

Vilnius University
Faculty of Philology
Department of English Philology

Kamilė Radzevičiūtė

Portrayal of Criminals in the U.S., the U.K., and Lithuania: Extended Unit of Meaning
Analysis

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Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Justina Urbonaitė

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Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION.....	5
2. DATA AND METHODS.....	10
3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	19
3.1. COLLOCATIONS OF <i>CRIMINAL</i> , <i>CONVICT</i> AND <i>OFFENDER</i> IN THE BNC.....	19
3.2. COLLOCATIONS OF <i>CRIMINAL</i> , <i>CONVICT</i> AND <i>OFFENDER</i> IN COCA.....	28
3.3. ADJECTIVE/PARTICIPLE COLLOCATIONS OF <i>NUSIKALTĒLIS</i> , <i>NUTEISTASIS</i> AND <i>PAŽEIDĒJAS</i> IN COCL.....	37
3.4 THE DISTRIBUTION OF COLLOCATIONS ACROSS DIFFERENT REGISTERS	43
4. CONCLUSIONS.....	50
SUMMARY IN LITHUANIAN.....	52
LIST OF REFERENCES.....	54
APPENDICES	56

Abstract

Little research has been done on analyzing criminal portrayals across different languages. The present paper presents a corpus-based analysis of nouns *criminal*, *offender* and *convict* in the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and Lithuanian nouns *nusikaltėlis* (En. ‘criminal’), *pažeidėjas* (En. ‘offender’) and *nuteistasis* (En. ‘convict’) in the Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian (Vytautas Magnus University 2022, hereafter, COCL). The aim of this research is to analyse collocations of the chosen nouns in the BNC, COCA and COCL by applying Sinclair’s *extended unit of meaning analysis* to reveal how criminals are portrayed in the U.S., U.K, and Lithuania. Additionally, the distribution of collocations across the registers was studied and compared across corpora. The research revealed that in the British English, American English and Lithuanian, the portrait of criminal includes both monstrous and celebrity-like attributes, whereas, the portrait of offenders and convicts consist of more neutral images. Some differences and similarities across the corpora were identified as well.

Keywords: criminals, offenders, convicts, collocations, connotations, semantic prosody, BNC, COCA

1. Introduction

Most of the unknown and unfamiliar fields for society are usually perceived not by first-hand experience but rather from news, films or TV shows. This phenomenon is especially related to the crime world. Most of the society has never had a direct connection with criminals which might lead to such extremities as dehumanizing criminals. Previous studies (Marsh & Melville 2009; Tabbert 2015; Wiest 2016), that dealt with the portrayal of criminals demonstrated that criminals are seen by society not as human beings but as monsters or other evil creatures. One of the most extensive sociolinguistic studies carried out by Tabbert (2015) revealed that criminals in the Western media are pictured as animals, monster celebrities, and outsiders of society. The author conducted extensive research of the matter in the newspapers since the media reflects the approach of society towards crime (Tabbert 2015: 1). By analysing instances of nouns *offender* and *victim* in English and German newspapers, the author discovered that both languages tend to use similar devices in constructing a predominantly negative image of criminals.

The scholar extracted all nouns, personal pronouns and possessives that refer to offenders and victims. Also, adjectives that describe a victim or offender were analysed, as well as the instances of active and passive voice. The research revealed that the descriptions of criminals and offenders in the German and British press lead to society picturing criminals as deviant animals since in both corpora the most common words were such as *murder*, *attack*, *rape*, *crime*, *died*, *killed*, *kill* and other words related to cruel acts (Tabbert 2015: 145). Tabbert presented the crime rate of murders and rapes during the time when the articles chosen for the data were published. Interestingly, the crime rate was relatively low, however, the frequency of words related to such crimes was high. Tabbert (ibid.) concludes by claiming that the crime stories do not always reflect reality.

The scholar also suggested that “offenders are constructed as entirely evil, not separating them as persons from their crimes” (Tabbert 2015:131). Tabbert’s research (ibid.) revealed that crimes and criminals are merged into one entity by using nominalisation in the news articles, e.g. *to murder-a murder*. Nominalisation helps to construct offenders “as one-dimensional entities reduced to their criminal offending role” (Tabbert 2016: 154). A criminal is portrayed according to the crime one has committed (Tabbert 2015:96) and this leads to criminals being dehumanized and only identified through their crime.

It was stated by Tabbert (2015: 1) that the media mirrors society's view on criminals. However, from a different point of view, it is the media which contributes to forming views of society since people rarely base the image of crimes and criminals on their first-hand experience. The survey carried out by Marsh and Melville (2009: 1) showed that the majority of the respondents shape opinion about crime indirectly. The scholars (ibid.) state that "(76%) of the public said they formed their opinions about crime from what they see or read in the news, more than three times the number of those who said they got their primary information on crime from personal experience (22%)". Not many people are surrounded by such criminals and the main source of knowledge is the media. For example, according to Bonn (2014), "much of the public's general knowledge concerning serial homicide is a product of sensationalized and stereotypical depictions of it in the news and entertainment media". Bonn (2014) states that the media projects people who commit serial homicides by creating vivid storylines rather than by stating facts. Due to this, it is more important to attract the attention of the audience rather than to present factual information. According to Croteau and Hoynes (2013: 17), some researchers suggest that the media can promote fear by communicating a high number of crime stories. For instance, "during the 1990's the number of crime stories on television news increased dramatically, although the violent crime declined throughout the decade" (ibid.). Society receives an image of a distorted reality and experiences various feelings of fear and danger.

The above-mentioned fear of criminals may also be a consequence of crime shows. According to Dowler (2003: 116) "crime-show viewing is related to fear of crime". Dowler questioned Americans who live in the U.S. whether they were worried about burglary, murder, sexual assault, etc. in their neighbourhood. The respondents had to answer how frequently they get scared of the mentioned crimes. Age, sex, race, education and income were also taken into account as these characteristics may influence the level of fear. Dowler (2003: 116) states that "respondents who report that they are regular viewers of crime shows are more likely to be fearful of crime". In this industry, according to the author (ibid.), images of criminals are highly stereotypical. Dowler (2016: 120) claims that criminals in this case are portrayed either as evil psychopaths or as violent businessmen. The author claims (ibid.) that such portrayals lead to viewers picturing criminals as monsters, psychopaths and animals, which evokes fear for the viewers. However, in some cases, the absence of words might be used in the media to raise fear as well. Amzat et al. (2007) overviewed literature that analysed the issue of media and crimes and concluded that articles on violent crimes raise fear among readers because such crimes are reported with little context, which leads to the readers feeling anxious or unsafe (Amzat et al. 2007). Another author who analysed the same issue states that the exaggeration of the risks of crime in media leads to disproportionated coping strategies (Reiner 2007: 383). However, there

is a positive side to the media portrayals of criminals. Reiner states that the media influences not only ordinary readers but also criminal justice agencies and police investigation processes. As a result, the mentioned agencies “tailor their activities to public relations, how their activities will play on the news” (Reiner 2007: 407). Police act in a more self-conscious manner because they are aware that “the whole world is watching” (Gitlin 1980; Della Porta and Reiter 1998 in Reiner 2007: 407). This instance demonstrates that there are advantages to negative portrayals of criminals. According to the authors it might influence the effectiveness of police work. Nonetheless, as it was mentioned before, the issue of dehumanizing criminals is still raising feelings of unsafety in society.

Not only may criminals be portrayed as monsters but some of them can also be pictured as celebrities. According to Tabbert (2015), killers are sometimes given a *celebrity-like status*. Some people tend to be fascinated by such criminals as serial killers. Bonn (2014) states that “many serial killers have been elevated to the status of popular culture icon over the years”. According to the author (ibid.), as a result of the media describing serial killers in “sensationalized and stylized terms” society pictures them like rock stars and celebrity monsters. The image of a celebrity and a monster has been analysed in more depth by sociologist Wiest. The scholar (2016) analysed how serial killers are represented in the news media by comparing representations of serial killers in the United States and the United Kingdom. As the research is relevant for the paper, it is further described in greater detail.

In the research, the scholar takes into account how journalists describe crimes committed by serial killers, what words are included in the headlines, what nicknames are given to the criminals: whether they are seen as monsters, celebrities, or both. The research was carried out by analysing articles containing the keyword *serial killer* in the LexisNexis database and by analysing scientific articles describing the outlook of society towards criminals in the U.S. and the U.K. The author found out that when describing serial killers, journalists, in both countries, create monstrous imagery of these criminals. These descriptions include such nicknames as *monster*, *godzilla*, *vampire* or adjectives *evil*, *psycho*, *sadistic*, etc. (Wiest 2016: 336). However, in the U.S., criminals are widely described as celebrities. The author claims that in American articles, journalists foreground the exceptional abilities, power and expertise of a serial killer. In contrast, in British articles, descriptions of killers “evoke a sense of savagery or animalistic qualities” (ibid.) and include such words as *beast*, *brute*, and *bloodthirsty*. According to Wiest (ibid.), in the U.S. articles, such a tendency does not appear. Additionally, in the U.K., articles are more focused on the victims which, according to Wiest (2016: 337), shows a *low value for*

the killers. The scholar concludes that in both countries serial killers are seen as monsters, however, in the U.S., authors tend to create celebrity imagery for these criminals.

The tendency of dehumanizing criminals is not only present in English but also in Lithuanian. Gedzevičienė (2016) researched metaphors of criminals in the media and discovered the most frequent metaphors for criminals such as criminal as a beast, criminal as a mystical creature, criminal as a fish (because they are being metaphorically ‘fished’ by the police), criminal as a butcher, and criminal as a hunter. Just as in English, in Lithuanian media portrayals of criminals tend to conceal such aspects of offenders as their human qualities and highlight the brutal cruelty of their actions.

The studies mentioned above demonstrate that a common portrait of a criminal is as if they are a killing machine lacking human characteristics or an object for fascination. The reason behind it is dehumanization of criminals that is caused by imagery created not through a direct experience but rather through secondary sources such as media which tend to present a somewhat distorted reality. These studies provide the present research with background, however, all of them investigate media and are mostly in the fields of sociolinguistics or sociology. There is a lack of studies that would take a wider perspective and analyse not only media but other registers such as fiction, spoken language or academic registers. To the best of my knowledge, there have not been any studies that would compare portrayals of criminals in Lithuanian, American English and British English. The present linguistic research is carried out by analysing and comparing portrayals of criminals in three different corpora of American English, British English and Lithuanian.

I am going to analyse how criminals are described in the corpora by employing the theoretical framework of an *extended unit of meaning*. The framework helps to analyse the principal aspects of the linguistic matter and it has been adopted and researched by many scholars (Zethsen: 2008; Stubbs 2009; Rundell 2018). Corpora rather than media sources were chosen for the analysis because media texts have already been quite extensively researched and corpora include a vast variety of registers. The present paper aims to conduct a comparative linguistic study of the portrayal of criminals by relying on the data extracted from corpora of American English, British English and Lithuanian. Nouns in English and Lithuanian that refer to a criminal, convict and offender are taken as a starting point in the analysis. To reach the aim the following objectives have been raised:

- To extract and analyse the most frequent adjective collocates of *criminal*, *convict* and *offender* in English and *nusikaltėlis*, *nuteistasis* and *pažeidėjas* in Lithuanian.
- To determine whether the collocations reflect a monstrous/evil or celebrity image of criminals that emerge in the corpora.
- To determine whether there are any other negative or positive images of criminals.
- To compare the extracted collocations that portray criminals as monsters, evil creatures or celebrities across the chosen corpora.
- To compare the extracted collocations that portray criminals as monsters, evil creatures or celebrities across the registers present in the corpora.
- To determine the portrayal of criminals by analysing the meaning of the collocates.
- To compare the portrayal of criminals in American English, British English and Lithuanian.

The hypothesis is that in the British English and Lithuanian the prevalent imagery in portraying criminals is that of a monster or evil creature, whereas in the American English there would be more attributes of a “superstar” criminal than in British English or Lithuanian. Also, the portrayal of criminals in Lithuanian and both varieties of English should be mostly related to negative connotations rather than neutral or positive. However, in terms of words *offender* and *convict* there might be a higher number of neutral connotations since the words carry a narrower and more specific meaning. The answers to these questions will be discovered by analysing the three corpora and by employing the *extended unit of meaning* approach of linguistic research. The approach was established by Sinclair (1996) and it was applied and analysed by various scholars (Zethsen 2008; Stubbs 2009; Rundell 2018). The extended unit of meaning is chosen for the research because it helps to study collocations on different levels of analysis. The following section describes the data, the method of analysis and the chosen theoretical framework.

2. Data and Methods

The data for the analysis have been collected from three corpora: *the British National Corpus* (BNC), *the Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) and *the Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian* (Vytautas Magnus University 2022, hereafter, COCL). The corpora are electronic and consist of spoken and written language. The BNC consists of over 100 million words of British English. COCA has more than 600 million words of contemporary American English. COCL reaches around 150 million words of Lithuanian. The BNC was compiled during 1990-2014 and COCL during 1998-2013. Whereas, the COCA was updated recently (1990-2020). The BNC and COCL were chosen despite their time span because the analysed issue of the research has not been changing considerably during these years. The fact that criminals might be described by applying evil or superstar attributes to their image has been already discussed since 1970s (Dominick 1973; Cavender 1981; Newman 1990). Due to the fact that the problem has not been changing rapidly, the time span of the corpora is not considered to be crucial.

The BNC and COCA are highly similar in terms of their outlay, as they are among the most advanced corpora in terms of the search criteria. The settings allow to extract the most frequent collocates of a chosen word and examine how collocates are distributed across the registers. For instance, one can research and compare frequency of a certain collocation in fiction vs. spoken language. The two corpora are comparable in terms of registers, for they both include newspapers, academic texts, spoken language, fiction, and popular magazines. COCL consists of spoken language and fiction registers as well. COCL does not include separate registers of newspapers or popular magazines, however, it offers a register called publicistic writing (Lt. 'publicistika') which includes both newspaper and popular magazines.

As the registers differ in some cases across the corpora before comparing the results it is important to overview the nuances that are important when presenting and interpreting the data. COCA in total has eight registers called spoken, fiction, magazines, newspapers, academic, web-genl, web-blog and TV/Movies registers. The spoken register consists of unscripted conversations from TV and radio programmes. The spoken register and TV/Movies register may initially appear similar but the latter includes subtitles from TV series and movies, hence the text is scripted and differs from the texts in the spoken register which are not scripted. This is important to note when analysing the results. Another key aspect is that the registers of magazines and newspapers include a wide variety of texts. For example, the magazines register includes magazines of different spheres such as religion, gardening, politics, etc. The fiction

register also includes some magazines but they are specifically children's and literary magazines. The fiction register consists of books and fan fiction as well. The web-genl register refers to the texts that incorporate web pages of various domains and web-blog register is collected from different blogs (news, promotion, personal, review web pages, etc.).

Such mentioned registers as spoken, magazines, newspaper, web-genl or web-blog have texts that might involve subjective personal opinions, whereas the academic register contains mostly objective statements since it consists of academic journals (engineering, medicine, social science journals, etc). This aspect is important when analysing different portraits of criminals across the registers as it might influence the results. As it was mentioned, in the BNC there is also the academic register and it includes academic journals in various spheres (engineering, medicine, social science etc.). Other six registers in the BNC include spoken, fiction, magazine, newspaper, non-academic, academic and miscellaneous texts. As it was stated, both the BNC and COCA have registers of spoken language, however, the register in the BNC contains more different texts (courtroom proceedings, tutorials, public debates, parliament meetings etc.) Nonetheless, the two registers are comparable as they include unscripted texts. Such register as fiction as well includes more different texts than COCA. The fiction register in the BNC has prose, poetry and drama. The registers that include newspapers and magazines are similar between the corpora as they both include sources in many different fields. The last two registers that have not been overviewed yet are non-academic and miscellaneous registers. The non-academic has non-academic texts in medicine, engineering, law etc. and miscellaneous register has instructions, biographies, e-mails, university essays, advertisements etc.

COCL includes the smallest number of registers as it consists of five registers: fiction, non-fiction, administrative literature, publicistic writing and spoken language. The fiction register includes drama, epic poetry and other undefined texts. It is similar to the content of the BNC fiction register as it also has drama texts. The non-fiction register consists of academic journals, encyclopaedias, textbooks, tutorials etc. This register is similar to the academic register in the BNC and COCA. The administrative literature register is compiled of documents (instructions, letters, directives, statutes, rulings etc.). The publicistic writing, as it was mentioned, is comparable to such registers in the BNC and COCA as newspapers and magazines as it includes both. The last register to overview is the spoken language register which consists of various transcripts, public and private conversations. As it could be seen, most of the registers are different. Nonetheless, they reveal certain tendencies of collocations in different languages. The Lithuanian corpus lacks some settings that are present in the chosen American and British

corpora, nonetheless it was possible to deal with limitations by performing certain tasks manually. The BNC, COCA and COCL are thus the most suitable sources to show similarities and differences of criminal portrayals among American English, British English and Lithuanian.

In the BNC and COCA *criminal* and synonymous words, namely, *convict*, and *offender* were analysed. These synonyms were chosen due to their close meaning to the noun *criminal*. The noun *criminal* in *The People's Law dictionary* (PLD) is defined as a term referring to a person who has committed a crime and was convicted. In the definition (*ibid.*), it is added that *criminal* is a popular term and may also be applied to describe a person who has committed a crime but was not convicted. The meaning of the noun *criminal* does not differ in British and American English since in the British Cambridge English Dictionary (CED) and American Merriam-Webster dictionary (MWD) definitions are similar. Another synonymous word *convict* defines “a person who has been convicted of a felony and sent to prison” (PLD). This term requires the conviction of a criminal, whereas, as it was mentioned previously, the term *criminal* may not necessarily include the conviction. Despite the difference the nouns are close in meaning. Definitions of *convict* do not differ in American English and British English. The last word which was chosen for the present analysis is *offender*. In PLD it is defined as “an accused defendant in a criminal case or one convicted of a crime”. The definition suggests that an offender is not necessarily convicted. *Offender* carries the same meaning in American English and British English. In COCL such words as *nusikaltėlis* (criminal), *nuteistasis* (convict), and *pažeidėjas* (offender) were analysed. These nouns in Lithuanian acquire masculine grammatical gender but could also be used as a generic reference to both male and female persons. Nouns which acquire only feminine grammatical gender in Lithuanian were included into the research as well because in English nouns criminal, convict and offender are not marked for grammatical gender and may be used to refer to an offender irrespective of their gender. Additionally, all grammatical cases of the Lithuanian nouns were analysed in order to extract all cases of the chosen lemmas. Finally, it is important to note that plural forms of all nouns in both languages were included into the research.

Firstly, the collocations of the word criminal and synonymous words were investigated by employing Sinclair's 4-level analysis which is referred to as the extended unit of meaning. The first level of analysis focuses on collocations. According to Sinclair (1996: 28), collocation is a “frequent co-occurrence of words” such as do homework or make progress. In the present research, collocations were analysed by taking into account their normalised frequency. The

BNC and COCA have calculations of MI scores that demonstrate which of the collocations have the highest compatibility, however, COCL does not offer such option. It was chosen to calculate normalised frequency to compile comparative data. The collocations were analysed by calculating their normalised frequency by applying the formula which calculates normalised frequency. The formula was applied by taking a raw number of instances of a word in a corpus and then multiplying it by 1,000,000. The multiplied number was divided by the number of the corpus size in terms of word count. For example, to calculate the normalised frequency of the word *pavojingas* (En. dangerous) in COCL the following formula was applied:

$$x = (44 * 1,000,000) / 140,921,288$$

X stands for normalized frequency which by calculating the formula is 0.312. The obtained number stands for the normalised frequency of the occurrences of *pavojingas* (En. dangerous) per million words.

Another important detail in the settings is the range of collocates which in the parameters of the BNC and COCA was limited to the three words to the left, and three words to the right as wider span would lead the software to treat often irrelevant words as collocates of the analysed nouns. The part of speech of the collocates was limited to adjectives only. The minimum frequency in the corpus was set to 5 occurrences. There is no such option in COCL. Hence, the collocates were extracted by using *AntConc* (version 3.2.0) software. The concordance lines from the corpus were uploaded to *AntConc* and the word span of the analysed collocates was limited to the three words to the left, and three words to the right. It is not possible to extract the chosen part of speech, therefore, all extracted collocates were uploaded to *Excel* where adjectives and participles were excluded manually. In COCL it was decided to additionally analyse participles so that the three corpora would be comparable as, for instance, in Lithuanian participle *ginkluotas* is translated into an adjective *armed*.

In all corpora, commas, exclamation marks and other symbols were not included into the research. Some of the collocates were not used for the analysis. For example, the most frequent adjective that co-occurs with the noun *criminal* is *civil*. In all instances *civil* refers not to the person who is a criminal but to the code, court, proceedings, law etc. The example is demonstrated in the sentences below:

- (1) *Each state in the United States has a different **criminal** and **civil** code.* (BNC)

(2) [...] *elected justices of the peace were to hear minor **criminal** and **civil** cases.* (BNC)

Such collocations had to be omitted since they do not deal with the portrayal of a criminal. Another less frequent collocation in the BNC, namely *great criminal* was not analysed either since in all cases it refers to a fictional character because the source of a collocation is a novel. The last important detail that should be mentioned is that in the settings it was chosen that the corpora would show the results of both singular and plural forms at once. When discussing the results both forms were not discussed separately.

The second level of analysis was not applied. According to Zethsen the second level is concerned with co-occurrence of a word within a certain grammatical position or grammatical function (Zethsen 2008: 252). Due to the limited scope of the paper this step was skipped. Secondly, after extracting the collocates, the third and the fourth levels of analysis were carried out. The two levels are closely connected. The third level “relates to the topic of the text” (Stubbs 2009: 124). Zethsen (2008: 252) gives an example with a verb *commit* by stating that the verb is related to the field of crime because the verb is followed by noun phrases that belong to this field (i.e. *commit murder*). The fourth level is concerned with the positive, negative or neutral meaning of a connotation which could also be referred to as semantic prosody (Zethsen 2006: 253). For example, the verb *cause* is usually followed by such nouns as *damage*, *death*, *problems* etc. which carries negative meaning (Zethsen 2006: 253). According to Allan (2007: 1047) connotation can arise from encyclopaedic knowledge or experiences, beliefs and prejudices in the context. The author gives an example of a name John as an unsuitable name for a girl (ibid.). It could be explained by the fact that in English-speaking communities it is believed that John is a masculine name. By identifying the connotation, the community attitude towards a term is revealed (Allan 2007: 1048). Connotation is closely related to associations and, as Loebner (2002: 36) claims, connotation is a secondary meaning to the lexical meaning of a word. In the present research, connotations of collocations will be determined by referring to the context of a word and its definitions.

