

Vilnius University
Faculty of Philology

Viktorija Maračinskaitė

**From Serial Killer to Victim of Circumstances: Theodore Bundy's Use of Linguistic
Devices as Tools of Manipulation**

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of MA in Language for
Specific (Legal) Purposes

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr Justina Urbonaitė

Vilnius 2021

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my supervisor Dr Justina Urbonaitė for invaluable suggestions, insights, and encouragement. The completion of my thesis would not have been possible without her guidance. I also wish to thank Dr Birutė Ryvitytė and Dr Inesa Šeškauskienė not only for highly helpful Research-in-Progress seminars but also for being supportive and showing interest in students' well-being, especially during the challenging times of the pandemic. Their kindness and understanding made going through these worrisome times easier. Moreover, I am grateful to the wonderful people in my group for sharing ideas, giving advice, providing comic relief, and constantly reminding me that we are all in this together. I must also thank my friends and family for always believing in me and being proud of me. Above all, I am grateful to my mother – the strongest person I know. For teaching me that giving up is not an option and for inspiring me every day.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	4
INTRODUCTION.....	5
I. LITERATURE REVIEW	7
1.1. THEODORE BUNDY	7
1.1.1. <i>Crimes</i>	7
1.1.2. <i>Deceitful Personality</i>	8
1.2. THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN SELF-REPRESENTATION AND MANIPULATION	8
1.2.1. <i>Self-Disclosure and Self-Concealment</i>	9
1.2.1.1. Self-Disclosure.....	9
1.2.1.2. Self-Concealment	10
1.2.2. <i>Linguistic Manipulation</i>	10
1.2.2.1. Metaphors	11
1.2.2.1.1. Approaches to Metaphor.....	11
1.2.2.1.2. Conceptual Metaphor	11
1.2.2.2. Euphemisms.....	13
1.2.3. <i>Justificatory Discourse of Criminals</i>	14
1.3. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS	15
II. DATA AND METHODS.....	17
III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	20
3.1. QUANTITATIVE TENDENCIES	20
3.2. METAPHORS.....	22
3.3. METAPHORICAL EUPHEMISMS.....	52
3.4. EUPHEMISMS.....	60
IV. CONCLUSIONS.....	65
SOURCES	68
REFERENCES.....	68
SUMMARY IN LITHUANIAN	73
APPENDICES	75
APPENDIX I. METAPHORS	75
APPENDIX II. METAPHORICAL EUPHEMISMS.....	93
APPENDIX III. EUPHEMISMS	95

ABSTRACT

The present thesis focuses on conceptual metaphors, metaphorical euphemisms, and euphemisms in interviews with Theodore Bundy. The research aims to examine the use of metaphorical and euphemistic language in Bundy's discourse and expound on potential manipulative qualities of such discursive practices. The method employed to achieve the aim combines close reading and Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU). The results of the study show that of the three linguistic devices in question, conceptual metaphors are employed the most frequently and serve as a tool for various manipulative techniques, including self-victimisation and victim-blaming. Meanwhile, metaphorical euphemisms and euphemisms are employed significantly less frequently, and both have an almost identical number of examples that conceal three major target concepts, namely crimes, mental issues, and social taboos.

INTRODUCTION

Among the most popular topics of public interest are serial killers. Serial killers are those who purposefully murder three or more people “in three or more separate locations with an emotional cooling-off period between homicides” (Douglas et al. 2006: 21). Although it may seem difficult to comprehend the fact that someone would be fascinated with a person who meets the abovementioned description, the world, and the United States in particular, has been highly interested in such criminals for a while. Bonn (2014) notes that the mass media has been fuelling the fascination with serial killers since the 1970s, or perhaps even before that. Continuous news coverage of murderers such as John Wayne Gacy, David Berkowitz, and others turns serial killers into popular culture celebrities who not only horrify but also entertain the public (Bonn 2014: 20–22). The media does, indeed, play a significant role in popularising criminals; however, there are cases when the criminals make a show of their offences and seek out public notoriety. Examples of the attention-seeking serial killers are Dennis Rader, who mailed a series of letters and Polaroid photographs of his victims to a journalist, thus drawing attention to himself (Ramsland 2016: 194), or the Zodiac Killer who also resorted to sending letters; however, not to journalists but directly to the police, taunting them and trying to make contact (Douglas & Olshaker 1995: 127). Also, there are serial killers whose personality appeals to the public’s curiosity, as at first glance they appear rather charming, which makes people wonder how this seemingly decent person would commit crimes of such gruesome nature. One of such examples is Theodore Bundy. From the day Bundy was identified as the prime suspect in several murders until his conviction and death in an electric chair, the criminal tirelessly attempted, and in some cases succeeded, to not only charm the nation but also to portray himself as a victim of unjust circumstances, i.e., to manipulate millions of people who were invested in his life, crimes, and trials. He did so by communicating with the media and giving interviews. Bundy strongly relied on language in general to form a positive self-image; however, the present Thesis is primarily interested in metaphors and euphemisms in the criminal’s discourse and potential manipulative qualities thereof.

The subject of the Thesis is conceptual metaphors and euphemisms in Theodore Bundy’s discourse.

The research aims to examine the use of metaphorical and euphemistic language in Bundy’s discourse and expound on potential manipulative qualities of such discursive practices.

Main objectives:

1. To review the literature on Theodore Bundy, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Euphemisms, Linguistic Manipulation, Critical Discourse Analysis;
2. To compile a corpus of interviews by Bundy representative of his authentic discourse;
3. To identify linguistic metaphorical expressions in interviews with Theodore Bundy, reconstruct conceptual metaphors and analyse them by attempting to identify their potentially manipulative qualities;
4. To identify euphemisms in interviews with Theodore Bundy, pinpoint the target concepts concealed by the euphemisms, and analyse them in an attempt to explain how the use thereof contributes to preserving Bundy's face;
5. To establish, based on the analysed examples, how Bundy's use of metaphorical and euphemistic language could have contributed to him manipulating the audience.

The present Thesis consists of the following parts: Literature Review, Data and Methods, Results and Discussion, and Conclusions. Part I, the Literature Review, introduces Theodore Bundy, discusses the role of language in self-representation, presents the fundamental concepts within the fields of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Euphemisms, and Discourse Analysis. Part II, Data and Methods, presents the analysed materials, methods of selection, and principles of analysis. Part III, Results and Discussion, presents the findings. The Conclusions summarise the findings. The Thesis is supplied with the List of Sources and References, a Summary in Lithuanian, and three Appendices.

I. LITERATURE REVIEW

The present section of the Thesis focuses on the literature relevant to the research. Provided below are the fundamental concepts and previous research within the fields of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Euphemisms, and Discourse Analysis, the review of literature on linguistic manipulation, and a brief overview of Theodore Bundy's personality and crimes.

1.1.Theodore Bundy

The following part of this paper moves on to introduce Theodore Bundy. Discussed below are Bundy's crimes, possible reasons for the public's fascination with the serial killer, and his ever-changing, deceitful personality.

1.1.1. Crimes

Theodore Bundy was the first person in the United States to be named a serial killer. Bundy kidnapped, sexually assaulted, and murdered numerous women while migrating through multiple states in the country. Although the so-called official period when Bundy carried out his criminal activities is between 1974 and 1978, the exact dates when he committed his crimes remain unknown. Another mystery is, to this day, the number of Bundy's victims. Fraga (2019) claims that although Bundy confessed to having killed almost 30 women, the real number of victims may be over 100 (Fraga 2019). Keppel (2005) explains the reasons for such confusion by saying that researchers interested in Bundy failed to agree on where and when he began murdering young women as he never gave the same answer to different people and refused to reveal his first crimes (Keppel 2005: 401). However, Bundy's confessions, although hazy at times, have still provided a lot of useful information and were a huge step forward, having in mind that at the beginning Bundy completely denied his guilt, as could be illustrated by one of his most infamous quotes: "is it my chance to talk to the press? I'll plead not guilty right now," which he said as Leon County Sherriff Ken Katsaris read to him his indictment for the murders and other crimes (Dekle 2011: 98). Apart from the society's general obsession with true crimes, especially of this gruesomeness, the mystery surrounding Bundy's crimes, the lack of specificity, and the serial killer's ever-changing testimonies were probably a few of the factors that have sparked the interest of various authors and led to Bundy being one of the most researched serial killers of all time.

1.1.2. Deceitful Personality

Bundy's personality is among the abovementioned factors that have led to never-ending speculations. The public was eager to explain how he shifted from presenting himself as innocent and ridiculing the idea of others believing he was guilty to stating, "I am the most cold-hearted son-of-a-bitch you'll ever meet," (Hare 1999: 23) and finally admitting he killed numerous women.

Rule (1980) reports that those personally acquainted with Bundy knew him as a nice person. Bundy was a goal-oriented student liked by his university professors, kind and empathetic to the extent that he worked at Seattle's Suicide Hotline Crisis Center (Rule 1980: 18–33). However, had Bundy truly been such a pleasant person, he would not have committed the crimes he did.

The gruesome murders behind Bundy's charming façade called for an explanation, and thus researchers in the fields of psychology and psychiatry began speculating whether the criminal had a mental disorder, and if so – which one. Experts found Bundy's diagnosis elusive; however, many suspect he was either a sociopath or a psychopath. "Ted knew the difference between right and wrong, but it didn't matter, because he was special, and he deserved to have and do what he wanted. He was the centre of the world; we were all paper-doll figures who didn't matter" (ibid. 611–612). Rule's example illustrates one of the traits typical of psychopathy or sociopathy – distinguishing right from wrong but paying little attention to it, but Bundy appears to have had many other. Long (1992) states that, among other traits, sociopaths or psychopaths could be characterised as superficially charming, tending to blame others, or exhibiting a lack of remorse (Long 1992: 159), and based on Bundy's acts and statements, the criminal possibly had the said qualities.

Subtle at first, the changes in Bundy's self-representation became more apparent as time went by, especially after the conviction in court. Given that he was found guilty, there no longer was a point in maintaining the appearance of innocence; therefore, Bundy revealed his true colours, although he still tried to justify his actions and shift the blame, which is to be further explained in Section 1.2.3.

1.2. The Role of Language in Self-Representation and Manipulation

An individual's image depends on many factors, for example, physical appearance, non-verbal communication, or language. The last one will be further analysed, as language is a highly convenient tool for shaping oneself into a person you wish to present to others. According to Thomas and Wareing (1999), language is the most ancient device of persuasion. The authors

explain that the ability to subtly manipulate language allows people to influence their audience's views and beliefs, including attitude towards the one using language to achieve a certain goal. Scammers, for example, are among the best language manipulators in the world. They skilfully design their discourse to undermine their victim's confidence and affect their decision-making. Scammers use language to twist reality and convince victims that the communication is genuine and there are no ulterior motives. As the victim's trust grows, urgent requests, such as asking to borrow money, begin to look more reasonable and less suspicious (Carter 2020: 4–6). The scammers' example illustrates the use of language to commit a crime; meanwhile, there are criminals who use the same tactics to hide their crimes and devious nature, Theodore Bundy being no exception. Bundy played with language to confuse people and even convince them that he was the victim of unfortunate circumstances. Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) state that "he turned the interviews into a game of chutes and ladders, with disingenuous pleas of faulty memory and long silences preventing me from pinning him down" (Michaud & Aynesworth 2012: 18) and added that "there were times at the prison when I [Michaud] was enveloped in the charisma of his madness" (ibid. 118). The example illustrates the power of manipulative language, as Bundy's skilful manipulation was enough to charm a man despite him being fully aware of Bundy's grievous crimes.

1.2.1. Self-Disclosure and Self-Concealment

To support the claim that verbal information plays a significant role in creating one's self-image, the present section introduces two discourse-based techniques – self-disclosure and self-concealment. According to Berg and Derlega (1987), these techniques are among the most popular areas of psychological investigation, as specialists from various disciplines recognise them as highly useful tools for constructing self-image (Berg & Derlega 1987: 1–2).

1.2.1.1. Self-Disclosure

People form relationships by exchanging information about each other – at first, individuals tend to share superficial information, engage in small talks, and maintain superficial conversations. Remaining at the surface level would inevitably result in stagnation; therefore, building a deeper relationship requires providing more information and transitioning into more meaningful conversations (Altman & Taylor 1973). The process of people sharing information about themselves with each other is called self-disclosure (Ignatius & Kokkonen 2007). In addition to its main function of sharing information to build deeper relationships, people also engage in self-disclosure when they seek validation or want to compare themselves to others. If a person (a discloser) seeks validation, another person's (a disclosure recipient) positive response to disclosed information about one's accomplishments may give a sense of satisfaction

and improve self-esteem. Meanwhile, if the discloser's goal is to compare himself to someone else, exchanging information helps them decide whether they are superior or inferior to others. Finally, disclosing fantasies or thoughts to other people may be a tool to determine if they are acceptable or unacceptable (Hargie 2011: 261; Sprecher, Treger & Wondra 2012: 498). Since self-disclosure plays such an important role in forming relationships, it is a powerful tool in self-representation. It provides a person with the opportunity to disclose only that information (not necessarily true information) that they know others would find appealing.

1.2.1.2. Self-Concealment

The details about people's lives and personality they decide to keep undisclosed have just as much importance in their image formation as the information they do share with those around them. Everyone has details about themselves they find too personal, negative, or in some cases even disturbing, and the act of consciously hiding such details is referred to as self-concealment (Larson & Chastain 1990: 440). The range of secrets is very wide: some may feel uncomfortable sharing slightly embarrassing stories, while others hide highly unsettling information. Clinical practice and research show that individuals mostly conceal painful or traumatic events from their past, e.g., sexual abuse as a child, strong negative thoughts about themselves, or serious medical conditions. Such experiences, if disclosed at all, are usually revealed to a limited number of people, and those people are, in most cases, very close to the discloser (*ibid.* 339–340). Those who tend to conceal information about themselves may have anxiety, be in psychological distress, or have negative self-esteem. Among the reasons for concealing information is the fear of being misunderstood or rejected (Çelik 2015: 8). Although not very common and highly specific, the reason for self-concealment may also be the need to hide information to avoid criminal charges. For example, had Bundy not engaged in self-concealment, he may have been sentenced immediately. The fear of being sentenced could be the reason why Bundy used self-concealment before the conviction and switched to self-disclosure after.

1.2.2. Linguistic Manipulation

Linguistic manipulation, as described by Akopova (2013), is one person's use of language with the purpose of influencing another person or a group of persons. More precisely, those engaged in linguistic manipulation seek to change their addressees' intentions, views, or behaviour (Akopova 2013: 80). The morality of manipulation is arguable, as no matter what the end goal of a manipulator is, the subject of manipulation is usually left feeling powerless as if he/she has no other choice in that particular situation but to do or believe what the manipulator expects them to. Without realising the full extent of the situation, subjects of manipulation listen to lies

or half-truths and believe them (Smith 2014: 38). To convey the lies, half-truths, or any other type of information that contributes to achieving their end goal, manipulators employ various linguistic techniques. As pointed out by Crespo-Fernández (2015) two of the techniques used for manipulation are metaphors and euphemisms (Crespo-Fernández 2015: 53).

1.2.2.1. Metaphors

The present section provides information on traditional and cognitive approaches to metaphor, particularly focusing on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The section defines source and target domains as well as the principle of highlighting and hiding, overviews the previous research, and discusses the manipulative qualities of this linguistic device.

1.2.2.1.1. Approaches to Metaphor

There are two approaches to metaphor – traditional and cognitive. The former regards metaphor as a linguistic device used in literature to embellish language rather than in simple day-to-day communication. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) explain that many believe that metaphor is a mere characteristic of language that deals with words and has nothing to do with human thought processes, which is why there is a widespread belief that laypeople can go about their day and communicate without ever feeling the need to resort to metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 4). However, the traditional approach to metaphor is rather outdated, as cognitive linguists have found that one does not have to be engaged in creative writing to employ metaphors in their everyday life. Moreover, they believe that metaphors are pervasive in thought and action (ibid.). From such discoveries derives the cognitive approach to metaphor, which is to be further discussed in the following section.

1.2.2.1.2. Conceptual Metaphor

A conceptual metaphor consists of two conceptual domains, in which one domain is understood in terms of another, i.e., conceptual domain A is conceptual domain B (Kövecses 2010: 14). According to Kövecses (2010), a conceptual domain is a way to structure one's knowledge and express it in a manner that is easier to comprehend. He further explains this definition by giving an example of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Here, the journey is conceptual domain B. People gather knowledge on journeys until they fully understand the concept of going on a journey, and then access their acquired knowledge to compare things they already know to a subject, which is more difficult to understand, i.e., life (here, conceptual domain A) (ibid. 8).

The two previously mentioned domains that constitute a conceptual metaphor are referred to as source and target domains. The source domain (previously mentioned as the conceptual domain B) is the more familiar concept, the qualities of which are used to draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain, the target domain (previously referred to as domain A). Therefore, life, arguments, love, theory, ideas, and other concepts that are not always specific or clear and require explanation are target domains, while our experiences or physical objects, such as journeys, wars, buildings, food, plants, that we already understand are source domains (ibid. 25).

Defining one concept in terms of another, according to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), inevitably leads to highlighting certain aspects of a concept and consequently hiding other aspects (the principle of highlighting and hiding). To illustrate their statement, the authors use the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor and explain that when a speaker conceptualises arguments in terms of war, he/she highlights the battling aspect (the need to win the argument, attacking someone's points, etc.) but hides the cooperative aspect (for example, the fact that the arguing parties give each other their time to find an agreement). In other words, a metaphor draws attention to one particular quality of a concept and the remaining aspects that are inconsistent with the metaphor become hidden (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 13).

Although conceptual metaphors are identifiable in various discourses, the field where the manipulative power thereof is the most noticeable is political discourse. Charteris-Black (2011) suggests that politicians use metaphors because they serve an ideological purpose: by unlocking the public's emotions, metaphors allow politicians "to tell the right story" (Charteris-Black 2011: 28). As mentioned previously, conceptual metaphors explain new concepts by comparing them to something already familiar, which makes this linguistic device highly persuasive. To support his claim, Charteris-Black uses Churchill's metaphor of "an Iron Curtain descending across Europe" as an example. People are aware of the basic meaning of the word 'iron', a heavy metal. By choosing to describe the barrier dividing Europe as heavy metal, Churchill persuaded his audience that the division is irreversible and permanent, the barrier is immovable. Another example is "wind of change blowing through this continent" – a metaphor used by Harold Macmillan. Using words related to natural forces, such as wind, to describe changes, suggests that there is nothing a person could do to prevent them: no person is able to stop the wind from blowing. In Macmillan's case, as the line was spoken in the context of the British Conservative government failing to retain the remainders of the British Empire, the metaphor contributed to persuading people that the government has no power in changing the situation, and thus should not be blamed for it (Charteris-Black 2011: 36–37). Musolff (2006) explains

how the use of different metaphors when describing the same subject can shape public opinion and make people either support or dislike the topic in question. Musolff uses the negotiations between European states over European Union membership as an example. The process of accession to the Union is frequently compared to steps in a human relationship leading to marriage: countries flirt with each other, get engaged, then married. Given that many people associate families with love, security, and other positive feelings, comparing the European Union to a family is an effective tool to persuade people the accession is a joyful event. However, people are also aware that human relationships may be problematic, and they may feel conflicted about the accession to the European Union in instances where someone uses such metaphors as “fall out of love” or “divorce” (Musolff 2006: 23–38).

The discussed examples illustrate a few possible scenarios where conceptual metaphors act as a tool of persuasion. However, as mentioned above, there is a number of fields where this tool could be employed and depending on the goal of those using conceptual metaphors, they can either make the audience highly approve of certain things and persons or shape a very negative attitude towards the person or concept in question.

1.2.2.2.Euphemisms

Euphemism is a figure of speech people use to disguise unpleasant, sad, or hateful, i.e., taboo, words. Some refer to euphemisms as veils, as the use of less shocking expressions conceals the unpleasantness of a situation. Among the reasons why people resort to euphemisms are religious fears, politeness, moral scruples, desire to disguise an unpleasant truth or conceal an offence (Hatzfeld 1928: 145; Munteano 1953: 154; Maoncha & Ndambuki 2017: 147). McGlone & Batchelor (2003) narrow down the abovementioned reasons for choosing to use euphemisms into two categories. The authors suggest that placed in uncomfortable situations, communicators turn to euphemisms to either minimise the threat to their addressee’s public self-image or to preserve their own. Although the two categories are related, they differ in the end goal of the communicator. Those seeking to protect their addressee’s image are driven purely by empathy, they do not want to cause any discomfort. Meanwhile, those who are concerned about their own image use euphemisms because they are aware of negative consequences that may arise from discomforting their addressee, and the end goal is to avoid such consequences (McGlone & Batchelor 2003: 253).

