

Generic Features of Murder Articles from the Nineteenth Century in
the Morning Post Newspaper

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This thesis focuses on analysing murder articles from 19th century England as a genre. All of the murder articles were collected from one single newspaper, the Morning Post, which was one of the influential newspapers that operated throughout 19th century England.

The aim of this thesis is to identify the reappearing generic features, called *moves*, of murder articles and analyse their frequency. In other words, perform a genre analysis of murder articles from the 19th century. This is done by following the framework of move analysis created by John M. Swales and Vijay K. Bhatia. To identify the moves, I performed a close reading of thirty selected murder articles. Three murder articles were collected per decade throughout the 19th century. In addition, I briefly analyse other notable features of the murder articles, which are the vocabulary used when describing the victim as well as the murderer. I also look into the headlines used with the murder articles.

In the analysis, I identified ten distinctive moves which were Time and place, Victims name and information, Legal system (police and court), Discovery of the body, Murderers name and information, Description of the body and crime scene, Events leading to death, Medical statement, Murder method, and finally the Reason for murder. The moves are presented and analysed according to their frequency, the first being the most frequent move in the analysis. The results show that the murder articles in the 19th century indeed had certain moves that were crucial to the murder articles. Not all moves appeared in all of the murder articles.

Keywords: murder articles, crime reporting, genre analysis, move analysis,
the Morning Post, 19th century newspaper

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CPI Consumer Price Index

CPS The Crown Prosecution Service

OCR Optical Character Recognition

OED The Oxford English Dictionary

1 Introduction

In the 21st century, at least in western society, the public is used to some sort of vagueness in murder articles as well as other articles of sensitive nature, such as other crime articles. The media is expected to respect the deceased and their families and give only the information that is necessary, usually using fake names and shadowing the process of police work if it is still in progress. One might expect this is due to the heavy hand the governments, nations as well as EU deals with individual's privacy. Only in rare cases are the whole events, victims, and evidence revealed to the public in news articles. However, this subtlety is more than lacking in 19th-century newspaper murder articles. Indeed, as a person living in the 21st century, it is remarkable to read the amount of detail and information the 19th-century newspapers covered in their news cycle.

In this thesis I will venture into using genre analysis to examine thirty murder articles in the Morning Post newspaper from the 19th century and see what they are made of, so to speak. The aim of this genre analysis is to identify the components and fragments of repeating aspects of the reports and divide them into *moves*. The genre analysis method used in this thesis is Bhatia's (1993) and Swales' (1990) genre analysis method that uses the idea of moves that together form the typical genre epitome. In addition to the move analysis of the murder articles' genre construction, I will also look into the headlines of the murder articles and briefly go through the language used to describe the culprit and the murder victim. This approach of vocabulary focused genre analysis is part of Görlach's (2004) ideas of genre analysis. Additionally, I am briefly looking into how the murder articles' headlines were constructed by comparing them with Aitchison's (2006) ideas of newspaper headline construction, as well as Aitchison's, Lewis' and Naylor's (2000) findings on the used death-related words in violent death articles.

To get a more in-depth idea of how murder articles were constructed in the 19th century, the smaller analyses focusing on vocabulary and headlines were performed to give a brief view on the genre a micro level, whereas the move analysis itself gives a good idea of how murder articles acted as a genre on a macro level. The aim of this thesis is therefore to identify characteristic features of murder articles in the Morning Post newspaper. The research questions are as follows:

1. What kind of moves 19th-century murder articles in the Morning Post consist of and in what order do they occur?

2. What is the communicative purpose of the identified moves?

As mentioned, the thirty murder articles were collected from one newspaper, the Morning Post. The Morning Post (1772-1937) had a visible presence throughout the 19th century and was a popular newspaper of its time. From the *Gale Primary Sources* on the British Newspaper Library database, thirty murder articles were selected. The newspaper scans from the Morning Post in the database were clear and legible, as well as plentiful. The history of the Morning Post itself also intrigued me, even though the information of this long-gone newspaper was hard to attain. Nevertheless, the Morning Post proved to be a valuable source for the murder articles, for it was on top of the international, national, and local events of the 19th century (Hindle 1937, 1-2). The newspaper had several different focal points during the 19th century. Furthermore, it constantly covered crime news, such as murder articles in their papers. This made the Morning Post an excellent source to collect the data from.