The fourth level is the most important for this research as it showed whether the connotation of a criminal is positive, negative or neutral. When analysing collocations of a word *criminal* or its synonyms it is obvious that it appears in the context of crime which automatically leads to negative meaning of a connotation. However, some collocations of criminal might be seen as relatively positive. For instance, *smooth criminal* or *innocent criminal*. Smooth criminal is used metaphorically in some contexts as a praise:

(3) *From a brother who's smooth like a criminal.* (COCA)

In the text a person is compared to a smooth criminal metaphorically. Another mentioned collocation *innocent criminal* is oxymoronic, nonetheless, the aspect of innocence creates a positive connotation. Connotations strongly depend on the meaning of a collocate. For instance, such collocation as *deviant criminal* due to the meaning of an adjective *deviant* is negative as it is used to describe a person whose behaviour is unacceptable and abnormal (CED), however, in such collocation as *other criminal* the adjective does not carry either a negative or a positive semantic prosody. In the research carried out by Liu (2020:287), semantic prosody of collocations is determined by grouping the collocations according to *desirability and positiveness of certain events* which express a positive connotation and *undesirability and unpleasantness of certain events* which express a negative connotation. For example, the meaning of *uncomfortable* as a collocate of *seem* suggests that this adjective is related to *undesirability and unpleasantness of certain events*. Whereas, such collocate of *seem* as *moral* due to the meaning of a word could be referred to *desirability and positiveness of certain events*. By applying a similar method, collocations that create celebrity-like or monstrous/evil portraits of criminals were analysed in the present paper. Semantic prosody of some collocations was determined by the meaning of a collocate just as it was presented in the example of *moral* in the research conducted by Liu (2020). The adjective *moral* due to its meaning refers to desirability and positiveness. In such cases, a wider context of a collocation was not analysed.

A wider context and all concordance lines were analysed to determine the meaning of more ambiguous collocations. For example, it was unclear whether collocation *real criminal* has a negative or neutral connotation. Thus, all concordance lines including the collocation were analysed and it was discovered that in most cases the context includes serious and cruel crimes which suggests that the connotation is negative. It is worthy to mention that sentences which include types of crimes committed by a criminal are considered to carry a negative meaning as well (e.g. *war criminal, sexual criminal, white-collar criminal*). It is obvious that the negative connotation of various crimes is undeniable. It is strongly related to the tendency to not separate people from their crimes (Tabbert 2015:131). As it was stated in the Introduction, merging crimes and criminals into one entity leads to reducing a criminal to their offending role (ibid.).

Another crucial part of the analysis includes identifying collocations that portray criminals as celebrities or collocations with dehumanizing connotations, namely those that portray criminals

as monstrous and evil creatures. It is important to define both aspects (monstrous/evil criminal image and celebrity criminal image) to specify which approach to the images was taken in the present paper. The descriptions of the two phenomena are depicted by Wiest (2016) who analysed how serial killers are represented in U.S and U.K. news media. Firstly, according to Wiest (2016: 330), monsters in Western culture include animalistic features (e.g. they are emotionally void, predatory or savage), they also include characteristics of insanity, depravity, wickedness and might be related to historic recessions such as war or other social unrest. Another important point made by Wiest (ibid.) is that serial killers by breaking cultural standards show collective fears and insecurities that are within our society. In this monster imagery also lays evil nature as the scholar categorizes the adjective *evil* as the word that foregrounds monstrous character of a criminal (2013: 335). This theory presented by Wiest was followed in identifying collocations that may portray criminals as monsters.

Secondly, celebrity image of a criminal in Wiest study was based on Schmid's (2005) *concept of fame*. According to Schmid (2005:4), "the concept of 'fame' has evolved in ways that not only allow for the existence of criminal celebrities such as the serial killer but also make the serial killer the exemplary modern celebrity". The key that helps to distinguish collocations that describe criminals as celebrities is the aspect of fame. Tabbert in analysing adjectives describing criminals as well applied the theory suggested by Schmid and found such celebrity-like collocations as *infamous* or *ill-reputed*. Both adjectives describe criminals as celebrities since the words are related to fame. However, the fame is closer to notoriety as words infamous or ill-reputed express a negative meaning. This theory helped to categorize collocations into collocations with celebrity-like or monstrous characteristics. Table 1 below gives a more structured and focused view of all levels of the analysis by including relevant definitions of the levels and examples:

Table 1. Levels of analysis.

Level of analysis	collocation	colligation	semantic preference	semantic prosody
Definition of a level	The first level investigates “frequent co-occurrence of words ” (Sinclair 1996: 28) which are called collocations	The second level is concerned with co-occurrence of a word within a certain grammatical position or grammatical function (Zethsen 2008: 252)	The third level “relates to the topic of the text” (Stubbs 2009: 124)	The fourth level is concerned with the positive and negative meaning of a connotation (Zethsen 2008: 253)
Example	e.g. <i>dangerous criminal</i>	e.g. the noun <i>cases</i> tends to co-occur with quantifiers such as <i>many</i> or <i>some</i> (Zethsen 2008: 252)	e.g. the verb <i>commit</i> is related to the field of crime because the verb is followed by noun phrases that belong to this field (i.e. <i>commit murder</i>) (Zethsen 2008: 252)	e.g. the verb <i>cause</i> is usually followed by such nouns as <i>damage, death, problems</i> etc. which carries a negative meaning (Zethsen 2008: 253)

The table helps to visualise the steps taken in the analysis. To specify the process, I will give a detailed example of how the chosen nouns were analysed. The first step was to extract the most frequent collocations of criminal, offender and convict containing adjectives in the BNC, COCA and COCL. The second step was to determine the context and meaning of collocates which leads to identifying the semantic prosody. The third step was to compare the frequency and semantic prosody of the collocations across the corpora. This can be performed more effectively by reverting frequencies into percentages. For example, during the analysis it was revealed that the three collocates of criminal, namely, *dangerous*, *biggest* and *real* express negative connotations and to see which part of all analysed collocations of criminal in the corpus they form their occurrences had to be added up. By adding up their occurrences it was observed that the three collocates make up 1.13 occurrences per million words. All analysed criminal collocates in the corpus were also added up and the number of all occurrences is 3.23 per million words. Since in this case 3.23 equals 100%, the number of collocates related to negative connotations is 34%. By counting which part of all collocates the words form it is easier to compare the numbers among the corpora.

The last step was to determine how collocations that portray criminals as monsters and evil creatures or celebrities are distributed across the registers and to compare it across the corpora. Each collocation in the BNC and COCA include distribution across different registers. Distribution in the corpora is presented by the normalised frequency, however, the numbers of normalised frequency were converted into percentage manually as it facilitates the process of comparing numbers across the different corpora. In COCL there is no such function, therefore this task was carried out manually.

The next section proceeds with the presentation of the findings and their discussion. By discussing each chosen word for the analysis, firstly, several most frequent collocations are discussed in more detail, secondly, a wider picture of collocates is presented by discussing collocations in groups according to their similarities and, lastly, the results are compared across the three corpora. In the last section of the Results and Discussion section, the distribution of collocations across the registers is presented by introducing the results of each corpora separately.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Collocations of *criminal*, *convict* and *offender* in the BNC

In the BNC the most frequent adjective that co-occurs with a noun *criminal* is *civil* but, as it was mentioned in the previous section, this collocation was omitted because it is not in any way related to the portrayal of criminals. The most frequent collocations are *common criminal* and *convicted criminal*. The normalised frequency of both is 0.26 occurrences per million words. The meaning of a ‘common criminal’ was not found in a legal dictionary as it is not a legal term. In such collocation as a *common criminal* the meaning of the adjective common itself might stand for a “usual” or “typical” (CED) criminal and could be interpreted as a less “serious” criminal as it could be seen from the examples below:

- (4) *I don't think they're **common criminals**. These boys are professionals.* (BNC)
- (5) *Are you implying that I was a **common criminal**? A thief perhaps?* (BNC)
- (6) *The vast majority of " **common criminals** ", as opposed to the political prisoners in the Women's Prison.* (BNC)
- (7) *They are not, despite tradition, **common criminals**, but political revolutionaries [...]* (BNC)

In sentence (4) common criminals are opposed to professional criminals which leads to the interpretation that common criminals are less experienced and amateur, in sentence (5) a common criminal is compared to a thief who commits a pettier crime. In sentences (6) and (7) common criminals are opposed to political prisoners and political revolutionaries to reflect the meaning of a usual and ordinary criminal.

Another collocation with the same normalised frequency is *convicted criminal*. The collocation identifies an official status of a criminal as in the CED convicted is defined as “having officially been found guilty of a crime in a law court”. The first two most frequent collocations do not carry any monstrous characteristics and are rather neutral due to their meaning. The semantic preference of both collocations is related to crime, nonetheless, the context of the sentences is mostly not related to death or cruel crimes. *Convicted criminal* tends to be in the texts that are not related to cruelty. For example, during the analysis such sentences were interpreted as neither carrying a negative nor a positive meaning since they convey factual information:

- (8) [...] *early name of Millbank Prison (completed 1821, dem. 1903) for **convicted criminals** awaiting transportation.* (BNC)

(9) [...] *transporting captured Irish, Scottish, and English Royalist soldiers, political prisoners, and convicted criminals to Barbados*; (BNC)

(10) *Sixteen different dinners are served every month for convicted criminals*. (BNC)

Sentences (8) and (9) deal with transportation of convicted criminals, whereas sentence (10) with prisoners' meals. Such neutral sentences were more frequent than negative as they made approximately 61% of all instances. The third most frequent collocate, i.e. *other* (0.22 occurrences per million words) is also considered not to carry any negative or positive connotation due to the neutral meaning of the word. It is worth noticing that there are instances where the collocate *other* does not create a portrayal of a criminal as in the sentences below:

(11) [...] *another criminal on the other side* [...] (BNC)

(12) [...] *the other the abnormal. Criminals and other trouble-makers* [...] (BNC)

The second most frequent adjective collocate *other* does not contribute to creating a negative or positive portrayal of criminals just as the previously discussed collocates *common* and *convicted*. However, the following most frequent collocate *Nazi* (0.17 occurrences per million words) carries a negative meaning since the Nazism ideology was used for killing millions of people. Another collocate just as frequent as *Nazi* is the adjective *young*. The meaning of *young* does not portray any monstrous or celebrity-like status of a criminal, however, it creates a portrayal of a young criminal in the BNC. The context in which the collocation *young criminal* appears is also not related to any specific crimes. In the majority of the concordance lines, it is seen that the context is related to discussing other problems related to young criminals and no crimes are mentioned:

(13) *It's not known if more funds will be made available to send young criminals to places like Earlswood, or whether local authorities will still be expected to pay the bill* [...] (BNC)

(14) [...] *we've got to put them back under the home office and make sure they're treated as young criminals and not as social cases*. (BNC)

In sentence (13) the speaker discusses the responsibility of paying for young criminals' support. In sentence (14) the speaker talks about social issues and re-education of young criminals. Out of 17 concordance lines where the collocation was found, 13 were related to similar and rather neutral contexts which makes up the majority of cases. Due to the context and meaning of a collocate, it could be stated that the connotation of *young criminal* is neutral.

The collocate that follows *Nazi* and *young* in the BNC is *hardened*. The frequency of the collocation is 0.14 occurrences per million words. *Hardened criminal* already implies a meaning that one is a habitual criminal and is not able to change and adapt to society since one habitually repeats a criminal act. A similar collocation, i.e. *habitual criminal* appears in the BNC as well and its frequency is 0.6 occurrences per million words. The semantic prosody of *hardened criminal* and *habitual criminal* reflects a negative meaning due to the already mentioned inability of a criminal to adapt to society's norms. The same argument might be applied to the collocation *professional criminal* (0.10 occurrences per million words) because it emphasizes that a criminal is dedicated and successful in his or her criminal activities. Such collocates of *criminal* as *real* (0.10 occurrences per million words), *conventional* (0.08) or *major* (0.08) also carry a negative connotation. In the CED the definition of *major* is something or someone "very large, important, or powerful, especially when compared with others of the same type". It means that a major criminal is one who is the main criminal in a certain context which implies a heavier responsibility for crimes which leads to a negative connotation. Another collocation *conventional criminal*, according to the definition of the adjective in the CED, implies a traditional or ordinary criminal. The collocate itself emphasizes the nature of criminality, thus the connotation is negative.

Such semantic prosody is present within *violent* as a collocate of the noun *criminal* (0.14 occurrences per million words). In CED, the definition of the adjective *violent* is related to hurtful force that might often lead to killings which gives *violent criminal* a negative connotation and reflects monstrous, inhumane characteristics. Whereas the collocation *known criminal* (0.14 occurrences per million words) is related to an already discussed *criminal as a celebrity* aspect and adjective *known* itself does not reflect a negative connotation and is rather neutral. The concordance lines where the collocate co-occurs with *criminal* are related to neutral contexts but not cruelty or danger. Another similar collocation with a lower frequency, namely *notorious criminal* (0.09 occurrences per million words) is related to portraying criminal as a celebrity because *notorious* is also related to being known and famous, however it carries a negative meaning. In the CED *notorious* is defined as "famous for something bad or immoral".

There are more collocations in the BNC that deal with negative meaning and portray criminals as evil creatures. Not only the already mentioned *violent* but also *dangerous* (0.11 occurrences per million words) and *vicious* (0.05) are considered to be collocates that reflect a monstrous portrait of a criminal. Both definitions of *dangerous* and *vicious* are related to cruelty and lack of morality (CED). Such collocations that portray criminals as evil creatures make up 9.43%

(0.30 occurrences per million words) of the extracted collocations of *criminal* in the BNC (3.16 occurrences per million words). Collocations that portray criminals as celebrities (*known criminal and notorious criminal*) make up 7.27% (0.23 occurrences per million words) of the extracted *criminal* collocations.

Other collocations of *criminal* do not portray criminals as someone entirely evil or famous. They define a type or status of a criminal (e.g. *common, convicted, petty, political, corporate, alleged, professional, different, conventional, major, white-collar, individual, international, local, new, ordinary*), one collocation describes age (*young criminal*) and two describe a character trait (*soft, deviant*). However, part of the mentioned collocates (*white-collar, petty, corporate, professional, conventional, major, Nazi, serious, deviant*) are negative. Some collocates that are related to a certain type of crime have not been discussed yet. *White-collar criminal* includes a type of criminal who commits non-violent crimes because, according to PLD, white-collar crime is defined as “a generic term for crimes involving commercial fraud, cheating consumers, swindles, insider trading on the stock market, embezzlement and other forms of dishonest business schemes.” As it was mentioned in the Data and Methods section, collocations that include a type of crime are considered to be related to a negative connotation. *Petty* as a collocate of *criminal* refers to a criminal who commits petty crimes and is also closer to a negative semantic prosody. Collocations that include words defining a type of a crime are related to a negative connotation as the act of crime itself is immoral. As it was stated in the Data and Methods, this leads to the lack of separation of people from their crimes (Tabbert 2015:131). Another collocate of *criminal*, namely, *deviant* is also negative due to its definition as it is used to describe somebody whose behaviour is unacceptable (CED).

The last collocation of *criminal* in the BNC to be discussed is *serious*. *Serious criminal* carries a negative connotation because it does not refer to a character trait of seriousness but to serious crimes which could be seen from the context:

(15) *So does that mean serious criminals are getting off the hook?* (BNC)

(16) [...] *will drive innocent youngsters underground and into the hands of serious criminals.* (BNC)

Sentence (15) is taken from the context where the interviewer is asking about criminals who have committed serious crimes and are trying to avoid punishment. Sentence (16) is referring to criminals blackmailing children online. In all concordance lines *serious* was used to refer to criminals who have committed serious crimes.

As analysed collocations were not discussed according to their frequency, Table 2 presents the most frequently co-occurring adjectives with a noun *criminal* in the BNC from the most frequent to the least frequent collocates. Collocates that portray criminals as evil creatures are marked in red, collocates that portray criminals as celebrities are in green.

Table 2. The most frequently co-occurring adjectives with a noun *criminal* in the BNC.

	Collocate	Raw frequency	Normalised frequency
1.	Common	26	0.26
2.	Convicted	26	0.26
3.	Other	22	0.22
4.	Young	17	0.17
5.	Nazi	17	0.17
6.	Known	14	0.14
7.	Hardened	14	0.14
8.	Violent	14	0.14
9.	Petty	12	0.12
10.	Corporate	11	0.11
11.	Dangerous	11	0.11
12.	Alleged	10	0.10
13.	Professional	10	0.10
14.	Real	10	0.10
15.	Notorious	9	0.09
16.	Different	9	0.09
17.	Conventional	8	0.08
18.	Major	8	0.08
19.	White-collar	8	0.08
20.	Soft	7	0.07
21.	Serious	6	0.06
22.	Habitual	6	0.06
23.	Individual	6	0.06
24.	International	5	0.05
25.	Local	5	0.05
26.	New	5	0.05
27.	Deviant	5	0.05
28.	Vicious	5	0.05
29.	Ordinary	5	0.05
30.	Wanted	5	0.05

As can be seen from the data presented in Table 2, there is a higher number of collocates portraying criminals as evil rather than as celebrities. In addition, the collocates with negative connotations make up 45.88% (1.45 occurrences per million words) of all analysed collocates of the noun *criminal*. The collocations with negative connotations make up almost half of all analysed collocations in the BNC, however they are not dominant.

After analysing collocations of *criminal* in the BNC, the study proceeds with the analysis of the collocations of a synonymous noun *offender*. The most frequent adjective collocate that co-occurs with the noun *offender* is *young*. The normalised frequency is 2.46 occurrences per million words which is high compared to the frequency of other collocations of *offender* (the second most frequent collocate *persistent* reaches 0.40 occurrences per million words). Interestingly, *young criminal* is a less frequent collocation than *young offender*. Also, the third most frequent collocation *juvenile offender* (0.38 occurrences per million words) refers to a young offender as well. The results show that collocations *young offender* and *juvenile offender* are more common than *young criminal*. The explanation behind it may be the definitions of the words as *criminal* carries a broader meaning and is used generally for people who may or may not be convicted and *offender* only refers to a defendant in court or a convict. However, it remains unclear why out of all *offender* collocates, *juvenile* is the most frequent collocate. According to the statistics provided by the U.K. government (Office for National Statistics 2021), in 2019 perpetrators were most likely to be 25 to 39 years old meaning that juveniles commit fewer crimes than adults. These statistics might determine the high frequency of the collocation *juvenile offender* as every time a minor commits a crime there is a need to emphasize his or her young age. The context where such collocations appear is mostly neutral. Out of 245 concordance lines with *young* as a collocate of *offender* 44 would include collocations related to negative connotations (suicide, crimes, persistency in committing crime). Neutral contexts are related to prison system, funding of prisons, governing of prisons, politics of imprisonment etc.:

- (17) *Thus, young female offenders are more likely to be placed in protective and custodial institutions than are boys.* (BNC)
- (18) *[...] the Governments plans for dealing with young offenders will be a major feature of Queens speech next week.* (BNC)
- (19) *Voice over Proposed changes to the way young offenders are dealt with will be discussed in an adjournment debate in the House of Commons.* (BNC)

Sentence (17) deals with social aspects of gender in custodial institutions which is closer to neutral connotation, just as sentences (18) and (19) are neutral since they are in the context of politics and political decisions. Collocations of *offender* including *young* with neutral connotations would form 82% of all instances in the BNC. Collocations including *juvenile* are also mostly neutral as they make up 70% of all cases. *Offender* collocates that include young age of offenders make up almost half (46%) of all analysed *offender* collocates.

The second most frequent collocation is *persistent offender* with 0.40 occurrences per million words. The context where *persistent offender* appears reveals that offenders are persistent namely in their criminal activities:

(20) [...] told him he was a ***persistent offender*** with a bad record. (BNC)

(21) [...] the most ***persistent offenders*** will incur penalties for misdeclaration. (BNC)

(22) [...] and ***persistent offenders*** face losing their licence. (BNC)

The sentences above demonstrate that offenders are persistent with their crimes and not any other unrelated activities. Hence, in this case *persistent offender* is a negative collocation. Other *offender* collocates with negative meaning are *worst*, *serious*, *violent*, *petty*, *disordered*, *main*, *sexual*, *corporate*, *criminal*, *abnormal*, *habitual*, *political*. Such collocates as *worst* and *criminal* by definition emphasizes the aspect of criminality which creates a negative connotation. The emphasizing of criminality and lack of social norms could also be seen in the definitions of adjectives *main*, *abnormal* and *habitual*. Such collocates as *petty*, *serious*, *sexual* and *political* are also considered to be negative as they tie a criminal to one's criminal acts and foregrounds the criminality as well. The adjective *disordered* reflects a criminal's psychological state which is unstable and, thus, creates a sense of danger.

The adjective that portrays offenders as monstrous creatures is *violent* which makes up only 2% (0.13 occurrences per million words) of all analysed *offender* collocations (the overall frequency of all analysed *offender* collocations is 6,21 occurrences per million words). Only one collocate, i.e. *known* creates a portrayal of a celebrity criminal which makes up 2.25% (0.14 occurrences per million words) of all cases. Other *offender* collocates are closer to neutral connotations as they describe a type or status of a criminal (*individual*, *convicted*, *guilty*, *potential*, *alleged*, *first-time*, *previous*, *suspected*, *likely*, *possible*), gender (*male*, *female*) and age (*young*, *juvenile*). The table below includes the most frequent adjectives that co-occur with a noun *offender* in the BNC.

Table 3. The most frequently co-occurring adjectives with a noun *offender* in the BNC

	Collocate	Raw frequency	Normalised frequency
1.	Young	246	2.46
2.	Persistent	40	0.4
3.	Juvenile	38	0.38
4.	Worst	33	0.33
5.	Serious	23	0.23
6.	Individual	20	0.2
7.	Convicted	17	0.17
8.	Female	17	0.17
9.	Known	14	0.14
10.	Guilty	13	0.13
11.	Potential	13	0.13
12.	Other	13	0.13
13.	Violent	13	0.13
14.	Male	10	0.1
15.	Alleged	10	0.1
16.	Petty	10	0.1
17.	Disordered	9	0.09
18.	Main	9	0.09
19.	Sexual	7	0.07
20.	Corporate	7	0.07
21.	Criminal	6	0.06
22.	Abnormal	6	0.06
23.	First-time	6	0.06
24.	Previous	6	0.06
25.	Principal	5	0.05
26.	Punishing	5	0.05
27.	Suspected	5	0.05
28.	Habitual	5	0.05
29.	Likely	5	0.05
30.	Political	5	0.05
31.	Possible	5	0.05

The last synonym *convict* that was chosen to be analysed is not frequent in the BNC and there is only one adjectival collocation in the search. The collocate *escaped* reaches 0.15 occurrences per million words. Interestingly, *criminal* and *offender* co-occur with a higher number of adjectives, whereas adjectival collocations of *convict* are significantly less frequent and the only

one collocation is related to a sentenced criminal who is disobeying law once again by escaping prison. It could be interpreted as a collocation with a negative connotation because a convict in such a case is breaking the law repeatedly and is in a sense an irredeemable criminal.

