
"When in doubt, confuse the hell out of the enemy." Fly 9/2/9812
KEIN MITLEID wait, mercy doesn't exist. . . .
6/12/98

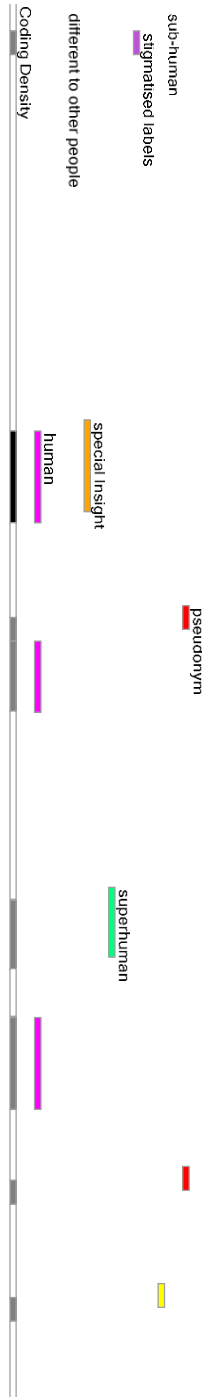
Here's something to chew on today I saw a program on the discovery channel about satellites and radar and aircraft and stuff, and at the end of the show the narrator said some things that made me think "damn, we are so advanced, we kick ass, America is awesome, we have so many things in our military, we would kick anyone's ass." For a minute I actually had some pride in our nation then I realized, "hey, this is only the GOOD things that I am seeing here. Only the pros, not the cons. Maybe that's what people see, only the pros, and that's why they are under control, but me, I see allyou can only blind me for so long, but alas, I have realized that Yes, the human race is still indeed doomed. It just needs a few kick starts, like me, and hell, maybe even . If I can wipe a few cities off the map, and even the fuckhead holding the map, then great. Hmm, just thinking if I want all humans dead or maybe just the quote-unquote "civilized, developed, and known-of" places on Earth, maybe leave little tribes of natives in the rain forest or something. Hmm, I'll think about that. Eh, done for tonight.

REB 6/13/98

As part of the human race, and having the great pleasure of being blessed with a brain, I can think. Humans can do whatever they want. There is no laws of nature that prevent humans from making choices. Maybe from actually DOING some of those choices, but not from making the choice. If a man chooses to speed while driving home one day then it is his fault for whatever happens. If he crashes into a school bus full of kiddies and they all burn to death, it's his fault. It's only a tragedy if you think it is, and then it's only a tragedy in your own mind so you shouldn't expect others to think that way also. It could also be a miracle for another person maybe that bus stopped the car from plowing into a little old lady walking on the sidewalk, one could think it was a "miracle" that she wasn't hit. You see, anything and everything that happens in our world is just that, a HAPPENING. Anything else is relative to the observer, but yet we try to have a "universal law" or "code" of what is good and bad and that just isn't fuckin correct. We shouldn't be allowed to do that. We aren't GODS, just because we are at the top of the food chain with our technology doesn't mean we can be "judges"

of nature. Sure we can think what we want, but you can "think" and "behave" you can judge people and nature all you want, but you are still wrong! Why should your morals apply to everyone else. "Morals" is just another word, and that's it. I think we are all a waste of natural resources and should be killed off, and since humans have the ability to choose.....and I'm human I think I will choose to kill and damage as much as nature allows me to so take that, fuck you, and eat napalm + lead! HA! Only nature can stop me. I know I could get shot by a cop after only killing a single person, but hey guess the fuck WHAT! I chose to kill that one person so get over it! It's MY fault! Not my parents, not my brothers, not my friends, not my favorite bands, not computer games, not the media. IT IS MINE! Go shut the fuck up!
-REB- 7/29/98

Someone's bound to say "what were they thinking?" when we go NBK or when we were planning it, so this is what I am thinking. "I have a goal to destroy as much as possible so I must not be sidetracked by my feelings of sympathy, mercy, or any of that, so I will force myself to believe that everyone is just another monster from Doom like FH or FS or demons, so it's either me or them. I have to turn off my feelings." Keep this in mind, I want to burn the world, I want to kill everyone except about 5 people, who I will name later, so if you are reading this you are lucky you escaped



my rampage because I wanted to kill you. It will be very tricky getting all of our supplies, explosives, weaponry, ammo, and then hiding it all and then actually planting it all so we can achieve our goal. But if we get busted any time, we start killing then and there, just like Wilks from the ALIENS books, I ain't going out without a fight.