The structure of this thesis is as follows. Firstly, in chapter 2 I will introduce the 19th-century newspaper industry, the Morning Post, as well as the sensationalism that was present in the 19th-century media and society. The third chapter of this paper goes through the theoretical framework used in this thesis. In this chapter, I will define the idea of genre, and present the move analysis. Chapter 4 consists of previous studies done with murder articles. In chapter 5 I will present the primary materials and my methods of collecting the data for this thesis. Chapter 6 is where I will analyse all of the ten moves that were identified. Each of the moves has its own dedicated section where I provide examples of the moves from the murder articles and analyse their appearance frequencies, as well as introduce their communicative purposes. In chapter 6 I will also analyse the appearance order of the moves. My analysis of the data continues to chapter 7, where I look at the word choices that were made in the murder articles when they referred to the murderer and the victim. I will also look into the formation of the headlines in the same chapter. In chapter 8, I will discuss all of the findings done in the analysis. And lastly, the thesis is concluded with chapter 9: Conclusion.

2 Newspapers in the United Kingdom

In this chapter, I will discuss briefly the history of newspapers in the 19th century the United Kingdom and how the field was moulded by different political and social events. I will also examine the sensationalist nature of 19th-century newspapers, especially the use of sensationalism in crime-related articles. Finally, I will introduce the Morning Post newspaper and briefly cover its history.

2.1 Newspapers in the United Kingdom in the 19th century

The 19th century in many ways was the age of the newspaper. Illiteracy was on the decline and political movements across the country pressured the British people to be more aware of their country and the political climate. Newspapers were the means to keep up with politics and the platform of many political parties, whether it was the aristocrats or the working class (Williams 2009, 77). Newspapers specialized for one main target audience and started progressively catering content aimed at their readers (Williams 2009, 77). It was not uncommon for one copy of a newspaper to reach dozens of people, since reading the newspaper was as much of a social event as much as it was a solitary experience. This was because newspapers were often read aloud in the first half of the 19th century, especially within the working and lower classes, allowing even the illiterate and the poor to keep up with the latest news and political developments (Aspinall 1946, 30). The newspapers were aware of this and wrote their articles to suit to be read aloud (Williams 2009, 80).

Prior to the 19th century, news pamphlets, newsbooks, news ballads and newsletters were a crucial part of British society, before newspapers emerged as a national insignia for the British people. Up until the vast spread and growth of printed newspapers in the late 18th century, handwritten newsletters were deliberately aimed towards the rich. To ensure only the wealthy and powerful had access to these newsletters the prices were kept high enough that no one in the working class had the means to obtain one of their own (Williams 2009, 12). Newspapers on the other hand were geared towards several different groups of people and communities such as the rich and wealthy, as well as the working class (Williams 2009, 12; Aspinall 1946, 37). Newspapers were available for purchase for individuals and people were able to read newspapers for free in different public houses and taverns (Aspinall 1946, 37; Crone 2007, 2). During the 19th century, the use of illustrations in the papers also increased the consumption of newspapers, allowing even illiterate newspaper viewers to understand

the most basic information (Palander-Collin et al. 2017, 6). Printed newspapers were also easier to produce and make greater quantities than their predecessors. Due to the accessibility and cheaper price, the need for expensive handwritten newsletters and newsbooks diminished (Williams 2009, 12).

From the very beginning of newspaper development, the government, monarchy, and the church tried to control newspaper production. The common people were aware of the political climate and took part in the discussion, which in return displeased the upper society (Williams 2009, 75). This distaste for newspapers from the government's side became evident at the beginning of the 19th century when “radical newspapers” became more popular and the number of new newspapers skyrocketed. What was constituted as a radical press was up to the government to decide (Williams 2009, 87-88). Most commonly if the paper was aimed for lower classes, such as the working class, and the paper heavily commented on the politics and government in an “uneducated” manner, the paper was deemed as radical press (Williams 2009, 87-88). However, this did not stop the growing numbers of new newspapers. Between the years 1831 and 1836 there were around 560 new newspapers in circulation, and all of them belonged to the radical press (Williams 2009, 88). In 1832 Reform Act was created to limit the distribution of radical newspapers, therefore making them illegal. For a paper to be a legal newspaper, it had to pay high taxes. Most of the radical newspapers did not pay their taxes and did not receive the government-approved stamp (Williams 2009, 89). During 1830-1836 over 800 radical newspaper publishers as well as their distributors were captured and jailed (Williams 2009, 93). Due to the Reform Act (the Acts effects were abolished in the 1850s), and the rise of wages for the working class, the radical press was no longer needed (Williams 2009, 94).