In the BNC *criminal* attracts the highest number of adjectives that associate a criminal with an evil creature (*violent; dangerous; vicious*) that makes up 9.14% of the extracted *criminal* collocations including adjectives in the BNC, whereas *offender* co-occurs with one (*violent*) which makes up 2%. Collocates that associate criminals with celebrities (*known; notorious*) make up 7% of the extracted *criminal* collocations and *offender* collocate (*known*) forms 2.25%. The numbers show that the noun *criminal* more frequently collocates with adjectives that lead to the portrayal of a criminal as an evil creature or celebrity than do *offender* or *convict*. This might be influenced by the broader scope of the meaning of the noun which is used to denote any type of criminal who has or has not yet been convicted and who might have committed any of the various punishable offences. As it was mentioned above in the paper, *offender* and *convict* are more focused on a specific type of a criminal as the term *convict* includes the conviction of a criminal and *offender* might include conviction or an accusation in a criminal case (PLD). The noun *criminal* might include any of the mentioned characteristics and thus it is less specific and attracts a wider variety of monstrous or celebrity-like characteristics. Compared to *offender* and *convict*, *criminal* collocates form the highest number 45.88% (1.45 occurrences per million words) of collocates with a negative meaning (*nazi, hardened, violent, petty, corporate, dangerous, professional, real, notorious, conventional, major, white-collar, serious, habitual, deviant, vicious*). In contrast, only 27.8% (1.73 occurrences per million words) of *offender* collocates carry negative connotations (*worst, serious, violent, petty, disordered, main, sexual, corporate, criminal, abnormal, habitual, political*). *Convict* has only one collocate *escaped* which is negative.

3.2. Collocations of *criminal, convict* and *offender* in COCA

In COCA the most frequent adjective that co-occurs with the noun *criminal* is *violent* which reaches 0.52 occurrences per million words. The adjective *violent* is related to harmful or destructive physical force (MWD) which helps to identify *violent criminal* as a collocation clearly reflecting a negative connotation. One of the first concordance lines in COCA precisely reflects the aspect of dehumanization:

(23) *Like dogs after a bone, they hunted down the most **violent** and notorious **criminals** in the U.S.*
(COCA)

In sentence (23) criminals are metaphorically described as being hunted down as if they were wild animals. The collocate *violent* is not only negative but it also portrays criminals as monsters due to its meaning. In the MWD *violent* is described as an adjective which marks bursts of destructive force and offers such synonyms for a word as *barbarous, brutal, savage* etc. The second most frequent adjective co-occurring with the noun *criminal* in COCA is *other* which reaches 0.35 occurrences per million words that is neither negative nor positive just as the following frequent collocates *convicted* (0.29 occurrences per million words) and *common* (0.25). *Convicted* and *common* describes a status of a criminal but does not portray criminal in any negative or dehumanizing way.

The following adjective with a slightly lower frequency (0.21) is *hardened*. Just as it was discussed previously, hardened criminal is a criminal who does not adapt to society and is most likely a habitual criminal which implies a negative meaning. The situation is similar in case of another one of the most frequent collocations, namely, *real criminal* (0.20) as it foregrounds a subject's criminality and might imply that a person is far-off the social norms which leads to the collocation carrying a negative connotation. The context in which the collocation appears in COCA only supports the statement:

(24) [...] *speaking of maniacs, let's watch this again. That's a **real criminal** inside that makeshift jail cell. It's a jailbreak.* (COCA)

(25) *Give him more chances to meet the **real dangerous criminals** there.* (COCA)

(26) *The **real** killers are **criminals** who killed four Americans.* (COCA)

In sentence (24) even without analysing the entire text it is clear that the context has to do with maniacs, jail cell and jailbreak. These concepts clearly form a negative image. In sentence (25) criminal is preceded by the adjective *dangerous* which was also discussed before as an adjective carrying a negative meaning. Lastly, sentence (26) includes words *killers* and *killed* that also suggest that collocation *real criminal* bears a negative connotation. By looking at the sentences it was clear that *real criminal* frequently co-occurs in sentences that contain words reflecting cruelty, killings, serious crimes, or oppositions to less serious crimes which could be seen in the examples below:

(27) ***Real criminals** are different than you and me.* (COCA)

(28) *But the **real criminals**, they don't bother with us small-timers.* (COCA)

(29) *Go after real criminals please! Waste of tax payers money! Maybe she is a tree hugger [...]*
(COCA)

In sentence (27) real criminals are opposed to the speaker. The speaker in the text is not a criminal and is opposing himself to the ones who are. Also, later in the text the speaker is foregrounding the different mind-set of criminals by stating that they only care about getting away with their crimes. In sentence (28) real criminals are opposed to small-timers (minor criminals) and in sentence (29) to a woman who is supposedly a tree hugger. In these cases, real criminals are opposed to non-criminals or petty criminals which emphasizes the negative aspect of a real criminal. By analysing all sentences including the collocation *real criminal* it was clear that slightly more than a half of all instances (97 out of 187 instances) bear a negative meaning because they either include the already mentioned notion of death, killings, serious crimes etc. or criminals in such instances were opposed to moral subjects.

Another collocation which reaches similar frequency is *Nazi criminal* with 0.18 occurrences per million words. As it was stated before, collocation naming a war criminal who commits crimes under Nazism carries a negative semantic prosody. The following collocation with a lower frequency (0.13) *petty criminal* is as well negative because, as it was mentioned, collocations that already include a crime are considered to be negative. Four negative collocations of *criminal* in COCA tie criminals to disastrous political ideologies (*Nazi, soviet, communist, anti-semitic*) and express a negative connotation. These political ideologies are strongly connected to various war crimes and, as it was discussed before, collocations that refer to specific crimes are considered bearing a negative meaning. Other collocations that tie criminals to their crimes are *petty, white-collar, political, corporate, federal, sexual, terrorist, financial, military, serial, environmental, genocidal*.

A part of collocations of the noun *criminal* focus on emphasizing criminal characteristics and nature of a criminal (*hard, hard-core, hardened, severe, real, worst, good, habitual, professional, major, true, typical, biggest, actual, worse, full, great, big, top, downright, bigger, better, large, greater, best, super, perfect, outright, largest, greatest, standard, traditional, regular, main, normal, decent, pure, skilled*). Adjectives such as *good* or *perfect* might seem as positive words alone, however, when co-occurring together with *criminal* they emphasize the criminal nature and mentality of a criminal, therefore, it creates a negative image.

There were some collocates that, on the face of it, seemed to express a rather positive connotation (e.g. *moral, innocent, nonviolent, honest, law-abiding, nice, attractive*). However,

when analysing the context, it became clear that in many cases, these adjectives were used to refer to other objects in the text. For example, in sentence (30) *moral* refers to a noun *condemnation* and is not related to the criminal being moral as it might seem without looking at the context:

(30) *Criminal punishment is for the state to authoritatively express society's **moral** condemnation of **criminal** behavior.* (COCA)

In the majority of concordance lines *moral* refers to something else. This might be due to the contradictory nature of morality and crime. Out of sixteen concordance lines only one refers to moral criminals:

(31) *We're criminals, **moral criminals**, giving our children away.* (COCA)

The context of sentence (31) is related to adoption of children and contradiction in this case deals with the polarised views that exist towards putting children up for adoption. The collocate *attractive* also refers to a criminal only in one concordance line by describing the criminal's appearance. The collocate *innocent* would also rarely refer to an innocent criminal. Out of 24 concordance lines only in three the adjective *innocent* was used to describe criminals:

(32) [...] *the **criminal's** assumed **innocent** until proven guilty.* (COCA)

(33) ***Criminals** are **innocent** until proven guilty.* (COCA)

(34) [...] *My Morning Jacket, Pixies, Tame Impala, Ben Harper and the **Innocent Criminals**.* (COCA)

Sentences (32) and (33) refer to a presumption of innocence and sentence (34) to a band's name. In other sentences *innocent* would refer to other people. The collocation *honest criminal* is rare as well and only in four concordance lines out of 12 refers to a criminal. Interestingly, the collocate *nice* in most cases refers to a *nice criminal* as in five out of eight concordance lines the collocations *nice criminal* or *nice criminals* appear. The situation is similar to the collocation *nonviolent criminal*. The corpus consists of two spelling options *nonviolent* and *non-violent* which make up 29 concordance lines and in all of them *nonviolent* or *non-violent* defines criminals. It could be said that collocates *non-violent*, *nonviolent* and *nice* are partially positive because they are used in the context where criminals acquire positive features and their criminality is contradicted. The last adjective that co-occurs with *criminal* and is related to

positive connotation is *smooth*. Smooth criminal is used as a metaphor for praising somebody. Mostly, the metaphor appears in the texts where Michael Jackson's song is cited:

(35) *He's flattered by copycats and loves Alien Ant Farm's cover of **Smooth Criminal**, including the video sendup of Jackson's quirks.* (COCA)

Eight collocates were found that would refer to a criminal's mental capability. They were the following: *stupid, dumb, dumbest, clever, smart, smarter, sophisticated, rational*. *Stupid, dumb* and *dumbest* express lack of mental capability, hence, they are negative. It is hard to determine where *clever, smart, smarter* and *sophisticated* stand in terms of connotations. Less than half (39%) of concordance lines where the four collocates appear are mentioned in a negative context and are surrounded by words related to manipulations and complex crimes such as cyber-crimes:

(36) *Hackers. **Criminals**. They were **clever**, yes, but they were dangerous [...]* (COCA)

(37) *Haley called the hacker a " sophisticated intelligent **criminal** " and said the way he obtained access to the tax returns was " unbelievably creative.* (COCA)

(38) *Gold knew damn well he was dealing with **smart criminals** laundering money.* (COCA)

In the sentences above reference is made to criminals that commit cybercrimes such as hacking or laundering money and, as has already been discussed earlier, portraits of criminals that include crimes reflect the presence of a negative connotation. However, in most cases the context in which the collocations occurred was neutral.

Other negative collocations of *criminal* in COCA include such collocates as *condemned, fucking, poor, desperate, greedy, armed, masked, uneducated, damn, fraudulent, unethical, cowardly, rampant, worthless, deviant, devious, dishonest, inappropriate, racist, useless, tough, toughest*. Some of the collocates point to negative character traits, for instance, *greedy, fraudulent, cowardly, deviant, devious, dishonest, rampant*, some to the lack of worthiness in society (*worthless, useless, condemned*) or related to danger (*armed, masked*). Such collocates as *toughest* or *tougher* may appear neutral just by looking at the meaning of the words, however, in most cases they appear in contexts related to serious criminals. The definition of *tough* in the MWD defines the adjective as *characterized by severity or uncompromising determination* or *marked by absence of softness or sentimentality*. Two sentences that illustrate the negative connotations of the collocation *tough criminals* are provided below:

(39) *They probably got themselves the **toughest** meanest **criminal** they could find.* (COCA)

(40) *She had dealt with **tougher criminals** before. She would break him.* (COCA)

In sentence (39) *toughest criminal* is also described as the meanest criminal and in the same context the speaker is referring to a criminal as a danger. In sentence (40) *tough criminal* refers to a killer who does not want to speak and admit his/her crimes.

There are 34 negative *criminal* collocations portraying criminals as evil and monstrous creatures which form 12% (1.2 occurrences per million words) of all analysed collocations of *criminal*. The table below includes the most frequent collocates portraying criminals as monsters or evil creatures in COCA.

Table 4. The most frequent collocates portraying criminals as monsters or evil creatures in COCA.

	Collocate	Raw frequency	Normalised frequency
1.	Violent	513	0.52
2.	Dangerous	226	0.23
3.	Vicious	47	0.05
4.	Bad	43	0.04
5.	Heinous	28	0.03
6.	Insane	26	0.03
7.	Ruthless	22	0.02
8.	Evil	22	0.02
9.	Psychopathic	17	0.02
10.	Aggressive	12	0.01
11.	Murderous	11	0.01
12.	Horrible	11	0.01
13.	Terrible	10	0.01
14.	Unrepentant	10	0.01
15.	Predatory	10	0.01
16.	Depraved	9	0.01
17.	Crazy	9	0.01
18.	Sick	9	0.01
19.	Brazen	8	0.01
20.	Cruel	8	0.01
21.	Dirty	8	0.01
22.	Disgusting	8	0.01

23.	Sociopathic	8	0.01
24.	Mental	8	0.01
25.	Wild	8	0.01
26.	Mad	7	0.01
27.	Despicable	7	0.01
28.	Cold-blooded	7	0.01
29.	Brutal	7	0.01
30.	Nefarious	6	0.01
31.	Scary	5	0.01
32.	Hostile	5	0.01
33.	Deranged	5	0.01
34.	Twisted	5	0.01

Collocates in Table 4 create a monstrous and evil representation of criminals because they foreground physical harmfulness of criminals (*violent, dangerous, aggressive, murderous, predatory, cruel, brutal*), ruthless immorality, evil nature and distance from accepted social norms (*bad, heinous, ruthless, evil, horrible, terrible, unrepentant, depraved, brazen, despicable, cold-blooded, scary, hostile, deranged, disgusting*), repulsive appearance (*dirty, disgusting, scary*) or madness and mental instability (*mad, crazy, twisted, sick, psychopathic, insane, sociopathic*). Surprisingly, COCA contains fewer collocations that create celebrity-like status of a criminal than those that create a monstrous picture. Such collocations as *known* (0.08 occurrences per million words), *notorious* (0.07), *famous* (0.02) and *infamous* (0.01) are focused on popularity of criminals. The four collocations make up only 1.94% of all collocations. Collocations of *criminal* carrying negative connotation form 39.5% of all analysed collocations that include this noun. Other collocates that co-occur with *criminal* in COCA are rather neutral as they deal with a status of a criminal (e.g. *alleged, wanted, accused*), age (e.g. *young, juvenile, teenage*), physical traits (e.g. *black, white, strong*), location or nationality (e.g. *local, Hispanic, European*) or other aspects (e.g. *anonymous, isolated, random* etc.).

After analysing collocations of *criminal* in COCA, the study of the collocations of a synonymous noun *offender* was carried out. The most frequent collocate of *offender* is *juvenile* with 0.55 occurrences per million words. *Juvenile offender* is a significantly more frequent collocation than *juvenile criminal* (0.03) which could be influenced by *criminal* being a more general word and carrying a wider meaning, whereas the noun *offender* denotes a specifically accused defendant or a convict. Nonetheless, it is peculiar that *juvenile offender* is the most frequent of all *offender* collocations. It could be influenced by the fact that, just as in the U.K., in the U.S. young people commit less crimes than adults. According to the FBI (2019), in the

U.S. in 2019, police arrested 428,053 people under 18 years of age, whereas the number of arrested adults in the same year reaches 5,572,274. The fact that juveniles are less frequently arrested might affect the need to emphasize the fact that a minor has committed a crime.

The second most frequent collocate of *offender* in COCA is *worst* which is also negative and its frequency is 0.44 occurrences per million words. The following collocate that is slightly less frequent is *violent* which has 0.42 occurrences per million words. As it was discussed before, collocate *violent* carries a negative connotation due to the meaning of the word in the dictionary which also creates a monstrous image of an offender. The four remaining collocations with a similar frequency are neutral and they include the following items: *convicted*, *registered*, *first-time*, *young*. The first three above-mentioned collocates describe the status of a criminal. It is important to highlight that the collocation *young offender* is also one of the most frequent ones with the frequency of 0.20 occurrences per million words. The tendency of defining an offender's age is prevalent in COCA which is not only seen from the frequent collocates, i.e. *juvenile* and *young* but also other less frequent collocates marking young age such as *youthful* (0.08 occurrences per million words), *minor* (0.04), *adolescent* (0.02), *younger* (0.02), *teenage* (0.01). Collocations that refer to an offender's young age make up 13.91% (0.92 occurrences per million words) of all *offender* collocates in COCA. Only three significantly less frequent *offender* collocates marking older age appear in COCA such as *older* (0.02), *old* (0.01) and *elderly* (0.01). The portrait of an offender in COCA includes people of younger age.

COCA includes *offender* collocations that are related to a certain crime and therefore bear negative connotations: *criminal*, *sexual*, *petty*, *federal*, *domestic*, *drug-involved*, *political*, *military*, *environmental*, *DUI (driving under influence)*, *drunk*, *economic*. Other collocates with negative connotation foreground the nature of a criminal (*habitual*, *experienced*, *serious*, *top*, *main*, *chronic*, *major*, *big*, *common*, *persistent*, *chief*, *great*, *greater*, *greatest*) or collocates related to the sense of danger (*armed*, *strong*, *troubled*, *tough*) and amorality (*bad*).

Some collocates in COCA are related to a mental state (*mental*, *retarded*, *psychopathic*, *ill*, *psychotic*, *narcissistic*, *sadistic*). *Mental* is used to specifically refer to an offender's mental health, as is exemplified in the following instances:

(41) [...] *bring psychiatrists into the courtroom to inform juries and judges of the **mental** status of offenders.* (COCA)

(42) [...] *these characteristics played an important role in determining whether an **offender** received a **mental** health placement.* (COCA)

Retarded, psychopathic, ill, psychotic, narcissistic, sadistic refer to offenders facing mental health issues which creates a picture of a criminal as a mentally unstable person. Therefore, these collocates carry a negative connotation. Collocates *psychopathic, psychotic* and *sadistic* create an image of a monstrous criminal. They contribute to the portrayal of offenders as monstrous beings as all of the three definitions include the feature of the lack of empathy. Other *offender* collocates in COCA that portray criminals as evil creatures are *violent, dangerous, egregious* and *predatory*. The definitions of all the adjectives include the aspect of violence. Around seven collocations of *offender* in COCA include a component that contributes to the construction of a monstrous image which makes 0.54 occurrences per million words that form 8.16% of all *offender* collocations. Two collocates *nonviolent* and *non-violent* (0.26 collocates that form 3.93% of all *offender* collocations) could be assigned to collocates acquiring positive connotations since they are opposite of the collocations portraying criminals as monsters.

In COCA two collocates, namely, *known* (0.05 occurrences per million words) and *notorious* (0.01) create a picture of a celebrity-like offender which makes only 0.75%. Other *offender* collocates in COCA are neutral as they define the physical appearance of an offender (*black, white*), are related to location (*local, national*), status of an offender (*alleged, guilty, released*), emotional state (*overwhelmed, motivated*) and other (*different, only, other*). Neutral collocates constitute the majority of analysed *offender* collocates in COCA (64.30%), whereas negative collocates make up 31.77% and positive collocates form 3.93% of all analysed *offender* collocations.

The last word analysed in COCA is *convict*. The most frequent collocation is *escaped convict* (0.17 occurrences per million words). As it was mentioned before, *escaped* could be seen as a negative collocation because it refers to a convict who is breaking the law repeatedly by escaping the responsibility both metaphorically and physically. It could be seen from the context that *escaped convicts* are seen as a danger to society:

(43) [...] the ***escaped convicts*** that are going to rape and murder us [...] (COCA)

(44) The ***escaped convicts*** are armed and considered extremely dangerous. (COCA)

In sentence (43) and (44) the speakers talk about the danger of *escaped convicts*. The second most frequent collocate of *convict* is *other* which is significantly less frequent (0.04 occurrences per million words) just as the third and the fourth most frequent collocates *black* (0.03) and

dangerous (0.02). Other collocations of *convict* reach only 0.01 occurrences per million words. 5.55% of all collocations *violent convict* and *dangerous convict* portray convicts as evil creatures and have a negative connotation. Such convict collocates as *criminal, tough, hardened, mental, armed, goddamn, damn* are negative as well. Collocations with a negative connotation make up 51% of all analysed *convict* collocations. Other collocates that were found are neutral as they define age of convicts (*old, juvenile, older*), physical appearance (*black, white, female*), status (*released, new, paroled*), nationality (*British*).

In COCA *criminal* attracts the highest number of adjectives that associate criminals with an evil creature and forms 12% of all analysed *criminal* collocations. *Offender* and *convict* attract fewer collocations with monstrous connotations as analysed *offender* cases include 8.16% of such collocations and *convict* 5.55%. However, *convict* includes the highest number of connotations with negative meaning which is 51%, whereas *criminal* collocations form 39.5% of such instances and *offender* only 31.77%. Collocations with positive connotations were found with nouns *criminal* and *offender*. A noun *offender* co-occurs with such collocates more frequently (3.93%) than *criminal* (0.86%). Celebrity-like imagery of criminals was found with *criminal* (1.94%) and *offender* (0.75%) collocations.

3.3. Adjective/participle collocations of *nusikaltēlis, nuteistasis* and *pažeidējas* in COCL

The most frequent adjective collocates of *nusikaltēlis* (En. ‘criminal’) in COCL are word forms that could be translated into *dangerous*. Collocates that stand for *dangerous* reach 0.65 occurrences per million words which creates a monstrous image of a criminal. However, only one collocate that describes a criminal as a monstrous creature appeared in the search. Out of all the most frequent *nusikaltēlis* (En. ‘criminal’) collocates *dangerous, biggest* (0.36 occurrences per million words), *armed* (0.34) and *real* (0.12) are negative. As it was discussed in the previous sections, *biggest* and *real* emphasize the nature of a criminal therefore negative connotation appears and *armed* creates sense of danger. One collocate, i.e. *known* (0.12) creates an image of a celebrity-like criminal. Other collocates are rather neutral and define a status of criminal (*wanted, unknown, potential, unidentified, organised*), type (*criminal*), age (*minor*) and other (*similar*). The table below portrays the most frequent *nusikaltēlis* (En. ‘criminal’) collocates.

Table 5. The most frequent *nusikaltėlis* (En. ‘criminal’) collocates.

	Collocate	Raw frequency	Normalised frequency
1.	Dangerous (Lt. <i>pavojingas, pavojingo, pavojingam, pavojingą, pavojingu, pavojingi, pavojinga</i>)	92	0.65
2.	Criminal (Lt. <i>kriminalinio, kriminalinis, kriminalinį, kriminaliniu, kriminaliniai</i>)	89	0.63
3.	Biggest (Lt. <i>didžiausias, didžiausiu, didžiausi</i>)	52	0.36
4.	Armed (Lt. <i>ginkluotą, ginkluotu, ginkluoti</i>)	49	0.34
5.	Wanted (Lt. <i>ieškomą</i>)	36	0.25
6.	Unkown (Lt. <i>nežinomas</i>)	24	0.17
7.	Potential (Lt. <i>potencialiu, potencialūs</i>)	23	0.16
8.	Organised (Lt. <i>organizuoti</i>)	23	0.16
9.	Unidentified (Lt. <i>nenustatyti</i>)	20	0.14
10.	Known (Lt. <i>žinomi</i>)	17	0.12
11.	Real (lt. <i>tikrieji</i>)	17	0.12
12.	Minor (lt. <i>nepilnamečiai</i>)	15	0.10
13.	Similar (lt. <i>panašus</i>)	8	0.05

While *nusikaltėlis* in COCL inherently bears a negative connotation, the synonyms *pažeidėjas* (En. ‘offender’), *nuteistasis* (En. ‘convict’) and their other grammatical forms reflect rather neutral connotations. In the corpus, the lemma *nuteistasis* (En. ‘convict’) and its grammatical forms occur only with two collocates. One of them could be translated into *imprisoned* (Lt. ‘kalinamajam’, ‘kalinamojo’, ‘kalinamąjį’) and another is *acquitted* (Lt. ‘išteisintajam’, ‘išteisintojo’). *Pažeidėjas* (En. ‘offender’) co-occurs with adjectives or participles that do not refer to noun *pažeidėjas*. In such cases, all collocates were taken into account and it was revealed that all of them are related to rather neutral meaning. Both synonyms *nuteistasis* and *pažeidėjas* do not reflect any monstrous or celebrity-like images and are neutral. Only *nusikaltėlis* is related to both images which might be due to the more general meaning of a word itself.