Once I finally start my killing, keep this in mind, there are probably about 100 people max in the school alone who I don't want to die, the rest, MUST FUCKING DIE! If I didn't like you or if you pissed me off and lived through my attacks, consider yourself one lucky god damn NIGGER. Pity that a lot of the dead will be a waste in some ways, like dead hot chicks who were still bitches, they could have been good fucks. Oh well, too fucking bad. Life isn't fair.....not by a long fuckin shot when I'm at the wheel, too. God I want to torch and level everything in this whole fucking area but bombs of that size are hard to make, and plus I would need a fuckin fully loaded A-10 to get every store on Wadsworth and all the buildings downtown. Heh, imagine THAT you fuckers, picture half of Denver on fire just from me and Vodka. Napalm on sides of skyscrapers and car garages blowing up from exploded gas tanks..... oh man that would be beautiful.

10/23/98

You know what, I feel like telling about lies. I lie a lot. Almost constant, and to everybody, just to keep my own ass out of the water. And by the way (side note) I don't think I am doing this for attention, as some people may think. Let's see, what are some big lies I have told; "yeah I stopped smoking;" "for doing it not for getting caught," "no I haven't been making more bombs," "no I wouldn't do that," and of course, countless of other ones, and yeah I know that I hate liars and I am one myself, oh fucking well. It's ok if I am a hypocrite, but no one else, because I am higher than you people, no matter what you say if you disagree I will shoot you. And I am one racist mother fucker too, fuck the niggers and spics and chinks, unless they are cool, but sometimes they are so fucking retarded they deserve to be ripped on. Some people go through life begging to be shot, and white fucks are just the same. If I could nuke the world I would, because so far I hate you all. There are probably around 10 people I wouldn't want to die, but hey, who ever said life is fair should be shot like the others, too.

KKK SS

11/1/98

Heh heh heh. I sure had fun this weekend. Let's see, what really happened. Before going to Rock-n-Bowl we stopped by King Soopers and me and picked up some big ass stogies. We then went to Rock-n-Bowl and I had a few cigarettes and one of my brand new cigars. We then went back to 's house where her mom had previously bought us all a fuck load of liquor. Personally I had asked for Tequila and Irish cream, Vodka got his Vodka, and there was beer, whiskey, schnapps, puckers, scotch, and of course, orange juice! So we had some fun there playing cards and making drinks. We eventually made it to bed at about 5 AM. Got up at 10, went to Safeway got some doughnuts and then I took Vodka home. The bottle of Tequila is almost full and is in my car right by my spare tire and right by the bottle of Irish Cream. Heh heh. I'll have to find a spot for those. And by the way, this Nazi report¹³ is boosting my love of killing even more. Like the early Nazi government, my brain is like a sponge, sucking up everything that sounds cool and leaving out all that is worthless. That's how Nazism was formed, and that's how I will be too!

11/8/98

Fuck you Brady!¹⁴ All I want is a couple of guns, and thanks to your fucking bill I will probably not get any! Come on, I'll have a clean record and I only want them for personal protection. It's not like I'm some psycho who would go on a shooting spree.....fuckers. I'll probably end up nuking everything and fucking robbing some gun collector's house. Fuck, that'll be hard. Oh well, just as long as I kill a lot of fucking people. Everyone is always making fun of me because of how I look, how fucking weak I am and shit, well I will get you all back, ultimate fucking revenge here.¹⁵ You people could have shown more respect, treated me better, asked for my knowledge or guidance more, treated me more like a senior, and maybe I wouldn't have been so ready to tear your fucking heads off. Then again, I have always hated how I looked, I make fun of people who look like me, sometimes without even thinking sometimes just because I want to rip on myself. That's where a lot of my hate grows from. The fact that I have practically no self-esteem, especially concerning girls and looks and such. Therefore people make fun of me . . . constantlytherefore I get no respect and therefore I get fucking PISSED. As of this date I have enough explosions to kill about 100 people, and then if I get a couple bayonets, swords, axes, whatever I'll be able to kill at least

human
Coding Density

special insight

pseudonym
sub-human

stigmatised labels
superhuman

different to other people

10 more. And that just isn't enough!

Guns! I need guns! Give me some fucking firearms!