Interested in the phenomenon of using euphemisms to disguise practices that people would otherwise find abhorrent, Mitchell (1999) wrote an article on euphemisms that the Nazis employed to desensitise the public to horrors of euthanasia, redefine medicalised killing, and weaken arguments against it. The article notes that the diaries, letters, and publications of Nazi

doctors of the time reveal that the physicians faced moral dilemmas, which was unfavourable for the Nazi government; therefore, the government found ways to manipulate the doctors into performing grievous acts and at the same time into thinking they are noble physicians.

Under the order of Hitler, all German cinemas showed films, designed to reassure the public, and especially those involved in the euthanasia program, that euthanasia was an act of mercy, the only humane solution. The films referred to those to be euthanised as “living corpses” and reiterated that killing them means “liberating” them. The film titled “Ich klage an!” (‘I accuse’) tells a story of an ill woman who no longer wants to spend her life in a “vegetative state,” and thus her husband gives her an overdose and kills her. The film then revolves around the husband accusing the law of making his wife suffer and denying her of “a gentle death”. The Nazi doctors later admitted that euphemisms “right to die,” “caring,” “make the poor woman’s end less painful,” and others that were used in the film significantly contributed to their perception of euthanasia.

Furthermore, the Nazi government passed laws to justify euthanasia and called it “wartime economic measures” or “a practical work.” Patients “exhausting scarce medical resources” who were likely to stay in an institution for more than four weeks were euthanised to make more room in the hospitals for wounded Nazi soldiers. By using euphemisms Nazis distracted the public from realising that “practical work” meant thousands of murders.

Mitchell concludes the article by saying that euphemisms do not contribute to informed decision-making, they cause ambiguity and soften or downplay the gravity of grievous crimes, such as murder. The article is a rather convincing illustration of how manipulative euphemisms are and the effects they have on the public (Mitchell 1999: 255–265).

1.2.3. Justificatory Discourse of Criminals

In an attempt to explain how certain people can repeatedly engage in criminal activities without feeling remorse, in 1957, Sykes and Matza developed the theory of neutralisation. They believed that every individual is aware of the obligation to follow social norms and abide by the law; however, they hypothesised that some people have a way of justifying improper or illegal behaviour, which allows them to commit illegitimate acts without feeling remorse. The theory includes five techniques of neutralisation: denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of the victim, condemnation of condemners, and appeal to higher loyalties (Sykes & Matza, 1957: 664–669). Although the theory emerged more than 50 years ago, it is still relevant. Following the neutralisation techniques, Pedneault (2013) conducted discourse analysis to investigate the way Bundy justified his criminal activities “in a larger context of him having been found guilty of two gruesome murders” (ibid. 4). After analysing discursive tools used by

Bundy, Pedneault found that the criminal in question used four of the five abovementioned techniques for justifying his behaviour: denial of the victim, denial of injury, denial of responsibility, and condemnation of condemners. In terms of the first technique, denial of the victim, Pedneault notes that Bundy used such terms as “desired thing” and “material possession” when talking about women, this way presenting women as objects of consumption and thus attempting to covertly persuade people that hurting them is excusable. Bundy’s denial of injury, the second technique for justification, is described as his insistence to describe rape or torture in a manner that makes these crimes appear forgivable when they are not. For example, Bundy uses the terms “sex,” “sexual behaviour,” “sexual encounter,” etc. when talking about rape, thus mitigating the grievousness of his actions. Regarding Bundy’s denial of responsibility, he talks about murder as his only way to protect himself. Bundy used the expression “reaching a wall,” which, as Pedneault (2013) interprets it, is the killer’s way to communicate that he had no other option but to kill all of those women because otherwise, they would have turned him in. This leads to the final justification technique, condemnation of condemners. Bundy was certain that his victims had brought everything on themselves (Pedneault 2013: 5–12).

1.3.Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis (hereinafter referred to as DA) is the study of language in use, it is concerned with meanings people give to language depending on context. Although some define DA as the study that aims to explain how sentences combine to create meaning and coherence, Gee and Handford (2012) argue that it is not quite right, as a single sentence, not only a combination thereof, is subject to DA. To illustrate, the authors use the performative ‘I pronounce you man and wife’. Grammar provides the literal meaning of the sentence yet no indication of the actual meaning, which is marriage. This is exactly the purpose of DA: to identify the actual meaning behind the literal (Gee & Handford 2012: 1). Baker and Ellece (2011) note that search for the actual meaning is bound to be subjective. The authors explain that DA is a co-production between those conducting DA and those being researched, and the whole process calls for the researcher’s reflexivity: one needs to understand their own position and how their subjectivity may impact the research and the findings (Baker & Ellece 2011: 32). According to Wiggins (2009), DA is an umbrella term for a variety of methodological approaches that analyse discourse within social interaction (Wiggins 2009: 427). Among the methodological approaches that fall under the umbrella term is Critical Discourse Analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis (hereinafter referred to as CDA) is “an approach to the study of discourse that regards language as a form of social practice” (Fairclough 1995: 74). CDA is a

research tool rather than an academic discipline. It can be applied in various fields to analyse discourse in social and political contexts, thus identifying social power abuse, injustice, dominance, and social or cultural changes (van Dijk 2001: 352; van Leeuwen 2006: 294; Wodak 2001: 22). Successful realisation of CDA involves the following requirements: 1) critical research on discourse should be aimed at explaining a discourse instead of describing its structure; as mentioned above, the role of CDA is to analyse social or political relations; 2) CDA should not be concerned with current paradigms or trends; 3) to be accepted, CDA needs to be “better” than other research; 4) to be empirically adequate, CDA should cover several academic disciplines (van Dijk 2001: 353).

The present thesis is a critical analysis of transcripts of interviews with Theodore Bundy. It seeks to explain how the criminal used metaphors and euphemisms to manipulate the public and thus form an agreeable self-image.

II. DATA AND METHODS

The present research focuses on Theodore Bundy's discourse; therefore, the sources selected for the analysis are interviews with Bundy, as they allow reading or listening to authentic language produced by the criminal. The first source is a series of interviews conducted by Stephen Michaud and Hugh Aynesworth during multiple meetings with Bundy that took place from January 1980 to March 1981. The transcripts of the interviews were obtained from the book *Ted Bundy: Conversations with a Killer – The Death Row Interviews* (2000)¹. It should be noted that in the course of the interviews with Michaud and Aynesworth, Bundy frequently speaks in the third person and discusses a hypothetical criminal who could have committed the murders. Given that he later confessed to having murdered the women he had discussed, it is assumed that Bundy provided information about himself. Another source is Bundy's last interview conducted by Reverend Dr James Dobson in 1989², one day before Bundy's execution. The interview was transcribed by Tiffany Princep, the publicly available transcript was retrieved from her profile at Academia.edu. The final source is an interview with Bundy from 1977³ conducted by unspecified journalists, the interview was retrieved from Youtube (Raúl Agraz Campos 2013). As there was no available transcript online, the interview was transcribed by the author of this paper.

The transcripts used contained not only Bundy's discourse but also the interviewers' questions and comments, the narrator's remarks, initials identifying the participants in the interviews, and the authors' notes. All the information irrelevant to the research was removed before compiling a final corpus consisting solely of Bundy's discourse. The complete corpus amounted to a total of 62,639 words.

As the research seeks to analyse Bundy's use of metaphors and euphemisms in terms of their potential manipulative function, the first step was identifying the sections in the compiled corpus where Bundy's discourse appears manipulative. For the purpose of identifying such sections, it was resorted to close reading: if a section contained discourse where Bundy complains about his well-being, criticises the legal system, attempts to blame the victims, or otherwise appeals to the audience's views and emotions and tries to alter them, the section was marked as manipulative. Once the relevant sections were identified, the next step was

^{1, 2, 3} The Results and Discussion section of the present thesis and the Appendices thereto refer to the book *Ted Bundy: Conversations with a Killer – The Death Row Interviews*, the interview conducted by Reverend Dr James Dobson, and the interview from 1977 as Interview 1 (I1), Interview 2 (I2), and Interview 3 (I3), respectively.

identifying metaphors and euphemisms therein. For the identification of euphemisms, the present thesis adopted the approach which states that euphemisms seek to preserve the speaker's face. The use of euphemisms is motivated by what the society expects in a discourse, i.e., politeness and tact (Brown & Levinson 1987: 61; Crespo-Fernández 2005: 79). Each word or phrase that appeared to be used with the intention of disguising taboo words and thus preserving Bundy's image was marked as a euphemism.

Meanwhile, the linguistic metaphor identification was based on the *Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit* (MIPVU), which is an updated version of *Metaphor Identification Procedure* (MIP) developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). The MIP goes as follows (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3):

1. *Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.*
2. *Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse*
3. *a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.*
b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be
 - *More concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste;*
 - *Related to bodily action;*
 - *More precise (as opposed to vague);*
 - *Historically older.**Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.*
c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4. *If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.*

The MIPVU includes the following additions to the MIP:

1. *When a word is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor.*
2. *When words are used for the purpose of lexico-grammatical substitution, such as third person personal pronouns, or when ellipsis occurs where words may be seen as missing, as in some forms of co-ordination, and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions or ellipses that may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning, referent, or topic, insert a code for implicit metaphor.*
3. *When a word functions as a signal that a cross-domain mapping may be at play, mark it as a metaphor flag (Steen et al. 2010: 26).*

Although the MIPVU steps were followed to check all words in the relevant sections for metaphoricity, not all of the identified metaphors were included in the research, since some of them had no obvious manipulative qualities. The list of identified metaphors was revised to find and select only those examples that Bundy used as he was trying to prove his innocence, create

a more appealing self-image, and otherwise manipulate the interviewers and those who may read the book featuring his discourse.

After the close reading and application of MIPVU steps, two major groups of collected data emerged: metaphors and euphemisms. However, some examples fell into both categories; therefore, the third category – metaphorical euphemisms – was added for greater specificity. This category includes metaphorically used words or phrases that Bundy employed as a replacement for words that society generally regards as taboo. The final number of examples selected for the analysis amounted to 274, namely, 221 linguistic metaphors, 26 metaphorical euphemisms, and 27 euphemisms. The metaphors and metaphorical euphemisms were further categorised based on their source domains. Master Metaphor List compiled by Lakoff, Espenson, and Schwartz (1991) was consulted to facilitate the process of assigning metaphors their source domains.

It is hardly possible to determine whether Bundy decided that the best way to manipulate is to use euphemisms and metaphors specifically; however, whether used deliberately or not, the choice of linguistic techniques and specific words reveals more than Bundy may have anticipated. Therefore, the next step of the research was the critical analysis of the collected data. Euphemisms and metaphoric euphemisms were translated back into the taboo words and expressions to reveal the true meaning that Bundy chose not to express out loud, presumably, in a bid to protect his self-image. Metaphors, as well as the source domains thereof, were interpreted in an attempt to explain how Bundy perceived, or at least how he tried to present, himself, his victims, or the legal system.

The full lists of metaphors, metaphorical euphemisms, and euphemisms identified in Bundy's discourse are provided in the Appendices. The Results and Discussion section of the thesis provides an in-depth analysis of the most prevalent and some of the most intriguing examples.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The present section is divided into four parts: Quantitative tendencies, metaphors, metaphorical euphemisms, and euphemisms. Each part focuses on the analysis of the above linguistic devices identified in Bundy's discourse. The first subsection proceeds with discussing the quantitative tendencies, as this part provides general information on the most and least frequently used linguistic techniques.

3.1. Quantitative tendencies

The excerpts from Bundy's discourse identified as manipulative contain 221 metaphorical expressions that fall under 26 source domains. The most representative source domains are OBJECT, WAR, and FORCE, and the source domains that cover the lowest number of metaphorical expressions are SIZE, SUBSTANCE, and TEMPERATURE. Fig. 1 illustrates the entire list of the identified source domains and the number of metaphorical expressions covered by a particular source domain.

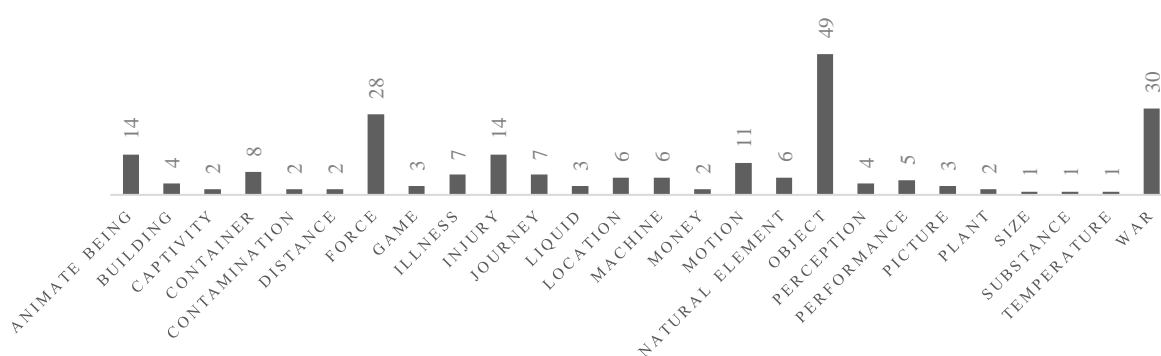


Figure 1. *Distribution of the source domains of metaphors in Bundy's discourse*

The number of metaphorical euphemisms identified in the corpus is significantly lower compared to the number of metaphorical expressions: Bundy's discourse contains 26 metaphorical euphemisms that fall under 13 source domains and conceal three key target concepts: Bundy's crimes, his mental issues, and topics that are generally considered taboo. Fig. 2, Fig. 3, and Fig. 4 below illustrate the three target concepts, the source domains used to conceptualise the target concepts, and the distribution of metaphorical euphemisms among the source domains.

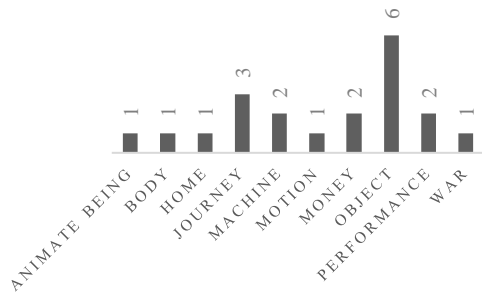


Figure 2. *Crimes*

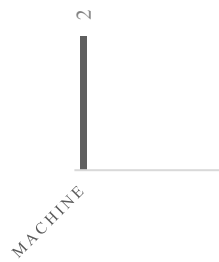


Figure 3. *Mental issues*



Figure 4. *Social taboos*

It can be seen that the overwhelming majority of metaphorical euphemisms in Bundy’s discourse are employed to conceal the target concept of crimes, the social taboos ranking second, and mental issues third. The most representative source domain is OBJECT, which covers a total of seven metaphorical euphemisms, while other source domains do not exceed three metaphorical euphemisms.

The number of euphemisms in the corpus also is low compared to the number of metaphors; however, it is very similar to the number of metaphorical expressions. Bundy’s discourse contains 27 euphemisms that conceal three target concepts: crimes, mental issues, and social taboos. Presented below is the chart illustrating the distribution of euphemisms.

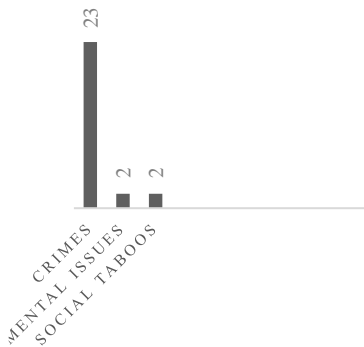


Figure 5. *Distribution of euphemisms among the target concepts*

It can be observed that the numbers are almost identical to the metaphorical euphemisms: the vast majority of euphemisms in Bundy’s discourse serve for the purpose of concealing the target concept of crimes, the lower number of euphemisms is employed to conceal mental issues and social taboos.

According to the above data, metaphors rank first in terms of the number of examples identified in Bundy’s discourse. Metaphorical euphemisms and euphemisms are employed significantly less frequently, and both have an almost identical number of examples. Since metaphors are

used most frequently, the paper proceeds by first analysing metaphors as a linguistic tool potentially used to manipulate Bundy's audiences.

3.2. Metaphors

The present section of data analysis deals with possibly manipulative metaphorical expressions identified in Bundy's discourse. The section is divided into subsections representing individual source domains. The subsections are analysed in a descending order, starting with the source domain of OBJECT, as it covers the largest number of metaphors identified in the dataset.

OBJECT metaphors

By far the most representative source domain in Bundy's discourse is OBJECT with metaphors that cover a range of target domains such as MENTAL STATE, EMOTIONS, PERSONALITY TRAITS, LEGAL SYSTEM, PEOPLE, EVENTS. Let us start with target domains of MENTAL STATE and EMOTIONS, as Bundy frequently resorts to OBJECT metaphor to communicate the fragility of his mental state, his supposed vulnerability, and pain. To portray the torment he endured when spending his days in prison, Bundy says

- (1) *I just can't keep it together anymore (I1),*
- (2) *If I wouldn't get a letter (...), I would go to pieces (I1), or*
- (3) *I'm coming unglued (I1).*

Bundy talks about his mental state as if it is a constructed object that is now in danger of falling apart. People understand the concept of wear and tear, of objects breaking. To preserve fragile objects, we treat them more carefully or attempt to fix them, and Bundy likely expects the same response. Bundy indirectly states that the treatment he faces is too much for him to handle and that his environment should treat him more gently. The murderer proceeds to say,

- (4) *I was attempting to (...) preserve my own spirit (I1),*

once again emphasising the danger his mental state was in, as in its most literal sense preservation refers to keeping an object safe and free from harm. Bundy's position does not seem to significantly change when he switches to a third-person narrative. When discussing a hypothetical killer's struggles after committing murders and his endeavour to cope with the consequences and guilt, Bundy says,

- (5) *his attempt to (...) make him whole to normal again (I1).*

Bundy continues to conceptualise the mental state in terms of a constructed object, and in this case, the offender describes himself as incomplete and thus not normal, yet at the same time tries to convince that he does put effort into putting the pieces back together, to being *whole*, and consequently not committing murders again. The element that keeps the murderer from being whole again may be control, as Bundy says,

(6) *the person obviously doesn't have control over all of his life (I1),*

indicating that self-control is an object one may possess, and not having it leads to the commission of horrible crimes. When people do not have control over something, they are incapable of changing the circumstances. The metaphor Bundy uses in this situation indicates his belief that he was simply unable to stop himself and refrain from murdering, that there was nothing he could do, and, therefore, he should not be blamed. To justify his criminal behaviour Bundy also thinks of his poor mental state in terms of a damaged object, he says,

(7) *it was like a crack, and everything that fell on that crack just disappeared (I1).*

According to Bundy, every time he committed a crime, a crack in his mind would open, swallowing guilt, conscience, and every other moral norm that could prevent him from hurting women. People do not blame objects for being broken, they blame someone or something for breaking them; therefore, by describing himself as a cracked object, Bundy calls on his audience to find someone else to blame, someone who broke him. Bundy also wants to let everyone know that when he is not committing crimes and the *crack* is not open, he has emotions and feels remorse. He thinks of guilt in terms of an attached object, as suggested by the example below:

(8) *the enormity of what he did stuck with him (I1).*

With this metaphor, Bundy seeks to convince his audience that he had to live with the guilt he could not shake off, it was firmly attached to him.

(9) *They become more vulnerable to people who want to exploit them (I1)*

is another interesting example of Bundy describing the mental state in terms of an object, a brittle object, to be more specific. However, in this case, the offender is discussing other people and trying to manipulate by blaming the victims. Bundy regards single-parent families, homosexuality, or women who want to go out to bars and have fun as deviations from the norm. He believes that such phenomena are not normal and people who are surrounded by these

deviations become vulnerable, some see it so much that they are no longer afraid. For example, women are no longer afraid to go out at night, they are willing to do so, and thus it is their own fault if something bad happens, as they would have been safe if they had stayed home. Bundy insists on proving that people are heavily influenced by things they see on television or read about in newspapers, that media keeps interfering with people's lives, which eventually leads to people hurting others or getting hurt, and staying away from what he regards as deviations would prevent that.

Bundy also uses OBJECT metaphors when he discusses personality traits. He says,

(10) *I still never really came out of my shell (I1)*

to demonstrate his shyness. A shell is a hard protective covering, and Bundy states that he lives inside this protective shell because if he were to fully realise himself and not be shy anymore, he would likely be harmed by the harsh environment.

Metaphors in Bundy's discourse also reveal his tendency to objectify people, including himself.