Such collocates of *nusikaltėlis* (En. criminal) as *pavojingas* (En. ‘dangerous’) and its other grammatical forms, *ieškoma* (En. ‘wanted’), *žinomas* (En. ‘known’), *tikrieji* (En. ‘real’) could also be found in COCA and BNC co-occurring with a noun *criminal*. Additionally, in both COCA and COCL such collocates as *biggest*, *armed*, *potential*, *organized*, *real*, *minor* and *similar* could be found. The majority of *nusikaltėlis* collocates are present in COCA co-occurring with *criminal*. In COCL eleven out of thirteen most frequent collocates of *nusikaltėlis* are overlapping with *criminal* collocates in COCA. These collocates together form 2.31 occurrences per million words in COCL. While the overall frequency of COCL *nusikaltėlis* collocates is 3.25, the mentioned recurring collocates make up 71%. By applying the same calculation only 34.46% of the most frequent *nusikaltėlis* collocates re-appear with *criminal* in the BNC. The most striking similarity between the corpora is that an adjective *dangerous* portraying criminal as a monster and adjective *known* portraying criminal as a celebrity are both present in the three corpora. However, in COCL there are fewer collocates that portray criminals as monsters. Out of all collocates only one collocate, i.e. *dangerous* with 0.65 occurrences per million words create an image of an evil or monstrous criminal. By calculating the overall number of occurrences, it makes up 20% of all the examined collocations with *nusikaltėlis*. As it was mentioned, the four collocates *dangerous*, *biggest*, *real* and *armed* are related to a negative connotation which makes up 50.51% (1.47 occurrences) of all analysed collocates of *nusikaltėlis*. Other collocates are closer to a neutral connotation. By applying the same formula, it was seen that 3.69% (0.12 occurrences out of 3.23) contribute to construing an image of a famous criminal. The discussed results in COCL are presented in Figure 1.

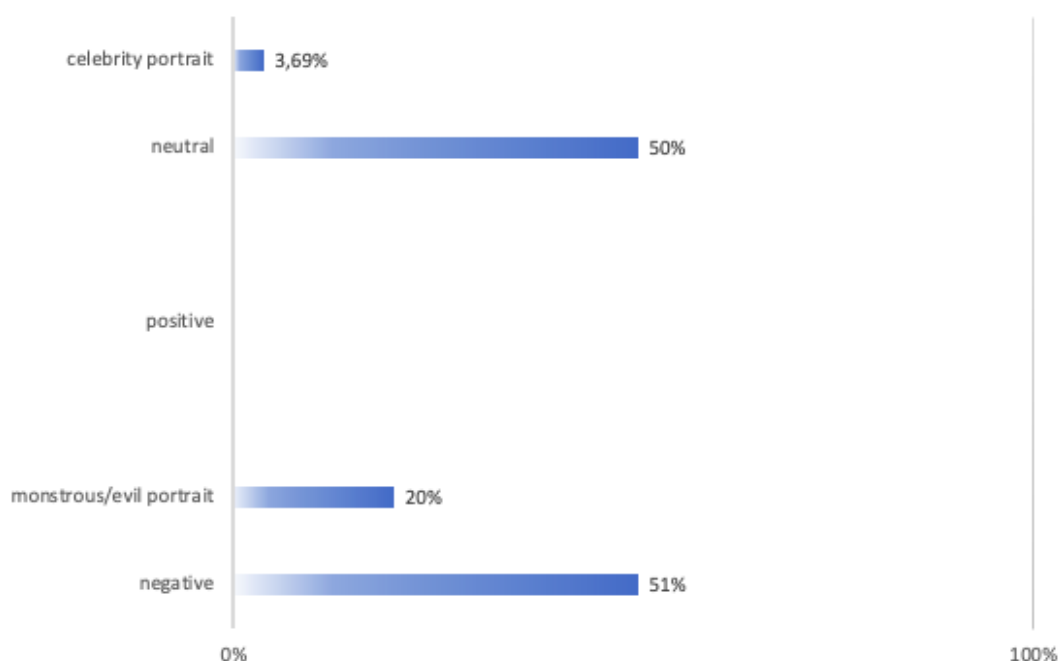


Fig. 1. Comparison of *criminal* (Lt. ‘nusikaltėlis’) adjective collocates in COCL

As it was mentioned, in COCL the percentage of collocations with negative connotations is slightly higher than collocations with neutral connotations. It is similar in the BNC as *criminal* collocations that acquire negative connotations compose 46% of all analysed collocations of *criminal*. The comparison of the collocates of *criminal* in the BNC are demonstrated in Figure 2.

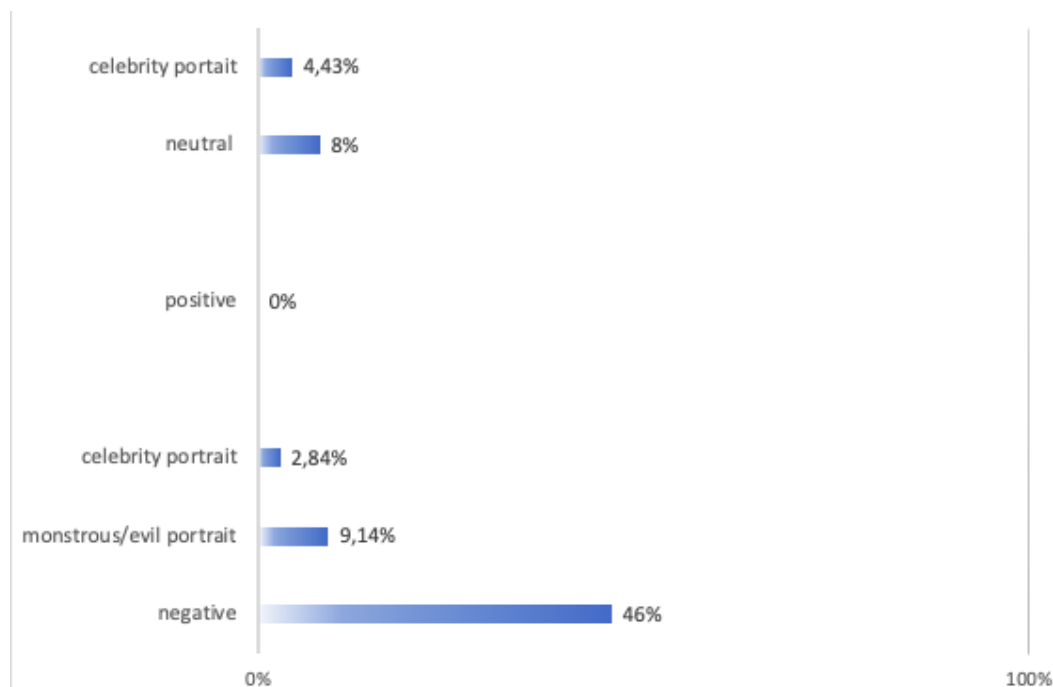


Fig. 2. Comparison of *criminal* (Lt. ‘nusikaltėlis’) adjectives collocates in the BNC

In contrast to the BNC, in COCL and COCA the numbers of *criminal* (Lt. ‘nusikaltėlis’) collocations with a negative semantic prosody are significantly lower: in COCL such collocations make up around half of all instances (51%) and in COCA it is less than a half (39.5%). These numbers show that the portrait of a criminal in the BNC is predominantly negative. In COCL the number is lower, hence the image is less negative. In COCA the negative image of a criminal does not even make a half of all instances and is rather neutral. These results are included in Figure 3.

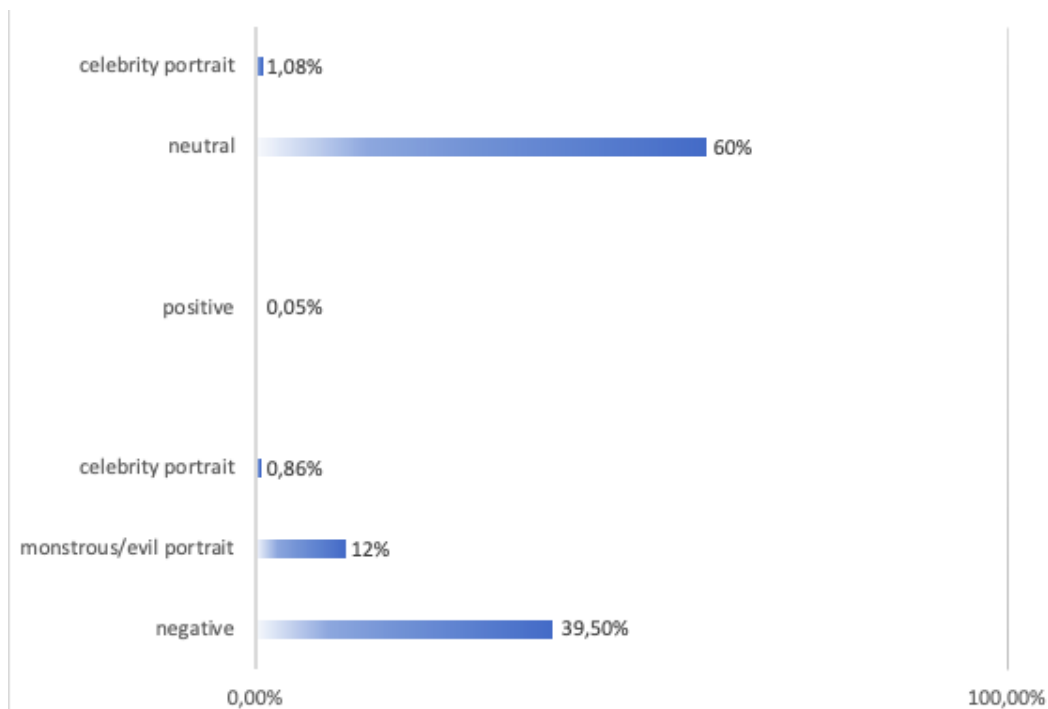


Fig. 3. Comparison of the adjective collocates of *criminal* (Lt. 'nusikaltėlis') in COCA

In the hypothesis it was stated that in Lithuanian and the chosen varieties of English criminals should be mostly portrayed negatively. It is partially true, as in the BNC and COCL negative connotations make up around half of the analysed instances, in COCA the number is smaller. COCA was the only corpus that had collocations of *criminal* with positive connotations. The number is small (0.5%), however, the rest of the collocates are closer to a neutral connotation which makes the image of criminal in COCA the least negative of all the analysed corpora. Nonetheless, out of those 39.5% negative collocations in COCA about 12% form collocations that create a monstrous imagery of a criminal. In the BNC the number is lower and it makes up 9.14 % of all negative collocations. The highest number of such collocations is found in COCL as it forms 20% of all collocations with negative semantic prosody. In the hypothesis it was stated that in British English and Lithuanian there might be a more prevalent tendency of portraying criminals as monsters or evil creatures than in American English. This hypothesis was as well only partially proven because in COCL there is a higher number of such collocations, however, in the BNC the number is smaller by 2.86% than in COCA. In the BNC the number of these collocations reaches 9.14% and in COCA 12%.

It was assumed that in American English criminal portrait would include more elements of a celebrity-like criminal than in British English or Lithuanian. The assumption was denied by the results. Although COCA has the biggest variety of different adjectives co-occurring with *criminal* (*known*, *notorious*, *famous* and *infamous*), they make up a small part of the analysed

collocates by forming 1.94%. The mentioned collocations make up 7.27% of all analysed *criminal* collocations in the BNC and 3.69% in COCL. The celebrity image of a celebrity criminal is the most predominant in the British English. The hypothesis was based on the previous research (Wiest 2016) which was carried out by analysing media. The corpora that was studied in the present paper includes more registers. Therefore, the results might be influenced by a wider variety of registers. The registers are to be discussed later in the paper. However, before moving to that part, portrayals of offender and convict should be discussed.

The hypothesis related to *offender* and *convict* stated that in the situation should be similar as they would carry a predominantly neutral meaning differently than in the case of *criminal* collocations and their negative semantic prosody. This statement was proven to be partially correct. Collocates related to neutral connotations make up the majority of analysed *offender* adjective collocates in COCA (64.30%) and the BNC (72.2%). In COCL *pažeidējas* (En. ‘offender’) appears with adjectives or participles that do not refer to the noun. Nonetheless, other collocates are predominantly related to neutral meaning. In COCA *offender* co-occurs with collocations that carry positive semantic prosody. Of all analysed *offender* collocates 3.93% make up cases with positive connotations. In the BNC and COCL there are no such instances. Collocations that create a monstrous and evil imagery of offender only form 2% of offender collocations in the BNC and 8.16% in COCA. Collocations of *offender* related to celebrity image form 0.75% in COCA and 2.25% in the BNC. Collocations of *offender* are mostly neutral in all corpora and the imagery of a dehumanized offender is not dominant. Interestingly, in COCA and the BNC an offender is often portrayed as a young person because in the BNC almost 40% of all analysed offender collocations refer to a young age of a criminal and in COCA such collocations form 13.91% of all instances. As it was discussed before, such a tendency might be influenced by lower crime rates of juveniles. This leads to emphasizing the fact that the minor or a young person has committed a crime.

The last noun, i.e. *convict* includes the highest number of collocations with a negative connotation in COCA that is 51% of which 5.5% include adjectives creating a monstrous image. Only one collocate which bears a negative meaning was found in the BNC. In COCL only two collocates were found and both are neutral. The hypothesis of *convict* mostly co-occurring with neutral collocates was not completely confirmed. Such hypothesis was confirmed only in case of COCL. The following part of the Results and Discussion section overviews the distribution of the identified dehumanizing collocations across the different registers in which they were most frequently occurred.

3.4 The distribution of collocations across different registers

In this part, the distribution of collocations that portray criminals as monsters or celebrities across the registers is presented. In COCA collocations of criminal belonging to the monstrous category are most salient in the media register and least prominent in academic writing. The numbers are presented in Figure 4. Previous research that analysed portraits of criminals focused on media and discovered a predominantly negative portrayal of criminals with dehumanizing imagery. As it was mentioned in the introduction, Tabbert (2015) by analysing criminal portraits in the English newspapers, discovered that criminals are pictured as monsters which might be influenced by media mirroring the approach of society towards crime (Tabbert 2015: 1). In COCA, collocations that contribute to a monstrous portrayal of criminals mostly appear in the newspaper register. The distribution of collocations that create a monstrous imagery of criminals make up 18.14% in the newspaper register. In the spoken register, such *criminal* collocates form 17.21%. The spoken register consists of unscripted conversations from TV and radio programmes which could be considered to be part of mass media content. In the TV/movies register collocations that create a monstrous image of criminals are also frequent. Out of all analysed collocations portraying criminals as monstrous and evil creatures, it made up 13%. The register includes subtitles of various movies and TV series. The same percentage was discovered in the blog register. Slightly lower numbers were found in magazines (11%), fiction (11%) and web-general (10%) registers. Web-general includes general web pages. The smallest part of the collocations was discovered in the academic register (7%). The distribution might be the smallest in the academic register due to the fact that it only consists of academic journals which tend to keep formality in writing. In the academic register it is not common to share an author's personal opinion and describing criminals as monsters is an expression of opinion rather than an objective statement. Mostly, criminals are portrayed as monsters or evil creatures in media registers such as newspaper, spoken language, TV/movies and magazines and all identified instances of such portrayal make up more than a half of all instances (59%). It could be determined by informality of registers or, as it was stated by Tabbert (2015), by the fact that media reflects society's view towards criminals.

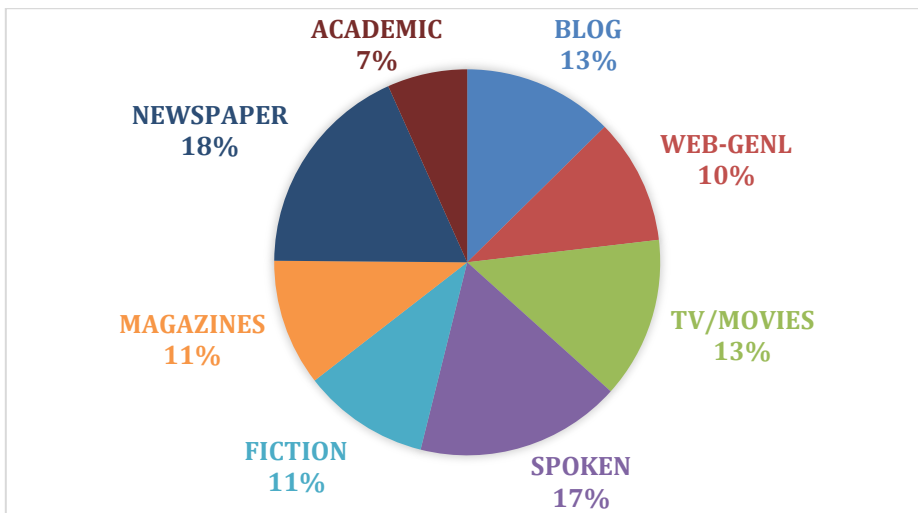


Fig. 4. Distribution of *criminal* collocations portraying criminals as monsters or evil creatures in COCA across different registers

In COCA, the most frequent collocates of *criminal* that portray criminals as monsters or evil creatures also tend to mostly occur in media registers. Extremely high numbers of *dangerous* as a collocate of *criminal* appear in spoken language and newspaper registers. In spoken language it makes up 23% and in newspaper 25.48% which together form almost half of all analysed *dangerous* collocates. The second most frequent collocate *dangerous* mostly occurs in TV/movies, spoken and newspaper registers by together forming 59.11% across the registers.

Interestingly, other collocations that portray criminals as celebrities in COCA, occur more frequently in fiction register than monstrous collocations. The number of celebrity-like collocations reaches 17% in the fiction register. However, the bigger part of the distribution of the collocations is related to media registers (TV/movies, spoken language, magazines, newspaper registers) and together make up more than half of all instances which is 58%. The distribution is the lowest in academic and blog registers. Hence, the distribution of monstrous and celebrity-like collocations is similar in COCA. In both cases, the collocations most frequently occur in media-related registers. However, celebrity-like portrayal of criminals is more frequent in the register of fiction as it makes up 17% and with collocations that construe criminals as monstrous beings the number is lower and reaches 11%. The distribution of *criminal* collocations in COCA across different registers is presented in the chart below:

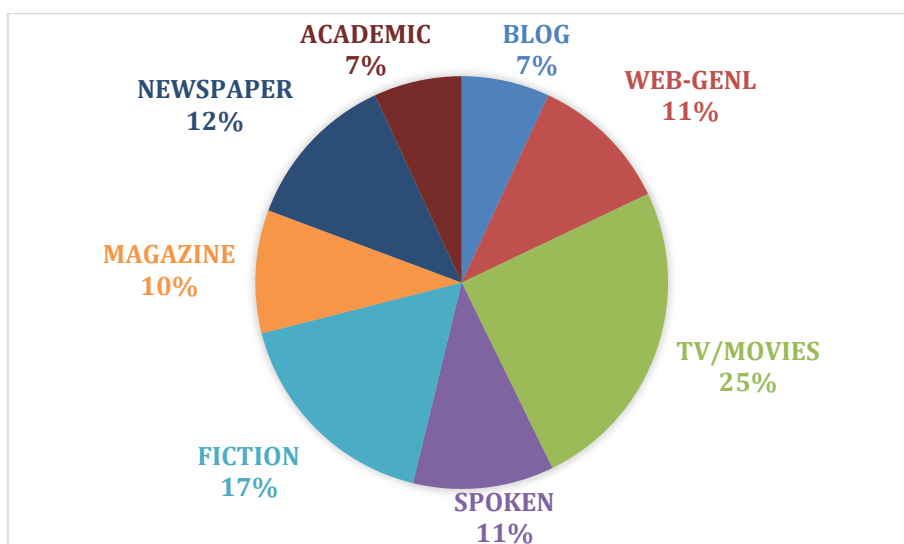


Fig. 5. Distribution of *criminal* collocations portraying criminals as celebrities in COCA across different registers

In COCA, *offender* collocations that create a monstrous and evil picture mainly occur in media-related registers. By adding up the distribution in media registers (newspaper, spoken, magazine, TV/movies registers) the number forms more than a half (69%). However, differently than in case of already discussed collocations of *criminal*, collocations of *offender* occur in the academic register more frequently than *criminal* collocations. Monstrous *offender* collocations that were analysed form 17% in the academic register, whereas, distribution of such *criminal* collocations is significantly lower and forms 7%. This might be influenced by the narrower meaning of the noun *offender* which is more precise and due to that reason it is in general more frequently used in the academic register. In COCA, the normalised frequency of *criminal* in the academic register is 7.9 and *criminals* 8.36. Whereas, in the same register normalised frequency of *offender* is 7.24 and *offenders* 14.13. Due to the more specific meaning of *offender* the distribution in the newspaper register is higher (32%) than it is with such collocations of *criminal* (12%). However, despite the differences in distribution across the registers, it is already prevalent that the most substantial part is in media-related registers.