From the middle of the 19th century to the end of the century, the mindset of the newspapers and their publishers changed on what to write about. Instead of keeping up with all the politics and issues that were in the interest of the aristocrats, the newspapers geared their papers to write about what the readers wanted to read (Williams 2009, 100). The mentality of “views rather than news” was on the rise and so was the number of new newspapers (sensationalism played a big role in selling copies of the newspapers and I will introduce this topic in the next section). The profit the newspapers made due to selling advertisement slots for companies and businesses attracted new people to join the newspaper industry. Between 1856 and 1914 the number of newspapers eight-folded, from 274 newspapers to 2,205 newspapers in Britain (Williams 2009,

100). The new approach newspapers had to attract their readers by reporting about crime, police activity, and other news that had entertainment value (Williams 2009, 115; Crone 2007, 1). Moving to the 20th century, newspapers made more profit and the industry boomed.

From the birth of the printing press through the censorship of the church in the early Tudor rule (Williams 2009, 66), newspapers moulded according to the time and to the needs of the British people. Illiteracy was on the decline and newspapers developed from a private small business into a slowly booming industry of the late 18th century. Due to the French revolution, the idea of politics and knowledge being a common right for every civilian led to the expansion of available news sources for every commoner at the cusp of the 19th century, without the political shackles nor pressure from the government (Williams 2009, 76). As mentioned above, the ideal scenario of a free press did not become a reality until the 1850s with the eradication of the Reform Act.

2.2 Sensationalism in newspapers

Due to the heavy increase in numbers of newspapers and newspaper companies in 19th century England, the competition of readers was ardent, to say the least. The literacy rates were increasing slowly but surely, and the readership grew with it (van Ostade 2009, 142), which in return meant more possible readers for newspapers. The competition was high between established newspaper titles and the spread of the printing press enabled the birth of new newspaper companies. The numerous newspapers faced a new problem: how to make the newspaper visible and interesting for the potential buyers (Görlach 1999, 146). One of the most effective tactics appeared to be the sensationalism of crime and murder. Already in the 17th and 18th century, crime reporting in news outlets was classified as entertainment news, or so-called “soft news” that attracted readers and belonged to popular news publishing (Jucker 2009, 13). With this classification of crime news, the 19th century seems to follow the same pattern. Crime news, and therefore murder articles, was regarded as entertainment in its own right (Crone 2016, 212; Crone 2007, 1).

The Oxford English Dictionary defines sensationalism as “the use of sensational material or language, or a sensationalist style, in order to provoke public interest or excitement” (*OED*, s.v. “sensationalism,” n.). In her book *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London*, Rosalind Crone (2016) writes how sensationalism was extremely visible and used in 19th century England. Crone writes

about people's fascination with violence, death, crime, and murder in 19th century England, as well as the sensationalist aspects used in literature and newspapers during that time. During this century, "[a]ctual hangings were regarded by many as a form of entertainment" (Crone 2016, 79), which gives us a glimpse of the mindset the Victorians had towards death.

During the beginning of the 19th century, information sheets, also known as broadsides, contained information of convicted murderers as well as the information of oncoming hangings of murderers. These execution notices were the most profitable subject in broadsides (Crone 2016, 98). It seemed like these "sheets brought people together and gave them a sense of belonging through entertainment and collectively experienced feelings of revulsion and horror." (Crone 2016, 99). Murder was also heavily present in short stories, novels and theatre performances in the 19th century (Crone 2016, 132-133). During this time violent plays such as Sweeney Todd were constructed and performed with exaggerated violence and visuals on stage (Crone 2016, 160-162). In the 19th-century newspapers, the use of sensationalistic topics such as murder and hangings was a common practice to sell their papers. Due to the sheer amount of circulating newspapers, the newspapers had to make their papers more sellable as the broadsides and other newspapers (Crone 2016, 209-210).