11/12/98

HATE! I'm full of hate and I love it. I HATE PEOPLE and they better fucking fear me if they know what's good for 'em. Yes I hate and I guess I want others to know it, **yes I'm a racist and I don't mind.** Niggs and spics bring it on to themselves, and another thing, I am very racist towards white trash P.O.S.'s like and they deserve the hatred, otherwise I probably wouldn't hate them. It's a tragedy, **the human nature of people will lead to their downfall. People's human nature will get them killed.** Whether by me or Vodka, it's happened before, and not just school shootings like those pussy dumbasses over in Minnesota who squealed.¹⁶ Throughout history, its our fucking nature! I know how people are and why and I can't stand it! I love the Nazis too . . . by the way, I fucking can't get enough of the swastika, the SS, and the iron cross. Hitler and his head boys fucked up a few times and it cost them the war, but I love their beliefs and who they were, what they did, and what they wanted. I know that form of government couldn't have lasted long once the human equation was brought in, but damn it, it sure looked good. Every form of government leads to downfalls, everything will always fuck up or yeah something. It's all doomed, god damn it. This is beginning to make me get in a corner. I'm showing too much of myself, my views and thoughts, people might start to wonder, smart ones will get nosy and something might happen to fuck me over, I might need to put on one helluva mask here to fool you all some more. Fuck fuck fuck. It'll be very fucking hard to hold out until April. If people would give me more compliments all of this might still be avoidable . . . but probably not. Whatever I do people make fun of me, and sometimes directly to my face. I'll get revenge soon enough. Fuckers shouldn't have ripped on me so much huh!¹⁷ Ha! **Then again it's human nature to do what you did . . . so I guess I am also attacking the human race.** I can't take it, it's not right . . . true . . . correct . . . perfect. **I fucking hate the human equation.** Nazism would be fucking great if it weren't for individualism and our natural instinct to ask questions. You know what maybe I just need to get laid. Maybe that'll just change some shit around. That's another thing, I am a fucking dog. I have fantasies of just taking someone and fucking them hard and strong. Someone like where I just pick her up, take her to my room, tear off her shirt and pants and just eat her out and fuck her hard. I love flesh . . . weisses fleisch! Dein weisses fleisch erregt mich so, Ich bin doch nur ein Gigolo!

. I want to grab a few different girls in my gym class, take them into a room, pull their pants off and fuck them hard. I love flesh . . . the smooth legs, the large breasts, the innocent flawless body, the eyes, the hair, jet black, blond, white, brown, ahhhh I just want to fuck! Call it teenager hormones or **call it a crazy fuckin racist rapist.** Es ist mir egal.

I just want to be surrounded by the flesh of a woman, someone like who I wanted to just fuck like hell, she made me practically drool, when she wore those shorts to work . . . instant hard on . . . I couldn't stop staring. And others like [several names] in my gym class, or whatever in my gym class, and others who I just want to overpower and engulf myself in them. Mmm. I can taste the sweet flesh now . . . the salty sweet, the animalistic movement . . . iccchhh . . . lieeebe..... fleiscchhhhh . "Weisses fleisch" — perfect song for me. Who can I trick into my room first? I can sweep someone off their feet, tell them what they want to hear, be all nice and sweet, and then **"fuck 'em like an animal, feel them from the inside"** as Reznor19 said. Oh — that's something else.....that one NIN video I saw, "Broken" or "Closer"²⁰ or something. The one where the guy is kidnapped and tortured like hellactual hell. I want to do that too. I want to tear a throat out with my own teeth like a pop can. I want to gut someone with my hand, to tear a head off and rip out the heart and lungs from the neck, to stab someone in the gut, shove it up to their heart, and yank the fucking blade out of their rib cage! I want to grab some weak little freshman and just tear them apart like a wolf, show them who is god. Strangle them, squish their head, bite their temples in the skull, rip off their jaw, rip off their collar bones, break their arms in half and twist them around, the lovely sounds of bones cracking and flesh ripping, ahhhso much to do and so little chances. 11/17/98

Well folks, today was a very important day in the history of **Reb** today, along with Vodka and someone else who I won't name,²¹ we went downtown and purchased the following: a double barrel 12 ga. Shotgun, a pump action 12 ga. Shotgun, a 9mm carbine, 250 9mm rounds,

Coding Density

superhuman
special insight
different to other people

stigmatised labels

pseudonym

human

sub-human

15 12 ga slugs, 40 shotgun shells, 2 switch blade knives, and a total of 4 10-round clips for the carbine. We have GUNS! we fucking got them you sons of bitches! HA! HA HA HA! Neener! Booga Booga. Heh. It's all over now. This capped it off, the point of no return. I have my carbine, shotgun, ammo and knife all in my trunk tonight and they'll stay there till tomorrow.....after school you know, its really a shame. I had a lot of fun at that gun show, I would have loved it if you were there Dad. We would have done some major bonding. Would have been great. Oh well. But alas, I fucked up and told about my flask. that really disappointed me . I know you thought it was good for me in the long run and all that shit, smart of you to give me such a big raise and then rat me out.²² You figure it was supposed to cancel each other? God damn flask, that just fucked me over bigtime. Now you all will be on my ass even more than before about being on track. I'll get around it though. If [I] have to cheat and lie to everyone than that's fine. THIS is what I am motivated for, THIS is my goal. THIS is what I want "to do with my life." You know what's weird, I don't feel like punching through a door because of the flask deal, probably cause I am fucking armed. I feel more confident, stronger, more God-like. I have confidence in my ability to deceive people, hopefully I'll make it to April, but that might not happen. Ug, its been a busy weekend, I need to sleep, I'll continue tomorrow.