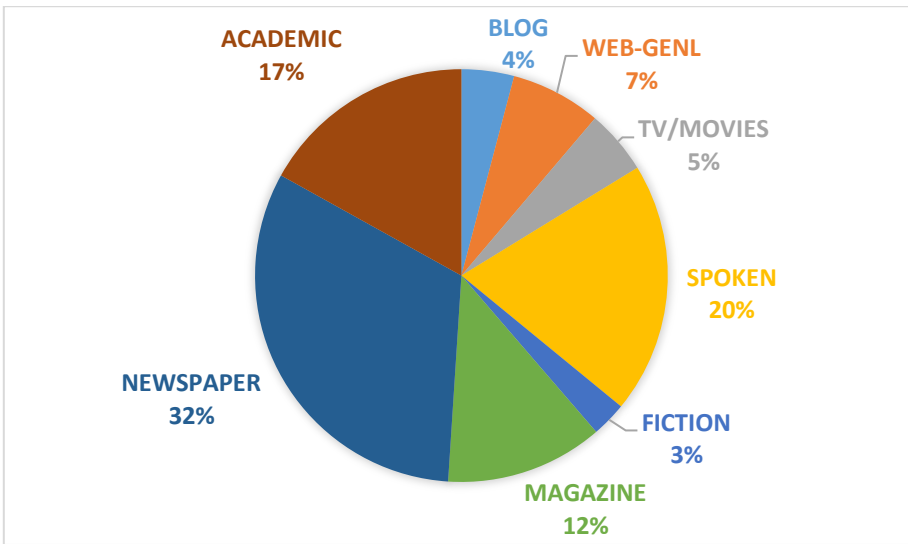


Fig. 6. Distribution of *offender* collocations portraying criminals as monsters or evil creatures in COCA across different registers

The distribution of *offender* collocations portraying criminals as celebrities in COCA across different registers is similar to the distribution with such *criminal* collocations. In both cases the highest number appears in TV/movies register. The distribution of such *offender* collocations forms 28% in TV/movies register, the percentage is similar with *criminal* collocations as it reaches 25% in the register. Another similarity is the overall frequency in media-related registers (TV/movies, spoken, newspaper, magazine) which together makes up 70%. The chart representing discussed results is below.

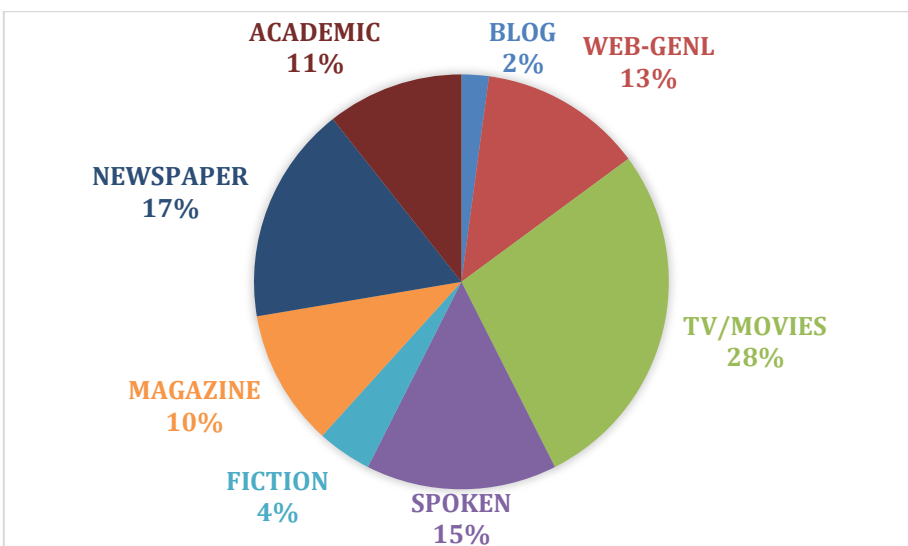


Fig. 7. Distribution of *offender* collocations portraying criminals as celebrities in COCA across different registers

The distribution of convict collocations portraying criminals as monsters or evil creatures in COCA is the highest in newspaper register (29%). All media-related registers (newspaper, spoken, TV/Movies, magazine) make up 71%. In academic and general web pages' registers there were no instances of the analysed collocations. This might be influenced by the lower frequency of the word *convict* in COCA as the normalised frequency of this noun is 1.17 occurrences per million words and the normalised frequency of *convicts* is 1.31. The distribution of the discussed collocations is presented below:

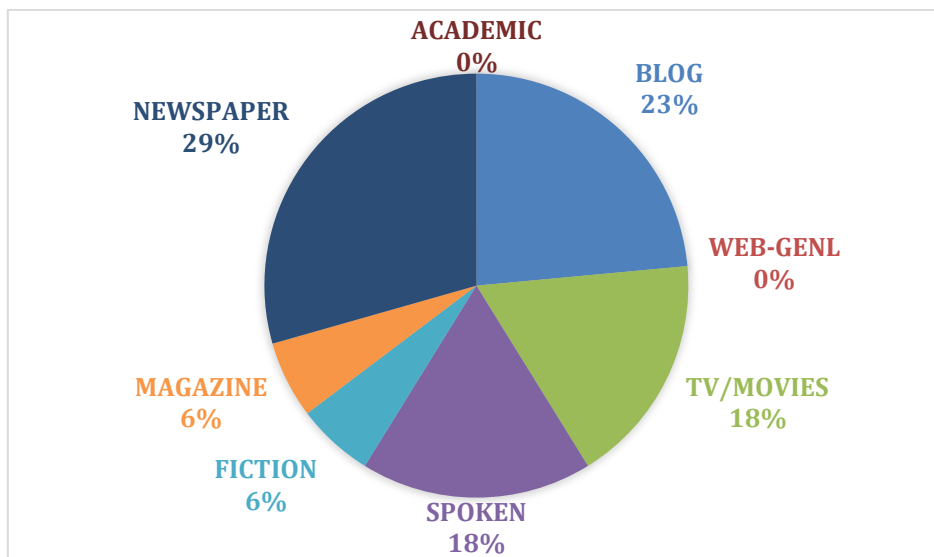


Fig. 8. Distribution of *convict* collocations portraying criminals as monsters or evil creatures in COCA across different registers

By applying the chosen parameter in COCA, there were no instances of *convict* collocations that would portray convicts as celebrities. In the BNC the most collocations are distributed mainly in media-related registers. As it was mentioned in the Data and Methods section, the registers are different in the corpora as the BNC does not suggest blog, web-genl, TV/movies registers. However, there are non-academic and misc (miscellaneous) registers. The distribution of *criminal* collocations portraying criminals as monsters or evil creatures in the BNC is mostly among media-related registers (magazine and newspaper) which together form 45% among the registers. Interestingly, the percentage of such *criminal* collocations is higher in academic and fiction registers in the BNC than COCA. The numbers of discussed collocations are portrayed in the chart below:

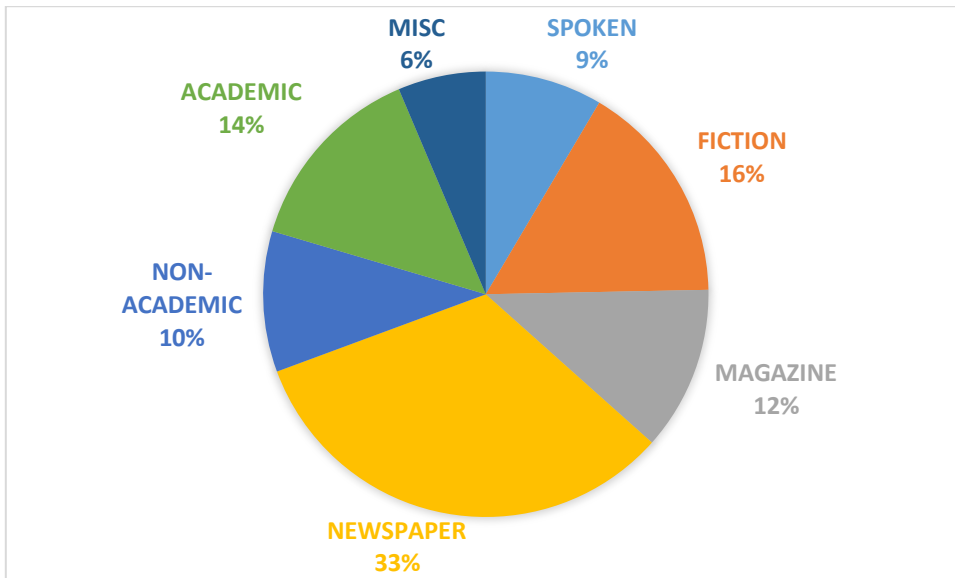


Fig. 9. Distribution of *criminal* collocations portraying criminals as monsters or evil creatures in the BNC across different registers

The co-occurrences of criminal collocations portraying criminals as celebrities in the BNC across different registers are mostly distributed in the newspaper register (44%). The percentage in academic (15%) and fiction (18%) registers is also quite high and similar to the distribution of *criminal* collocations portraying criminals as monsters or evil creatures in the BNC. In COCA the numbers in fiction and academic registers are lower. The chart below represents the distribution of the collocations of *criminal* portraying criminals as celebrities in the BNC across different registers:

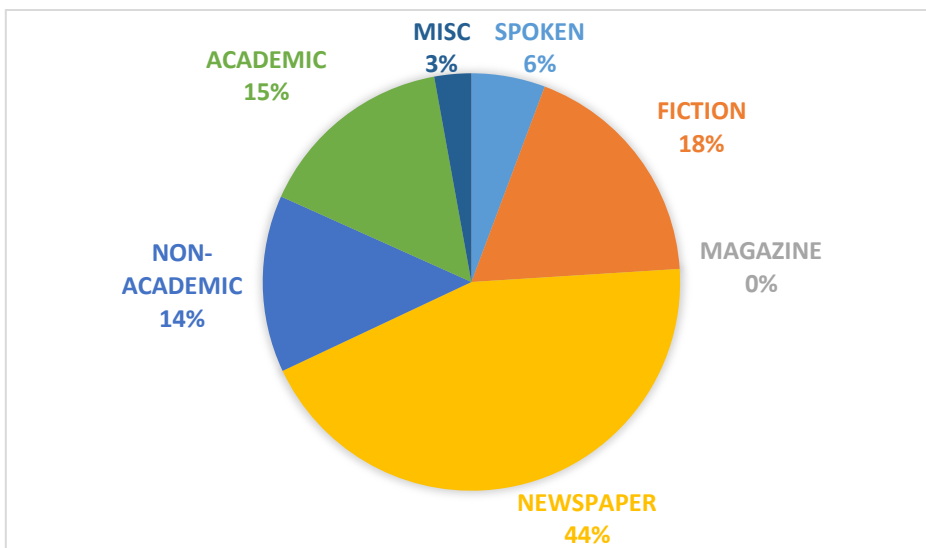


Fig. 10. Distribution of *criminal* collocations portraying criminals as celebrities in the BNC across different registers

In COCL the collocate of *nusikaltēlis* (En. ‘criminal’) which could be translated into *known* refers to a celebrity-like criminal and mostly appears in publicistic writing register. 94.11% of the cases were found in the mentioned register. The collocation which refers to a dangerous criminal in COCL is also mainly in publicistic writing register. 93.8% of the collocations that have a monstrous connotation appear in the mentioned register. The same tendency could be seen in the BNC and COCA. Criminals are portrayed as monsters and celebrities in media-related registers.

The *offender* collocations examined in the BNC included a small number of dehumanizing or celebrity-like collocations. There was one collocate *violent* which creates a monstrous portrayal of offenders and collocate *known* that creates a celebrity-like portrayal of offenders. *Known* is mainly found in the newspaper register as it makes up 67% of instances. Whereas, *violent* as a collocate of *offender* predominantly appears in academic register by making up 37% of all cases. However, the raw frequency of both collocations is low as *known* reaches 14 occurrences and *violent* 13 occurrences. As a result, it is difficult to make generalisations or draw conclusions due to the low frequency of these collocates. The situation is similar with the noun *convict* in the BNC. The analysed instances did not include any collocations that would portray convicts as monsters or celebrities. In COCL both *nuteistasis* (En. ‘convict’) and *pažeidējas* (En. ‘offender’) does not co-occur with any collocations that would dehumanize or portray convicts and offenders as celebrities.

Additionally, as the frequency of the collocations of *criminal* and *offender* that refer to a young age is high, the distribution of such collocations across the registers was investigated. In the COCA the most frequent collocations of *criminal* that refer to young age includes adjectives *young, minor, juvenile, teenage*. The distribution of all mentioned collocations in total makes up 25% in the newspaper register, a similar but slightly lower number is in the fiction register (21.42%). However, collocations of *offender* that refer to a young age of offenders, namely *juvenile, youthful, younger, 16-year-old* are frequent in the academic register and make up 45%. The frequency of the collocate of *offender juvenile* is extremely high as it reaches 1.04 occurrences per million words, whereas the second most frequent collocate of *offender* has only 0.15 occurrences per million words. It is interesting that the portrait of an offender is associated with a juvenile and the collocations mostly appear in the academic register. The academic journals in which the collocation appears include different fields, namely psychiatry, social science, education, and politics. The extraordinary frequency demonstrates that the issue of

juvenile offenders is widely researched in different academic fields and creates a portrait of a young offender.

In the BNC, the total number of collocations of *offender* is mainly distributed across the newspaper register. Such collocates of *offender* as *young* and *juvenile* in total reach 47% in the newspaper register. The only collocate of *criminal*, i.e., *young* is the most frequent in the newspaper register as well and makes up more than half of instances (66%). Hence, in the BNC a portrait of a young offender or criminal is reflected in the newspaper register. Whereas, in the COCA such image is predominant in the academic register.

4. Conclusions

The present paper focused on the portrayal of criminals in the U.S., the U.K., and Lithuania by applying the extended unit of meaning. The main goals were to analyse the most frequent adjective collocations of *criminal*, *offender* and *convict* in the BNC and COCA, to analyse adjective collocations of *nusikaltėlis* (En. ‘criminal’), *nuteistasis* (En. ‘convict’), and *pažeidėjas* (En. ‘offender’) in COCL and to compare what portraits of criminals are created through the collocations and their connotations. The hypothesis predicted that in British English and Lithuanian, the portrayal of criminals has more attributes of monstrous and evil creatures than in American English, whereas the portrait of a criminal in American English was expected to have more attributes of a celebrity-like criminal than in the British English or Lithuanian.

After conducting the analysis, it was revealed that in COCA there is a higher percentage of collocations contributing to the portrayal of criminals as monstrous beings than in the BNC. However, the highest percentage of such collocations prevails in COCL. Surprisingly, collocations that portray criminals as celebrities make up the highest percentage in the BNC. COCA includes the lowest percentage of such collocations, nevertheless, COCA has the widest variety of different adjectives occurring with *criminal*. The results show that the portrayal of criminals in Lithuania contains numerous characteristics contributing to representing them as monstrous beings in comparison to the U.K., and the U.S. In the U.S. such an image is more prevalent than in the U.K. It could be stated that compared to the other analysed countries, the U.K. shows the lowest tendency of portraying criminals as monsters or evil creatures. In Lithuanian such a tendency is more prevalent than in the British English and American English. Nonetheless, in the three countries the portrait of a criminal acquires both monstrous/evil and celebrity-like characteristics. Such collocates of *criminal* (Lt. ‘nusikaltėlis’) as *dangerous* (Lt.

‘pavojingas’), *known* (Lt. ‘žinomas’) and *real* (Lt. ‘tikras’) co-occur across the three corpora and are among the most frequent collocations. Interestingly, out of the three most frequent collocates of *criminal* one reflects a monstrous/evil portrayal of a criminal which is *dangerous*, another collocate, i.e. *known* portrays a criminal as a celebrity. The main similarity between the U.S., the U.K., and Lithuania could be the imagery of a known, dangerous and a real criminal.

Negative, neutral or positive connotations also helped to reveal the portrait of a criminal. The hypothesis suggested that the portrayal of criminals in British English, American English and Lithuanian should mostly reflect negative rather than neutral or positive connotations and the portrayal of offenders and convicts should mostly be neutral. In COCL and the BNC collocations with negative connotations form around half of all instances. Hence, the hypothesis is not fully approved. In COCA the prevailing image is more neutral and there are even instances of positive connotations. The image of an offender is also predominantly neutral in all the three corpora. Hence, the hypothesis stating that the noun *offender* should attract collocates with mostly neutral connotations was proven to be correct. The same hypothesis was raised regarding the portrait of a convict and was partially proven as the noun *convict* includes a high number of negative collocations in COCA and the BNC. Collocations with a neutral meaning tend to prevail in COCL which construes a neutral image of a convict.

It could be concluded that the image of a celebrity criminal is the most prominent in the U.K. when compared to the U.S. and Lithuania. Whereas the portrait of a celebrity criminal in Lithuania is less vivid, however the monstrous and evil attributes are more common than in the chosen varieties of English. The portrayal of a criminal in the U.S. includes more monstrous characteristics than could be found in the British English, however, the overall portrayal of a criminal is mostly neutral in American English.

In the U.K., U.S., and Lithuania offenders are mainly depicted neutrally. It was also found that in the U.S. offenders are extremely commonly portrayed as young people or minors. It was discovered that collocates of *offender* that create an image of a young offender mostly appear in the academic journals and such result might be influenced by the high number of research related to the issue. In the U.K. there is also an imagery of a young offender. However, it is less prominent than in the U.S. and mostly appears in newspapers. Convicts in the U.K. and Lithuania are also pictured mostly neutrally. Only in the U.S. imagery of a convict includes more negative characteristics. Monstrous and evil or celebrity-like aspects of convict are only present in American English.

The results of this study show that there are similarities and differences across the collocations with the chosen nouns and across the British English, American English and Lithuanian. The results of this research diverge from the findings of previous research which might be determined by a wider variety of analysed registers since the previous research only focused on media. The main limitation of the present paper is the lack of analysis of the other parts of the speech co-occurring with *criminal*, *offender* and *convict*. It could be taken into account in the future research. The second level of Sinclair's analysis could also be applied to analyse different grammatical patterns. Nonetheless, the research revealed some characteristics of the portrayals of criminals, offenders and convicts in the U.S., the U.K., and Lithuania.

Summary in Lithuanian

Nusikaltėlių vaizdavimas skirtingose kalbose nėra pakankamai plačiai išanalizuotas. Anksčiau atliktuose tyrimuose pastebėta, kad amerikiečių ir britų medijoje dominuoja nusikaltėlių vaizdavimas suteikiant jiems monstro arba įžymybės savybių. Šiame magistro darbe tiriami nusikaltėlių, pažeidėjų ir nuteistųjų paveikslai Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose, Didžiojoje Britanijoje ir Lietuvoje analizuojant žodžių *criminal* (Lt. ‘nusikaltėlis’), *offender* (Lt. ‘pažeidėjas’) ir *convict* (Lt. ‘nuteistasis’) kolokacijas su būdvardžiais bei jų konotacijas britų nacionaliniame tekстыne (angl. BNC) ir šiuolaikinės Amerikos anglų kalbos tekстыne (angl. COCA) bei analizuojant daiktavardžių *nusikaltėlis*, *pažeidėjas* ir *nuteistasis* kolokacijas su būdvardžiais ir jų konotacijas Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto dabartinės lietuvių kalbos tekстыne. Kolokacijos ir konotacijos buvo tiriamos pasitelkiant išplėstinio reikšmės vieneto analizės teoriją (Sinclair 1996).

Atlikta analizė atskleidė, kad visuose trijuose tekстыnuose nusikaltėlio paveikslas įtraukia daugiausia savybių, kurios suteikia nusikaltėliui monstro arba įžymybės bruožų palyginus su nuteistojo arba pažeidėjo paveikslais. Tiek pažeidėjo, tiek nuteistojo formuojamiems paveikslams tokių savybių suteikiama labai mažai arba visai nesuteikiama, tad kuriamas paveikslas daugiausia yra neutralus. Pastebėta, kad COCA tekстыne pažeidėjas yra išskirtinai dažnai vaizduojamas kaip jaunas asmuo dėl galimai plataus jaunimo nusikalstamumo tyrinėjimo moksliniuose žurnaluose. Taip pat buvo pastebėta, kad lietuvių kalboje labiausiai linkstama monstro savybes priskirti nusikaltėliui, o britų anglų kalboje daugiausia nusikaltėliui suteikti įžymybės bruožų. Nepaisant nustatytų skirtumų, nusikaltėlio vaizdavimui Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose, Didžiojoje Britanijoje ir Lietuvoje būdinga priskirti tiek monstro, tiek įžymybės bruožų, tačiau šiame tyrime ryškiausiai įžymybės bruožų priskyrimas pasireiškė britų anglų kalbos atmainoje, o monstro savybes labiausiai buvo linkstama suteikti lietuvių kalbos tekстыne. Įdomu ir tai, kad neigiamas nusikaltėlio vaizdavimas nėra dominuojantis, nes dabartinės lietuvių kalbos ir britų nacionaliniame tekстыnuose negatyvios kolokacijos sudaro apie pusę visų išanalizuotų kolokacijų, o šiuolaikinės Amerikos anglų kalbos tekстыne mažiau negu pusę.