(11) *I (...) have been possessed by something so awful (I2) and*

(12) *persons who are obsessed or possessed by that kind of destructive urge (I1)*

are examples of Bundy trying to convince his audience that he is an object, that something evil uses him as an instrument for committing crimes, and there is nothing he can do to stop it. The criminal uses the word *consume* several times, e.g.,

(13) *consumed by an addiction to pornography (I2),*

thus conceptualising himself in terms of food and stating that when he discovered pornography, it "devoured" him, leaving no moral norms or boundaries. A rather surprising example of thinking of a person in terms of an object is

(14) *it's as true and real as this trashcan (I1).*

Bundy usually tries to explain the mind of the hypothetical killer and justify his actions but here he refers to him as a trashcan, which is, in a literal sense, a container for something that is no longer needed, perhaps damaged or rotten. It is a harsh thing to say about yourself; however, at the time of using this metaphor, Bundy was still pretending he and the hypothetical killer are separate people, thus, calling the criminal a collection of bad, damaged, and unwanted qualities

is very manipulative. This is Bundy's way of showing that he condemns the hypothetical criminal and is repulsed by the things he has done. The PERSON IS AN OBJECT metaphor is also used to blame the victims once again. His saying that

(15) *women (...) are no longer stuck in their homes. They are not watched over* (I1)

demonstrates Bundy's understanding that women are/should be objects attached to a location, to their homes. He thinks that never leaving home is the right way for women to live their lives and expresses dissatisfaction with them engaging in various activities because when they stray too far from home, no one can protect them, and they get themselves in trouble. It appears that Bundy keeps trying to prove that by having a life outside their homes, women ask to be hurt or murdered which is a manipulative strategy of victim-blaming. Even more shockingly, Bundy portrays victims as a burden to the hypothetical killer. He states that

(16) *the girl was in his possession and it was something he had to deal with* (I1).

Bundy makes it sound like having a kidnapped girl, which he conceptualises in terms of an object, is a trouble, as if he did not want that, yet he had to "deal with it." He tries to shift the blame and completely disregards the victims.

The legal system in Bundy's discourse is also described using OBJECT metaphors. Bundy talks about receiving a letter from the director of corrections, informing him he was not qualified to get married in Orange County, and he complains that

(17) *it's all written in stone* (I1).

Bundy metaphorically conceptualises established legal requirements in terms of inscriptions on stone, a material so strong that a layperson has no power to change it. In the statement

(18) *[people] were uniformly telling me that the State's case was weak* (I1)

Bundy thinks of the strength of evidence in terms of the strength of a physical object. Bundy emphasises the weakness of the case just to illustrate how unfair the legal system is. He is certain that the state had no strong evidence that could harm him but somehow, he was convicted anyway. Another statement of his,

(19) *the police, they aren't willing to accept (...) that I didn't do these things* (I3),

is a similar case, as Bundy says he keeps trying to hand the police the fact he is innocent like an object, yet the law enforcement does not accept it. These are examples of Bundy's attempt to present himself as a victim of unjust circumstances.

To paint a picture of him as a victim Bundy also objectifies life events, for example, he says that

(20) *the lack of things that took place was significant (I1),*

thus trying to prove that activities and social development processes are objects and the fact he did not have those objects made him a criminal. To him, succeeding at something means obtaining an object, he says,

(21) *I couldn't get hold of the things I needed (I1)*

as he talks about his life after escaping from prison. Not getting hold of things to him means constant struggle and a series of unfortunate events he had to endure.

The serial killer maintains the same tone and continuously attempts to portray his life as this never-ending struggle by resorting to another, the second-most representative, source domain – WAR. WAR metaphors are analysed in the following section.

WAR metaphors

Bundy uses WAR metaphors for different purposes, for example, to paint a dramatic picture of the legal proceedings. Bundy describes his trials as a war between him and the legal system, making sure to emphasise that the two sides fighting this war are not equally strong. The criminal wants the public to be on his side; therefore, he portrays the legal system as an outstandingly strong enemy that is attacking him even though he is just one, significantly weaker, man. Bundy claims he is at an extreme disadvantage, for example, in the context of discussing the trial for the kidnapping and murder of 12-year-old Kimberly Leach, he says,

(22) *always in attempting to protect myself from the harsh eventuality of conviction (I1).*

Bundy argues that despite the fact he is innocent, the outcome of the trial is predetermined, in other words, the legal system is so powerful that it can convict an innocent man, and thus, Bundy must find ways to protect himself, like a soldier at war tries to protect himself and avoid injuries caused by an enemy whose weapons are more powerful than his.

(23) *I was attempting to (...) not be defeated (I1)*

is another example that adds to the narrative where Bundy is the weaker party, since being defeated means losing a war because the enemy is stronger. In Bundy's words, to avert the defeat he

(24) *was fighting back (I1).*

Since the trials are portrayed as war, the act of *fighting* seems rather obvious and does not have much manipulative power; however, the added adverb *back* completely changes the situation. This is Bundy's attempt to prove he was under fire for no apparent reason and had to respond to the attack because he was in danger of being harmed, i.e., he did not initiate the war, he was dragged into it and forced to struggle for his life. To further emphasise how strongly he wanted to escape this war but could not, the criminal states that he was

(25) *locked into that (...) fight (I1).*

Being locked somewhere means that one is held in captivity against his/her will, without a possibility of escaping. Being locked into a fight, as Bundy puts it, is even more serious. This example suggests Bundy conceptualises himself in terms of a prisoner of war, a non-combatant held captive by a belligerent power. People learn from history that prisoners of war are frequently mistreated and have sympathy for them, thus, this example could be interpreted as Bundy's attempt to make people sympathise with him. Bundy does not shy away from presenting himself as vulnerable and weak; however, after sorrowfully talking about his struggles, the offender proclaims he is

(26) *gonna beat these people (I3).*

Bundy states that he is going to win this war with such pride that it almost sounds like a happy ending to a dramatic story: Bundy, the protagonist in his own story, is a weak and fragile man at war with the legal system, which is unfairly stronger than him, but despite the inequality, he beats the enemy, and the justice prevails as an innocent man walks free. The public sympathises with those who are struggling and roots for them, people love happy endings; therefore, presenting them with a tale about a disadvantaged man is quite manipulative.

The use of WAR metaphors continues as Bundy discusses his relationship with the media. When it comes to the media, Bundy presents himself both as the winner and as the losing party. On the one hand, the criminal says he

(27) *knew how to battle in public and to use the media* (I1),

meaning that when the cameras were on him, he was able to appear confident and strong. On the other hand, he portrays the media as his enemy. Although he used the media as a platform to defend himself, journalists kept writing articles ruining his reputation.

(28) *I haven't won too many so far* (I1),

the criminal says to describe every news article written about him as a battle where the journalists were the winners, i.e., with their articles, they succeeded at turning the public against him.

WAR metaphors are also present when Bundy talks about his feelings and mental state. For example, to describe his emotions after escaping from the Glenwood Springs (Colorado) jail, the criminal says,

(29) *I felt overwhelmed by things* (I1).

He complains about not being able to control the environment around him and things not going his way, which filled him with an abundance of devastating emotions. The criminal thinks of his attempt to deal with these emotions in terms of fighting a stronger enemy. He also states that he

(30) *was a wreck* (I1),

trying to convince everyone that the situation he was in left him ruined like a building after a war.

Possibly the most shocking use of WAR metaphors to manipulate the audience emerges in the context of discussing Bundy's crimes. The criminal explains the reason for kidnapping and raping women as a confrontation between his "normal" self and his mental issues. He says,

(31) *it's unlikely he'd be able to confront it [his mental issues]* (I1) and

(32) *he was confronted with harming another individual* (I1).

Bundy is desperate to prove that the real Theodore Bundy is an upright member of the society, and the mental issues he has are an enemy that approaches him in a threatening manner and even though he tries really hard, he is unable to win the battle. The criminal even says,

(33) *he would do everything to overcome and otherwise repress the overt behaviour* (I1),

as he tries to portray himself as a hero who gave his best to fight this enemy, this behaviour that posed risk to the lives of young women. Bundy even goes as far as using WAR metaphors to justify the murders he committed. He states that killing women was never his goal, and to explain why he did it anyway, he says that

(34) *this individual would still be thinking about survival* (I1).

Bundy describes his freedom in terms of survival, i.e., he is convinced that murdering the women he had kidnapped and raped was self-defence, the only possible way to survive because if the women had remained alive, they would have turned him in to the police. In his narrative, the victims are turned into the enemy.

The use of WAR metaphors is a mean for Bundy to justify his actions as it allows the serial killer to portray each of the discussed situations as an attack where he had to protect himself from a stronger enemy. However, there are instances where one is unable to defend himself and succumbs to external forces, which leads to devastating consequences, or at least that is the message Bundy tries to convey using another source domain that frequently appears in his discourse – FORCE.

FORCE metaphors

The majority of FORCE metaphors in Bundy's discourse are used as an attempt to rid himself of the blame. The criminal describes pornography as the key force that influenced his mental state and pushed him into committing the crimes. He says:

(35) *it [pornography] had an impact on me* (I2).

Bundy conceptualises pornography in terms of the force with which one objects hits another. In other words, the criminal states that he came across pornographic content and it hit him so hard that he was unable to fully recover from the damage the hit has caused. He says that

(36) *forces [sexual violence in pornographic magazines] bring about behaviour that is just too terrible to describe* (I2),

which illustrates Bundy's belief that once he discovered pornography, it woke up a malicious entity inside of him, and the internal fight began. Bundy describes the commission of the crimes as a

(37) *struggle between the normal personality and this psychopathological entity* (I1).

He presents himself as a host for two personalities: one, the main one, is a good, ordinary person; meanwhile, the other personality is a criminal. The evil entity commits crimes while the "normal" personality uses all the strength it has to resist this force driving him to commit the grievous crimes. Since Bundy sees the law-abiding personality inside of him as the principal one, he believes that ultimately, he is a good man. This evil entity, according to Bundy,

(38) *was like a black hole* (I1).

He conceptualises his worst mental episodes in terms of an extremely powerful force that drags his moral norms, values, and conscience into the unknown. This force makes everything that is good inside of him disappear, and that is why he commits crimes. The criminal also blames external forces for making him commit more and more crimes. Bundy says that

(39) *the pressures that (...) fuelled this thing had an effect* (I1).

The pressures, in this case, are strong unpleasant emotions he felt after committing the first crimes, he was nervous about the fact that the police began looking for the killer. Bundy states that the anxiety and fear of being caught made the evil entity inside of him even stronger, essentially claiming that if the police had not launched an investigation and his first crimes remained a secret, he would be at peace, there would be no negative emotions, and, consequently, nothing would trigger the re-emergence of the evil entity. Furthermore, Bundy blames society for the crimes he committed. The killer says,

(40) *he could go to a kind of society or community that did not exert upon him the kinds of stresses and pressures which aroused his feelings of anger or hostility* (I1).

The idea behind this statement is that society continuously made him feel bad about himself, people made him self-conscious, this way triggering the desire to kill. Bundy states that if he could find a community that does not act as an evil force and does not arouse negative emotions,

he would cease to commit the crimes. Bundy makes sure to mention that while the evil entity commits crimes, the “normal” one bears the consequences.

(41) *This person could still be (...) very much moved by people who suffered the death of loved ones (I1),*

Bundy says, evoking a metaphorical image of physical forces. The offender attempts to demonstrate that he feels remorse for the crimes he committed and that he is devastated to see how much pain the malicious being inside of him has caused.

Bundy also makes use of FORCE metaphors when discussing the preparation for the court hearings. Bundy states that he was

(42) *increasingly drawn into the intense process of preparing and presenting my defence (I1).*

The criminal explains that he was desperate to prove his innocence, and this desperation became a force that moved him towards becoming his own defence attorney. However, Bundy’s plan to represent himself in the defence phase of the trials did not work out, which has eventually led to the conviction, and he ended up in prison. To describe his experience of living in prison, the killer once again resorts to FORCE metaphors. Bundy discusses one particular situation related to a prison guard. He says:

(43) *I’ve got this bull back there who enjoys pushing me in shit (I1) and*

(44) *he’s pulling my chain every chance he gets (I1).*

The use of FORCE metaphors in this context reveals that Bundy understands emotional abuse as a physical force that is pushing and pulling him until he feels defeated. The way he presents it, prison guards are abusers, and he is the victim who has to endure the cruel behaviour. In Example (43), Bundy also refers to a prison guard as a bull, portraying him as a dangerous, unpredictable animal that may charge at him, sometimes for no apparent reason. This is an example of the ANIMATE BEING source domain, which is to be further analysed in the next section.

ANIMATE BEING metaphors

ANIMATE BEING source domain appears in Bundy’s discourse quite frequently. The target domain that stands out the most is ANIMAL, as Bundy tends to think of himself in terms of a

maltreated animal. When describing the emotions that he experienced when he was imprisoned, Bundy says:

(45) *I don't like being treated like an animal, and I don't like people walking around and ogling me (I3).*

The media was closely monitoring Bundy's every move and the public was highly invested in his story; therefore, Bundy always felt like he was in the spotlight, and since he was imprisoned, he could not run away or hide from the attention. The criminal conceptualises himself in terms of a zoo animal to manipulate people into sympathising with him. Zoos trap animals in unnatural environments, the conditions there are often poor, animals have limited space and may develop mental issues, and are there for human entertainment. Bundy wanted everyone to know that he feels exactly like that, possibly hoping that it will soften people's hearts. The convict also says that while he was awaiting the sentence, he

(46) *was pacing like the proverbial caged animal (I3).*

Animals do not deserve to be closed in cages but since they cannot protect themselves from humans, they become victims of people who abuse them for conducting experiments or simply for entertainment, such treatment is considered animal cruelty. By evoking a metaphorical image of such an animal, Bundy portrays himself as a victim of the cruel treatment he did not deserve. He continues likening himself to an animal and playing the victim as he claims that criminal, violent behaviour has been

(47) *bred into me (I2).*

People selectively mate animals aiming to achieve desirable genetic traits, and the animals born in such conditions have no control over their traits, they just are the way people want them to be. Bundy claims that external forces affected him the same way people affect animals, that he is just a product of someone else's experiments, and, therefore, should not be blamed for whatever he does because he did not choose to be like that. The target domain of an ANIMAL serves for making people more lenient and compassionate in cases where Bundy talks about himself; however, as soon as he starts describing something outside his personality, the same target domain turns into a tool for spreading fear. For example, the offender says,

(48) *influences that there are loose in the society (I2).*

By saying “influences” Bundy mostly refers to pornography. He describes it in terms of a wild animal, a powerful and dangerous predator who roams loose and is capable of attacking anyone in its way because no one controls it. Bundy argues that pornography should not be so easily accessible as it is damaging, and due to its influence, anyone can become a criminal like him. Another ANIMATE BEING metaphor depicts pornography as a person. The killer says:

(49) *This kind of literature contributed and helped mould and shape the kinds of violent behaviour (I2),*

as if pornography was a sculptor or a potter working on a project, carefully handling his/her materials to achieve the desired shape. The constant reminders about the dangers of pornography alone are a form of manipulation as Bundy does not only present it as the villain of the story to shift the blame onto external influences, but he also portrays himself as someone who is deeply concerned about the future of the society and tries to be the hero who warns everyone. By expressing concerns over the well-being of other people, the serial killer attempts to demonstrate that he has a sensitive side and is emotional; however, being emotional has led him to experiencing a lot of pain, which he tries to express by using INJURY metaphors that are to be analysed in the following section.

INJURY metaphors

All of the metaphorical expressions with the INJURY source domain seem to have only one goal of expressing the emotional pain the convict has experienced throughout his life, starting from childhood, and continuing until the day he was executed. Bundy recalls the period in his teenage life when he tried, multiple times, to get on his school’s basketball and baseball teams, failing every time. He says it was

(50) *terribly traumatic (I1) and*

(51) *a source of some agony (I1).*

He appeals to the audience’s emotions by describing his failures and the sadness that followed in terms of physical injuries, likely because he is aware that people tend to be more forgiving to those who had a difficult childhood. INJURY metaphors also play a role in the talks about his crimes. He claims that

(52) *this person suffered from some sort of an acute onset of a desire that resulted in the pattern of killing young girls (I1).*

The destructive feelings and urges, according to Bundy, caused him pain, and since people fully understand the concept of pain, the criminal expects them to understand how unpleasant that was for him, that he did not want that, and certainly did not enjoy the crimes as he was committing them. To emphasise how terrible he felt after committing the crimes, he proceeds to say that after killing someone, he needed

(53) *time (...) to absorb the trauma, the shock of the commission of the crime (I1),*

as if the consequences of his own actions injured him. Another interesting example of the INJURY metaphor emerges when during one of the interviews Aynesworth asks Bundy if he has an alibi. Bundy immediately feels attacked and asks:

(54) *Is this going to be a crucifixion with Ted on the stake? (I1)*

For a long time, Bundy insisted he was innocent, and the question about the alibi triggered him as he considered it an accusation. He was angered by the fact that he was imprisoned for something he did not do while, according to him, the real killer is still free. The dramatic question may be a reference to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ who suffered on the cross as a way of paying for all of mankind's sins since Bundy wanted to evoke the self-image of someone who is paying for someone else's crimes. Several years after asking the question about the crucifixion, Bundy finally confessed to killing the women, and hours before his execution in an electric chair he once again resorted to INJURY metaphors to say:

(55) *I feel the hurt and the pain that I am responsible for (I2),*

which, most likely, was another attempt at proving he is not heartless, and that people should forgive him.

MOTION metaphors

MOTION metaphors in Bundy's discourse mostly serve the purpose of describing the processes taking place inside someone's head, be it the criminal himself or someone involved in his case. For example, the killer resorts to a MOTION metaphor in an attempt to explain disruptions in his social development, when he says that

(56) *it just seemed that I reached a wall, as it were, in high school (I1).*

Bundy states that as a child he had no trouble learning appropriate social behaviours; however, as he started high school, something halted the social development. Bundy claims he does not know the reason why this happened, and in order to make sense of this unknown obstacle to progress, he metaphorically conceptualises it in terms of a wall – an obstacle to motion. The literal act of being prevented from advancing because of a wall blocking the way may generate a variety of emotions: surprise, frustration, anxiety, despair, or any other negative feeling that arises from the fact that one is trapped, in a way. It appears that Bundy’s choice of metaphorical expression calls on people to recall these negative feelings and then consider the discomfort he felt as he was prevented from advancing emotionally. Bundy adds that although his social development was obstructed, he still attempted to socialise with people and engage in various activities; however, there were recurring moments where he could not force himself to do anything. As he puts it,

(57) *there’s just no momentum. There’s no desire to do anything (I1).*

Bundy believes that inside of him there is no force that could set him in motion, that would make him experience things and enjoy his life, and thus he has no other option but to waste his life away. To further emphasise this switching between the desire to socialise and the complete absence of motivation, the convict says

(58) *I’ll slip back into the pattern of just vegetating (I1).*

Bundy states that he is capable of being cheerful and gregarious, but he has little control over these moments of happiness because to him, returning to that vegetative state feels like slipping, the motion is sudden, unexpected, and first and foremost, involuntary. The expressions seem manipulative because Bundy continuously uses them to draw attention to his internal battle, the unsuccessful pursuit of happiness and human connection.

Bundy finds use for the MOTION metaphor when he talks about his life after escaping from prison. The criminal states that the stealing from shops and bludgeon attacks on five coeds was a result of the tension he experienced. As if trying to remind the interviewer how unfortunate were the circumstances he faced, he says:

(59) *you have to remember, I was on the run, so I couldn’t truly be myself (I1).*

Bundy found relief in his escape; however, the fact that he had to hide from the law enforcement was a great inconvenience because it restricted his actions: he could not engage in activities he

would have liked to, he was unable to get a job and make an honest living. The way Bundy describes it, the law enforcement is the antagonist that prevents him from being his true self, which causes him distress and as mentioned when discussing Example (39), the distress triggers the emergence of the criminal entity inside of him. The descriptions of this criminal entity also include MOTION metaphors, especially when Bundy talks about the first crimes he committed. Bundy recalls the time he attacked a woman with a wooden plank. He hit her, the woman fell, and her collapse frightened Bundy so much that he ran away without taking any further actions. He says that after the attack, he

(60) *quickly sobered up (I1).*

In this situation, “sobering up” may refer to actually becoming less drunk, since he confessed that he would not commit crimes unless he was intoxicated. Another possible interpretation is that this metaphorical expression evokes a metaphorical view of upward motion to describe a moment of clarity and understanding. After hitting the woman, Bundy understood that what he had done was wrong, he fully realised the gravity of his actions and did not attempt to do anything similar for a while. To emphasise the sobering effect of the incident, Bundy says that

(61) *he sat back and swore to himself that he wouldn't do something like that again (I1).*

The criminal tries to demonstrate that when he has these moments of clarity, when he “sits back,” i.e., takes time to calmly analyse his behaviour, he is repulsed by the actions of that criminal entity inside of him, and the repulsion stops him from hurting people. However, as time goes by,

(62) *that repulsion begins to recede (I1).*

Bundy describes his emotions and urges as independent of his will. The repulsion – this strong crime-preventing force – moves back and loses its power, then the devious urges take over. The murderer talks about his thought process as if he is just a bystander incapable of either committing crimes or preventing them, and since making one or another decision is not in his power, he should not be blamed for the consequences.