11/22/98

Yesterday we fired our first firearms ever. 3 rounds from the carbine. Taught that ground a thing or 2. I even had the 2 clips in my pocket while talking to Vodka's dad about senior ditch day. God it felt great firing off that bad boy, and hopefully I'll be able to get more than just 4 clips for it. I dubbed my shotgun "Arlene" after Arlene Sanders from the DOOM books. She always did love the shotgun. Vodka's OB [?] is looking fucking awesome, all cut down to the proper lengths. This is a bitch trying to keep up with homework while working on my guns, bombs, and lying. By the way, I bought that flask in the mall and I had a friend fill it up with scotch whiskey, only had about 3 swigs in the 3 weeks I had it. Plus Monday I gave my T and IC to Vodka, just in case. I never really did like alcohol, just wasn't my thing, but it felt good to just have around. That argument on the 22nd was a real bitch, but I think I should have won a fucking Oscar. I even quoted a few movies, remember "what the hell am I gonna do now man?! What am I gonna do!?" that's good ole Hudson from "Aliens." Sounded good too. And hey god damn it I would have been a fucking great marine. It would have give me a reason to do good. And I would never drink and drive, either. It will be weird when we actually go on the rampage. Hopefully we will have plenty of clips and bombs. I'm gonna still try and get my calico 9mm. Just think, 100 rounds without reloading.....hell yeah!

We actually may have a chance to get some machine pistols thanks to the Brady bill. If we can save up about \$200 real quick and find someone who is 21+ we can go to the next gun show and find a private dealer and buy ourselves some bad-ass AB-10 machine pistols. Clips for those things can get really fucking bit too.

12/3/98

woohoo, I'll never have to take a final again! Feels good to be free. I just love Hobbes and Nietzsche. Well tomorrow I'll be ordering 9 more 10-round clips for my carbine. I'm gonna be so fucking loaded in about a month. The big things we need to figure out now is the time bombs for the commons and how we will get them in and leave them there to go off, without any fuckin Jews finding them. I wonder if anyone will write a book on me. Sure is a ton of symbolism, double meanings, themes, appearance vs. reality shit going on here. Oh well, it better be fuckin good if it is written.

12/17/98

Heh, get this. KMFDM's new album's entitled "Adios" and its release date is in April. How fuckin appropriate, a subliminal final "Adios" tribute to Reb and Vodka, thanks KMFDM . . . I ripped the hell outa the system.

12/20/98

Jesus christ that was fucking close. Fucking shitheads at the gunshop almost dropped the whole project.²⁴ Oh well, thank god I can BS so fucking well. I went and picked up those babies today, so now I got 13 of those niggers woohah. The stereo is very nice, but having no insurance payments to worry about so I could concentrate of BOMBS would have been better. Oh well, I think I'll have enough. Now I just need to get Vodka another gun.

12/29/

sub-human
stigmatised labels
special insight
different to other people
human
Coding Density

superhuman

pseudonym

pseudonym
sub-human
stigmatised labels
superhuman
special insight
different to other people
human
Coding Density

Months have passed. It's the first Friday night in the final month. Much shit has happened. Vodka has a Tec 9, we test fired all of our babies, we have 6 time clocks ready, 39 crickets 24 pipe bombs, and the napalm is under construction. Right now I'm trying to get fucked and trying to finish off these time bombs. NBK came quick, why the fuck can't I get any? I mean, I'm nice and considerate and all that shit, but nooooo. I think I try too hard. But I kinda need to, considering NBK is closing in. The amount of dramatic irony and foreshadowing is fucking amazing. Everything I see and hear I incorporate into NBK somehow. Either bombs, clocks, guns, napalm, killing people, any and everything finds some tie to it. Feels like a goddamn movie sometimes. I wanna try to put some mines and trip bombs around this town too maybe. Get a few extra frags²⁵ on the scoreboard. I hate you people for leaving me out of so many fun things. And no don't fucking say "well that's your fault" because it isn't, you people had my phone #, and I asked and all, but no. no no no don't let the weird looking Eric KID come along, ooh fucking nooo.4/3/99