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Appendices

Collocates of *criminal* in COCA

<u>VIOLENT</u>	513	0,52
<u>OTHER</u>	348	0,35
<u>CIVIL</u>	300	0,3
<u>CONVICTED</u>	288	0,29
<u>COMMON</u>	252	0,25
<u>DANGEROUS</u>	226	0,23
<u>HARDENED</u>	209	0,21
<u>REAL</u>	200	0,2
<u>NAZI</u>	176	0,18
<u>PETTY</u>	128	0,13
<u>WORST</u>	123	0,12
<u>WHITE-COLLAR</u>	110	0,11
<u>WHITE</u>	95	0,1
<u>YOUNG</u>	93	0,09
<u>SUSPECTED</u>	90	0,09
<u>POTENTIAL</u>	90	0,09
<u>ONLY</u>	87	0,09
<u>INTERNATIONAL</u>	85	0,09
<u>KNOWN</u>	81	0,08
<u>BLACK</u>	77	0,08
<u>ILLEGAL</u>	74	0,07
<u>NOTORIOUS</u>	69	0,07
<u>ALLEGED</u>	68	0,07
<u>WANTED</u>	66	0,07
<u>NEW</u>	65	0,07
<u>INDICTED</u>	65	0,07
<u>ACCUSED</u>	64	0,06
<u>SERIOUS</u>	59	0,06
<u>ARMED</u>	56	0,06
<u>HABITUAL</u>	55	0,06
<u>ORGANIZED</u>	53	0,05
<u>POLITICAL</u>	53	0,05
<u>CORPORATE</u>	52	0,05
<u>ORDINARY</u>	51	0,05
<u>VICIOUS</u>	47	0,05

<u>PROFESSIONAL</u>	46	0,05
<u>MAJOR</u>	45	0,05
<u>FREE</u>	45	0,05
<u>CRIMINAL</u>	44	0,04
<u>SMOOTH</u>	44	0,04
<u>BAD</u>	43	0,04
<u>AMERICAN</u>	42	0,04
<u>GOOD</u>	41	0,04
<u>STUPID</u>	36	0,04
<u>FEDERAL</u>	34	0,03
<u>BETTER</u>	34	0,03
<u>RESPONSIBLE</u>	33	0,03
<u>TRUE</u>	32	0,03
<u>SMALL-TIME</u>	31	0,03
<u>LOCAL</u>	31	0,03
<u>GUILTY</u>	31	0,03
<u>LIKELY</u>	29	0,03
<u>LITTLE</u>	29	0,03
<u>INVOLVED</u>	29	0,03
<u>SEXUAL</u>	29	0,03
<u>POSSIBLE</u>	29	0,03
<u>TERRORIST</u>	29	0,03
<u>WOULD-BE</u>	29	0,03
<u>TOUGH</u>	28	0,03
<u>HEINOUS</u>	28	0,03
<u>FUCKING</u>	28	0,03
<u>ESCAPED</u>	28	0,03
<u>DIFFERENT</u>	28	0,03
<u>FOREIGN</u>	27	0,03
<u>CORRUPT</u>	27	0,03
<u>PUNISHING</u>	27	0,03
<u>JUVENILE</u>	27	0,03
<u>INSANE</u>	26	0,03
<u>CONDEMNED</u>	26	0,03
<u>EASIER</u>	26	0,03
<u>EASY</u>	26	0,03
<u>SMART</u>	26	0,03
<u>TYPICAL</u>	25	0,03
<u>FUTURE</u>	25	0,03
<u>CERTAIN</u>	25	0,03
<u>POOR</u>	25	0,03
<u>OTHERS</u>	25	0,03

<u>RUSSIAN</u>	24	0,02
<u>INNOCENT</u>	24	0,02
<u>BIGGEST</u>	24	0,02
<u>ACTUAL</u>	24	0,02
<u>HIGH</u>	24	0,02
<u>HARD</u>	24	0,02
<u>FINANCIAL</u>	24	0,02
<u>WORSE</u>	24	0,02
<u>FULL</u>	23	0,02
<u>MINOR</u>	23	0,02
<u>RUTHLESS</u>	22	0,02
<u>PUBLIC</u>	22	0,02
<u>GERMAN</u>	22	0,02
<u>EVIL</u>	22	0,02
<u>ABLE</u>	22	0,02
<u>SURE</u>	22	0,02
<u>DEAD</u>	21	0,02
<u>GREAT</u>	21	0,02
<u>FAMOUS</u>	20	0,02
<u>DESPERATE</u>	20	0,02
<u>BIG</u>	20	0,02
<u>NONVIOLENT</u>	20	0,02
<u>POWERFUL</u>	20	0,02
<u>LEGAL</u>	20	0,02
<u>SOPHISTICATED</u>	20	0,02
<u>SMALL</u>	20	0,02
<u>MEXICAN</u>	19	0,02
<u>IMMORAL</u>	19	0,02
<u>HARD-CORE</u>	19	0,02
<u>RIGHT</u>	18	0,02
<u>SUCCESSFUL</u>	18	0,02
<u>TOP</u>	18	0,02
<u>SERIAL</u>	17	0,02
<u>PSYCHOPATHIC</u>	17	0,02
<u>FELLOW</u>	17	0,02
<u>FEMALE</u>	17	0,02
<u>ADMINISTRATIVE</u>	17	0,02
<u>BIGGER</u>	16	0,02
<u>ARCH</u>	16	0,02
<u>LARGE</u>	16	0,02
<u>MORAL</u>	16	0,02
<u>SOCIAL</u>	16	0,02

<u>JUST</u>	15	0,02
<u>PARTICULAR</u>	15	0,02
<u>AVERAGE</u>	15	0,02
<u>ALIEN</u>	15	0,02
<u>ECONOMIC</u>	15	0,02
<u>DUMB</u>	15	0,02
<u>HOMELESS</u>	15	0,02
<u>ONLINE</u>	14	0,01
<u>OLD</u>	14	0,01
<u>PRIVATE</u>	14	0,01
<u>JAPANESE</u>	14	0,01
<u>INDIVIDUAL</u>	14	0,01
<u>LIKE</u>	14	0,01
<u>LEGITIMATE</u>	13	0,01
<u>MALE</u>	13	0,01
<u>NORMAL</u>	13	0,01
<u>NUMEROUS</u>	13	0,01
<u>PERSONAL</u>	13	0,01
<u>GREATER</u>	13	0,01
<u>GREEDY</u>	13	0,01
<u>DOWNRIGHT</u>	13	0,01
<u>BEST</u>	13	0,01
<u>DECENT</u>	13	0,01
<u>SIMPLE</u>	13	0,01
<u>SPECIFIC</u>	13	0,01
<u>SUPER</u>	13	0,01
<u>VARIOUS</u>	13	0,01
<u>WRONG</u>	12	0,01
<u>AGGRESSIVE</u>	12	0,01
<u>AFRAID</u>	12	0,01
<u>EXECUTED</u>	12	0,01
<u>HONEST</u>	12	0,01
<u>MEDICAL</u>	12	0,01
<u>LAZY</u>	12	0,01
<u>LOW</u>	11	0,01
<u>LOW-LEVEL</u>	11	0,01
<u>MILITARY</u>	11	0,01
<u>MURDEROUS</u>	11	0,01
<u>IMPORTANT</u>	11	0,01
<u>ISRAELI</u>	11	0,01
<u>LAW-ABIDING</u>	11	0,01
<u>NATIONAL</u>	11	0,01

<u>SIMILAR</u>	11	0,01
<u>SHORT</u>	11	0,01
<u>HORRIBLE</u>	11	0,01
<u>ENVIRONMENTAL</u>	11	0,01
<u>DUMBEST</u>	11	0,01
<u>DOMESTIC</u>	11	0,01
<u>ACTIVE</u>	11	0,01
<u>ANTISOCIAL</u>	11	0,01
<u>CIVILIAN</u>	11	0,01
<u>VERY</u>	11	0,01
<u>UNEDUCATED</u>	11	0,01
<u>UNLAWFUL</u>	11	0,01
<u>STOLEN</u>	11	0,01
<u>SOFT</u>	11	0,01
<u>SO-CALLED</u>	11	0,01
<u>SUPPOSED</u>	10	0,01
<u>TERRIBLE</u>	10	0,01
<u>UNREPENTANT</u>	10	0,01
<u>WHOLE</u>	10	0,01
<u>DAMN</u>	10	0,01
<u>FRAUDULENT</u>	10	0,01
<u>PLAIN</u>	10	0,01
<u>PREDATORY</u>	10	0,01
<u>IMMIGRANT</u>	10	0,01
<u>HUMAN</u>	10	0,01
<u>LONG</u>	10	0,01
<u>ILL</u>	9	0,01
<u>NON-VIOLENT</u>	9	0,01
<u>OUTRIGHT</u>	9	0,01
<u>SICK</u>	9	0,01
<u>SEVERE</u>	9	0,01
<u>RICH</u>	9	0,01
<u>SERBIAN</u>	9	0,01
<u>SAFE</u>	9	0,01
<u>RECENT</u>	9	0,01
<u>REFORMED</u>	9	0,01
<u>FINE</u>	9	0,01
<u>DIFFICULT</u>	9	0,01
<u>HARDER</u>	9	0,01
<u>DEPRAVED</u>	9	0,01
<u>CRAZY</u>	9	0,01
<u>COMMUNIST</u>	9	0,01

<u>CHINESE</u>	9	0,01
<u>BOSNIAN</u>	9	0,01
<u>ASIAN</u>	9	0,01
<u>UNPUNISHED</u>	9	0,01
<u>UNLIKE</u>	9	0,01
<u>TRACKING</u>	9	0,01
<u>TERRITORIAL</u>	9	0,01
<u>SORRY</u>	9	0,01
<u>SOCIOPATHIC</u>	8	0,01
<u>SINGLE</u>	8	0,01
<u>UNEMPLOYED</u>	8	0,01
<u>UNETHICAL</u>	8	0,01
<u>WILD</u>	8	0,01
<u>AVAILABLE</u>	8	0,01
<u>ACCOUNTABLE</u>	8	0,01
<u>BRAZEN</u>	8	0,01
<u>CLEVER</u>	8	0,01
<u>COWARDLY</u>	8	0,01
<u>CURRENT</u>	8	0,01
<u>CRUEL</u>	8	0,01
<u>GLOBAL</u>	8	0,01
<u>GENERAL</u>	8	0,01
<u>DIRTY</u>	8	0,01
<u>DISGUSTING</u>	8	0,01
<u>EFFECTIVE</u>	8	0,01
<u>EUROPEAN</u>	8	0,01
<u>SECRET</u>	8	0,01
<u>NICE</u>	8	0,01
<u>PREVIOUS</u>	8	0,01
<u>PRIOR</u>	8	0,01
<u>PERFECT</u>	8	0,01
<u>PAST</u>	8	0,01
<u>INFAMOUS</u>	8	0,01
<u>INCOMPETENT</u>	8	0,01
<u>LOOSE</u>	8	0,01
<u>MENTAL</u>	8	0,01
<u>MASS</u>	7	0,01
<u>MAD</u>	7	0,01
<u>MOST-WANTED</u>	7	0,01
<u>HUGE</u>	7	0,01
<u>LARGEST</u>	7	0,01
<u>PHYSICAL</u>	7	0,01

<u>OBVIOUS</u>	7	0,01
<u>SENTENCING</u>	7	0,01
<u>EXTENSIVE</u>	7	0,01
<u>FAKE</u>	7	0,01
<u>DESPICABLE</u>	7	0,01
<u>GREATEST</u>	7	0,01
<u>HIGHEST</u>	7	0,01
<u>COLD-BLOODED</u>	7	0,01
<u>COMMERCIAL</u>	7	0,01
<u>BRUTAL</u>	7	0,01
<u>AFRICAN</u>	7	0,01
<u>ATTRACTIVE</u>	7	0,01
<u>BORN</u>	7	0,01
<u>VILE</u>	7	0,01
<u>WESTERN</u>	7	0,01
<u>TEENAGE</u>	7	0,01
<u>UNDOCUMENTED</u>	7	0,01
<u>TOUGHER</u>	7	0,01
<u>TOUGHEST</u>	7	0,01
<u>STRONG</u>	6	0,01
<u>SKILLED</u>	6	0,01
<u>SOVIET</u>	6	0,01
<u>SPECIAL</u>	6	0,01
<u>STANDARD</u>	6	0,01
<u>TRADITIONAL</u>	6	0,01
<u>WILLING</u>	6	0,01
<u>WORKING</u>	6	0,01
<u>WORTHLESS</u>	6	0,01
<u>ZIONIST</u>	6	0,01
<u>ADMITTED</u>	6	0,01
<u>ABNORMAL</u>	6	0,01
<u>CLEAR</u>	6	0,01
<u>CUNNING</u>	6	0,01
<u>CONSCIOUS</u>	6	0,01
<u>HOT</u>	6	0,01
<u>HIGH-PROFILE</u>	6	0,01
<u>GENOCIDAL</u>	6	0,01
<u>DEVIANT</u>	6	0,01
<u>DEVIOUS</u>	6	0,01
<u>DISHONEST</u>	6	0,01
<u>DESERVING</u>	6	0,01
<u>EARLY</u>	6	0,01

<u>EXISTING</u>	6	0,01
<u>ENTIRE</u>	6	0,01
<u>REGULAR</u>	6	0,01
<u>ORGANISED</u>	6	0,01
<u>PENDING</u>	6	0,01
<u>JUDICIAL</u>	6	0,01
<u>INTELLIGENT</u>	6	0,01
<u>INTERESTED</u>	6	0,01
<u>INAPPROPRIATE</u>	6	0,01
<u>NEFARIOUS</u>	6	0,01
<u>MAIN</u>	6	0,01
<u>MASKED</u>	6	0,01
<u>MERE</u>	6	0,01
<u>LIBERAL</u>	6	0,01
<u>LESSER</u>	5	0,01
<u>LIABLE</u>	5	0,01
<u>LONGER</u>	5	0,01
<u>LOW-LIFE</u>	5	0,01
<u>LOWER</u>	5	0,01
<u>MASSIVE</u>	5	0,01
<u>MUSLIM</u>	5	0,01
<u>IMMUNE</u>	5	0,01
<u>INTERNAL</u>	5	0,01
<u>LATER</u>	5	0,01
<u>LATEST</u>	5	0,01
<u>JEWISH</u>	5	0,01
<u>IRAQI</u>	5	0,01
<u>ISOLATED</u>	5	0,01
<u>OLDER</u>	5	0,01
<u>REGULATORY</u>	5	0,01
<u>REPEATED</u>	5	0,01
<u>RETIRED</u>	5	0,01
<u>PURE</u>	5	0,01
<u>RACIAL</u>	5	0,01
<u>RACIST</u>	5	0,01
<u>RAMPANT</u>	5	0,01
<u>RANDOM</u>	5	0,01
<u>RARE</u>	5	0,01
<u>RATIONAL</u>	5	0,01
<u>RUN-OF-THE-MILL</u>	5	0,01
<u>SCARY</u>	5	0,01
<u>FASCIST</u>	5	0,01

<u>ELECTED</u>	5	0,01
<u>ELITE</u>	5	0,01
<u>DETERMINED</u>	5	0,01
<u>GARDEN-VARIETY</u>	5	0,01
<u>FRENCH</u>	5	0,01
<u>HIGH-TECH</u>	5	0,01
<u>HIRED</u>	5	0,01
<u>HISPANIC</u>	5	0,01
<u>HOSTILE</u>	5	0,01
<u>CONGRESSIONAL</u>	5	0,01
<u>DERANGED</u>	5	0,01
<u>COLD</u>	5	0,01
<u>CONCERNED</u>	5	0,01
<u>CAPABLE</u>	5	0,01
<u>CENTRAL</u>	5	0,01
<u>BRITISH</u>	5	0,01
<u>BROAD</u>	5	0,01
<u>CHIEF</u>	5	0,01
<u>ANONYMOUS</u>	5	0,01
<u>ANTI-SEMITIC</u>	5	0,01
<u>BRANDED</u>	5	0,01
<u>BIG-TIME</u>	5	0,01
<u>ATTEMPTED</u>	5	0,01
<u>BALKAN</u>	5	0,01
<u>VULNERABLE</u>	5	0,01
<u>TRANSNATIONAL</u>	5	0,01
<u>TURKISH</u>	5	0,01
<u>TWISTED</u>	5	0,01
<u>TWO-BIT</u>	5	0,01
<u>USELESS</u>	5	0,01
<u>USUAL</u>	5	0,01
<u>UNLIKELY</u>	5	0,01
<u>SUPERSTITIOUS</u>	5	0,01
<u>TANTAMOUNT</u>	5	0,01

Collocates of *offender* in COCA

COLLOCATE	Raw frequency	Normalised frequency
<u>JUVENILE</u>	549	0,55
<u>WORST</u>	439	0,44
<u>VIOLENT</u>	413	0,42
<u>CONVICTED</u>	325	0,33

<u>REGISTERED</u>	306	0,31
<u>FIRST-TIME</u>	222	0,22
<u>YOUNG</u>	194	0,2
<u>CRIMINAL</u>	181	0,18
<u>NONVIOLENT</u>	172	0,17
<u>SEXUAL</u>	143	0,14
<u>SERIOUS</u>	138	0,14
<u>OTHER</u>	127	0,13
<u>NON-VIOLENT</u>	91	0,09
<u>FEMALE</u>	89	0,09
<u>YOUTHFUL</u>	77	0,08
<u>MALE</u>	72	0,07
<u>HABITUAL</u>	70	0,07
<u>DANGEROUS</u>	64	0,06
<u>SERIAL</u>	63	0,06
<u>BIGGEST</u>	62	0,06
<u>LOW-LEVEL</u>	57	0,06
<u>ALLEGED</u>	48	0,05
<u>KNOWN</u>	47	0,05
<u>BLACK</u>	43	0,04
<u>CHRONIC</u>	43	0,04
<u>FEDERAL</u>	41	0,04
<u>MINOR</u>	41	0,04
<u>LIKELY</u>	40	0,04
<u>POTENTIAL</u>	34	0,03
<u>WHITE</u>	30	0,03
<u>INDIVIDUAL</u>	30	0,03
<u>MULTIPLE</u>	30	0,03
<u>DIFFERENT</u>	30	0,03
<u>NEW</u>	29	0,03
<u>GUILTY</u>	29	0,03
<u>HIGH-RISK</u>	27	0,03
<u>MANDATORY</u>	27	0,03
<u>EQUAL</u>	27	0,03
<u>MAIN</u>	26	0,03
<u>WORSE</u>	24	0,02
<u>ONLY</u>	23	0,02
<u>DUI</u>	23	0,02
<u>CERTAIN</u>	23	0,02
<u>DOMESTIC</u>	22	0,02
<u>ELIGIBLE</u>	22	0,02
<u>SUSPECTED</u>	22	0,02

<u>PREVIOUS</u>	22	0,02
<u>EGREGIOUS</u>	21	0,02
<u>MAJOR</u>	21	0,02
<u>HOMELESS</u>	21	0,02
<u>MENTAL</u>	20	0,02
<u>ADOLESCENT</u>	20	0,02
<u>NATIONAL</u>	19	0,02
<u>HIGH</u>	18	0,02
<u>BIG</u>	18	0,02
<u>PETTY</u>	18	0,02
<u>PRIOR</u>	17	0,02
<u>RETARDED</u>	17	0,02
<u>YOUNGER</u>	17	0,02
<u>CURRENT</u>	17	0,02
<u>LOCAL</u>	17	0,02
<u>DRUG-INVOLVED</u>	16	0,02
<u>COMMON</u>	16	0,02
<u>APPLICABLE</u>	16	0,02
<u>RELEASED</u>	16	0,02
<u>POSSIBLE</u>	16	0,02
<u>PAROLED</u>	15	0,02
<u>SIMILAR</u>	15	0,02
<u>SUCCESSFUL</u>	15	0,02
<u>ADDITIONAL</u>	15	0,02
<u>HUMAN</u>	15	0,02
<u>OLDER</u>	15	0,02
<u>LOW-RISK</u>	15	0,02
<u>LONG</u>	15	0,02
<u>MOTIVATED</u>	14	0,01
<u>ADULT</u>	14	0,01
<u>AMERICAN</u>	14	0,01
<u>DWI</u>	14	0,01
<u>SECOND-TIME</u>	14	0,01
<u>POLITICAL</u>	13	0,01
<u>PSYCHOPATHIC</u>	13	0,01
<u>SPECIFIC</u>	13	0,01
<u>SMALL</u>	13	0,01
<u>CIVIL</u>	13	0,01
<u>OVERWHELMED</u>	13	0,01
<u>INCARCERATED</u>	13	0,01
<u>ONE-TIME</u>	12	0,01
<u>CHIEF</u>	12	0,01

<u>CORRECTIONAL</u>	12	0,01
<u>ACCOUNTABLE</u>	12	0,01
<u>FINE</u>	12	0,01
<u>SOCIAL</u>	12	0,01
<u>PRIMARY</u>	12	0,01
<u>PUBLIC</u>	12	0,01
<u>SADISTIC</u>	11	0,01
<u>PRIME</u>	11	0,01
<u>PARTICULAR</u>	11	0,01
<u>PERSISTENT</u>	11	0,01
<u>TOUGH</u>	11	0,01
<u>WHITE-COLLAR</u>	11	0,01
<u>FREQUENT</u>	11	0,01
<u>ACTIVE</u>	11	0,01
<u>NOTORIOUS</u>	11	0,01
<u>GREATEST</u>	11	0,01
<u>INTENSIVE</u>	11	0,01
<u>FUTURE</u>	10	0,01
<u>IMPAIRED</u>	10	0,01
<u>OTHERS</u>	10	0,01
<u>AVAILABLE</u>	10	0,01
<u>ELDERLY</u>	10	0,01
<u>TRUE</u>	10	0,01
<u>THREE-TIME</u>	10	0,01
<u>PREDATORY</u>	9	0,01
<u>PAST</u>	9	0,01
<u>POOR</u>	9	0,01
<u>PUNISHING</u>	9	0,01
<u>EARLY</u>	9	0,01
<u>DRUNK</u>	9	0,01
<u>DIFFICULT</u>	9	0,01
<u>APPROPRIATE</u>	9	0,01
<u>ARMED</u>	9	0,01
<u>ABLE</u>	9	0,01
<u>LOW</u>	9	0,01
<u>GOOD</u>	9	0,01
<u>HIGHER</u>	9	0,01
<u>GREATER</u>	8	0,01
<u>INTERNATIONAL</u>	8	0,01
<u>LOWER</u>	8	0,01
<u>MISSING</u>	8	0,01
<u>ORIGINAL</u>	8	0,01

<u>CULPABLE</u>	8	0,01
<u>EQUAL- OPPORTUNITY</u>	8	0,01
<u>EXPERIENCED</u>	8	0,01
<u>SENTENCING</u>	8	0,01
<u>RECENT</u>	8	0,01
<u>RESPONSIBLE</u>	8	0,01
<u>TWO-TIME</u>	8	0,01
<u>SPECIAL</u>	8	0,01
<u>SUPPOSED</u>	8	0,01
<u>SINGLE</u>	8	0,01
<u>SURE</u>	7	0,01
<u>UNVERIFIABLE</u>	7	0,01
<u>VARIOUS</u>	7	0,01
<u>TOP</u>	7	0,01
<u>TRACKING</u>	7	0,01
<u>PREFERENTIAL</u>	7	0,01
<u>PRINCIPAL</u>	7	0,01
<u>WOULD-BE</u>	7	0,01
<u>FREE</u>	7	0,01
<u>DRIVING</u>	7	0,01
<u>CONSISTENT</u>	7	0,01
<u>EFFECTIVE</u>	7	0,01
<u>AWARE</u>	7	0,01
<u>MILITARY</u>	7	0,01
<u>LOOSE</u>	7	0,01
<u>LITTLE</u>	7	0,01
<u>LESSER</u>	7	0,01
<u>LEVEL</u>	7	0,01
<u>LARGEST</u>	6	0,01
<u>LONE</u>	6	0,01
<u>INVOLVED</u>	6	0,01
<u>INDIAN</u>	6	0,01
<u>HIGHEST</u>	6	0,01
<u>LONG-TERM</u>	6	0,01
<u>OLD</u>	6	0,01
<u>NARCISSISTIC</u>	6	0,01
<u>BAD</u>	6	0,01
<u>ACCUSED</u>	6	0,01
<u>DISABLED</u>	6	0,01
<u>FULL</u>	6	0,01
<u>FELLOW</u>	6	0,01
<u>FALSE</u>	6	0,01