Publishing crime and murder articles with descriptive and sensational language was a guarantee for the newspapers to sell their papers in bigger quantities (Crone 2007, 3). Newspapers began to regularly cover the criminal activities as well as court hearings in their pages (Crone 2016, 227-228). The use of graphic language when describing any crime was commonplace in 19th-century newspapers (Crone 2016, 233). The reporting of violence and murder was so mainstream that in the 19th century it was not unheard of "[i]nvoking the names of the murderers past" while threatening another person with violence or murder (Crone 2016, 244). Crone adds that "much of the detail, especially that derived from the autopsy reports, would not be considered fit to print in today's tabloids" (Crone 2016, 250).

The use of the term sensationalism when referring to newspapers' exaggerated method of writing about crime was already understood in the late 19th century. In fact, this issue was brought up in "Examiner" in 1871, July 29th. The Examiner published an article that criticised the use of sensationalist language and illustrations in murder articles. The writer targets their displeasure of seeing sensationalism in multiple different newspapers, one of which was the Morning Post (Hunt et al. 1871, 751). The

use of sensationalist language was described to be “almost always graphic, and is always rich, pulpy, and full-flavoured” (Hunt et al. 1871, 751). The writer mentions that “[i]f a paper has a large circulation, its readers are sure to like this kind of nastiness, and to expect to have a good dish of it served up hot for them at regular intervals” (Hunt et al. 1871, 751), proving that the use of shocking language in murder articles was indeed a common occurrence in the 19th-century newspapers and this writing style was known to be dramatic and exaggerated by nature.

There is no denying that sensationalism was present in 19th-century newspapers. The sensationalist nature of murder articles can also be seen in the data of this thesis and will be observed in the analysis, both in the move analysis as well as in the analysis focusing on vocabulary and headlines.

2.3 The history of the Morning Post

The Morning Post newspaper’s beginning and the end was nothing but eventful. Since the Morning Post is no longer an active newspaper title after it was sold in 1937, it is important to introduce the newspaper as it was in the 19th century and shed some light on its nature when it was still alive and thriving. The Morning Post was an established newspaper that was published between 1772-1937 (Hindle 1937, 1). Throughout the newspaper's existence, it had been shaped by its publishers as well as historical events, politics, and social influences, especially in the 19th century. As written in section 2.1., the newspaper milieu experienced drastic changes within this period of time, and the very idea of journalism was moulded towards the concept of the word we have today. The Morning Post did not evade these changes, on the contrary.

The newspaper was founded by John Bell, an English publisher who left a notable mark on the publishing of English literature and had an influence on the omission of the “long s” in English printing (Hindle 1937, 9). His interest in written literature extended to newspapers and he founded the Morning Post in 1772 (Hindle 1937, 7). Later, he sold the paper in 1786 to pursue creating a new newspaper a year later (Barker 2004). At this time, the Morning Paper was heavily influenced by the Whigs, a conservative British political party founded in 1678, before the new owner Daniel Stuart transformed the paper to lean towards the Tory organ, another even more conservative faction in Britain, which was formerly known as Jacobite (Ward et al. 1907-21). Within seven years, the Morning Post became one of the most profitable newspapers in Britain. The newspaper’s circulation grew from 350 sold copies a day to

up to 4 500 sold copies. This was twice the amount of the average paper at the time (Hindle 1937, 82). The Morning Post was one of the most popular daily newspapers that “extended to British working people” (Williams 2009, 85). In 1803 Nicholas Byrne brought the Morning Post for £25,000, which would be rounded to £2,587,000 in today’s currency according to CPI Inflation Calculator (Webster 2020). Byrne and later his son, William Pitt Byrne, owned and developed the newspaper to serve as a conservative news outlet for the middle class, until 1848 William Pitt Byrne sold the Morning Post onward. In the 1850s, the Morning Post was heavily associated with the conservative Palmerston ministry, which was heavily scrutinised amongst the other newspapers (Hindle 1937, 176).