The use of MOTION metaphors transfers into Bundy's discourse on his mental state after being sentenced to death. The interviewer points out that the criminal appears to be “rather in control,” meaning that he is handling the situation well and seems calm, to which Bundy responds:

(63) *I couldn't endure this humiliation if I gave up (I1).*

Bundy conceptualises ceasing to maintain his composure in terms of moving an upright position. The convict feels like he must resist this motion because otherwise he would be emotionally defeated by the never-ending accusations. Furthermore, he is convinced that losing control and showing his emotions would equal admitting guilt, and he cannot afford that because, as he tries to prove, he is innocent. In Bundy's opinion, not succumbing to the motion is the only way to get a chance at acquittal. Bundy also uses a MOTION metaphor to explain how he ended up in prison in the first place.

(64) *The final conclusion is we cannot expect them to come up with even a reasonable approximation (I1),*

the convict says, meaning that his case was so complicated and influenced by false information so strongly that the jury was simply incapable of giving a fair verdict. Bundy is not resentful of the jury. In fact, he portrays them as people who also were misled by the unfair legal system; furthermore, Bundy insists that the jury was treated poorly and not given the proper conditions to accurately evaluate the situation. The manipulative aspect of Bundy's statements is that he pretends to care about the jury; however, his main point, although not expressed directly, is that if the jurors were treated properly, they would have acquitted him. Disguised as concern for the wellbeing of other people is the idea that ultimately, he is the victim.

CONTAINER metaphors

CONTAINER metaphors in Bundy's discourse reveal that the criminal conceptualises mental processes and emotionally difficult periods in terms of containers. For example, to explain the thought process of a person who decides to commit murder, Bundy states that

(65) *all these stimuli went into a black box in his mind, and it came out in a variety of ways (I1).*

The killer believes that his mind has a container to store negative stimuli such as stress, violence seen on television or pornography. Once the container is full, the accumulated stimuli start pouring out and he engages in violent behaviours, as for him it is the only way to rid himself of the negativity and empty the box inside his head. Bundy blames society for making violent images and pornography so easily available because it enters his mind, overflows the "black box" very quickly, and he has no other choice but to empty the box by raping and murdering

women. The process of emptying this black box is not pleasant, according to Bundy. He says that after the commission of the crimes,

(66) individual (...) *finds himself in a great deal of panic* (I1).

The serial killer tries to convince the audience that each murder made him panic because as soon as the murderous episode was over, he realised how terrible his actions had been. Taking young women's lives was not entertainment for him, it was a necessity. He continues by saying that

(67) *he was full of remorse* (I1) and

(68) *after this individual committed a murder, he would lapse into a period of sorrow, remorse* (I1).

In Example (67), a person is metaphorically conceptualised in terms of a container, and since this container is full of remorse, there is no room for anything else. This is Bundy's way of saying that he did not celebrate his crimes or feel much satisfaction because the remorse overshadowed everything else. Meanwhile, in Example (68) he states that this emotionally difficult period is a container, and he is trapped inside of it. Both examples are used to demonstrate that the criminal was unable to escape the guilt.

Bundy also uses one CONTAINER metaphor when he comments on the jury's verdict. He says:

(69) *the manner in which we process information (...) would render the task [delivering the verdict of not guilty] impossible* (I1).

The criminal states that the way of doing something is a container, and the container is filled with a lot of information coming from various sources, in Bundy's case, the sources were the media outlets that relentlessly published information smearing his good name. The information people store in their mental containers later determine the actions they take or decisions they make. Bundy is convinced that since the media fed the public incriminating information and turned the whole society, including the jurors, against him, the jury was not completely objective. Bundy insists that if his trials had not been so public and televised and the jury's verdict was based solely on the available evidence and not prejudice, he would not have been convicted. The convict blames the media for portraying him as guilty and thus influencing the final verdict.

The power the media has over the jurors and the general public is only one segment of the society Bundy finds flawed. To further criticise the society, and to philosophise about it, the serial killer resorts to JOURNEY metaphors.

JOURNEY metaphors

Bundy makes use of JOURNEY metaphors to criticise culture in the United States. He claims that

(70) *if we (...) raised him [the killer] in the Soviet Union or Afghanistan or in eighteenth-century America, in all likelihood he'd lead a normal life (I1).*

In his understanding, the environment in the United States from at least the 1950s onward did not favour vulnerable children, and since Bundy was one of the vulnerable children, the social climate turned him into a serial killer. Bundy considers the Soviet Union and Afghanistan “a simple culture, a more restricting or puritanical culture” and believes that these simpler cultures do not expose people to mentally damaging factors; therefore, people living there are less affected by the negative stimuli and are more in control of themselves; consequently, they lead better lives, and their journey is significantly more fulfilling and cheerful than Bundy's. One of the many complaints Bundy has about the culture in the 20th century United States is that people do not accept anything he offers them and prevent him from being himself. He is convinced that

(71) *there's no right way for me to act (I3).*

He explains that for a long time he attempted to hide his emotions from the public, which made people dissatisfied, they started criticising him; therefore, he decided to reveal his feelings and no longer hide his sadness or anger, but this also made the society upset. According to him, no matter which path he chooses, he will still be condemned.

The criminal summarises his understanding of life in a society with an extended metaphor:

(72) *It's like we're on this runaway train. We know it's running away with us, but it would be a hell of a thing getting off! You might make it; you might not. You're sure to get a bundle of bruises any way you look at it. But, you know, jumping off that train—even when it's at its fastest—might save you the pain and grief of going off the cliff later (I1).*

In Bundy's understanding, the society is like a train that went off the railway tracks. It is scary and dangerous, those on the train do not have much control over its course, and the consequences of either staying "on the train" or "jumping off" are equally frightening. "Getting a bundle of bruises" refers to emotional struggles that, as Bundy puts it, are inevitable regardless of what an individual might decide to do: if one chooses to "jump off the train," the person is likely to experience loneliness, the lack of human interaction may lead to mental or even physical issues; however, if one "stays on this train," the person risks getting hurt by other people on it; furthermore, the final destination of this train is "off the cliff," which means that the journey ends in a tragic crash. Since Bundy does not get into a lot of detail when discussing other people's emotions, it is not quite clear how he perceives the "going off the cliff" when it comes to society as a whole; however, he does specify his personal definition of the process using LOCATION metaphors, which are to be further analysed in the next section.

LOCATION metaphors

Bundy thinks of his emotional state and urges to hurt women in terms of a dangerous location. To illustrate that, let us consider the following examples.

(73) *I'm on that edge (I2) and*

(74) *I was at the verge of acting out on this kind of fantasy (I2)*

Examples (73) and (74) above add to the previously discussed metaphor about the runaway train headed towards the edge of the cliff. The criminal feels like his environment constantly pushed him until he ended up in this perilous position where a single wrong move could lead to detrimental consequences, the consequences being him kidnapping, raping, and then murdering young women. Falling off the cliff is rarely a voluntary act, there usually are external forces at play; therefore, Bundy's use of such metaphors is his way of once again emphasising that it was external forces that placed him at this dangerous location and then made him fall.

Another LOCATION metaphor is also used when Bundy talks about his place in society. The offender recalls his childhood and states that he

(75) *felt (...) at a disadvantage to those people who had the money, the successful parents, all the goodies (I1).*

As maintained by the felon, he was at this location that affected his self-esteem, and the feeling of inferiority that resulted from being there when he was a child contributed to him becoming

a criminal later in life. Several other LOCATION metaphors appear when Bundy attempts to communicate his feelings and beliefs. For example, when asked to share his feelings after being convicted for murder, he says

(76) *I really have trouble right now finding a place to begin* (I1),

suggesting that the ability to express oneself is a place but he is struggling to locate it. If an individual needs to be somewhere but is unable to find the spot, it causes a certain degree of confusion or, perhaps, anxiety; therefore, the use of such metaphorical expression is a subtle way to express discomfort. When it comes to beliefs, Bundy says to Aynesworth that during the interviews he

(77) *really (...) knocked me back from where I thought I was to where you thought I ought to be* (I2).

Change in beliefs is described in terms of moving from one location to another, and Bundy states that the journalists helped him mentally relocate, in a way. The felon says that although talking to Aynesworth was difficult and he felt challenged, their conversations resulted in a change of certain beliefs, and Bundy is now in a lot better shape and aware of his next steps in life. As the metaphorical expression appears at the very end of the interview when Bundy gives his final thoughts on the conversations with Aynesworth, this may be the murderer's attempt to end on a positive note and make the journalist think better of him, i.e., Bundy takes the last opportunity to manipulate the interviewer.

BUILDING metaphors

BUILDING metaphors in Bundy's discourse represent the criminal's internal battle between the urge to commit crimes and the desire to repress that part of him that craves violence. The metaphorical expressions

(78) *whatever factors nurtured this psychopathological condition would start to build up again* (I1),

(79) *he would be enmeshed in that continuing cycle of the building of an urge* (I1) and

(80) *building up of this destructive energy* (I2)

show that Bundy thinks of the accumulation of negative emotions in terms of the process of constructing a building. At first, the triggering stimuli, urges, and destructive feelings are just

scattered pieces that do not have much power on their own, just like bricks, beams or glass do not turn into a building if they are just stored somewhere away from each other; however, as the times goes by and the pieces come together, it results in the final product. In Bundy's case, that final product was his willingness to murder people. It should be noted that when the criminal discusses this building up of the desire to kill, he never says that he participated in the process. The way he describes it, all of the negative emotions came together on their own. However, when he starts speaking about the attempts to prevent this evil entity from carrying out its devious work, he presents himself as an active participant in the process. Bundy claims that he

(81) *reinforced the desire to overcome (...) some problems (I1).*

The desire to avert the tragedy was there but it was too weak, thus he put in the effort to strengthen this structure. This is yet another attempt to present himself as a hero fighting malicious forces.

MACHINE metaphors

In Bundy's discourse, the human mind and mental processes that lead to the commission of crimes are conceptualised in terms of a machine. Firstly, the felon states that in order to abstain from committing crimes, a person must be

(82) *able to totally shut yourself off from the forces (I1).*

A human mind is like a machine that can be turned on and off; if one turns the machine off, it no longer performs any functions, i.e., if that dangerous part of his mind is turned off, he will not murder. The same example also specifies that the machine, or the human mind, should not be shut off completely, just the part that deals with external stimuli, such as pressures, dissatisfactions, violence, and pornography because, according to Bundy,

(83) *pressures, tensions, dissatisfactions (...) fuelled this thing (I1).*

A way of preventing a machine from operating is cutting off the fuel supply, i.e., staying away from all the stresses and negativity. Since the machine is so dangerous, it would be best if the fuel did not exist at all; however, the society, in Bundy's opinion, is inconsiderate and keeps producing the fuel, thus posing a threat to him and the potential victims, while he does his best

to repair the damage. As for the reasons why the external stimuli drive him to murder women, Bundy states that it is

(84) *a part of my mental program (I1).*

By stating that his mind is a programmed machine, Bundy rids himself of the blame. Machines do not have any control over the way they are programmed, and neither does he; therefore, he does not deserve the condemnations coming his way.

NATURAL ELEMENT metaphors

The NATURAL ELEMENT metaphors cover different target domains; however, in each case, the underlying goal tends to be the same: Bundy tries to describe his situation as a series of events where external factors are at play, and they are so powerful and unpredictable that no human being could prevent them from causing damage. For example, Bundy recalls a former friend of his who was working on a book about him. In the book, she portrayed Bundy as a person who does not have any human decency. As the criminal himself describes it,

(85) *she wants to adopt this theory that I'm just ashes inside (I1).*

Naturally, Bundy denied the claims; however, the way he describes it indicates that even if he agreed with the statement that he is nothing but evil, he conceptualises this unfortunate personality development in terms of a raging fire that devastated his mind and burned his inhibitions, leaving nothing but ashes. When it comes to his inhibitions, the felon admits that they are weak because

(86) *pornography eroded them (I1).*

He perceives pornography as erosion that gradually destroys his moral norms, and since erosion is a natural process, there was not much he could do to stop it. Bundy also conceptualises his urges to commit crimes in terms of flowing water, and his conscience to a dam. The offender talks about one particular event when he noticed a woman walking alone in a dark alley. He claims that this sight

(87) *signalled (...) making a hole in the dam (I1).*

Encountering a vulnerable woman made him realise that his compulsions are stronger than the barrier he had built to hold them back. If the flow of water is stronger than the construction built

to control it, there may be no other option but to stand by and watch the water flow. And that is what Bundy did; he allowed the urges to take over because he exhausted all the options for preventing the tragedy.

Bundy also uses a couple of the NATURAL ELEMENT metaphors to discuss legal proceedings. He claims he was

(88) *drawn into this whirlpool of that deceptive process which we call a criminal trial (I1).*

The serial killer constructs an image of being a helpless victim because the trial pulled him in like a whirlpool. Bundy describes the emotions he experienced when awaiting the verdict by saying that he

(89) *felt like a man who knew he was going to be struck by lightning (I1).*

He knew that the sentence would be painful either way; however, Bundy was very anxious because just like after being struck by a lightning, one can never be certain about the outcomes: some walk out of the situation with only mild injuries while others die.

PERFORMANCE and GAME metaphors

PERFORMANCE and GAME metaphors appear to be used as a tool for making the situation look less serious when Bundy depicts his crimes. For example, he talks about the fantasies involving violence against women that he had long before committing his first crime as if such desires were a childish game. The killer says that

(90) *he may have toyed around with fantasies before (I1),*

thus admitting that he did allow himself to fantasise and create scenarios in his head; however, at the same time stating that it was never serious, just like it is not serious when children manipulate their toys to express themselves and tell a story. PERFORMANCE metaphors replace GAME metaphors when the felon moves from discussing the fantasies to describing the actual (attempted) commission of the crimes. Bundy says that

(91) *he may have (...) made several abortive attempts to act out a fantasy (I1),*

which demonstrates that the criminal thinks of the fantasies he developed inside his head in terms of a script for a film or a play; therefore, executing his dreams in real life to him feels like a performance. He even directly states that

(92) *[the killer is] like an actor in a role* (I1).

Thinking of himself in terms of an actor playing a role is not only a way to portray the situation as scripted and thus insignificant, but also Bundy's attempt to dissociate himself from the crimes. He insists that the kidnappings and the murders were not a part of his "normal" personality. When actors are done playing a role, they go back to being themselves; in real life, actors do not speak or behave the same way their characters do, which seems to be Bundy's point. The scene ends when he murders someone, his performance is over, and he can go back to living his regular life as a decent man who is barely related to the killer.

PERFORMANCE and GAME metaphors re-appear when the criminal expresses his opinion on the trials because he openly states that to him the whole process was a show. Let us consider the examples

(93) *I've been tempted, on occasion, to call or to characterize this spectacle, this trial, as a game* (I1) and

(94) *this is just a game. The outcome is already predetermined* (I1).

Bundy firmly believes that his fate was decided the moment police identified him as the suspect. The way he sees it, once the victims' bodies were discovered, the law enforcement needed a person who could be introduced to the public as the culprit, and since he was in the wrong place at the wrong time, he unwillingly became the actor for this role. The script for this play or a game show is clear: a crime is committed, the law enforcement carries out an investigation, trials take place, and in the end, the culprit is sentenced. Bundy expects to be seen as a victim in this situation because, according to him, no matter what he did or said to defend himself and prove his innocence, he had no power over the "script."

ILLNESS metaphors

Metaphorical expressions related to illnesses, although not very frequent in Bundy's discourse, are exceptionally powerful in constructing the narrative where the criminal attempts at presenting himself as a victim of circumstances. People have no control over their illnesses, they do not wish to feel poorly but in many cases are unable to prevent medical conditions.

Whenever Bundy conceptualises his criminal activities in terms of illnesses, it appears that his goal is to prove that the crimes he committed did not depend on him. One of the most unpredictable and dangerous diseases known to man is cancer, and Bundy chooses to describe his urges of criminal nature to this exact disease.

(95) *A certain amount of the need of that malignant condition had been satisfied through the sexual release (I1),*

the convict says, employing the adjective “malignant,” which mostly collocates with “disease” or “growth” and describes cancer. Bundy makes use of this adjective in an attempt to prove that his urges, or “the evil entity” as he refers to it, were like a dangerous, difficult-to-cure disease, and he had to rape women because it was the only way to relieve the symptoms. Such conceptualisation implies that his condition tormented him, he was suffering, and all of the criminal activities he engaged in were his last resort and a shot at survival. Bundy also emphasises that the crimes continued only because

(96) *society (...) would not treat him in his attempt to rehabilitate himself (I1).*

He complains about the fact that society does not want to help someone in Bundy’s position. Instead of providing support, people “punish him or attempt to kill him” (Michaud & Aynesworth 2012: 166), and for this reason, instead of contacting a person or an institution that could professionally cure his disease, he carried on using the only remedy he discovered was helpful.

PERCEPTION metaphors

Understanding something or having an opinion on a particular matter in Bundy’s discourse is described in terms of sight. To express his opinion on the younger version of himself, for example, the criminal states:

(97) *I don’t think people perceived me this way, but I saw myself as meek (I1).*

With the help of PERCEPTION metaphors, Bundy introduces two different stances on the same person. Bundy describes himself as a quiet and gentle young man who is unlikely to start an argument or try to force his opinion on someone else; meanwhile, the convict states that people who used to be around him at that time would not have characterised him as such. Since people generally know themselves best, this statement of his may be the offender’s attempt to prove

that he always knew himself to be a calm individual who would never cause any troubles, yet for some reason, there was a misconception about his personality and people considered him pugnacious, which, naturally, caused him emotional discomfort or even pain as these false beliefs made him somewhat unattractive and prevented him from getting close to people.

A couple of interesting PERCEPTION metaphors also appear in the discourse on Bundy's trials. For example, the convict says he expected that

(98) *the jury will see things the way my attorneys and myself have seen them* (I1).

Bundy, as well as his defence team, regarded the trials as an attempt to punish an innocent man; therefore, he hoped that when presented with the evidence (or a lack thereof, as Bundy believed the evidence was insufficient), the jury will share his opinion, will "see" the situation the same way he does, and reach the verdict of not guilty. Bundy also claims that despite his desperate need to prove his innocence at any cost, he did try to evaluate the situation from the prosecutors' perspective and

(99) *objectively look at the State's case* (I1).

The sentence aims to emphasise how hard Bundy tried to understand why everyone considers him guilty, it even appears that he wanted to agree with the State and make himself believe he was responsible for the murders, but even after objectively evaluating the evidence and witness statements, he did not see how he is related to the crimes in question. Both of the examples suggest that Bundy considers his opinion to be the correct one, but others do not share the same beliefs, which, in the murderer's mind, possibly makes him a misunderstood victim surrounded by people who are too blind to see the truth and continuously attack him.

LIQUID metaphors

The serial killer uses LIQUID metaphors to portray changes in his emotional state. He describes the evanescence of happiness and positivity by saying:

(100) *I felt something drain out of me* (I1).

For a short period immediately after escaping from prison, Bundy felt freedom, relief, and happiness; however, the positive emotions dissipated when he ended up in a bus station where he was surrounded by people. Bundy recalls watching people who had significant others and families and appeared to lead normal lives, they were laughing and talking to each other, and

this view made him realise that they have everything he wants but is unable to achieve because society rejects him. This realisation made all the joy flow out of him similarly to water flowing out of a glass. Evidently, the criminal conceptualises his emotions in terms of liquids and himself in terms of a place for storing them, the example

(101) *we'd had all this, this reservoir of tension building* (I1)

further illustrates that. Bundy believes there is a designated space in his head, a reservoir, that stores all the pressures coming his way. Even the largest reservoirs can contain only a limited amount of liquids, and once they are full, trying to add more results in an overflow. The physical manifestation of the tensions overflowing from Bundy's "reservoir" was the harm done to women. Like many times throughout the interviews, Bundy once again shifts the blame onto his environment because, according to him, it was the circumstances that made him tense and stressed, filling his "reservoir" to the point of overflowing.

CONTAMINATION and CAPTIVITY metaphors

CONTAMINATION and CAPTIVITY metaphors intertwine in Bundy's discourse to portray the massive influence the publicity had on the public, as continuous media coverage ruined Bundy's reputation, turned the jurors against him, and eventually led to his conviction. The criminal says he expected to be

(102) *free from prejudice* (I1),

i.e., he evokes a metaphorical image of being in a situation in which a person is kept against his will. In this case, the longing for freedom, the desire to not be in captivity means Bundy's yearning for a fair trial. The convict blames the media for depriving him of his dream and of his constitutional right to a fair trial. According to him,

(103) *pretrial publicity had so thoroughly contaminated every community throughout Florida, there was no hope* (I1) and

(104) *it was extremely difficult to find a community in Florida where I could find a jury that had not been tainted by the massive and pervasive amount of publicity* (I1).

Bundy supposes that the media polluted people with false information, and the people whose minds are not clean are no longer able to reach a fair verdict. He concludes that he was victimised by the media.