<u>REAL</u>	6	0,01
<u>RESIDENTIAL</u>	6	0,01
<u>VAST</u>	6	0,01
<u>SUPERVISED</u>	6	0,01
<u>SMELLY</u>	6	0,01
<u>SHORT</u>	6	0,01
<u>SEVERE</u>	5	0,01
<u>SO-CALLED</u>	5	0,01
<u>SUITABLE</u>	5	0,01
<u>STRONG</u>	5	0,01
<u>UNLIKELY</u>	5	0,01
<u>TROUBLED</u>	5	0,01
<u>TEENAGE</u>	5	0,01
<u>TERRIBLE</u>	5	0,01
<u>THIRD-TIME</u>	5	0,01
<u>REGULAR</u>	5	0,01
<u>PUNISHABLE</u>	5	0,01
<u>RIGHT</u>	5	0,01
<u>PSYCHOTIC</u>	5	0,01
<u>PRIVATE</u>	5	0,01
<u>PROLIFIC</u>	5	0,01
<u>ENVIRONMENTAL</u>	5	0,01
<u>FURTHER</u>	5	0,01
<u>DAILY</u>	5	0,01
<u>ECONOMIC</u>	5	0,01
<u>ALIEN</u>	5	0,01
<u>ADMITTED</u>	5	0,01
<u>AVERAGE</u>	5	0,01
<u>ALTERNATIVE</u>	5	0,01
<u>COMPARATIVE</u>	5	0,01
<u>CLEAR</u>	5	0,01
<u>COMMITTED</u>	5	0,01
<u>OBVIOUS</u>	5	0,01
<u>ONLINE</u>	5	0,01
<u>LOWER-LEVEL</u>	5	0,01
<u>GREAT</u>	5	0,01
<u>IMPORTANT</u>	5	0,01
<u>INCREASED</u>	5	0,01
<u>ILL</u>	5	0,01
<u>HOMOSEXUAL</u>	5	0,01
<u>LARGE</u>	5	0,01
<u>LATE</u>	5	0,01

<u>LEGAL</u>	5	0,01
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Collocates of *convict* in COCA

COLLOCATE	Frequency	Normalised frequency
<u>JUVENILE</u>	549	0,55
<u>WORST</u>	439	0,44
<u>VIOLENT</u>	413	0,42
<u>CONVICTED</u>	325	0,33
<u>REGISTERED</u>	306	0,31
<u>FIRST-TIME</u>	222	0,22
<u>YOUNG</u>	194	0,2
<u>CRIMINAL</u>	181	0,18
<u>NONVIOLENT</u>	172	0,17
<u>SEXUAL</u>	143	0,14
<u>SERIOUS</u>	138	0,14
<u>OTHER</u>	127	0,13
<u>NON-VIOLENT</u>	91	0,09
<u>FEMALE</u>	89	0,09
<u>YOUTHFUL</u>	77	0,08
<u>MALE</u>	72	0,07
<u>HABITUAL</u>	70	0,07
<u>DANGEROUS</u>	64	0,06
<u>SERIAL</u>	63	0,06
<u>BIGGEST</u>	62	0,06
<u>LOW-LEVEL</u>	57	0,06
<u>ALLEGED</u>	48	0,05
<u>KNOWN</u>	47	0,05
<u>BLACK</u>	43	0,04
<u>CHRONIC</u>	43	0,04
<u>FEDERAL</u>	41	0,04
<u>MINOR</u>	41	0,04
<u>LIKELY</u>	40	0,04
<u>POTENTIAL</u>	34	0,03
<u>WHITE</u>	30	0,03
<u>INDIVIDUAL</u>	30	0,03
<u>MULTIPLE</u>	30	0,03
<u>DIFFERENT</u>	30	0,03
<u>NEW</u>	29	0,03
<u>GUILTY</u>	29	0,03
<u>HIGH-RISK</u>	27	0,03
<u>MANDATORY</u>	27	0,03

<u>EQUAL</u>	27	0,03
<u>MAIN</u>	26	0,03
<u>WORSE</u>	24	0,02
<u>ONLY</u>	23	0,02
<u>DUI</u>	23	0,02
<u>CERTAIN</u>	23	0,02
<u>DOMESTIC</u>	22	0,02
<u>ELIGIBLE</u>	22	0,02
<u>SUSPECTED</u>	22	0,02
<u>PREVIOUS</u>	22	0,02
<u>EGREGIOUS</u>	21	0,02
<u>MAJOR</u>	21	0,02
<u>HOMELESS</u>	21	0,02
<u>MENTAL</u>	20	0,02
<u>ADOLESCENT</u>	20	0,02
<u>NATIONAL</u>	19	0,02
<u>HIGH</u>	18	0,02
<u>BIG</u>	18	0,02
<u>PETTY</u>	18	0,02
<u>PRIOR</u>	17	0,02
<u>RETARDED</u>	17	0,02
<u>YOUNGER</u>	17	0,02
<u>CURRENT</u>	17	0,02
<u>LOCAL</u>	17	0,02
<u>DRUG-INVOLVED</u>	16	0,02
<u>COMMON</u>	16	0,02
<u>APPLICABLE</u>	16	0,02
<u>RELEASED</u>	16	0,02
<u>POSSIBLE</u>	16	0,02
<u>PAROLED</u>	15	0,02
<u>SIMILAR</u>	15	0,02
<u>SUCCESSFUL</u>	15	0,02
<u>ADDITIONAL</u>	15	0,02
<u>HUMAN</u>	15	0,02
<u>OLDER</u>	15	0,02
<u>LOW-RISK</u>	15	0,02
<u>LONG</u>	15	0,02
<u>MOTIVATED</u>	14	0,01
<u>ADULT</u>	14	0,01
<u>AMERICAN</u>	14	0,01
<u>DWI</u>	14	0,01
<u>SECOND-TIME</u>	14	0,01

<u>POLITICAL</u>	13	0,01
<u>PSYCHOPATHIC</u>	13	0,01
<u>SPECIFIC</u>	13	0,01
<u>SMALL</u>	13	0,01
<u>CIVIL</u>	13	0,01
<u>OVERWHELMED</u>	13	0,01
<u>INCARCERATED</u>	13	0,01
<u>ONE-TIME</u>	12	0,01
<u>CHIEF</u>	12	0,01
<u>CORRECTIONAL</u>	12	0,01
<u>ACCOUNTABLE</u>	12	0,01
<u>FINE</u>	12	0,01
<u>SOCIAL</u>	12	0,01
<u>PRIMARY</u>	12	0,01
<u>PUBLIC</u>	12	0,01
<u>SADISTIC</u>	11	0,01
<u>PRIME</u>	11	0,01
<u>PARTICULAR</u>	11	0,01
<u>PERSISTENT</u>	11	0,01
<u>TOUGH</u>	11	0,01
<u>WHITE-COLLAR</u>	11	0,01
<u>FREQUENT</u>	11	0,01
<u>ACTIVE</u>	11	0,01
<u>NOTORIOUS</u>	11	0,01
<u>GREATEST</u>	11	0,01
<u>INTENSIVE</u>	11	0,01
<u>FUTURE</u>	10	0,01
<u>IMPAIRED</u>	10	0,01
<u>OTHERS</u>	10	0,01
<u>AVAILABLE</u>	10	0,01
<u>ELDERLY</u>	10	0,01
<u>TRUE</u>	10	0,01
<u>THREE-TIME</u>	10	0,01
<u>PREDATORY</u>	9	0,01
<u>PAST</u>	9	0,01
<u>POOR</u>	9	0,01
<u>PUNISHING</u>	9	0,01
<u>EARLY</u>	9	0,01
<u>DRUNK</u>	9	0,01
<u>DIFFICULT</u>	9	0,01
<u>APPROPRIATE</u>	9	0,01
<u>ARMED</u>	9	0,01

<u>ABLE</u>	9	0,01
<u>LOW</u>	9	0,01
<u>GOOD</u>	9	0,01
<u>HIGHER</u>	9	0,01
<u>GREATER</u>	8	0,01
<u>INTERNATIONAL</u>	8	0,01
<u>LOWER</u>	8	0,01
<u>MISSING</u>	8	0,01
<u>ORIGINAL</u>	8	0,01
<u>CULPABLE</u>	8	0,01
<u>EQUAL-</u>		
<u>OPPORTUNITY</u>	8	0,01
<u>EXPERIENCED</u>	8	0,01
<u>SENTENCING</u>	8	0,01
<u>RECENT</u>	8	0,01
<u>RESPONSIBLE</u>	8	0,01
<u>TWO-TIME</u>	8	0,01
<u>SPECIAL</u>	8	0,01
<u>SUPPOSED</u>	8	0,01
<u>SINGLE</u>	8	0,01
<u>SURE</u>	7	0,01
<u>UNVERIFIABLE</u>	7	0,01
<u>VARIOUS</u>	7	0,01
<u>TOP</u>	7	0,01
<u>TRACKING</u>	7	0,01
<u>PREFERENTIAL</u>	7	0,01
<u>PRINCIPAL</u>	7	0,01
<u>WOULD-BE</u>	7	0,01
<u>FREE</u>	7	0,01
<u>DRIVING</u>	7	0,01
<u>CONSISTENT</u>	7	0,01
<u>EFFECTIVE</u>	7	0,01
<u>AWARE</u>	7	0,01
<u>MILITARY</u>	7	0,01
<u>LOOSE</u>	7	0,01
<u>LITTLE</u>	7	0,01
<u>LESSER</u>	7	0,01
<u>LEVEL</u>	7	0,01
<u>LARGEST</u>	6	0,01
<u>LONE</u>	6	0,01
<u>INVOLVED</u>	6	0,01
<u>INDIAN</u>	6	0,01
<u>HIGHEST</u>	6	0,01

<u>LONG-TERM</u>	6	0,01
<u>OLD</u>	6	0,01
<u>NARCISSISTIC</u>	6	0,01
<u>BAD</u>	6	0,01
<u>ACCUSED</u>	6	0,01
<u>DISABLED</u>	6	0,01
<u>FULL</u>	6	0,01
<u>FELLOW</u>	6	0,01
<u>FALSE</u>	6	0,01
<u>REAL</u>	6	0,01
<u>RESIDENTIAL</u>	6	0,01
<u>VAST</u>	6	0,01
<u>SUPERVISED</u>	6	0,01
<u>SMELLY</u>	6	0,01
<u>SHORT</u>	6	0,01
<u>SEVERE</u>	5	0,01
<u>SO-CALLED</u>	5	0,01
<u>SUITABLE</u>	5	0,01
<u>STRONG</u>	5	0,01
<u>UNLIKELY</u>	5	0,01
<u>TROUBLED</u>	5	0,01
<u>TEENAGE</u>	5	0,01
<u>TERRIBLE</u>	5	0,01
<u>THIRD-TIME</u>	5	0,01
<u>REGULAR</u>	5	0,01
<u>PUNISHABLE</u>	5	0,01
<u>RIGHT</u>	5	0,01
<u>PSYCHOTIC</u>	5	0,01
<u>PRIVATE</u>	5	0,01
<u>PROLIFIC</u>	5	0,01
<u>ENVIRONMENTAL</u>	5	0,01
<u>FURTHER</u>	5	0,01
<u>DAILY</u>	5	0,01
<u>ECONOMIC</u>	5	0,01
<u>ALIEN</u>	5	0,01
<u>ADMITTED</u>	5	0,01
<u>AVERAGE</u>	5	0,01
<u>ALTERNATIVE</u>	5	0,01
<u>COMPARATIVE</u>	5	0,01
<u>CLEAR</u>	5	0,01
<u>COMMITTED</u>	5	0,01
<u>OBVIOUS</u>	5	0,01

<u>ONLINE</u>	5	0,01
<u>LOWER-LEVEL</u>	5	0,01
<u>GREAT</u>	5	0,01
<u>IMPORTANT</u>	5	0,01
<u>INCREASED</u>	5	0,01
<u>ILL</u>	5	0,01
<u>HOMOSEXUAL</u>	5	0,01
<u>LARGE</u>	5	0,01
<u>LATE</u>	5	0,01
<u>LEGAL</u>	5	0,01

Context of the collocation *real criminal/criminals* in COCA

. speaking of maniacs, lets watch this again. That's a **real criminal** inside that makeshift jail cell. It's a jailbreak. You know, it feel good when they avoid punishment? Just move on with their lives? **Real criminals are different than you and me.** Something about the mind-set of someone who does ? They should stick to their own side of the street. Leave the **real criminals** for us. What the... You trying to **kill somebody**? Detective Warren?

South Ridge Penitentiary? He always said the **guy he beat up** was the **real criminal**. - Who is she? - Dr. Lucy Bauer. Joseph's wife of. Toughen him up. Give him more chances to meet the **real dangerous criminals** there. # So Roo just picked up his wallet. The young man, that any of em motherfuckers ever wan na hire us. But the **real criminals**, they don't bother with **us small-timers.** And now Mr. Slovin will million gallons of crude oil being spilled into the gulf. They're the **real criminals**. What are you doing? [handcuffs_click] What is this? What are you doing - if love can be called a mistake. I'm sure there are **real criminals** in the **the neighborhood that you can beat up if you have the inclination.**

. The ones that knew about it and did nothing. Those are the **real criminals**. # I work with **mental** cases every day and I feel sorry for the defeat a villain and adopt his Right-Hand Cat -- only the cat was the **real criminal**, using hypnosis to make his "master" do his bidding. # In . 7:35 pm 7:35 pm # wow! Who cares. Go after **real criminals** please! Waste of tax payers money! Maybe **she is a tree hugger that** like she was perusing it or attempting to harm it. Go find some **real criminals**, or if your that worried about florida wildlife spend some more time trying to by the hot, wet blanket enveloping the city to commit mayhem. The **real criminals** of the heat crisis, Klinenberg makes clear, were the federal, state and with the clearly unconstitutional stop and frisk program and put them to work arresting **REAL criminals**. Just because you **steal massive sums** of money doesn't mean you have a **Them and illegal aliens, convicted felons, dead people** and the **real smart criminals** are employed as lawyers to file lawsuits after losing elections. Notice how not one one of, if not **THE** best African leader instead of going after the **real criminals** that rule with an iron fist and **cause endless suffering** to their own people. it up and giving it to people like us? # Alfredo: The **real criminals** are Wall Street and the big **banks who are foreclosing these homes and leaving people homeless** and in the 's Office and Whiteville Police should have gone to Creekwood and rounded up some **real criminals**. These checkpoints never cease to amaze and anger me # It's very likely Inflation is more the innocent bystander or better yet the scape goat for the **real criminals** at work in our economy. And frankly, our inflation is not that bad Clint would spot something from his days on the streets. " Only the **real criminals** would hang out there, " he'd say, indicating a nondescript back door . i.e. "Maverick" is simply the Reploid equivalent to your typical **Real Life criminals**. # Inverted by Zero, who was created **to kill X.** Averted by X.

wrong men than confess that British sagacity and activity have failed to discover the **real criminals**. " 73 More recently, politician Martin Lee, of the United Democratic party the U.S. be required to use e-Verify. We need to start seeing the **REAL criminals** in this situation: The American citizens who reward people with a job if they they aren't deserving of, the idea of this show being **real** and using **criminals** who actually do deserve it can certainly come off as appealing. # The German drink either. # Originally Posted by Chelsea # You want to punish the **real criminals** buddy? Take the price-gouging, incentive giving, and loathsome pharmaceutical companies to court hope I live to see the day when our jails are full of the **real criminals**: the ones whose country club sycophants applaud their labeling people with functioning super-egos " your **real enemy**? # The courts charging such high fees makes them the **real criminal**, not the hacker. Yeah, the hacker kicked your behind, but the of bishops, priests, and deacons, there was no room for the **real criminals -- murderers, thieves and robbers**. After his release, Nicholas attended the Council safe and supportive place for writers of all ages to contribute. # The **real criminal is the Uncle who put her on the streets to begin with.** I believe supporting this woman! What did the Facebook fan say? Go after the **real criminals**? Are you kidding me? I wonder if they would have thought the same 's war on law-abiding **providers of medical marijuana will only drum up business for real criminals.** " The administration is going after legal dispensaries and state and local authorities in solve another " crisis. " # Indeed, it's time for the **real criminals** in the McMartin case to stand trial: the American press and public. Both Aro angrier. Why should his sons be buried in the ground when the **real criminals** were frolicking on some fucking beach? **They deserved his pain. All of them** a target of investigators and publicly tried in the court of opinion before the **real criminal** was identified. Jewell was not able to clear his name well enough and committed . hide this somewhere if it's not about free speech or catching **real criminals**. its about giving up all privacy and getting free access to anyone anytime just help you. I am sure the police will be busy with **real crimes and criminals**. # dee # Finally a positive story about a pitbull. Its all in wasting money to lock them up in gladiator schools where they learn to be **real criminals** the tax money would provide a path to quitting drugs, if they so choose any more, and start releasing inmates randomly. Now we get the **real dangerous criminals** back out on the streets. # Walfr: The European justice systems are based as long as no traffic was coming, bid flipping deal, go chase **real criminals**: (# Well, this is a tough one. I don't know think this police officer needs more training and to be out there getting the **real criminals not someone for jaywalking!** # IMHO, this officer's biggest sin was not is so stupid and so incompetent I doubt that they could ever catch a **real criminal**, so they pray on the lemming like **job public. Im sorry officer,** robbery! that is perpetuated by the powers that be. THEY are the **real criminals** who should be "prosecuted to the fullest," not a bunch of goons cop car as evidence that these protesters are idiots, wake up. The **real criminals and out-of-control ruffians are the bastards sitting** in the meeting halls and conference rooms, friends, family, and familiar things behind them. Which one is the **real criminal?** " # But that about sums it up for me. If the only in 08. Then we can get on with fixing this and throw the **real criminals** in jail (one thing I'd be willing to outsource to Mexico). cut their wages or the pensions that come with their jobs. And the **real criminals --** those who stole our pensions through fraudulent investments in junk stocks and bonds -- agents after Dillinger, and remarked, " I mean, who's the **real criminal?** " # Well, Hoover had **plenty of faults**, but running a gang not so move on to more important issues and let the man put away **real criminals** # I bet they have less trouble seating a jury now that this was revealed why the USA do not recognize the Hague court as they know where the **real criminals** are. # George November 17, 2012 # Is it possible that some of looks cooked up to me. Just too many questions as to who the **real criminal** is here? # looney, looney, looney, liar, liar, liar religious freedom in this country. Comments (152) # The only **real criminals** in obama's mind are Christians. Any Christian who votes for obama is voting I don't need it. # Cosmic Dogma posted: " The only **real criminals** in obama's mind are Christians.... If he had an arena and some youths chucking cans about. It seems **law abiding citizens are being punished while real criminals** are untouchable. # Report abuse Oct. 13, 2007, 4:26 pm # Sue dump garbage and auto parts in **vacant lots and alleys, those are the real criminals not some child enjoying harmless** fun. Then you wonder why younger children look at It's popular to bash Wall Street today but this once again shows the **real criminals** are overzealous UNION management.. # I spent 22+ years in low and mid-level management with the muslims. " # If you want to **hate, hate the real criminals** and people endangering our Country, the United States government. # I knew Obama have been a light sentence, but that fact is those women were the **real criminals** and they got a slap on the wrist. # As for the role of HOW DELUDED IS THAT??? # Anonymous # The **real killers are criminals who killed four Americans.** How is it that Obama and Rice are accountable for " the bad guy. " Imagine the same technology unleashed against "you" by **real criminals**. # In any case, don't " mis-underestimate " the kind of abuse OMG, wow, if they could spend half as much time finding the **real criminals**, the world would be a better place. This is simply pathetic. Using . It's really our felonious so called elected officials, they are the **real criminals and destroyers of this country.** Of course indoctrination universities pop out useful idiots faster -- As it is, the police are catching less than 20% of the **real criminals (those who do violate another's life, liberty, and property);** a dent in consensual crimes. To free prison **space for consensual criminals, real criminals** are put on the street every day. # Consensual crimes promote organized crime -- cause no harm to others, the crimes that do **cause harm increase** and **real criminals** are more likely to go free. # 8. Prohibition changed the drinking habits outraged that our prisons and county jails are used to house pot heads while **real criminals...** you know **murderers and child molesters** are allowed to get out early. Honestly are allowed to get out early. Honestly if you prefer to have the **real criminals** out on the streets then quit your whining. **Real** low life's who are legislation that most people commit **a petty, trivial crime each day, while real criminals go unpunished;** No one being allowed to fail, all students must be given the measure. " This would free up precious police resources to go after **real criminals, drunk drivers, etc.,** as opposed to wasting time on a green plant person he thought was a robber was really another citizen who was pursuing the **real criminals** and now they are into a wild west **shoot-out** in the middle of the public any conclusion of guilt when one reads all the documentation to date. The **real criminals** are those who stacked the jury so as to protect the agenda of The National as a singular collective voice IF we stop this in-fighting amongst ourselves while the **REAL criminals** hang back at the sidelines, gettin their indictments ready and laughing at what we . It is the reason our prisons are overflowing, but not with the **real criminals**. Income tax laws favor giant corporations and place the burden of paying taxes on public to believe justice has been done. # Instead of going after the **real criminals**, the Department has gone after the **schleps who** got caught up in the mess president gets elected? although Republicans don't get that juvenile. # The **real criminals** here are Fox News and the GOP, who have waged a continuous war against spend an inordinate amount of time chasing **around skateboarders** due to lack of any **real criminals** to bust) and the main drivers of the local economy being schools and prisons she has been " unfairly targeted " by the media and feels the **real " criminal "** in the scandal is Paula Broadwell. Kelley sent multiple emails to Tampa Mayor in MT or IL... # I think the conservative contempt is because **real bad criminals (pedifiles, murders, rapists)** seem to get light sentences in some states but not worth the trouble to testify. You know, go find some **real criminals**. # I think that if you did a poll of Floridians, you'd sure the people arming themselves with **AK-47?** s are more worried about the **real criminals** in DC. # American # America is getting ready for the rioting by the own a gun.Citizens who **shot burglars or robbers or rapists** were charged while the **real criminals** were released.Indeed, after the Martin shooting, a police spokesman was quoted as saying .Ocourse the 50% reality and 50% Cosmic drama of 9/11 involved some then **real criminals** who at the moment of impact became just chemicals and atomic particles that forms existence Thank you. # I don't trust Facebook's algorithms for identifying " **real criminals** " any more than I'd trust the old KGB for only imprisoning " **real** right, we're just going to focus on protecting this city from the **real criminals**. Now does anyone have a problem with that? Jarek? No. Good disrespect the badge. **Why don't you use your badge to catch some real criminals?** You idiot! You ridiculous, stupid idiot! Sir, pick that up . We ordinary police... if we had your powers and resources to catch **real criminals**, by God, what a great state we'd have. AGIUS: So On these business deals. You want to talk criminals? Those are the **real criminals**. What's wrong with staying where you are? -If it's working, . Have you heard about this guy, Blagojevich? This guy's a **real criminal.** What is he? From New Jersey? I mean, I was shocked the **White House, he claims that the only way to achieve real rehabilitation of criminals and reduce recidivism is to " lead them to God."** Florida advocates of confess. At least now we're getting confessions from other people too. **Real criminals. Killers.** What other errands do you have us running for the D. calm down, mrs. -- Hey, shill... To the **real criminals!** I am not going anywhere! Get the **riot shields.** Riot shields. I stay here? We can't get enough money to chase down **real live criminals** in D.C. Shucks, Bush is giving Iraq \$100 million for museums and a program gift shop, honey, right? And let's not forget who the **real criminal is here, not that I'm a criminal,** I can't be. the court ruling. # " A lot of these people are not **real serious criminals**, " said Richard Prinz, a Houston attorney representing immigrants in deportation cases. that. It sounds so tough. - **Robbery** - Mmm, a **real criminal**. - How about you? - **Cannibalism.** I ate my parents. Good E. B. DuBois discovered within the black population what he called the " **real Negro criminal** class. " 73 He also found that of those who had been arrested, got me pretty scared. I mean, he acted like I was a **real criminal**. Oh, he's just being paranoid. You know how lawyers get. ? Great. Summer? The time has come to cleanse Gotham of the **real criminals**. You apprehend them, Dark Knight, and Lock-Up will put them away. your hysterical calls clattering up their phone lines. They've got to catch **real criminals**. Like the **murderous muggers and thugs that hang around** movie theaters after hours. is, just where did justice go wrong? Who is the **real Nazi war criminal** Ivan the Terrible? Five years ago an Israeli court said it was American auto-worker the show, but the worst, the hardest to catch, the **real hard-core criminals**, and those are the ones that we have got over 100 of. We