Later, the newspaper once again changed its ownership, this time to its long-time main editor, Peter Borthwick in 1876 (Ward et al. 1907–21). Under his leadership, the Morning Post raised its popularity again and became once more one of the best selling newspapers in Britain (Hindle 1937, 204). After Peter Borthwick’s and his son’s death, his granddaughter, Lilius Borthwick took control of the newspaper in 1908, making her the only woman in the world who owned an extensive newspaper company on her own. Under her rule, the Morning Post rose to be once again the extremely conservative newspaper which was one of the top rivals to the Times (Hindle 1937, 20). For the rest of her time with the Morning Post, Borthwick remained to have a heavy influence in the journalism of her time with the Morning Post until she sold the paper to Alan Percy for £500,000 in 1924, which is rounded to £30,598,000 in today’s currency according to CPI Inflation Calculator (Webster 2020). In the end, in 1937 Percy sold the Morning Post to the Daily Telegraph and the Morning Post was successfully absorbed completely into the Telegraph, leaving no hint of the previous name nor title of the Morning Post (Hindle 1937, 247).

The Morning Post was one of the few newspapers that survived the intense ongoing competition of the 19th century. The Morning Post competed regularly with the likes of The Times, and it reached a wider audience than its competitors (Williams 2009, 85). Not only was the Morning Post a conservative newspaper targeted to the middle as well as the working-class and was an extremely profitable newspaper with a slight flare for theatrics, but it was also surprisingly a trailblazer for having the only female owner of a major newspaper in the world, appointing the first woman war correspondent in the world as well as was the first paper in Britain to start regularly print notices for plays and operas in their paper (Ward et al. 1907–21).

3 Theoretical Framework

In this section, I will go through the genre analysis (3.1) framework that I will use in my analysis in this thesis. I will discuss move analysis (3.2) and furthermore, I will cover the analyses used for analysing the vocabulary and headlines. (3.3).

3.1 Genre analysis and definition

Genre as a term has multiple different synonyms and definitions. The idea of a genre and the term used to refer to it has many names, such as genre, text type, register, and even mental concept (Bax 2011, 37). To help understand its complexity, Stephen Bax (2011) explains the difficulties and substantial peculiarity of the genre as a term and concept in his book *Discourse and Genre Analysing Language in Context*. He notes that genre itself is hard to define just by categorising text types according to their intended audience or writing type. According to Bax, linguists, as well as other researchers, have favoured this “‘classifying’ approach to genre” (2011, 46).

As one might expect, the genre is also a commonly used term in other fields, such as folklore, literary studies, and film studies (Swales 1990, 33-34). In addition, the historical discourse analysis genre as a concept has different terms to refer to the idea of a genre, such as *text type* and *register*. These other terms can be used interchangeably with the term genre, which can be at first glance confusing. The genre analysis research pieces literature used in this thesis appropriately also use different terms: Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993) exclusively use the term genre whereas Görlach (2004) prefers the term *text type*. To make this thesis more cohesive, I have chosen to use exclusively the term *genre* in my writing. It is important to note that while Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993) focus mainly on present-day texts and their genre analysis, Görlach (2004) focuses solely on analysing historical text and their categorisation.

Swales (1990) defines the idea and the use of the word genre in his book *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. He remarks that the word *genre* is a tricky concept to explain in a few words for it can be regarded as “a somewhat loose term of art” (1990, 33). Because the term genre is ambiguous and has several possible uses in different fields of study, Swales marks that the definition of the term genre in academic discourse is focused on the communicative purpose, whether it is spoken or written discourse (1990, 45). He remarks that “[a] genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes” (Swales 1990, 58). In addition, Swales points out that “exemplars of a genre

exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience” (ibid). In other words, Swales writes that texts that belong to the same genre share therefore the same general form and communicative purpose, such as abstracts in research papers. However, Swales adds that this does not mean the texts need to follow an extremely strict set of rules to belong to the shared genre. The texts can vary, as long as “all high probability expectations are realized” (Swales 1990, 58).