DISTANCE metaphors

The purpose of DISTANCE metaphors in Bundy's discourse is to make a distinction between something he longed for and something he wished would not be present in his life. Short distance, or physical closeness, represents Bundy's continuous attempts to achieve emotional intimacy with other people. He explains that most of his life, no matter what he did, he felt lonely, that is, until the day he discovered politics. He states that

(105) *politics gave me the opportunity to be close to people (I1).*

Emphasis on the fact that only one field of interest brought him closer to people appears to be an attempt to portray himself as an unfortunate individual who gave his best to engage in a variety of activities and make friends but never succeeded until he found shelter in politics. If one describes positive emotions in terms of physical closeness, it only makes sense that the negative emotions would be described as increasing distance, at least that is how Bundy appears to perceive distance. The felon says that

(106) *all he wants to do is put distance between himself and the result of his activities (I1).*

In this context, the results of his activities are guilt, panic, anxiety, and every other harmful emotion, and increasing distance would mean no longer feeling these emotions. It should be noted that the criminal uses the word "wants." If a person wants something, it usually means that he or she does not yet have it or is unable to acquire it at all. Bundy claiming that the only thing he wants (but does not have) is the distance between him and the emotional pain might be an attempt to draw attention to his misery and to ask for sympathy.

SIZE, SUBSTANCE, and TEMPERATURE metaphors

The three source domains illustrate Bundy's response to society. Let us briefly revisit Example (100) used in the context where Bundy discusses the situation where his feeling of happiness dissipated as he encountered a large group of people. In the same context, he uses another, SIZE, metaphor. The convict says:

(107) *I was watching these people (...) who seemed to have so much of what I wanted!
All of a sudden, I felt smaller and smaller and smaller (I1).*

The example signals a conceptualisation of self-esteem in terms of size. Before encountering the people at the bus station, Bundy felt good about himself; however, noticing that there are so many people who have much more than he does made him feel less important, his self-esteem suffered, as if the confidence he had was shrinking until it became so small it no longer performed its function of assuring Bundy that he is good enough to be a part of society. The criminal seems to be indirectly complaining about the inequality: some people have so much, and it makes them valuable members of society; meanwhile, he feels like he does not have anything and thus will never be accepted. Naturally, the thought of being rejected from society triggers disappointment, sadness, anger, and all the other stimuli that drive him to commit crimes, and he is stuck in this vicious circle he cannot break. Bundy says that for this exact reason, people making him feel inferior, he would avoid contact with them as much as he could. He even states that

(108) *if I could have recognised fifteen years ago the poisonous consequences of modern life (...) I would have certainly withdrawn (I1).*

The felon describes the effect people have on each other, and on him specifically, in terms of poison, and suggests that if he had withdrawn from society and avoided this poisonous substance, he might have turned out to be a different man. However, he never escaped people. The interviewer notes that Bundy is arrogant and sick of the things he has faced in society, to which he responds with a TEMPERATURE metaphorical expression:

(109) *this chain of events has made me a cold individual (I1).*

He uses the word “cold” to summarise every quality of his that others find unpleasant and blames his environment for forcing him to become like that.

MONEY metaphors

MONEY metaphors in Bundy’s discourse reveal that the murderer understands his personality traits, time, and energy as something that can have a monetary value. For example, he reveals that when he was younger, he

(110) *just didn’t appreciate my worth (I1).*

It appears that he wants people to feel sad for him because as a young high school student he did not experience much kindness and love just because he felt he was not valuable enough to

receive it. It looks like he is trying to say that he always valued other people more than himself and thought they are more deserving of love than he is. This may be an attempt to gain sympathy by demonstrating how kind and caring he used to be. Bundy uses another MONEY metaphor to highlight his generosity when Aynesworth comments on the lack of valuable information the convict provided to him during the interviews.

(111) *I've done my best, and at some personal cost (I1),*

the criminal says, meaning that he has put a lot of time and energy into providing the most accurate description of the hypothetical killer. Bundy does not miss the opportunity to portray the interviewer as someone who is too demanding and does not appreciate Bundy who did everything he could to help.

PICTURE metaphors

PICTURE metaphors appear in the situations where Bundy tries to prove that there are no reasonable explanations why anyone should consider him guilty of the murders. His arguments are

(112) *they pick the law student with no criminal background (I1) and*

(113) *there's nothing in my background (...) that would lead one to believe that I was capable of committing murder (I1).*

When people look at pictures, they may glance at the background to understand the context: what was going on at the time the picture was taken, what is the location, is there anyone around the person in the picture. People evaluate the background and start digging deeper only if something raises suspicion. A person's history is exactly the same: important things are the environment, experiences, and people. Bundy claims that his history is like a picture with an idyllic background, there is nothing that would cause concerns; therefore, he cannot comprehend why the law enforcement is accusing a person whose past has no suspicious details.

PLANT metaphors

One of the two PLANT metaphors in Bundy's discourse has already been touched upon when analysing Example (58), the convict states that he tends to enter the periods of vegetation where he does not want to engage in any physical or mental activities, i.e., he is like a plant: alive, growing, changing but not demonstrating any voluntary movement. The second metaphorical

expression related to plants seems to summarise Bundy's every complaint regarding society. The criminal says that

(114) *some seem to prosper in a given soil and not in another* (I1).

The killer himself explains that the "soil" means culture in the United States. The expression aims to draw attention to the fact that some people simply cannot successfully function in such a culture. Bundy believes he is one of those people who have been negatively affected by the American culture of that time. He tries to prove that the inability to conform to social norms is not his fault, he simply was born different and was not made to adjust to such an environment. Bundy believes that if the environment were different, he would be a better man.

This section has attempted to examine metaphors employed by Bundy which might have contributed to the felon's efforts to use the language in order to justify his actions, rid himself of the blame, portray his poor mental state, and otherwise manipulate the audience. The section that follows moves on to consider the manipulative power of metaphorical euphemisms.

3.3. Metaphorical Euphemisms

The present section analyses examples that are both metaphorical expressions and euphemisms. The examples below are metaphorical in the sense that they are instantiations of conceptual metaphors whereby one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another conceptual domain. However, they differ from the examples analysed in the previous section in that they conceal certain target concepts, which are considered taboos and could damage Bundy's face. The section is divided into three subsections, each representing an individual target concept that is concealed with metaphorical expressions, and analysed in a descending order, starting with the most representative target concept, namely Crimes.

Crime-Related Target Concepts

The use of euphemisms indicates that Bundy either is or at least pretends to be uncomfortable with discussing the grievous crimes he committed. The criminal's discourse does not contain a single euphemism when he talks about misdemeanours, for example, stealing from stores. In fact, he even admits that he feels no remorse, and demonstrates pride in his abilities to steal anything so easily, without anyone ever catching him. However, as soon as the interviewer starts asking questions related to murders, the felon's tone changes and euphemisms come into

play. The present section analyses some of the metaphorical euphemisms Bundy uses to downplay the seriousness of his crimes.

Stalking

According to Bundy, he had destructive desires involving violence against women for a long time, and these desires gradually developed into more and more threatening actions. There was no breaking point where he would just snap and start committing grievous crimes, he did not jump straight into abducting and murdering young women. Bundy's first crime related to harming other people was stalking. Not surprisingly, the criminal avoids directly stating that he *stalked* people, instead, he conceals the criminal offence with metaphorical euphemisms. For instance, the criminal says that he

(115) *wouldn't rearrange his life in any significant way to accommodate his indulgence*
(I1).

Although Bundy aims to explain that this indulgence, the stalking of people, was not his priority, and he would not give up his daily activities for it, he manages to express how necessary it was for him by describing the commission of a crime in terms of accommodation. The importance of actual accommodation is indisputable: a roof overhead provides physical safety, warmth, and other conveniences, which results in emotional satisfaction. The euphemism in question allows Bundy to articulate that violation of strangers' privacy gave him satisfaction and at the same time, protects him from the outrage attached to direct admission that he enjoys committing the crime. Another way of describing the criminal activity he engaged in as harmless is by stating that he

(116) *would travel about the neighbourhoods* (I1).

Travelling, for many people, is a joyous activity which is highly encouraged as it allows to have fun, broadens horizons, helps to connect with different people, and otherwise enriches personality. Unfortunately, Bundy's definition of travelling involves watching strangers undress or have sex, these are the activities that define the fun he has in his "travels," and the different people he "connects with" are completely unaware of the fact that someone is standing outside their windows, monitoring their every move. Given the nature of Bundy's interests, defining the criminal offence as an activity that is not only socially acceptable but also promoted seems like a clever way to preserve face. It should be noted that although the present analysis

leans towards interpreting this particular example as a metaphor, it could also be interpreted as metonymy (part for whole), since walking/driving around, or travelling, is part of stalking.

In his further attempt to conceal the unpleasant truth, Bundy also refers to stalking as

(117) *hours and hours spent on the street* (I1).

The metaphorical euphemism does not only conceal the actual meaning, which is stalking, but also likens time to money, i.e., Bundy states that he had to allocate his personal resources to the commission of the crimes.

Assault

As mentioned previously, Bundy did not make the decision to murder women overnight. The development of criminal behaviour took place gradually, in stages. The first stage, as already discussed, was stalking. However, eventually, stalking no longer sufficed, the criminal started craving more, and the emergence of this craving marked the beginning of the second stage – assault. Unlike other criminal activities, assault in Bundy’s discourse is rarely disguised as something else. For reasons that would be difficult to specify, the criminal does not shy away from using the words “assault” or “attack.” However, an occasional euphemism concealing the act of assaulting women does make its way into Bundy’s discourse. For example, he describes this crime as

(118) *the course of conduct that he had engaged in* (I1).

The criminal replaces the specific word for this type of crime with a JOURNEY metaphor. In this case, the commission of the crime is described in terms of travelling in a particular direction, and the final destination, the goal, is assault.

Abduction

While the stalking and assaults were crimes independent of each other, the stages that followed became intertwined: assaults led to abductions, and abductions led to rape and murder. Let us start with the transition from assault to abduction. As physical harm to women no longer satisfied Bundy’s increasing urges, he began abducting them. The criminal states that interacting with women in public places was inconvenient because he could not attack them in the presence of other people, all he was able to do in public was talk to them, and by doing so, he risked developing a relationship. Since the act of harming a woman required dehumanisation,

having a relationship with her would have disrupted the whole process of satisfying his desires. Bundy's solution was to

(119) *have (...) security over her* (I1).

The target concept hiding behind the metaphorical euphemism is abduction. More specifically, he felt like he needed to abduct women and take them to remote locations, points where no one could see or hear them. It is a crime he committed against women; however, the way Bundy chooses to phrase it reverses the roles and suddenly, the criminal becomes the victim, the situation is portrayed as if women drove him to the point where he needed security. The euphemism, in this case, is more than a tool for preserving Bundy's image, it also seems like an attempt to gain sympathy.

A part of the abduction process was finding a way to either deceive women and convince them to go with him voluntarily or to frighten them to the point where they did not resist the abduction. The latter appears to be Bundy's method of choice, only he does not refer to this tactic as "frightening the victims," he says he used

(120) *a knife, a gun, anything to gain the attention of the individual* (I1).

The attention is conceptualised in terms of money, and in Bundy's understanding, he worked to gain it. The expression usually does not have a negative connotation, in some cases, it even sounds positive: a man putting effort into gaining a woman's attention may sound romantic, like a charming process of wooing. The use of this euphemism softens the tragic situation.

Rape and Murder

Once Bundy abducted a woman, he needed to

(121) *totally possess her* (I1).

Describing a woman as an object in possession is not a respectable approach to a human being; however, this metaphorical euphemism, while unethical, still contributes to forming a more appealing image as it sounds better than the true meaning behind it. What Bundy calls "possession" is the act of using violence against a woman, raping her, beating her to the state of unconsciousness, and, while she is unresponsive, strangling her to death. None of the listed actions is acceptable, and even openly discussing such crimes could ruin a person's image;

therefore, the euphemism is Bundy's only solution to describe what he did and still somewhat preserve his face.

At one point during the interview, Michaud asks Bundy whether there have been instances where he raped the same woman more than once. Instead of answering the question, the criminal ridicules the journalist and paraphrases his question as

(122) *give it another lick (I1).*

While the journalist bluntly uses the term "sexual assault," Bundy chooses to use a metaphorical euphemism conceptualising the commission of the crime in terms of food consumption and thereby dehumanising the victim by portraying her as an edible object. This may indicate that the felon is not comfortable with such directness, or that he is aware of the consequences the straightforwardness may have on his face, which he is trying to preserve so desperately.

When it comes to discussing the taking of life, Bundy appears to be rather comfortable with using the terms "murder" and "killing"; however, he also does not refrain from resorting to euphemisms. One example of the use of metaphorical euphemism to replace the word "murder" is

(123) *means of dispatching someone (I1).*

The euphemism dehumanises victims by describing them in terms of objects, and the way Bundy phrases it indicates that for him, taking their lives is like sending them away. Such use of euphemisms when discussing death slightly relieves the grief as the idea that a person has been sent away gives hope, be it quite an irrational hope, that the person is not gone entirely, just located somewhere else.

There is one metaphorical euphemism in Bundy's discourse that particularly stands out because it summarises the whole process that begins with stalking and ends with murder. Bundy calls it a

(124) *hunting expedition (I1).*

The criminal's rendering of himself as a hunter "licences" the conceptualisation of his victims as (wild) animals. He quietly observes the victims from afar, waits for the right moment, and then carefully approaches them. Like a hunter slowly and quietly moves towards an animal, Bundy gently and politely starts a conversation with his victim. In both cases, the goal is not to

frighten the prey. Once the circumstances are the way the hunter (actual and metaphorical) wants them to be, he takes a shot. The animal, or the victim, may struggle for some time, but in the end, the hunter manages to achieve his goal. Hunting is probably the only legal activity that is vaguely similar to homicide; furthermore, this activity is popular and familiar, most people, with the exception of certain groups, such as animal rights activists, regard it as a hobby and accept it. Describing crimes as something that is socially acceptable is likely an attempt to decrease the possibility of triggering a strong negative response.

Bundy's final step after committing each murder was hiding the body. During an interview, the journalist asks why Bundy came back to Taylor Mountain, one of the crime scenes, multiple times. The criminal's response to the question is

(125) *he would continue to go back there simply because he had his own garbage disposal (I1).*

Here, the garbage disposal refers to a place where wild animals fed on the remains that Bundy abandoned at that site. The criminal found it convenient because the animals completed the final step for him. Referring to this process as garbage disposal does not only portray animals as a machine that destroys waste but also dehumanises the victims. Bundy did pretend that his victims are not humans to justify his actions, and this might be one of his justifications: if a victim is not a human being but garbage, disposing of a lifeless body is not a crime, it is just "cleaning up."

The trends in using metaphorical euphemisms show that Bundy feels the need to conceal not only the concepts related to his crimes but also other topics. The following subsection deals with one of such topics – mental issues.

Mental Issues-Related Target Concepts

"Mental issues" or other similar, more straightforward, terms describing mental health do not frequent Bundy's discourse. Instead, the criminal resorts to euphemisms. Since mental illnesses face persistent social taboo, Bundy's insistence on downplaying and concealing his condition is likely an attempt to preserve his face. Rather than candidly admitting that he has a variety of mental issues, some of them making him a threat to society, the criminal thinks of his mental health in terms of a machine. As he puts it,

(126) *some malfunctions, you know, are more spectacular than others (I1).*

One may get irritated or upset when a certain piece of machinery fails to operate correctly; however, it is rarely a cause of great concern. While malfunctioning machines can be dangerous to human health or even life, the danger is not the first association that comes to mind upon realising a machine is not working. However, response to mental disorders is often different. Being in a presence of a person with a certain condition may make people feel uncomfortable and uneasy. Let us slightly extend Bundy's metaphorical euphemism to explain how the replacement of "mental issues" with "malfunctions" contributes to protecting self-image. Consider a) walking across a repair shop full of improperly operating machines and b) walking across a mental health institution accommodating people with psychiatric disorders. The latter one would most likely cause more restlessness than the former one. While the morality of such comparison is questionable, it conveys the message: something is wrong with this machine/person. Since malfunctioning machines cause fewer concerns, it makes sense that someone who is trying to protect his face chooses this euphemism over the forthright declaration of mental disorders. Bundy uses another metaphorical euphemism with the MACHINE source domain to conceal a specific mental issue, namely the lack of social skills. The criminal describes himself as a

(127) *unique personality with certain defects* (I1).

In this case, "defects" refer to the lack of social skills he had as a child and a young adult that eventually led to him becoming a serial killer. A moral and law-abiding society would never accept a person who kills people for the sole purpose of satisfying his/her twisted desires, not only because the taking of another human being's life is immoral but also because it is illegal. Therefore, to preserve his image, Bundy finds a way to reveal the truth in a manner that diminishes the shock value. Defected machines stand a chance of becoming useful again, people may keep them and repair them. Bundy's reasoning behind such wording may be that as long as society regards him as a defective machine, he will not be rejected. Instead, people may try to understand and "repair" him.

Bundy makes use of the BODY metaphorical euphemism

(128) *regeneration period* (I1)

to give the periods of time in between the murders a more positive connotation. "Regeneration" refers to developing something again, for example, a lizard regenerates its damaged tail. The word signifies improvement and the process of repairing the damage. Bundy's wording suggests that after committing a murder, he spent time trying to better himself, to work on his

flaws and prevent himself from ever committing crimes again. However, that is not the meaning behind the expression. The target concept of the euphemism is a process of remorse dwindling. Bundy states that he felt pain and guilt after committing murders, and the remorse stopped him from hurting women again. However, the emotions that could hold him back would never last and he would kill again. Naturally, blatantly stating that he took time to suppress the emotions that were necessary for him to be a decent member of society would have greatly damaged his image; therefore, he found a way to portray this process in a way that makes his mind appear less repulsive.

Social Taboos

Bundy rarely uses metaphorical euphemisms outside the topics of his crimes and mental health, there are only a few examples of such euphemisms occurring to refer to other social taboos. One of the examples is

(129) *the dirty bookstores* (I1),

which is a euphemism for bookstores specialising in pornography. (In)appropriateness of something is described in terms of (lack of) cleanliness, and since Bundy considers pornography not only inappropriate but also harmful, he calls it dirty. Another metaphorical euphemism concealing a taboo word is

(130) *close relationships* (I1),

which Bundy uses as a replacement for “sex.” The example suggests that the criminal measures physical intimacy in terms of distance: the distance decreases as individuals become more intimate with each other. One more metaphorical euphemism in the criminal’s discourse is used to portray Bundy as an object. He says,

(131) *they just want to put me away* (I1)

instead of “imprison,” possibly because he seeks to emphasise that the legal system is treating him like a no longer needed object that can be just moved out of the way and hidden somewhere.

It should be noted that there are no grounds for believing that Bundy uses these particular euphemisms because he is uncomfortable with using more direct terms or concerned about preserving his face because, unlike the other target concepts discussed previously, he does freely use words “pornography,” “sex,” or “imprisonment” throughout the interviews.

In this section, it has been explained that Bundy resorts to metaphorical euphemisms mostly to portray grievous crimes in a better light and avoid directly discussing the topics he finds uncomfortable. However, these data must be interpreted with caution because there are inconsistencies in the criminal's use of metaphorical euphemisms that prevent from stating with certainty that the serial killer uses this linguistic tool consciously and with the aim of preserving his face. Having discussed the metaphorical euphemisms, let us now turn to Bundy's use of euphemisms.

3.4. Euphemisms

On multiple occasions throughout the interviews, Bundy states that he is very meticulous about wording, and the present section deals with examples that support this statement. Analysed below are words or carefully constructed expressions that mitigate the grievousness of the situation, conceal taboo concepts, and thus contribute to preserving Bundy's face. The analysis is divided into subsections representing the concealed target concepts.

Crime-Related Target Concepts

Bundy tiptoes around the word "crime" and employs euphemisms to describe the concept in a less shocking manner. The serial killer refers to the things he has done as

(132) *ultimate conduct that we are interested in* (I1) and

(133) *this person can only engage in that kind of behaviour so frequently* (I1).

Both "conduct" and "behaviour" refer to the way someone acts in a particular situation and generally do not carry a negative connotation. The use of such neutral nouns mitigates the risk of the audience being instantly outraged or disgusted. The criminal's blatant confession that he wanted to rape and murder women would trigger a variety of negative emotions; therefore, Bundy avoids specifying his criminal urges and describes them as

(134) *individual who has become somewhat subordinate to bizarre desires* (I1) and

(135) *deviant behaviour* (I1).

The felon does not lie by stating that the urges he felt are *bizarre* or *deviant* because the adjectives are used to describe something that is strange or difficult to explain, perhaps even morally unacceptable, and the crimes he committed truly are like that; however, Bundy's words of choice do not imply anything illegal. Upon hearing such a description, the audience might first imagine that the person enjoys unusual activities that most would not engage in, but it is highly unlikely that someone's first thought would be rape or murder. Another similar example is

(136) *this interest (...) becomes geared toward matters of a sexual nature that involve violence (I1).*

The criminal uses this phrasing as a replacement for “rape.” Once again, Bundy is not lying, as rape is, indeed, a matter of sexual nature, and does involve violence. However, the description he provides may also apply to consensual sexual activities, i.e., the euphemism allows Bundy to describe what he has done without lying but at the same time conceals the criminal element of the activities. These half-truths increase the probability of the audience being more lenient. Such descriptions may even confuse people so much that they do not realise the felon is discussing a criminal act. Consequently, Bundy preserves his face, at least to some extent.