That might keep out the riffraff, but it won't deter the **real criminals**. I wouldn't do it if I were them. # You won't INGRAHAM) : So only that? ARISTIMUNO) : No, if you're a **real criminal, you've committed serious crimes, rapes, violence, what have you --**

. For Arar, users rather than the poor debtors, are the **real criminals**. He thinks that the debtors should not be punished because they are mere victims bail was set at \$100,000, and they should be out here arresting the **real criminals**. **Yes! All he did was shoot a video!** Ladies and gentlemen, didn't have time to waste on stuff like that. He was catching **real criminals**. **Guys who hurt people and did drugs and stuff**. You had to be look **real**. The cops, he said, could tell something staged. **Real criminals** do everything at a future run. Motivation, Jamie said, is central to "wondered the journalist? Pondering the impact fictional representations of criminality might have on **real criminals**, the journalist slipped into the realm of the metaphysical, suggesting again the special debate about the ethical implications of basing a novel on the life of a **real criminal**. After unsuccessfully defending the subject of his novel and its treatment for seventeen years Whatever might be said of Bulwer's style, his decision to use a **notorious criminal's** real name and referential dramatic irony in his novel was an early and provocative , her eyes on the door. " Guess you don't have any **real criminals** to chase, huh? " She showed her feet in her sneakers, not contends that following his eviction from Cuba, Luciano was essentially " a fake master **criminal** without **real** power, his **evil reputation** manipulated and maintained by the government agents who **I am in favor of what the Vigilante does.? For too long the criminals in the real world have had it easy " (Wolffman, " Witnesses met, you were short-changing college girls. Now look at you. A **real criminal**. There's something else I want. I want a picture of Colette. ? Yeah, what the hell? You should be out there arresting the **real criminals**. Like **switchblade-wielding** white guys from movies and **TV who don't talk like people dig? Guys, you got to let us out of here. The **real criminal's** getting away. Yeah, the **bastard's** making a break for it, .. " # In his research, Sutherland discovered that the "white collar" **criminal** has no **real** fear of regulators, and that actions by the regulators were considered not love this getting rich? # The " mortgage brokers " that were **criminals** did **real** well too, the housing bubble and before that dot com and before for purposefully attempting to ruin the economy. Chris Dodd is an old school **criminal** for **real**. # It is SO MUCH FUN to see Chris Dodd screaming and I'm all for the wonderful things that can be done with forensics for capturing **criminals** in the **real** world, and these can make for fascinating reading, too. having said what is otherwise taboo. # The image of the black or Latino **criminal** has **real** consequences. The most relevant one is that employers are less likely to efforts. Wow! # Well, I got a little hint for these would-be **criminals**: A **real** down-and-dirty fight is something they couldn't do if their lives depended Atlantic City. The series focus is on the early years of the underworld of **criminals** from the real life Enoch L. Johnson who is in the HBO show, Enoch # If they had kept the power in its usage made Twoface or the other **criminals** into **real** dirtbags because of the way they treat women, then you have a # I wonder whether **fake tiger wine** can be made convincing. Why would a **criminal** use a **real** tiger if it is cheaper to use a **fake**? # A can even make a dent in consensual crimes. To free prison space for **consensual criminals, real criminals** are put on the street every day. # Consensual crimes promote years living in the southern Philippines (yes there are Muslims here -- but common **criminals** are the **real** problem) I think what Stevens did was stupid. And his claim numbers, and getting away with payments of massive amounts of money. # **Criminals** use **real** patient IDs to bill for wheelchairs that were never delivered or exams never please inform us. # ExplorationTravMag # Here's a thought -- how about giving **criminals** **real** time instead of a slap on the wrist. It wouldn't have changed but that is not who you were referring to). Equating violence by isolated **criminals** with a **real** strategic threat of 20% of inhabitants of Israel joining attacks on the well, they're **fighting** back. They say these so-called whistleblowers are the **real** **criminals**. And with the support of lawmakers in Florida, Minnesota and Iowa, all on our message of social change, trying to call attention to who the **real** **criminals** are in our society, people like Jamie Dimon, the CEO of J.P. playing cops and criminals anymore. (Stupidly, a couple had already become **real** **criminals** by way of **shoplifting and trespassing**.) But now Brett was building cops and Flint asked, thinking maybe they were part of that very small group of **real** **criminals** who had **violated laws** that offended humans. " Something to do with the Savang dirty. I say we wash our hands of it and move on to **real** **criminals**. I can't do that. No, you can't, can you****

. The truth is that that **very real** threat is coming from some very **real** **criminals**. And we need to offer - we need to begin to think of ways were caught up in Byzantine gun rules and thrown in jail. Meanwhile, **real** **criminals** are getting off scot-free, they say. # " The fear is that the . No, forget a Taser. That's not gon na subdue any **real** **criminal**. MELANIE: Dad! Dad! Looks like somebody's having a good time an experiment and the cafe patrons were warned of our presence in advance, **real** **criminals** could take this information and use it to their advantage. TIM-BRYAN-1TREND-# If I knew back of the head. JOHN-BERMAN-1ABC-# (Off-camera) Have you guys ever fought crime, **real** **criminals**? SQUEEGEEMAN-1SUPE# We fight crime all the time. CAPTAIN-XAVIER-OBV# Just by being ar Take the warrant and go find the people who did this. Find the **real** **criminals**, not my house. - We're gon na go soon. I promise . MORONES: Criminals, you want them in jail. If they're **real** **criminals**, they should be in jail. O'REILLY: No. They've got to becoming -- it was blurring all the research of playing -- I've researched **real** **criminals** to play these guys. WINFREY: Mm-hmm. Mr-WASHINGTON: I research everything I , with arched eyebrows and prominent chins. This Treplev of yours was a **real** **criminal, worse than Jack the Ripper**. At least that fellow was trying to satisfy . DAY # A CELL DOOR CLOSES. On Billy. Looking like a **real** **criminal**. Not a pretend one. Frightened and resolute at once. BILLY is in girls? You have to be sick. Unless this Nardone is not a **real** **criminal**. In that case, you, if and still in his Buick check the deeds against the railroad map, and you'll see who the **real** **criminal** is. Se? orias, I think there is something you should see. in society wants to blame everybody else rather than themselves or rather than the **real** **criminals**, and that's part of what we're seeing, here. But, **property misdemeanors** are more the symptoms of an affliction than the acts of a **real** **criminal**. At Different Path, with the generous cooperation of the Superior Court of Sonoma there. Criminals like himself, except Boysis couldn't be officially called a **real** **criminal** since nobody, not even Justice Vincent-Brown, could get a **really big** crime to . Gadget. Stick to solving **real** **criminals**. Chief, there are no **real** **criminals** left. They're all in Riverton Prison. Gadget here. What? Wowersers as the mother lode. " I used to think I was chasing the **real** **criminals**. " says Lt. Steve Franks, a 29-year veteran of the LVPD, who sunday we get to use the showers. You fraternise with criminals? The **real** **criminals** are your high class citizens who've been **plundering... the** masses and letting fashism Free weekend! And sunday we get to use the showers. You fraternise with criminals? The **real** **criminals** are your high class citizens who've been **plundering... the** . Bobby, I avoid the **subject, because it pains me to see real criminals free while four of my brothers eat political shit** because the pogues outlawed the choke Now, in a matter of hours. Ben will face **real** crimes, **real** **criminals, real danger**. ! FLORES: I won't lie to you, and irresponsible for you to sentence me to prison. None of the **real** **criminals** of the world ever end up behind bars. I mean, when you think Lindsey denied any involvement in the **hoax** and said the government should prosecute " **real** **criminals**. " James Graham, Lindsey's attorney, said he believes the government is more farn with a pen than a gun in this fictionalized portrait of a **real** **criminal**. # Nico & Dani (Avatar) - Two young men cross from adolescence . And once we get there, we're gon na flush out the **real** **criminals**. Man, you got everybody after you. You got the CIA, the officers and civilians who will staff the \$135 million facility when it opens to **real** **criminals** this week. But some of the sheriff's visitors have another goal. They would know how clever he is. sometimes I think he's not a **real** **criminal** at all, he's just a big show-off. How are things, Michael . a corporate lawyer in New York. " The top guys, the **real** **criminals**, always seem to get away. " # Weiss unearthed the Alien Tort Claims that up. If they try, we can remind them I'm a **real** **criminal**. I've got 234 dollars-worth of parking tickets. A Marshall County record. have more discretion to ensure that what we're doing is going after the **real** **criminals**, the folks that we need to get out of the country. JEFFREY-KAYE: man, thrust into war by the West and then unfairly executed as a war **criminal**. While **real** questions remain about the fairness of the Allied war crimes tribunals, defense logic is: Newt made a few mistakes but Bill Clinton is the **real** **criminal**. That is like saying, " Well, I may have **murdered, but** police officers? Tell HPD to get a clue: Protect Houston from the **real** **criminals**. # Brently Davenport, Houston. # Socialism not a progressive idea # Regarding of dollars while making plenty of room in the jails and prisons for the **real** **criminals**. MARY JANE EAKLOR Penrose 71132 # The second Sunday of each month, The And so it's **sad to blame the victim** for the crime of the **real** **criminals**. LARRY KING: The next night, Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich talked big county! " Danny would shout out the door. " There are **real** **criminals** out there! There's probably a wreck on the main highway. Why the she listens. Lucas escapes, but is he, like Hannibal, the **real** **criminal**? As Sylvia's late colleague (and lover) used to say about insane . FORREST SAWYER: voice-over This is **real** stuff, really touched by the **real** **criminals**, like this receipt Amy Fisher signed when she turned over the clothing she wore you don't know what's going to happen, you're surrounded by **real** **criminals**, by murderers. DIANE SAWYER: voice-over The court-appointed psychiatrists all agreed that Polanski that succeeded during the 1991 debate. REP-NEWT-GINGRICH: The fact is that **real** **criminals, real rapists, do a variety of evil things**, because we refused to girl. " Curry shot back. " them is some for really **real** **criminals**. They'd **kill us all!** " They heard Miss Lonetta's footsteps coming it to adolescence. # The parents (mothers and fathers) are the **real** **criminals**. They should be held responsible and charged. Their sentence: They should not consequences. What you're doing will destroy any hope... of exposing the **real** **criminals**. He is the **real** **criminal**. Listen to me. I'm in no will destroy any hope... of exposing the **real** **criminals**. He is the **real** **criminal**. Listen to me. I'm in no hurry. I'm listening. the way to yours. Why are you doing this to us? The **real** **criminals** killed 50,000 American boys and over a million Vietnamese, and they've never been pistol, but she made her point. Ms-WILLIS: If I was a **real** **criminal** and this was a **real** **gun**, Jan's **real** problem by giving me that think they're very worldly, but they're like children when compared to **real** **criminals** and international businessmen. They cooked up a story that wasn't really very convincing , who was there. " She said we ought to be out arresting **real** **criminals**, not her. " Among the evidence confiscated were bank statements, audiotapes, get involved with cops or **druggies**, because you don't know who the **real** **criminals** are. But this, I mean... people don't get it and limit access to multiple-round clips. # Seek jail terms for serious **white-collar** **criminals** in " **real** prisons, not high-tech summer camps. " # Crack down on to reserve their subsidized consumer items for state department stores. # " The **real** **criminals** are the factory directors in the ex-Soviet Union who sell these products off through the MURPHY III # Redwood City # . # CHILDREN TERRORIZED # Editor -- The **real** **criminals** of Waco were the **criminals** who **terrorized the children** in the compound. No doubt could seriously consider. # KAREN KLINGEL # San Anselmo # . # THE **REAL** **CRIMINALS** # Editor -- How in the world can the fanatical paramilitary group Alfa 66 get . We believe him. We will need him to help us find the **real** **criminal**. That's right. Care to join the **jail break**. Beast? (he's spent in these political cases could not have been spent in prosecuting **real** **criminals**. Commercial break BECKEL: Welcome back. We're talking about presidential pardons for . I think, is ridiculous. They fingerprint you like you're a **real** **criminal**. " # " I had the tokens, " he says. " The fun is checking how much the down-and-out actors in the reenactments look like the **real** **criminals** and victims. A minor stir was caused when it was discovered that the murderer he didn't commit. **Who did kill** Officer Jay Allen? The **real** **criminal** officer here is the **psychopath** who calls himself the Flash. He murdered Jay Allen and people even think you're a pain in the butt. Go catch some **real** **criminals** and leave Roz's business alone. She's cool. " Her closing words don't mix. You'd think the cops'd be too busy catching **real** **criminals**, not snooping around after working girls, but that's the way the gravy But I just spent the past four hours down in the can with some **real** **criminals** waiting for your guy to come bail me the hell out! Do you know What about my job? What about it? Want to know what a **real** **criminal** is, Ackerman? It's the son of a **bitch** who painted this car painted this car, that's who. Yeah, that's what a **real** **criminal** is. - Pulovski. - Max. What are you doing here? Can It's okay. It's okay. You want to know what a **real** **criminal** is, Sarah? What are you talking about, David? Anyone who would

Context of the collocation *clever criminal/criminals* in COCA

out who did it and how. I'm not bothered about how **clever the criminal** is, or the detective is. I don't want to spend 400 pages to the syndicate. You know, I've looked into all the **clever ways criminals** are smuggling drugs these days -- inside children's toys, seafood shipments, or ite history. Its previous eruption lasted from 1821-23. Its a **clever criminal**, in that sense. "

worlds owned by Earth in the waning days of the twenty-second century. **Hackers. Criminals.** They were **clever**, yes, but they were **dangerous**, because their games of crime they used to make movies about -- remember? -- with the playboy **criminals** and **clever schemes**. But **art theft** in Russia these days has a very different is. 4. Lock your hike to the right things. **Real exploits** by **clever criminals**: sawing down small trees, bending signposts, cutting through the tube of one 's -- he's becoming more and more desperate. MURPHY: Not the **clever criminal**? Mr-RESSLER: Not the **clever criminal**! MURPHY: (Voiceover) Five days after the more desperate. MURPHY: Not the **clever criminal**? Mr-RESSLER: Not the **clever criminal**! MURPHY: (Voiceover) Five days after the horrific discovery in Chicago, Cunanan arriv was a master criminal. MURPHY: (Voiceover) Richard Bailey may have been a **clever criminal**, but Silas Jayne was a killer, ruthless and indisputably in control o

Context of the collocations *smart criminal/criminals* and *smarter criminal/criminals* in COCA

groups of people who are that DNA-conscious. **Smart criminals**, of which we both know there are very few, and, uh... 's expand that to undertakers, funeral homes... doctor of choice for many **smart criminals**. What else do we know? ERT is running various blood samples from the something, anything, is better than nothing at this point. I hate **smart criminals**. - They make us work too hard. - Yeah. Luckily, there going on and off on a rigid schedule is a dead giveaway to any **smart criminal**. People aren't robots. And as you've probably guessed, judge. - What kind of judge? A criminal judge. - Oh, **criminal**. Sounds **smart**. - Mm-hm. Okay, it's settled. We should intrigue and would instead use such creativity to write espionage novels, etc. **Smart criminals** and **smart terrorist** are found it seems only in novels. Malice and crime seem Them and illegal aliens, convicted felons, dead people and the real **smart criminals** are employed as lawyers to file lawsuits after losing elections. Notice how not one what he was doing, and how complex it was). A halfway **smart criminal** will have a plan in case they get caught. Maybe, just maybe, trails, bad weather, tedious paperwork, crummy offices, and worse... **smart criminals**. THE WIRE gives the justice officers an equal amount of screen time as the Republicans stoop so low that the Dems can't even anticipate it. They are **criminals** and they are **smart** at what they do. He/they (the republicans) are while the average criminal is unlikely to ever use this type of technology (average **criminal** isn't **smart** -- if they were, they wouldn't be criminals, they uploads the changes and people can add to that. # Yeah the average **criminal** isn't **smart**, but they would still use technology if its readily available. : //twitter.com/johaster Prof. dr. J. Sterk # The net future effect is that **smart criminals** set up their own VoIP " softphone " and law-abiding citizens that aren't to not be anymore to the story other than it is pretty much common knowledge that **criminals** are not **smart**. Seems very likely that because they spent so much time with ... or somebody very **smart**. Gold knew damn well he was dealing with **smart criminals** **laundering money**. The team tracked Gold's Crime Seen line tip to this house He's out of practice. Don't they say these guys come out better **criminals**? **Smart** ones do. You saying I'm dumb? You're impatient, bright ones. MANKIEWICZ: (Voiceover) More than once Lieutenant Bariman has matched wits with **criminals** as **smart** as the **bad guys** on Fox's " 24. " But more I'm smarter than that. There are stupid criminals and there are **smart criminals**, and then there is me. This is so you know. I have , but I never do. I'm smarter than that. There are stupid **criminals** and there are **smart** criminals, and then there is me. This is so says. # " We do catch people with stolen cars with OnStar because if **criminals** were **smart**, we wouldn't have a job, " Price says. # These buried codes are designed to track down crooks, but he warns that **smart criminals** will know how to **scrub the metadata out of their files**. The people they glazed insolence. In one beat he is not a scared trainee but a **smart criminal**. # # BILLY # Every weekend... Sergeant. # # DIGNAM # Perfect shouldn't? - No, go ahead. We have to. But **smart criminals** don't use registered guns to commit murder. - You think he's **smart** a city, and preventing them from doing so if they are **illegal immigrants** or **criminals**. Networked **smart** environments, continuously updated by governments, will thus help the fight I don't know the guy, but... in my experience, most **criminals** aren't too **smart**. Yeah, the **smart** ones are hard to pin down notes, " but they still talk on the phone. Sure, there are **criminals** who are **smart** and cautious and will never get caught. But why would you mace, I would have used it by now. You're not a **smart criminal**. Thank you. That's what I've been trying to tell you. out. # COP AID. The police are the first to admit that **smart criminals** are quite agile and will always be at least one jump ahead of the law-enforcem

The **criminals** are getting **smarter** faster than the companies, " said Jaime Katz, an analyst
Just like cockroaches are now stronger and immune to many old pesticides, the **criminals** will get more **smarter** over time.. in the future, the most superior mind it would work. He doubted first of all that Luke would survive when the **criminals** were **smarter** than the best agents. But even more than that, he doubted

Context of the collocation *sophisticated criminal/criminals* in COCA

the most **sophisticated criminals** hide their " **carder forums** " on the " **Dark Web**, " which conceals
Kea said is common among program participants: " We're not talking about **sophisticated criminals** here. We're often talking about first- or second-time offenders of very minor crimes have been secretly commandeered into " **botnets** " by criminals to conduct **cyberattacks**. " **Criminals** are increasingly using **sophisticated** technologies that pose technical challenges to law enforcement, and remote almost undetectable. Because of advances in technology, they have become smaller, and **criminals** are so **sophisticated** that they have found ways to open gas pumps and install the police officer and prosecutor who teaches at John Jay College in New York. " **Criminals** are more **sophisticated**, " Mr. O'Donnell says. " We haven't necessarily shifted then that is a crime in and of itself. So there are some **sophisticated criminals** involved, but by and large, most of them in my court are people how it might be used. # Haley called the **hacker** a " **sophisticated intelligent criminal** " and said the way he obtained access to the tax returns was " unbelievably was a case where the US government - through affirmative steps and/or approving acquiescence to **criminal, sophisticated cyber-attacks** - all but destroyed the ability of an adversarial group, convicted and **pedophiles** have been known to use this ' trick', but also **sophisticated criminals** also use this **technique**. It eliminates a network trail to a greater or lesser crimes perpetrated by ALF and ELF have proved **violent and potentially deadly**, as the **criminals** use **sophisticated** incendiary devices. " ATF Deputy Assistant Director William McMahon reportedly said at how it might be used. # Haley called the **hacker** a " **sophisticated intelligent criminal** " and said the way he obtained access to the tax returns was " unbelievably in what appears to be one of the largest and most **sophisticated attacks by cyber criminals** discovered to date, according to a northern Virginia security firm. # The attack -- poorly educated and with poor impulse control. Yes, there'll be master **criminals** doing fiendish and **sophisticated identity theft scams**, but for the most part your stolen ." In this day and age, we need to be as **sophisticated** as **criminals** are, using every tool we can to fight these **complex crimes** that are often I just assumed that not being caught was implicit. # I agree that **sophisticated criminals** will use code words and gestures, but they have to be learned, and now offer economic opportunities and repose to the majority, but also attract vagrants and **criminals**. Elements of **sophisticated** technology contrast and coexist with low-tech, low-budget solutions. Johannesburg prepared their children for online risks. In short, in a world where online **criminals** have become quite **sophisticated**, consumers must become more wary of online threats. Consumers Sunset Strip. " / NBC, (4) Ray Liotta plays a **sophisticated criminal** in the CBS drama Smith. / CBS, (5) Delroy Lindo stars the mail in search of credit card applications with people's personal information, **sophisticated criminals** are taking aim at the **trove of personal files that data compilers** like ChoicePoint and California mountains and grew pot for their own use and extra income. # Mexican **criminals** using **sophisticated** methods have **spread the marijuana industry** across California, traditionally the nation's with indigenous **thugs** and with one another. # " We're sending back **sophisticated criminals** to unsophisticated, unindustrialized societies, " said Al Valdez, an Orange County, forces are poorly funded and equipped, utterly unable to handle the wave of common **criminals** and more **sophisticated** organizations sweeping the region. Central American police chiefs have recently begun untrained and unequipped, subject to political interference, and no match for **sophisticated white-collar criminals**. Judiciaries are weak, underfunded, and corrupt. Case files are heaped in of all counterfeit money seized was from ink-jet printers. # " You have **sophisticated criminals** who **intentionally make small amounts of money (less than \$ 5,000)** because the accept responsibility for her actions. Recommendations: This inmate appears to be a **sophisticated criminal**... and an **extreme danger to society**, and should be required to pay the into " clean " money. But experts say the former Soviet Union's white-collar **criminals** are far more **sophisticated** in their approaches to financial sleigh