Görlach (2004) defines genre similarly to Swales, writing that text types (ergo genres) are “a specific linguistic pattern in which formal/structural characteristics have been conventionalized in a specific culture for certain well-defined and standardized uses of language” (Görlach 2004, 105). Görlach continues to define genre in more depth than Swales, for according to him the reader, as well as the writer, should be able to recognise the genre from the text alone, shifting the focus on the text writer who is expected to follow the linguistic features of a specific genre for the reader to recognise (2004, 100, 105).

The aim of this thesis is to analyse and determine which features and sections combined occur in the majority of murder articles from 19th century England through genre analysis. When working with this thesis, the question arose if murder articles can be considered as their own genre or are they a sub-genre. One of the only previously made genre analysis studies on murder articles was written by Cecconi (2015) where she studied murder articles (or murder reports as she refers to them) from the 17th century in England. She uses the idea of proto-leads to identify the generic features in her data. Cecconi’s (2015) findings will be further discussed in 4.4. It is safe to say that murder articles have existed 200 years before the data used in this thesis. This means that murder articles have indeed have had the time to mould over time and form to be their own genre. However, murder articles can be considered as a sub-genre for crime articles. Since crime articles write about all possible crimes that have been committed, it is only logical to consider murder articles as their sub-genre. Murder after all is a crime. Therefore, in this thesis, I will consider murder articles as a sub-genre for the bigger genre of crime articles and crime news.

Aitchison marks that any newspaper article usually follows the same structure in the 19th century, which is the representation of the events in the order they occurred in, in “order-of-events” (2006, 8). This order of writing the information is no longer the default writing style in modern newspaper articles (ibid.). Aitchison gives an example of a murder article, where the murder investigation is presented in the article in

chronological order: finding of the body, doctor's examination, removal of the body, and identifying the victim (2006, 8). The notion of articles following a certain formula corresponds with Swales (1990) idea of genre's moves occurring in a certain order within the text.

3.2 Move analysis

Bhatia (1993) covers several different genre approaches in his book *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings*. One of the options Bhatia presents is the structural interpretation of the text genre, in which the text of a specific genre is analysed by separating the reappearing bodies of text into *moves* which are then analysed by their communicative purposes. This approach to genre analysis is done by a close reading of the data in question. Move analysis was first invented by Swales (1990) and later defined by Bhatia (1993) himself. Swales (1990) discovered the moves used in academic research papers introductions, and Bhatia (1993) looked into the moves of academic research papers abstracts and bank letters, to name a few.

As mentioned, Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993) break down the genre analysis of a text into small units of analysis called moves. These small moves together form the communicative purpose of the text that also manifests the genre the text is representing. The moves usually appear in a fixed order within the text that are part of the same genre. Swales (1990) demonstrates the use of move analysis with introductions in academic research papers, and sections the introduction into three moves. The identified moves are Move 1: Establishing a territory, Move 2: Establishing a niche, and finally Move 3: Occupying the niche (Swales 1990, 141-142). The moves can further be divided into even smaller units called steps (Swales 1990, 141). These steps function as the means to create meaning within a move. For this thesis, however, I will not be focusing on the matter of utilizing steps in the murder articles. Swales (1990) also analyses other bodies of text in academic research papers with the move analysis, such as methods and abstract. Bhatia (1993) also gives examples of move analysis with academic research papers abstracts, introductions, and student writings.

Bhatia also notes that when analysing genre with the move analysis, the moves might not be of similar length with each other and that the order of the moves can vary (1993, 56). In most cases, the most important moves require more space in the text whereas smaller moves can be omitted by the writer when necessary (ibid.) Bhatia writes that "by considering some moves more essential than others, there is a certain

degree of freedom in the sequencing of these moves”, suggesting that whereas there is a general order for the moves as Swales proposes in his book (1990, 141), the moves can also appear in a different order, allowing the writer of the genre some freedom in their text (Bhatia 1993, 56).