The euphemisms are also present when the felon discusses crime that is, in comparison to rape, less serious – stalking. The way he puts it, women undressing and strangers having sex are

(137) *whatever could be seen, you know, during the evening (I1) and*

(138) *the things he wanted to see (I1).*

Sights present during the evening that one would enjoy may just as well refer to completely harmless things, such as sunset, stars, or city lights. “The things” someone would like to see can also be interpreted in a variety of ways, it can be a reference to tourist attractions, movies, sports games, and many other legal and socially acceptable phenomena. Since an ordinary person would initially interpret Bundy’s words as a reference to something completely acceptable, the euphemism distracts the audience from the fact that he is talking about criminal activity. Instead of saying “stalking” in reference to the full process of selecting the victim, following her home, and watching her undress, Bundy calls it

(139) *slipping back into that old routine (I1).*

A routine is probably one of the most natural parts of every person’s life. Everyone has their own rituals, be it a specific time a person wakes up or goes to bed every day, or the order he/she follows when doing laundry. Having a daily routine does not seem dubious whatsoever; therefore, such a choice of word is a safe way for Bundy to refer to a criminal activity he frequently engages in without raising any suspicions.

As briefly mentioned above, the stalking process involved selecting a victim. Bundy has a euphemism for describing this stage of the crime, and especially for referring to a victim, as well. He calls it

(140) *occasions when he would (...) search out candidates (I1).*

A candidate is a person who competes for a job or in an election. Being a candidate requires, above all, a person's voluntary participation, it also involves demonstrating particular qualities that would impress the person(s) selecting one winner in the competition. By calling his victims "candidates" Bundy does not only eliminate the negative connotation but also implies that the women he chose to stalk somehow entered the competition, demonstrated qualities he found adequate and therefore won. While no woman would like to enter, not to mention winning, Bundy's competition, by using the euphemism the serial killer manages to portray the situation as an event that is not entirely appalling.

The most serious of the crimes Bundy committed – murder – is also concealed by using euphemisms. For example, instead of directly saying "to kill/murder" someone, the serial killer chooses to phrase it as

(141) *to inflict this mortal injury* (I1).

The present section has already analysed a couple of similar instances where the criminal selects phrasing that is technically the truth but has a lower shock value. In this case, Bundy admits that the injuries he inflicted upon his victims were mortal; however, this phrasing does not reveal that the taking of women's lives took place on purpose. Mortal injuries may occur as a result of an accident, self-defence, or other non-criminal instances. Admitting to having caused a mortal injury sounds less face-threatening than directly confessing to murdering a person.

Having discussed the euphemisms concealing Bundy's crimes, let us now move to analysing a couple of the euphemism that the serial killer employs when talking about his mental issues.

Mental Issues-Related Target Concepts

Bundy explains that ever since he was a teenager, he

(142) *felt a bit different* (I1).

Being different may imply many things, for example, a person may enjoy wearing pieces of clothing that others do not necessarily like or have a taste in music that the majority of people in his/her environment find unpleasant. However, Bundy refers to none of such things. What he means by saying he was "different" is the lack of social skills. Lacking social skills is frequently associated with the inability to adhere to social norms, make friends, treat people with due respect, and has an overall negative connotation. Meanwhile, being different, in some cases, is a positive quality – a different person may be regarded as someone with a unique approach to life, an interesting personality. Of course, being different can also imply that Bundy did not fit in or was rejected by the people he wanted to get along with. In such a case, the use of this euphemism could be interpreted as an attempt to gain sympathy as people tend to be

more supportive of those who were mistreated in the past. Either of the two interpretations and the use of euphemism is better for Bundy's face than a direct statement that he does not have the skills necessary for functioning in society.

Another noteworthy example is

(143) *the family and the environment in which the person grew up were (...) not so positive as to prepare this individual to totally avoid failure (I1).*

In addition to lacking social skills, Bundy had other struggles and issues (e.g., the vulnerability to pornography, as discussed in the section of the thesis that deals with metaphors). The combination of these issues has led Bundy to becoming a serial killer, or, as he phrases it, to a *failure*. By using this euphemism Bundy seems to be implying that every single person counts on success or puts effort to prevent himself/herself from becoming a criminal as if everyone is deemed to become killers by default, but some are lucky enough to avoid that while others, including Bundy, are not as fortunate. The euphemism does not only protect the serial killer's face as it is less harsh than the target concept but also appears to be a mean for ridding off the blame.

The example concludes the subsection on the analysis of euphemisms related to Bundy's mental issues. Let us now move on to analysing the target concept of social taboos.

Social Taboos

As discussed while analysing Example (129), Bundy does not seem to be bothered by the topic of pornography and uses this word and the euphemisms therefor interchangeably. Yet, the serial killer does seem to avoid certain words when talking about people interested in pornography. Bundy claims that, "in a pornography shop you can find a variety of perversions in sexual conduct, from homosexuality, to abuse, to lesbianism, et cetera" (Michaud & Aynesworth 2000: 59). He clearly disapproves of the content of pornographic literature and goes as far as calling it perversion. However, when it comes to people interested in such content, Bundy refrains from calling them perverts and instead resorts to the euphemistic expression

(144) *people who market pornography are dealing with a special-interest group (I1).*

Explaining the reasons for resorting to the euphemistic expression right after using the non-euphemistic version thereof is rather difficult. A possible explanation is that while Bundy believes homosexuality or abuse is a perversion, people interested in literature depicting it are not necessarily perverts. Another reason why he refers to people interested in pornography as a "special-interest group" might simply be an attempt not to offend anybody, appear polite, and thus preserve his own face.

The subsection on the target concept of social taboos concludes the section of the thesis dealing with euphemisms in Bundy's discourse. This section aimed at explaining the power euphemisms have in shaping the audience's perception, preserving the speaker's face, and thus contributing to manipulation. This also concludes the Results and Discussion section of the thesis.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The present thesis aimed to examine the use of metaphorical and euphemistic language in serial killer Theodore Bundy's discourse and expound on potential manipulative qualities of such discursive practices. Upon the identification of the said discursive practices in the compiled corpus, two major groups of collected data emerged: metaphors and euphemisms. Since some examples fell into both categories, the third category – metaphorical euphemisms – was added for greater specificity. The next step of the research was the critical analysis of the collected data. Euphemisms and metaphorical euphemisms were translated back into the taboo words and expressions to reveal the true meaning that Bundy chose not to express out loud. Metaphors, as well as the source domains thereof, were interpreted in an attempt to explain how Bundy perceived, or at least how he tried to present, himself, his victims, or the legal system.

The number of linguistic metaphors, metaphorical euphemisms, and euphemism identified in the corpus amounted to 274. The most prevalent of the three figurative devices was linguistic metaphor with 221 examples that fell under 26 source domains. The number of identified metaphorical euphemisms and euphemisms was significantly lower compared to linguistic metaphors and amounted to 26 and 27, respectively, each concealing three major target concepts.

The analysis of metaphors has shown that the most representative source domains are OBJECT, WAR, and FORCE. Bundy frequently resorts to OBJECT metaphors to portray the fragility of his mental state, his supposed vulnerability, and pain. Focusing on his struggles appears to be a form of manipulation as the public is usually sympathetic to a suffering person. Bundy also conceptualises his victims in terms of objects thereby dehumanising them in an attempt to prove that treating women as he pleases is not morally wrong. WAR metaphors in the criminal's discourse are mostly used to describe the legal proceedings in terms of a battle between him and the legal system, emphasising that in this battle, the legal system is an outstandingly and unfairly stronger enemy that is attacking him even though he is just one, significantly weaker, man. FORCE metaphors aid Bundy in his attempts to rid himself of the blame. This source domain mostly comes into play when the serial killer states that external forces made him commit the crimes and he was too weak to resist. The remaining, less representative source domains in the felon's discourse serve a similar purpose: Bundy mostly uses them to portray himself as a victim of circumstances.

The number of metaphorical euphemisms identified in the corpus includes 26 metaphorical expressions that fall under 13 source domains and conceal three key target concepts: Bundy's crimes, his mental issues, and topics that are generally considered taboo. The most representative source domain in concealing crimes is OBJECT. The criminal's discourse does not contain a single euphemism when he talks about misdemeanours, for example, stealing from stores, and he even admits that he feels no remorse for crimes that are not serious. However, metaphorical euphemisms become prevalent when Bundy is asked about the murders, which indicates that the felon is either uncomfortable with discussing grievous crimes or understands the gravity of his actions and feels the need to downplay the situation in a bid to preserve his face. By using metaphorical euphemisms, Bundy conceptualises his crimes in terms of legal activities and even attempts to prove that the women he murdered were a threat to him. Expressions related to the criminal's mental issues are concealed via the use of MACHINE metaphors. Instead of candidly admitting that he has a variety of mental issues, some of them making him a threat to society, the criminal thinks of himself in terms of a malfunctioning machine. Since malfunctioning machines cause fewer concerns, it makes sense that someone who is trying to protect his face chooses this euphemism over the forthright declaration of mental disorders. To conceal social taboos, Bundy resorts to metaphorical euphemisms that fall under CLEANLINESS, COVER, DISTANCE, and OBJECT source domains. Bundy rarely uses metaphorical euphemisms outside the topics of his crimes and mental health, and there are no grounds for believing that Bundy uses metaphorical euphemisms concealing the words "pornography," "sex," or "imprisonment" because he is uncomfortable with using more direct terms or concerned about preserving his face because, unlike the other target concepts, he does freely use these words throughout the interviews.

The trends in using euphemisms are similar to the use of metaphorical euphemisms. The discourse under examination contains 27 euphemisms that conceal the target concepts of crimes, mental issues, and social taboos. Bundy resorts to euphemisms to tell half-truths, i.e., the felon does not lie when he discusses his crimes but the way he portrays each situation mitigates the risk of the audience being instantly outraged or disgusted. Bundy's phrasing is ambiguous, for example, the criminal replaces the word "rape" with "matters of a sexual nature that involve violence" – an expression that could be interpreted both as a sexual assault as well as consensual sexual activities. The ambiguity conceals the criminal elements of Bundy's activities and thus contributes to preserving his face. The euphemisms perform the same functions when employed in the discourse on the felon's mental state and social taboos;

furthermore, this linguistic device aids Bundy in appearing more polite and considerate of others.

The analysis suggests that metaphorical and euphemistic language does play a role in manipulating the audience. Metaphorical expressions help Bundy portray himself as a victim of circumstances, taint the legal system, and shift the blame onto the women he murdered; meanwhile, metaphorical euphemisms and euphemisms are the criminal's tool for downplaying the situation, describing his crimes and mental issues in a more appealing manner, and appearing polite.

It should be noted, however, that the present thesis focuses on metaphorical and euphemistic language in only one criminal's discourse, which does not suffice to make general statements about the use of conceptual metaphors and euphemisms as tools of manipulation. Thus, there is a need for further research, perhaps involving more criminals who managed to create an appealing self-image, to confirm the interpretation and statements provided in the present thesis.

SOURCES

- Dobson, J. 1989. *A Transcript of Ted Bundy's Final Interview*. Accessed 20 May 2020, available from https://www.academia.edu/4921305/A_Transcript_of_Ted_Bundys_Final_Interview; Internet.
- Michaud, S. & H. Aynesworth. 2000. *Ted Bundy: Conversations with a Killer – The Death Row Interviews*. Irving: Authorlink Press.
- Raúl Agraz Campos. 2013. *Ted Bundy Interview (1977) (Rare footage) (Recompilation)* [Video]. Accessed 13 May 2020, available from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEWsxCrMM1U>; Internet.

REFERENCES

- Akopova, A. 2013. Linguistic manipulation: definition and types, *International Journal of Cognitive Research in Science, Engineering, and Education*. 1/2: 78-82.
- Altman, I. & D. A. Taylor. 1973. *Social penetration: The development of interpersonal relationships*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Baker, P. & S. Ellece. 2011. *Key Terms in Discourse Analysis*. New York: Continuum.
- Berg, J. H. & V. J. Derlega. 1987. *Self-Disclosure: Theory, Research, and Therapy*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Bonn, S. 2014. *Why We Love Serial Killers: The Curious Appeal of the World's Most Savage Murderers*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing.
- Brown, P. & S. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carter, E. 2020. *Scams: The Power of Persuasive Language*. Poole and Bournemouth: Bournemouth University.
- Çelik, E. 2015. Social and emotional loneliness and self-concealment as predictors of adolescents' sensation seeking, in *GESJ: Education Science and Psychology*. 4/36: 8.

- Charteris-Black, J. 2004. *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Charteris-Black, J. 2011. *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Crespo-Fernández, E. 2005. Euphemistic strategies in politeness and face concerns, *Pragmalingüística*, 13: 77–86.
- Crespo-Fernández, E. 2015. *Sex in Language: Euphemistic and Dysphemistic Metaphors in Internet Forums*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Dekle, G. R. 2011. *The Last Murder: The Investigation, Prosecution, and Execution of Ted Bundy*. Westport: Praeger Publishers.
- Douglas, J. & M. Olshaker. 1995. *Mindhunter: Inside the FBI's Elite Serial Crime Unit*. London: Cornerstone.
- Douglas, J. E., A. W. Burgess, A. G. Burgess & R. K. Ressler. 2006. *Crime Classification Manual*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Fairclough, N. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London and New York: Longman.
- Fraga, K. 2019. *Ted Bundy's Victims and Their Forgotten Stories*. Accessed 17 October 2020, available from <https://allthatsinteresting.com/ted-bundy-victims>; Internet.
- Gee, J. P. & M. Handford. 2012. *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Hare, R. D. 1999. *Without Conscience: The Disturbing World of the Psychopath Among Us*. New York: The Guildford Press.
- Hargie, O., 2011. *Skilled Interpersonal Interaction: Research, Theory, and Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Hatzfeld, H. A. 1928. *Leitfaden der vergleichenden Bedeutungslehre*. Munich: Hueber.

- Ignatius, K. & M. Kokkonen. 2007. Factors contributing to verbal self-disclosure, in *Nordic Psychology*. 59/4:362-391.
- Keppel, R. 2005. *The Riverman: Ted Bundy and I Hunt for the Green River Killer*. New York: Pocket Books.
- Kövecses, Z. 2010. *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lakoff, G. & M. Johnson. 2003. *Metaphors We Live By*. London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G., J. Espenson, & A. Schwartz. 1991. *Master Metaphor List*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Larson, D. G. & R. Chastain. 1990. Self-concealment: conceptualization, measurement, and health implications, in *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*. 9/4: 439-455.
- Long, P. W. 1992. Antisocial (Dissocial) Personality Disorder, in *The ICD-10 Classification of Mental and Behavioural Disorders*. Geneva: World Health Organisation.
- Maoncha, J. N. & J.M. Ndambuki. 2017. Euphemism use as a mirror of the people's worldview: the case of the Abagusii dirges of Kenya, in *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies*. 10/1: 147.
- McGlone, M. & J. A. Batchelor. 2003. Looking out for number one: euphemism and face, in *Journal of Communication*. 53/2: 251–264.
- Michaud, S. & H. Aynesworth. 2012. *The Only Living Witness: The True Story of Serial Sex Killer Ted Bundy*. Irving: Authorlink Press.
- Mitchell, C. B. 1999. Of euphemisms and euthanasia: the language games of the Nazi doctors and some implications for the modern euthanasia movement, in *OMEGA*. 40/1: 255-265.
- Munteano, M. B. 1953. Les implications esthétiques de l'euphémisme en France au XVIIIe siècle, in *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Études Françaises*. 3/5: 153–166.
- Musolff, A. 2006. Metaphor scenarios in public discourse, in *Metaphor and Symbol*. 21/1: 23-38.

- Pedneault, A. 2013. *Ted Bundy on the “Malignant Being”: An Analysis of the Justificatory Discourse of a Serial Killer*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Burnaby: Simon Fraser University.
- Pragglejaz Group (2007). MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse, in. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 22/1: 1-39.
- Ramsland, K. 2016. *Confession of a Serial Killer: The Untold Story of Dennis Rader, the BTK Killer*. Hanover: ForeEdge.
- Rule, A. 1980. *The Stranger Beside Me: The Inside Story of Serial Killer Ted Bundy*. London: Little, Brown Book Group.
- Smith, D. 2014. *Banned Mind Control Techniques Unleashed: Learn the Dark Secrets of Hypnosis, Manipulation, Deception, Persuasion, Brainwashing and Human Psychology*. Jersey City: Make Profits Easy LLC.
- Sprecher, S., S. Treger & J. D. Wondra. 2012. Effects of self-disclosure role on liking, closeness, and other impressions in get-acquainted interactions, in *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*. 30/4: 497.
- Steen, G. J., A. G. Dorst, J. B. Herrmann, A. A. Kaal, T. Krennmayr, and T. Pasma. (2010). *A Method for Linguistic Metaphor Identification: from MIP to MIPVU*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sykes, M. & D. Matza. 1957. Techniques of neutralization: a theory of delinquency, in *American Sociological Review*, 22/6: 664-669.
- Thomas, L. & S. Wareing. 2004. *Language, Society and Power: An Introduction*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- van Dijk, T. A. 2001. Critical Discourse Analysis, in Hamilton, H., D. Tannen & D. Schiffrin (eds) *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers. 352-353.
- van Leeuwen, T. 2015. Critical Discourse Analysis, in Tracy, K., T. Sandel & C. Ilie (eds) *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons. 294.

Wiggins, S. 2009. Discourse analysis, in Reis, H. T. & S. Sprecher (eds), *Encyclopedia of Human Relationships*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. 427-430.

Wodak, R. 2001. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage.

SUMMARY IN LITHUANIAN

Serijiniai žudikai neretai susilaukia išskirtinio visuomenės dėmesio. Tokie nusikaltėliai dažnai aptarinėjami išskirtinai dėl įvykdytų nusikaltimų sunkumo, tačiau kai kurie serijiniai žudikai kelia visuotinę susidomėjimą ir dėl savo asmenybės bruožų: iškalbingumo, intelektualumo, žavesio. Tokie individai geba suformuoti teigiamą asmens įvaizdį, todėl net ir paaiškėjus jų įvykdytiems nusikaltimams, jie neretai vis tiek žavi visuomenę ir sulaukia iš jos empatijos. Vienas tokių serijinių žudikų buvo Teodoras Bandis. Nuo pat tos dienos, kai buvo pripažintas pagrindiniu įtariamuoju kelių jaunų moterų nužudymo bylose iki nuteisimo mirties bausme, Bandis nepaliaujamai stengėsi ne tik sužavėti visus juo susidomėjusius asmenis, bet ir pavaizduoti save kaip nesąžiningų aplinkybių auką. Kitaip tariant, Bandis manipuliavo žmonėmis, įsitraukusiais į jo gyvenimą, nusikaltimus ir teismo procesus. Savo tikslo nusikaltėlis siekė bendraudamas su žiniasklaida ir dalindamas interviu, kurių tekstuose identifikuotos metaforos ir eufemizmai ir yra analizuojami šiame darbe.

Darbo objektas yra konceptualiosios metaforos ir eufemizmai Bandžio diskurse. Tyrimu siekiama išnagrinėti metaforiškos ir eufemistinės kalbos vartojimą šio serijinio žudiko diskurse ir pamėginti atskleisti, kaip šios kalbinės raiškos priemonės galėjo pasitarnauti siekiant manipuluoti auditorija ir kurti teigiamą savivaizdį viešojoje erdvėje.

Tyrimui buvo sudarytas tekstynas iš trijų interviu tekstų, kurie leidžia skaityti ar klausytis autentiško Bandžio diskurso: žurnalistų Stephen Michaud ir Hugh Aynsworth pokalbiai su nusikaltėliu, įrašyti nuo 1980 m. sausio iki 1981 m. kovo; paskutinis Bandžio interviu prieš mirtį 1989 m., kuriame nusikaltėlis kalbasi su pastoriumi dr. James Dobson; ir 1977 m. interviu su neįvardintais žurnalistais. Pirmiausia, pasitelkus atidaus skaitymo (angl. *close reading*) metodą, tekстыne buvo nustatyti fragmentai, kuriuose išvelgiama manipuliacijos elementų. Identifikavus tyrimui aktualias diskurso dalis, jose buvo ieškoma metaforų ir eufemizmų. Eufemizmų nustatymui pasitelkta Brown ir Levinson (1987) teorija, kuria teigiama, kad eufemizmais laikomi žodžiai ir išsireiškimai, kurie yra vartojami siekiant užmaskuoti įžeidžius ar kitokius visuomenėje nepriimtinius išsireiškimus ir taip apsaugoti kalbančiojo įvaizdį. Kalbinių metaforų nustatymas atliktas remiantis Steen ir kt. (2010) metaforų identifikavimo metodu (MIPVU). Tyrimo medžiagoje identifikavus eufemizmus ir metaforas, buvo rasta metaforų pavyzdžių, kurie pagal funkciją maskuoti ir tiesiogiai neįvardinti tikrojo referento siekiant tikslumo buvo išskirti į atskirą metaforiškų eufemizmų kategoriją. Nustačius kalbines metaforas, jos buvo rekonstruotos į konceptualiąsias remiantis

konceptualiųjų metaforų teorija ir visi pavyzdžiai sugrupuoti pagal atitinkamą konceptualiąją metaforą.

Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad iš trijų analizuotų kalbinės raiškos priemonių, dažniausiai naudojama priemonė yra konceptualiosios metaforos. Bandis linkęs mąstyti apie savo psichologinę būklę, nusikaltimus ar teisinę sistemą kaip apie OBJEKTĄ, KARĄ, JĖGĄ ar GYVĄ BŪTYBĘ. Bandis pasitelkia metaforiškus išsireiškimus bandydamas pavaizduoti save kaip auką arba kaltindamas pačias nukentėjusiasias. Metaforiški eufemizmai ir eufemizmai vartojami kur kas rečiau, šias kalbinės raiškos priemones Bandis naudoja siekdamas užmaskuoti tris pagrindines tikslines sąvokas (angl. *target concepts*): nusikaltimus, psichinės sveikatos problemas ir kitas temas, visuomenės laikomas tabu.

APPENDICES

Appendix I. Metaphors

METAPHORICAL EXPRESSION IN CONTEXT	SOURCE DOMAIN	METAPHOR	SOURCE
this kind of literature contributed and helped <u>mould and shape</u> the kinds of violent behaviour	ANIMATE BEING	PORNOGRAPHY IS A POTTER	Interview 1
Emotionally and socially, something <u>stunted</u> my progress in high school	ANIMATE BEING	PROGRESS IS A CHILD	Interview 1
I was pacing like the proverbial <u>caged animal</u> when they finally got there	ANIMATE BEING	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IN CAPTIVITY	Interview 3
whatever factors <u>nurtured</u> this psychopathological condition would start to build up again	ANIMATE BEING	MENTAL DISORDERS ARE ANIMATE BEINGS	Interview 1
She wants to <u>adopt</u> this theory that I'm just ashes inside	ANIMATE BEING	THEORIES ARE CHILDREN	Interview 1
I've got this red-headed <u>bull</u> back there who enjoys pushing me in shit	ANIMATE BEING	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Interview 1
I find that the pressures on me have actually permitted me to enter into a period of <u>growth</u>	ANIMATE BEING	MIND IS AN ANIMATE BEING	Interview 1
I don't like being treated like an <u>animal</u>	ANIMATE BEING	PERSON IS AN ANIMAL	Interview 3
I've <u>grown</u> in the past year	ANIMATE BEING	EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE IS AN ANIMATE BEING	Interview 1
pornography (...) <u>snatched</u> me out of my home twenty-thirty years ago	ANIMATE BEING	PORNOGRAPHY IS A THIEVE	Interview 3
criminal behaviour or violent behaviour, that had been <u>conditioned into me, bred into me</u>	ANIMATE BEING	INFLUENCING PEOPLE IS BREEDING ANIMALS	Interview 2

Those of us (...) are not some kinds of inherent <u>monsters</u>	ANIMATE BEING	CRIMINALS ARE DANGEROUS CREATURES	Interview 2
influences that there are <u>loose</u> in the society	ANIMATE BEING	INFLUENCES ARE ANIMALS OUT OF CONTROL	Interview 2
it <u>revives</u> me all these terrible feelings	ANIMATE BEING	EMOTIONS ARE ANIMATE BEINGS	Interview 2
whatever factors nurtured this psychopathological condition would start to <u>build up</u> again	BUILDING	ACCUMULATING EMOTIONS IS CONSTRUCTING A BUILDING	Interview 1
I was attempting to (...) <u>insulate</u> myself from the terribly harsh consequences of a guilty verdict.	BUILDING	PROTECTING ONE'S MENTAL STATE IS INSULATING A BUILDING	Interview 1
He (...) <u>reinforced</u> the desire to overcome (...) some problems	BUILDING	FEELING DESIRE IS MAKING A BUILDING STRONGER	Interview 1
<u>building up</u> of this destructive energy	BUILDING	VIOLENCE IS A BUILDING	Interview 2
The defendant expects to be <u>free</u> from prejudice	CAPTIVITY	EXPERIENCING PREJUDICE IS BEING HELD IN CAPTIVITY	Interview 1
I was here and then on trial in Orlando, I was <u>locked</u> into that struggle	CAPTIVITY	EXPERIENCING NEGATIVE EMOTIONS IS BEING IN CAPTIVITY	Interview 1
I felt <u>out of control</u>	CONTAINER	SELF-CONTROL IS A CONTAINER	Interview 1
If I was truly shrewd and <u>in control</u> of myself, I would not have done the things that I did, which were terribly stupid	CONTAINER	SELF-CONTROL IS A CONTAINER	Interview 1
The <u>manner in</u> which we process information, record it, memorize it, and then retrieve it, would render the task impossible	CONTAINER	WAYS OF DOING THINGS ARE CONTAINERS	Interview 1
Individual (...) finds himself <u>in a great deal of panic</u>	CONTAINER	PANIC IS A CONTAINER	Interview 1

He is not <u>in control</u> of himself	CONTAINER	CONTROL IS A CONTAINER	Interview 1
All these stimuli went into a <u>black box</u> in his mind, and it came out in a variety of ways	CONTAINER	MIND IS A CONTAINER	Interview 1
And he was <u>full</u> of remorse	CONTAINER	PERSON IS A CONTAINER	Interview 1
after this individual committed a murder, he would <u>lapse into</u> a period of sorrow, remorse	CONTAINER	EMOTIONALLY DIFFICULT PERIOD IS A CONTAINER	Interview 1
Pretrial publicity had so thoroughly <u>contaminated</u> every community throughout Florida, there was no hope	CONTAMINATION	NEGATIVELY AFFECTING SOMEONE'S MIND IS CONTAMINATING	Interview 1
Extremely difficult to find a community in Florida where I could find a jury that had not been <u>tainted</u> by the massive and pervasive amount of publicity	CONTAMINATION	NEGATIVELY AFFECTING SOMEONE'S MIND IS CONTAMINATING	Interview 1
Politics gave me the opportunity to be <u>close</u> to people <...>, to be socially involved with them	DISTANCE	EMOTIONAL INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS	Interview 1
All he wants to do is put <u>distance</u> between himself and the result of his activities	DISTANCE	DISSOCIATING IS INCREASING DISTANCE	Interview 1
I was attempting to (...) keep on <u>struggling</u>	FORCE	TAKING CARE OF MENTAL HEALTH IS USING FORCE	Interview 1
I guess there are several factors which <u>forced</u> me, which <u>influenced</u> me, to play a role (...) of a defendant.	FORCE	CIRCUMSTANCES ARE FORCES	Interview 1
I found myself increasingly <u>drawn into</u> the intense process of preparing and presenting my defense	FORCE	BECOMING INTERESTED IS FORCES TOWARD CLOSENESS	Interview 1

This person could still be (...) very much <u>moved</u> by people who suffered the death of loved ones	FORCE	EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES	Interview 1
Cases with which I was <u>charged</u>	FORCE	BEING ACCUSED IS BEING FORCED TO MOVE	Interview 3
there is some kind of <u>weakness</u> that <u>gives rise</u> to this individual's interest in the kind of sexual activity involving violence	FORCE	PERSONALITY TRAITS ARE FORCES MAKING MOVE TOWARDS AN UPRIGHT POSITION	Interview 1
There's a (...) <u>struggle</u> between the normal personality and this psychopathological entity	FORCE	INNER CONFLICT IS A FIGHT AGAINST A FORCE	Interview 1
But the urge to do something to that person <u>seized</u> him	FORCE	URGES ARE FORCES	Interview 1
Frenzied desire that <u>seized</u> him	FORCE	URGES ARE FORCES	Interview 1
But slowly, the <u>pressures</u> , <u>tensions</u> , dissatisfactions which, in the very early stages, fuelled this thing, had an effect	FORCE	NEGATIVE INFLUENCES ARE PHYSICAL FORCES	Interview 1
When he was really <u>forced</u> to, you know, I mean, really forced with facing the fact	FORCE	CIRCUMSTANCES ARE FORCES	Interview 1
<u>forced</u> into a position of having to kill	FORCE	CIRCUMSTANCES ARE FORCES	Interview 1
I never really got into organized sports <...> the coaches <u>drove</u> the kids unmercifully	FORCE	BEING TRAINED IS BEING FORCED TO MOVE	Interview 1
You really <u>jarred</u> me a couple of times	FORCE	CAUSING CONFUSION IS FORCING TO MOVE	Interview 1
whatever desires <u>drove</u> him seemed to be stronger than usual	FORCE	DESIRES ARE FORCES	Interview 1

He's <u>driven</u> by whatever it is that's <u>driving</u> him to commit that	FORCE	DESIRES ARE FORCES	Interview 1
I've got this red-headed bull back there who enjoys <u>pushing</u> me in shit	FORCE	EMOTIONAL ABUSE IS PHYSICAL FORCE	Interview 1
this normal self had been <u>repressed</u>	FORCE	CHANGES IN MENTAL STATE ARE FORCES	Interview 1
There had been all kinds of published reports; they had, you know, <u>pried</u> into my background	FORCE	LOOKING FOR INFORMATION IS FORCING SOMETHING OPEN	Interview 1
He could go to a kind of society or community that did not exert upon him the kinds of <u>stresses</u> and <u>pressures</u> which aroused his feelings of anger or hostility and doubt	FORCE	EMOTIONAL TRIGGERS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES	Interview 1
I find that the <u>pressures</u> on me have actually permitted me to enter into a period of growth	FORCE	EMOTIONAL TRIGGERS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES	Interview 1
I don't know how it would translate into being back in society—and being subjected to the old <u>stresses</u> and <u>pressures</u> which were a part of my mental program	FORCE	EMOTIONAL TRIGGERS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES	Interview 1
The <u>tension</u> between normal individual, uh, normal consciousness of this individual and those demands	FORCE	SWAYING BETWEEN TWO PERSONALITIES IS PULLING	Interview 1
those two <u>forces</u> [violence on TV and pornography] bring about behaviour that is just too terrible to describe	FORCE	EMOTIONAL TRIGGERS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES	Interview 1
it [pornography] had an <u>impact</u> on me	FORCE	EMOTIONAL TRIGGERS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES	Interview 2
pornography (...) <u>snatched</u> me out of my home	FORCE	BEING INFLUENCED IS BEING FORCED TO ABANDON YOUR NORMAL LIFE	Interview 2

it was like a <u>black hole</u>	FORCE	POOR MENTAL STATE IS A PULLING FORCE	Interview 1
he's <u>pulling</u> my chain every chance he gets	FORCE	CAUSING EMOTIONAL DISTRESS IS PULLING	Interview 1
he may have <u>toyed</u> around with fantasies before	GAME	EXPERIMENTING IS PLAYING WITH TOYS	Interview 1
They are the ones who are <u>challenging</u> me and accusing me	GAME	ACCUSING IS INVITING TO COMPETE IN A GAME	Interview 1
This condition inside him seems to be <u>competing</u> for more attention	GAME	CHANGE IN MENTAL STATE IS A COMPETITION	Interview 1
You get used to those accusations (...) You get <u>immune</u> to it	ILLNESS	ACCUSATION IS AN INFECTIOUS DISEASE	Interview 1
the <u>malignant</u> condition having more or less been satisfied for the moment	ILLNESS	URGES ARE TUMOURS	Interview 1
the need of that <u>malignant</u> condition had been satisfied	ILLNESS	URGES ARE TUMOURS	Interview 1
Nor was that <u>malignant</u> condition that active at that time	ILLNESS	URGES ARE TUMOURS	Interview 1
society (...) would not <u>treat</u> him in his attempt to rehabilitate himself	ILLNESS	PROVIDING EMOTIONAL SUPPORT IS TREATING AN ILLNESS	Interview 1
a kind of period when the person sort of <u>recovered</u> from what he'd done	ILLNESS	EMOTIONAL STABILITY IS RECOVERING FROM ILLNESS	Interview 1
He's received nothing—absolutely nothing inside a prison to help him sort out that <u>sickness</u>	ILLNESS	MENTAL ISSUES ARE ILLNESSES	Interview 1
It was terribly <u>traumatic</u> for me	INJURY	PSYCHOLOGICAL HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY	Interview 1
It was a source of some <u>agony</u>	INJURY	PSYCHOLOGICAL HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY	Interview 1

I don't dwell on the <u>heartache</u>	INJURY	EMOTIONAL PAIN IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Interview 1
It would be too <u>painful</u> .	INJURY	EMOTIONAL PAIN IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Interview 1
You really (...) <u>knocked</u> me back from where I thought I was to where you thought I ought to be	INJURY	CHANGING SOMEONE'S BELIEFS IS PHYSICAL INJURY	Interview 1
there was less and less time needed to absorb the <u>trauma</u> , the <u>shock</u> of the commission of the crime	INJURY	EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES ARE PHYSICAL INJURIES	Interview 1
Then the normal self would (...) <u>suffer</u> panic	INJURY	PANICKING IS EXPERIENCING PHYSICAL PAIN	Interview 1
Is this going to be a <u>crucifixion</u> with Ted on the stake?	INJURY	ACCUSING IS CRUCIFYING	Interview 1
If I want the kind of <u>abuse</u> you're giving me, I can get it, with ease, back on The Row.	INJURY	EMOTIONAL DISTRESS IS PHYSICAL ABUSE	Interview 1
The possibility that this person <u>suffered</u> from some sort of an acute onset of a desire that resulted in the pattern of killing young girls	INJURY	MENTAL ISSUES ARE PHYSICAL PAIN	Interview 1
every time I hear about some book or magazine article written about me, I'm always deeply <u>distressed</u>	INJURY	EMOTIONAL PAIN IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Interview 1
I was <u>scared to death</u> in the Salt Lake City jail <...> I thought they were going to kill me	INJURY	FEAR IS A MORTAL INJURY	Interview 1
I feel the <u>hurt</u> and the <u>pain</u> that I am responsible for	INJURY	EMOTIONAL PAIN IS PHYSICAL PAIN	Interview 2
But the jury didn't see it my <u>way</u>	JOURNEY	HAVING THE SAME OPINION IS WALKING THE SAME PATH	Interview 1

I <u>went</u> through some horrible periods	JOURNEY	EXPERIENCING EMOTIONAL PAIN IS WALKING TOWARDS A DESTINATION	Interview 1
[I am] <u>going</u> through an emotional period where I have forgotten a lot of details	JOURNEY	EXPERIENCING STRONG EMOTIONS IS WALKING TOWARDS A DESTINATION	Interview 1
It's like we're on this runaway train. We know it's running away with us, but it would be a hell of a thing getting off! You might make it; you might not. You're sure to get a bundle of bruises any way you look at it. But, you know, jumping off that train—even when it's at its fastest—might save you the pain and grief of going off the cliff later.	JOURNEY	LIFE IS A TRAIN JOURNEY	Interview 1
There always remained (...) hope, that things would turn out the <u>way</u> they should turn out	JOURNEY	ACHIEVING AN OUTCOME IS WALKING ON A PATH	Interview 1
I would say that if we took this individual from birth and raised him in the Soviet Union or Afghanistan or in eighteenth-century America, in all likelihood he'd <u>lead</u> a normal life	JOURNEY	LIVING IS SHOWING THE WAY	Interview 1
There's no right <u>way</u> for me to act	JOURNEY	ACTIONS ARE PATHS	Interview 3
I felt something <u>drain</u> out of me	LIQUID	EMOTIONS ARE LIQUIDS	Interview 1
sexual activity involving violence that would gradually begin to <u>absorb</u> some of his fantasy	LIQUID	FANTASY IS LIQUID	Interview 1
We'd had all this, this <u>reservoir</u> of tension building	LIQUID	TENSION IS LIQUID	Interview 1
The facts to prove unequivocally that I'm innocent are not <u>there</u>	LOCATION	EXISTENCE OF FACTS IS A LOCATION	Interview 1

So many times in these past couple years I felt like I was looking down from <u>atop a mountain</u> and seeing so many things I had never seen before	LOCATION	BEING AWARE IS LOOKING AT THINGS FROM A HIGH LOCATION	Interview 1
I really have trouble right now finding a <u>place</u> to begin	LOCATION	ABILITY TO EXPRESS YOURSELF IS A PLACE	Interview 1
You really (...) knocked me back <u>from</u> where I thought I was <u>to</u> where you thought I ought to be	LOCATION	BELIEFS ARE LOCATIONS	Interview 1
I was at the <u>verge</u> of acting out on this kind of fantasy	LOCATION	MENTAL STATE IS A LOCATION	Interview 2
I'm on that <u>edge</u>	LOCATION	MENTAL STATE IS A DANGEROUS LOCATION	Interview 2
But you have to be able to totally <u>shut yourself off</u> from the forces	MACHINE	EMOTIONS ARE MACHINES	Interview 1
I felt I couldn't <u>manipulate</u> , if that's the word, the environment around me	MACHINE	ENVIRONMENT IS A CONTROLLED SYSTEM	Interview 1
Pressures, tensions, dissatisfactions (...) <u>fuelled</u> this thing	MACHINE	EMOTIONS ARE MACHINES	Interview 1
I don't know how it would translate into being back in society—and being subjected to the old stresses and pressures which were a part of my mental <u>program</u>	MACHINE	MIND IS A PROGRAMMED MACHINE	Interview 1
Maybe it was something that was <u>programmed</u> by some kind of genetic thing	MACHINE	MIND IS A PROGRAMMED MACHINE	Interview 1
fantasy life that was <u>fuelled</u> largely by pornography	MACHINE	IMAGINATION IS A MACHINE	Interview 2
I just didn't appreciate my <u>worth</u>	MONEY	PERSONALITY TRAITS ARE VALUED IN MONEY	Interview 1

I've done my best, and at some personal <u>cost</u>	MONEY	PERSON'S TIME AND ENERGY IS MONEY	Interview 1
I couldn't endure this humiliation if I gave <u>up</u>	MOTION	CEASING TO DO SOMETHING IS MOVING TOWARDS AN UPRIGHT POSITION	Interview 1
I spoke <u>up</u> in class	MOTION	EXPRESSING IDEAS IS MOVING TOWARDS AN UPRIGHT POSITION	Interview 1
It just seemed that I <u>reached a wall</u> , as it were, in high school	MOTION	OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS ARE OBSTACLES TO MOTION	Interview 1
There's just <u>no momentum</u>	MOTION	DESIRE TO DO SOMETHING IS MOVING	Interview 1
I'll <u>slip back</u> into the pattern of just vegetating	MOTION	PROGRESS IS MOTION	Interview 1
I was <u>on the run</u> , so I couldn't truly be myself	MOTION	HIDING FROM LAW ENFORCEMENT IS MOVING	Interview 1
And, notwithstanding my attempt to on occasions to <u>step back</u> and objectively look at the State's case	MOTION	TAKING TIME TO THINK IS MOVING BACKWARDS	Interview 1
The final conclusion is we cannot expect them to <u>come up</u> with even a reasonable approximation	MOTION	HAVING IDEAS IS MOVING TOWARDS AN UPRIGHT POSITION	Interview 1
He quickly <u>sobered up</u>	MOTION	UNDERSTANDING IS MOVING TOWARDS AN UPRIGHT POSITION	Interview 1
that repulsion began to <u>recede</u>	MOTION	CHANGE OF EMOTION IS MOVING BACK	Interview 1
he <u>sat back</u> and swore to himself that he wouldn't do something like that again	MOTION	TAKING TIME TO THINK IS MOVING BACKWARDS	Interview 1

Still, within me at least, there always remained an <u>undercurrent</u> of optimism	NATURAL ELEMENT	OPTIMISM IS MOVING WATER	Interview 1
She wants to adopt this theory that I'm just <u>ashes</u> inside	NATURAL ELEMENT	MALEVOLENT BEHAVIOUR IS FIRE	Interview 1
All of us, but myself considerably more than the others, would be drawn into this <u>whirlpool</u> of that deceptive process which we call a criminal trial	NATURAL ELEMENT	LEGAL PROCESS IS STRONG MOVEMENT OF WATER	Interview 1
I felt like a man who knew he was going to be struck by <u>lightning</u>	NATURAL ELEMENT	COURT VERDICT IS LIGHTNING	Interview 1
pornography <u>eroded</u> them [inhibitions]	NATURAL ELEMENT	PORNOGRAPHY IS A DESTRUCTIVE NATURAL ELEMENT	Interview 1
the sight of that woman under those circumstances on that evening and given the condition he was in signalled (...) making a hole in the <u>dam</u>	NATURAL ELEMENT /OBJECT	EMOTIONS ARE MOVING WATER/SANITY IS AN OBJECT	Interview 1
his attempt to (...) make him <u>whole</u> to normal again	OBJECT	MENTAL STATE IS A CONSTRUCTED OBJECT	Interview 1
I still never really came out of my <u>shell</u>	OBJECT	SHYNESS IS A PROTECTIVE SHELL	Interview 1
I wanted to do it [give the journalists more details]... but it was just too <u>hard</u>	OBJECT	DIFFICULTY IS HARDNESS OF OBJECT	Interview 1
It's hard for me to <u>put words together</u> right now	OBJECT	SPEAKING IS CONSTRUCTING AN OBJECT	Interview 1
I didn't have that parental <u>stamp</u> of approval	OBJECT	PARENTAL SUPPORT IS AN OBJECT	Interview 1
I didn't seem to be able to <u>grasp</u> a lot of that	OBJECT	UNDERSTANDING IS GRASPING AN OBJECT	Interview 1