The move analysis is an excellent genre analysis method that will give a general view of how the 19th-century murder articles on a macro-level, so to speak. With this analysis, one can identify the reappearing sections of texts, their communicative purpose, and in what order do they usually occur. To get a more in-depth glimpse of how the 19th-century murder articles in the Morning Post work on a micro-level, I chose to look into how the headlines were constructed as well as what were the frequent words used in referring to the murderer and victim. To do this, I had to look into analyses outside of the move analysis.

3.3 Vocabulary and headline analysis

The move analysis designed by Swales and Bhatia (1990, 1993) is not the only possible analysis method used to figure out the generic features of different genres. As already pointed out, Görlach (2004) does not use the term move in his genre analysis, but he does list important factors to consider when analysing genre:

- a) spelling and typography,
- b) vocabulary (including collocations and meaning),
- c) syntax (especially the use of block language),
- d) style (text type, formality, intelligibility, expressiveness), and
- e) traditions, intertextuality, quotations and allusions. (Görlach 2004, 143)

Görlach (2004) does not view genre as a combination of different communicative purposes and moves, such as Swales and Bhatia (1990, 1993). His viewpoint on genre analysis has a different overall approach to genre analysis, as his approach to genre analysis and recognition focuses on the text and written words themselves. By analysing the given aspects as listed above, a genre can be recognised and categorized. That being said, Görlach’s (2004) idea of approaching vocabulary used within a genre will be utilized in this thesis when I look into the nouns and adjectives used when referring to the murderer and the victim in murder articles. The aim is to identify and analyse the words that are characteristic of 19th-century murder articles.

Even though this thesis is conducted by following the move analysis provided by Swales and Bhatia (1990, 1993), and Görlach's (2004) idea of generic features when looking into the used words, I will also compare the use of 19th-century headlines with Aitchison's (2006) remarks on the historic use of headlines. In her paper, Aitchison (2006) introduces the historic use of headlines in papers (focusing on the 19th century) and compares them with the present-day headlines. She recognises that in the 19th-century headlines still used the now omitted articles such as *a* and *the*, and they tended to use evaluative adjectives, as *horrid*, in the title. Aitchison notes that when comparing the structure that whereas some 19th-century article headlines try to summarize the whole article's information into the headline alone, the "[m]odern British headlines, in contrast, try to repeat the start of a story, and often summarise the first paragraph" (2006, 14). In her paper, Aitchison (2006) also writes about how the historic newspaper articles were formed, which I will come back to in 4.2.

In addition, I will briefly compare the found nouns and adjectives in the headlines to Aitchison's, Lewis', and Naylor's (2000) findings of noun use in headlines used in violent death-related in four different English newspapers' articles. In their study, they discovered that death-related headlines in the majority of the cases contained one of three nouns: *murder*, *death* and *killer*. They also point out that in the rare cases where the victim is referred in the headline, in most of the cases the victim was a woman (Aitchison, Lewis and Naylor 2000, 30). However, their study mainly focuses on noun sequences, in other words, what other nouns are used with three previously mentioned nouns. This will not be the focus of this paper, but I will compare my findings of the used nouns in the headlines with theirs. Aitchison's, Lewis', and Naylor's also mention that a headline "encapsulates the crucial points of the 'hard news formula' WHAT, WHO, WHERE, HOW, WHEN, WHY" which will be looked into in the headline analysis (2000, 24).

4. Previous studies and defining murder articles

In this chapter, I will introduce some of the previously written studies on murder articles. Before this, however, I will cover how the word murder was perceived in the 19th century, as well as how I have defined what is a murder article. In 4.1 I will go through how the definition of murder has changed from the understanding of the word in the 19th century to the definition of the word in the 21st century. In 4.2 I will explain the definition of murder articles, compared to other crime-related articles in the newspapers. In 4.2 I will introduce some of the murder article studies which focus on similar data as this thesis but have a non-genre approach in their analysis. In 4.3 I am introducing the only two studies that have been written about generic features of murder articles.

4.1 Defining the word *murder*

The data collected for this thesis is murder articles in the 19th century. Because of this, it is important to explain why and how the definition of the word murder has changed in 200 years. The modern-day conception of the word murder defines it as “the deliberate and unlawful killing of a human being” and as a “criminal homicide with malice aforethought” when referring to the use of the word murder in the justice system according to the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, s.v. “murder,” n.). The key phrase when defining murder is the term *malice aforethought*. For someone's death to be a murder, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) defines that the perpetrator has had to have entertained the idea beforehand and executed the act with a full intention to slay their victim (CPS n.d.). However, this has not always been the definition for murder, or malice aforethought, in the United Kingdom. The Oxford English Dictionary pinpoints one factor that pushed the change of the definition of murder: The Homicide act of 1957.