I didn't walk down the ball like a <u>dummy</u>	OBJECT	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Interview 1
Not <u>withstanding</u> , perhaps, the reality of the situation	OBJECT	STRENGTH OF MIND IS STRENGTH OF AN OBJECT	Interview 1
I was attempting to (...) <u>preserve</u> my own spirit	OBJECT	TAKING CARE OF MENTAL STATE IS PRESERVING AN OBJECT	Interview 1
This is why this Ball girl <u>found</u> herself to be the next victim	OBJECT	PERSON IS AN OBJECT	Interview 1
But it's as true and real as this <u>trashcan</u>	OBJECT	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Interview 1
They see me as <u>part</u> of a human being	OBJECT	HUMAN IS A CONSTRUCTED OBJECT	Interview 1
I told Vic I'm coming <u>unglued</u>	OBJECT	MENTAL STATE IS A CONSTRUCTED OBJECT	Interview 1
I just can't <u>keep it together</u> anymore	OBJECT	MENTAL STATE IS A CONSTRUCTED OBJECT	Interview 1
The person obviously doesn't <u>have</u> control over all of his life or else he (...) would not be acting out in that way	OBJECT	SELF-CONTROL IS AN OBJECT IN POSSESSION	Interview 1
I have to feel like my further help is just <u>lost</u> time	OBJECT	TIME IS AN OBJECT	Interview 1
I couldn't <u>get hold</u> of the things I needed to get hold of	OBJECT	SUCCEEDING AT SOMETHING IS OBTAINING AN OBJECT	Interview 1
I felt kind of <u>deprived</u>	OBJECT	FEELING OF FULFILMENT IS AN OBJECT	Interview 1
I've been able to <u>make</u> neither rhyme nor reason out of what happens	OBJECT	UNDERSTANDING IS CONSTRUCTING AN OBJECT	Interview 1
I <u>found</u> myself increasingly drawn into the intense process of preparing and presenting my defense	OBJECT	NOTICING IS FINDING AN OBJECT	Interview 1

I may have been <u>left</u> to myself a lot in high school	OBJECT	SOLITUDE IS AN OBJECT IN POSSESSION	Interview 1
That population of people, that subgroup of individuals to whom I have access, were uniformly telling me that the State's case was <u>weak</u>	OBJECT	STRENGTH OF EVIDENCE IS THE STRENGTH OF THE OBJECT	Interview 1
Women seen as <u>objects</u> of perfection	OBJECT	WOMEN ARE OBJECTS	Interview 1
Struggle between the normal personality and this psychopathological <u>entity</u>	OBJECT	PERSONALITY IS AN OBJECT	Interview 1
the enormity of what he did <u>stuck</u> with him	OBJECT	GUILT IS ATTACHED OBJECT	Interview 1
But they [victims] would be the reasonable <u>facsimile</u> to women—as a class	OBJECT	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Interview 1
the <u>shredding</u> of that condition to a state of dormancy	OBJECT	EMOTIONS ARE DESTRUCTIBLE OBJECTS	Interview 1
I learned how to cope with it because I wasn't going to <u>tear myself apart</u>	OBJECT	EXPERIENCING NEGATIVE EMOTIONS IS TEARING AN OBJECT	Interview 1
I'm just starting to <u>lose it</u>	OBJECT	HAVING MENTAL ISSUES IS LOSING AN OBJECT	Interview 1
women (...) are no longer <u>stuck</u> in their homes	OBJECT	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS ATTACHED TO LOCATION	Interview 1
The more they <u>expose</u> themselves as victims to this potential behaviour	OBJECT	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE UNCOVERED	Interview 1
They become more <u>vulnerable</u> to people who want to exploit them	OBJECT	MENTAL STATE IS A BRITTLE OBJECT	Interview 1
Persons who are <u>obsessed</u> or <u>possessed</u> by that kind of destructive urge	OBJECT	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS IN POSSESSION	Interview 1

we all have <u>gaps</u> in our conscience	OBJECT	CONSCIENCE IS A BROKEN OBJECT	Interview 1
The lack of <u>things</u> that took place was significant	OBJECT	EVENTS ARE OBJECTS	Interview 1
When it's all written <u>in stone</u> , put it down that this was less than a wonderful day for Theodore Bundy!	OBJECT	LAW IS AN OBJECT	Interview 1
the girl was in his <u>possession</u>	OBJECT	PERSON IS AN OBJECT IN POSSESSION	Interview 1
Or are they going to go after (...) the <u>real</u> weirdos	OBJECT	PERSONALITY TRAITS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS	Interview 1
And this <u>chain</u> of events (...) made me very harsh on particular segments of society	OBJECT	EVENTS ARE OBJECTS	Interview 1
If I wouldn't get a letter from Liz for three days, I would go to <u>pieces</u>	OBJECT	MENTAL STATE IS A CONSTRUCTED OBJECT	Interview 1
I have got to <u>keep myself together</u>	OBJECT	MENTAL STATE IS A CONSTRUCTED OBJECT	Interview 3
I don't like my liberty <u>taken away</u>	OBJECT	LIBERTY IS AN OBJECT	Interview 3
I (...) have been <u>possessed</u> by something so awful and alien	OBJECT	PERSON IS AN OBJECT IN POSSESSION	Interview 1
it was something as you would say that <u>snapped</u>	OBJECT	MENTAL STATE IS A BREAKABLE OBJECT	Interview 1
These <u>barriers</u> that I had learned as a child were not enough to hold me back	OBJECT	MORALS ARE PHYSICAL OBSTACLES	Interview 2
<u>consumed</u> by an addiction to pornography	OBJECT	PERSON IS FOOD	Interview 2
it was like a <u>crack</u> , and everything that fell on that crack just disappeared	OBJECT	POOR MENTAL STATE IS A CRACK IN AN OBJECT	Interview 1

the police, they aren't willing to <u>accept</u> (...) that I didn't do these things	OBJECT	TRUTH IS AN OBJECT	Interview 1
I'm in a lot better <u>shape</u> now	OBJECT	MENTAL STATE IS AN OBJECT	Interview 1
I don't think people perceived me this way, but I <u>saw</u> myself as meek	PERCEPTION	HAVING AN OPINION IS SEEING	Interview 1
that the jury will <u>see</u> things the way my attorneys and myself have seen them	PERCEPTION	HAVING AN OPINION IS SEEING	Interview 1
And, notwithstanding my attempt to on occasions to step back and objectively <u>look</u> at the State's case	PERCEPTION	EVALUATING IS LOOKING	Interview 1
women (...) are not <u>watched</u> over	PERCEPTION	TAKING CARE OF SOMEONE IS WATCHING	Interview 1
I guess there are several factors which forced me, which influenced me, <u>to play a role</u> (...) of a defendant.	PERFORMANCE	TRIAL IS A SHOW	Interview 1
This is just a <u>game</u> . The outcome is already predetermined.	PERFORMANCE	TRIAL IS A SCRIPTED GAME SHOW	Interview 1
I've been tempted, on occasion, to call or to characterize this <u>spectacle</u> , this trial, as a game	PERFORMANCE	TRIAL IS A SHOW	Interview 1
he may have (...) made several abortive attempts to <u>act out</u> a fantasy	PERFORMANCE	COMMISSION OF A CRIME IS A PERFORMANCE	Interview 1
[The killer is] like an <u>actor</u> in a role	PERFORMANCE	MURDERING IS ACTING IN A FILM/PLAY	Interview 1
they pick the law student with no criminal <u>background</u>	PICTURE	PERSONAL HISTORY IS A PICTURE	Interview 1
they had, you know, pried into my <u>background</u>	PICTURE	PERSONAL HISTORY IS A PICTURE	Interview 1

There's nothing in my <u>background</u> (...) that would lead one to believe that I was capable of committing murder.	PICTURE	PERSONAL HISTORY IS A PICTURE	Interview 1
I'll slip back into the pattern of just <u>vegetating</u>	PLANT	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Interview 1
Some seem to prosper in a given <u>soil</u> and not in another	PLANT	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Interview 1
I was watching these people <...> who seemed to have so much of what I wanted! All of a sudden, I felt <u>smaller and smaller and smaller</u>	SIZE	SELF-ESTEEM IS SIZE	Interview 1
If I could have recognized fifteen years ago the <u>poisonous</u> consequences of modern life (...) I would have certainly withdrawn	SUBSTANCE	SOCIETY IS POISON	Interview 1
this chain of events has made me a <u>cold</u> individual	TEMPERATURE	LACK OF EMOTIONS IS COLD	Interview 1
I was attempting to (...) preserve my own desire to <u>survive</u>	WAR	PRESERVING MENTAL HEALTH IS SURVIVING A WAR	Interview 1
But it was just this <u>defense mechanism</u> to <u>protect</u> my somewhat introverted nature. I used that to compensate for my outright fear of socializing. Maybe, also, it was a way to <u>protect</u> myself, because I couldn't achieve those kinds of social goals that I wanted	WAR	PRESERVING MENTAL HEALTH IS SURVIVING A WAR	Interview 1
I didn't have a life that I was <u>shielding</u> from anyone	WAR	SECRETS ARE PROTECTIVE SHIELDS	Interview 1
I felt <u>overwhelmed</u> by things	WAR	TRYING TO DEAL WITH EMOTIONS IS FIGHTING A STRONGER ENEMY	Interview 1

I found myself increasingly drawn into the intense process of preparing and presenting my <u>defense</u>	WAR	LEGAL PROCEEDINGS IS WAR	Interview 1
Always in attempting to <u>protect</u> myself from the harsh eventuality of conviction	WAR	BEING CONVICTED IS LOSING A WAR	Interview 1
I was attempting to <u>protect</u> myself	WAR	PRESERVING MENTAL HEALTH IS SURVIVING A WAR	Interview 1
I was attempting to (...) not be <u>defeated</u>	WAR	PRESERVING MENTAL HEALTH IS WINNING A WAR	Interview 1
The <u>defendant</u> expects to be free from prejudice	WAR	BEING ACCUSED IS BEING ATTACKED	Interview 1
I may have to <u>defend</u> myself publicly	WAR	PROVING INNOCENCE IS WINNING A WAR	Interview 1
I was a <u>wreck</u>	WAR	DETERIORATION OF MENTAL STATE IS DESTRUCTION	Interview 1
I wasn't going to <u>destroy</u> Ted Bundy because of the accusations	WAR	DETERIORATION OF MENTAL STATE IS DESTRUCTION	Interview 1
I felt those emotions. But I didn't let them <u>destroy</u> or control me	WAR	DETERIORATION OF MENTAL STATE IS DESTRUCTION	Interview 1
Yeah, I knew how to <u>battle</u> in public and to use the media, but that doesn't mean I liked it.	WAR	PROVING INNOCENCE IS FIGHTING A WAR	Interview 1
I was <u>fighting back</u>	WAR	PROVING INNOCENCE IS FIGHTING A WAR	Interview 1
Somebody would've... could've found it and used it <u>against</u> me	WAR	IDEAS ARE WEAPONS	Interview 1
I haven't <u>won</u> too many so far	WAR	MEDIA COVERAGE IS A WAR	Interview 1
there was a time when I used the press (...) to bolster my <u>defense</u>	WAR	PROVING INNOCENCE IS FIGHTING A WAR	Interview 1

I would not trade where I am, in this year, right now for a new <u>shot</u> at my old existence	WAR	TRYING AGAIN IS SHOOTING	Interview 1
I was here and then on trial in Orlando, I was locked into that <u>struggle, struggle, struggle, fight, fight, fight...</u>	WAR	DETERIORATION OF MENTAL HEALTH IS FIGHTING A WAR	Interview 1
it's unlikely he'd be able to <u>confront</u> it [his mental issues]	WAR	MENTAL ISSUES ARE ENEMIES	Interview 1
he was <u>confronted</u> with harming another individual	WAR	URGES ARE ENEMIES	Interview 1
It's necessary to adapt that way to <u>survive</u>	WAR	CHANGING PERSONALITY IS SURVIVING A WAR	Interview 1
this individual would still be thinking about <u>survival</u>	WAR	MURDERING IS SURVIVING A WAR	Interview 1
He agitates some of the blacks... tries to turn them <u>against</u> me	WAR	SLANDERING IS INCITING CONFRONTATION	Interview 1
he would do everything to <u>overcome</u> and otherwise repress the overt behaviour	WAR	STOPPING ONESELF FROM COMMITTING CRIMES IS WINNING AGAINST A STRONGER ENEMY	Interview 1
I am not guilty with charges which have been filed <u>against</u> me	WAR	ACCUSATION IS CONFRONTATION	Interview 3
I wanted to become a part of my <u>defense</u>	WAR	PROVING INNOCENCE IS FIGHTING A WAR	Interview 3
there's no point in <u>destroying</u> myself	WAR	POOR MENTAL STATE IS PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION	Interview 1
I'm gonna <u>beat</u> these people	WAR	WINNING A CASE IS WINNING IN A BATTLE	Interview 3

Appendix II. Metaphorical Euphemisms

METAPHORICAL EUPHEMISM IN CONTEXT	SOURCE DOMAIN	METAPHOR	TARGET CONCEPT	SOURCE
<u>hunting</u> expedition	ANIMATE BEING	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Murder (Crimes)	Interview 1
There would be a faster <u>regeneration</u> period	BODY	EMOTIONAL RECOVERY IS REGENERATION OF DAMAGED TISSUE	Period of time in between the murders (Crimes)	Interview 1
Eventually the interest would become so demanding toward new material that it could only be catered to by what he could find in the <u>dirty</u> bookstores	CLEANLINESS	INAPPROPRIATE IS DIRTY	Pornography stores (Social taboos)	Interview 1
we tend to remember less than if we weren't <u>under the influence</u>	COVER	ALCOHOL INFLUENCE IS COVER	Drunkenness (Social taboos)	Interview 1
the ritual between men and women when it comes to <u>close</u> relationships	DISTANCE	INTIMACY IS DISTANCE	Sex (Social taboos)	Interview 1
Wouldn't rearrange his life in any significant way to <u>accommodate</u> his indulgence	HOME	FULFILLING DESIRES IS PROVIDING A PLACE TO LIVE	Stalking (Crimes)	Interview 1
the <u>course</u> of conduct that he had engaged in	JOURNEY	COMMITTING A CRIME IS TRAVELLING IN A PARTICULAR DIRECTION	Assault (Crimes)	Interview 1
Just one <u>trip</u> (...) around the neighbourhood	JOURNEY	COMMITTING A CRIME IS TRAVELLING	Stalking (Crimes)	Interview 1
These occasions when he would <u>travel</u> about the neighbourhoods	JOURNEY	COMMITTING A CRIME IS TRAVELLING	Stalking (Crimes)	Interview 1
I can figure the description, how the man <u>operates</u>	MACHINE	PERSON IS A MACHINE	Preparation for murder, murder (Crimes)	Interview 1
And (he) would continue to go back there simply because he had his own <u>garbage disposal</u>	MACHINE	ANIMALS ARE MACHINES FOR DESTROYING WASTE	Wild animals (Crimes)	Interview 1
You take the individual we're talking about—a unique personality with certain <u>defects</u>	MACHINE	HUMAN MIND IS A MACHINE	Lack of social skills that lead to becoming a serial killer (Mental issues)	Interview 1

Some <u>malfunctions</u> , you know, are more spectacular than others	MACHINE	HUMAN MIND IS A MACHINE	Mental issues	Interview 1
Doing <u>away</u> with a person	MOTION	MURDERING IS MOVING FURTHER FROM A PERSON	Murder (Crimes)	Interview 1
Hours and hours <u>spent</u> on the street, at night and during the early morning hours.	MONEY	TIME IS MONEY	Stalking (Crimes)	Interview 1
a knife, a gun, anything to <u>gain the attention</u> of the individual	MONEY	ATTENTION IS MONEY	Frightening the victims (Crimes)	Interview 1
That person begins to seek out a <u>target</u> for his frustrations	OBJECT	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Victim (Crimes)	Interview 1
<u>conceal</u> the act	OBJECT	HIDING A CRIME IS HIDING AN OBJECT	Murder (Crimes)	Interview 1
need to totally <u>possess</u> her	OBJECT	PERSON IS AN OBJECT IN POSSESSION	Rape and murder (Crimes)	Interview 1
the <u>taking of the life</u>	OBJECT	LIFE IS AN OBJECT	Murder (Crimes)	Interview 1
Give it another <u>lick</u>	OBJECT	COMMISSION OF CRIME IS AN EDIBLE OBJECT	Raping the same woman again (Crimes)	Interview 1
The means of <u>dispatching</u> someone	OBJECT	MURDERING IS SENDING AN OBJECT AWAY	Murder (Crimes)	Interview 1
There aren't any fair trials for someone like me. They just want to <u>put me away</u>	OBJECT	PERSON IS AN OBJECT	Imprisonment (Social taboos)	Interview 1
Or whose <u>acting out</u> does not become <u>antisocial</u>	PERFORMANCE	BEHAVIOUR IS A PERFORMANCE	Murder (Crimes)	Interview 1
that <u>act</u> would be accomplished	PERFORMANCE	MURDER IS A PERFORMANCE	Murder (Crimes)	Interview 1
once the individual would have (...) <u>security</u> over her	WAR	ABDUCTION IS SECURITY FROM ATTACK	Abduction (Crimes)	Interview 1

Appendix III. Euphemisms

EUPHEMISM	TARGET CONCEPT	SOURCE
I felt a bit <u>different</u>	Lack of social skills (Mental issues)	Interview 1
I think you could say that the influence of this person's family history was (...) not strong enough to overcome the <u>urges or compulsions that resulted</u>	Raping and murdering (Crimes)	Interview 1
The family and the environment in which the person grew up were positive, but not so positive as to prepare this individual to totally avoid <u>failure</u>	Becoming a serial killer (Mental issues)	Interview 1
Ultimate <u>conduct</u> that we are interested in	Crimes	Interview 1
But this interest, for some unknown reason, becomes geared toward <u>matters of a sexual nature that involve violence</u>	Rape (Crimes)	Interview 1
People who market pornography are dealing with a <u>special-interest group</u>	Perverted people (Social taboos)	Interview 1
By peeping in windows, as it were, and watching (...) <u>whatever could be seen</u> , you know, <u>during the evening</u>	Women undressing, people having sex (Crimes)	Interview 1
These occasions when he would (...) search out <u>candidates</u>	Potential victims (Crimes)	Interview 1
He would (...) search out places where he could see <u>the things he wanted to see</u>	Women undressing, people having sex (Crimes)	Interview 1
Incident	Attacking a woman (Crimes)	Interview 1
A nominally normal individual who has become somewhat subordinate to <u>bizarre desires</u>	Urge to rape and kill (Crimes)	Interview 1
this person can only engage <u>in that kind of behaviour</u> so frequently	Crimes	Interview 1
the sexual act	Rape (Crimes)	Interview 1
They're going to perform some sort of <u>aberration</u>	Mutilation, the suggestion of mutilation, use of foreign objects (Crimes)	Interview 1
perfunctory sexual act	Rape (Crimes)	Interview 1
to inflict this mortal injury	Murder (Crimes)	Interview 1
I have done some <u>things I'm not proud of</u>	Crimes	Interview 1
person of <u>maladaptive behaviour</u>	Serial killer (Crimes)	Interview 1
deviant behaviour	Murder, rape (Crimes)	Interview 1

I've been somewhat <u>less than helpful</u>	Useless (Social taboo)	Interview 1
You've got a <u>job</u> to do	Murder and disposal of a body (Crimes)	Interview 1
the remains	Corpse (Crimes)	Interview 1
burial site	Random locations for disposal of bodies (Crimes)	Interview 1
<u>sex act</u> committed upon the victim	Rape (Crimes)	Interview 1
engaging in an <u>act of sex</u> with a person who is injured or frightened	Rape (Crimes)	Interview 1
The <u>pattern</u> I later developed in the early '70s	Living a double life (Crimes)	Interview 1
slipping back into that old <u>routine</u>	Stalking (Crimes)	Interview 1