The Homicide Act of 1957's main goal was to abolish the use of mandatory life sentences in the United Kingdom for murder as well as heavily limit the use of death sentences as capital punishment (Prevezer 1957, 628). In addition, its objective was to define the description of murder and homicide in British law, allowing the justice system to categorize more precisely the crimes that were committed (ibid.). To understand how the word murder was perceived in the 19th century, we need to look at what aspects the Act changed.

Before the Homicide Act of 1957, murder as a crime was defined as “unlawful homicide with ‘malice aforethought’” (Prevezer 1957, 624) which was an umbrella term for other crimes that would not be considered murder in today’s justice system. It is important to note here that even though the phrase “malice aforethought” is included in this definition of murder as it is today, the vagueness of the term and its loose definition in the justice system of that time does not correlate with the same idea of this concept we have now. What was considered malice aforethought could simply mean having the intention to severely harm someone in a way that they knew would harm the victim. Malice aforethought did not include the idea of harming someone with the intention of killing, as it does in today's Britain (CPS n.d.). In the 19th century, the word murder covered several criminal acts that led to a person’s death even if the death of the victim was purely accidental. In case of accidental death, the act of harming the victim had to be able to be categorised as clear intention to cause the deceased “‘great’, ‘serious’, or (more usually) ‘grievous’” (Prevezer 1957, 625) bodily harm.

Since all the newspaper articles collected and analysed for this thesis are from the 19th century, it is central to disclose the different understanding of the words murder. This being said, this thesis will not be focusing on deducting whether the crime is indeed murder, a homicide, or manslaughter. Therefore, it is important for the reader to bear in mind the definition of murder in the years before the Homicide Act of 1957.

4.2 Defining murder articles

It is necessary to mention the use of terminology when I address murder articles in this thesis. In academic works, the term murder *article* is used interchangeably with the seemingly synonymous option murder *report*. In some academic texts, the writers have decided to use only the other of the terms. Cecconi (2015) uses the latter option, murder report, in her study. Crone (2016) refers to the murder and crime cases written in the newspapers she covers as murder articles in her book. It seems that the academic works choose one term over the other and stick with their chosen word.

However, while I was researching data for this thesis, it became evident rather quickly that these two terms do not in fact refer to the same piece of written text, nor genre, at all. With a quick search in an online search engine, in this case, Google, the results provided proof that murder article and murder report are not only terms for different text types, they are also used in different situations. Murder article refers to the written articles in newspapers and news websites covering the story of a murder or

murders that have occurred. A murder report, on the other hand, refers to a record or summary made by the police department or other body of the law (i.e. FBI, law agency) or interested party (like a news site) of murders within a specific timeline or in a certain area. However, Cecconi (2015) uses the term murder report to refer to the murder articles and murder related news in different media such as newspaper and pamphlets and broadsides. The term murder report is used in the United States of America. Another term for the same statistical account is homicide report. For example, Los Angeles Times upholds a website called Homicide Report covering all the homicide and murder cases within the area of Los Angeles, USA. (Los Angeles Times, n.d.). Likewise, the Chicago Police Department publishes several different statistical reports of crimes that have occurred within the Chicago borders per a calendar year, one of which is called murder report (Chicago Police Department, n.d.). In addition, all of the data collected for this thesis from the British Newspaper Library where the murder articles are categorised under the category of ‘article’, further proving that the correct term to use is true ‘murder article’.

It is indisputable that the two seemingly synonymous terms refer to different types of texts that are used in different circumstances. One in newspapers and the other in police work in the USA. Because of this, I will use the term murder article in this thesis, even though they are used interchangeably in Cecconi’s (2015) study. This decision to stick with only the other term was made to create a concise text and limit the possibility of confusion when referring to the thirty collected murder articles. A genre study of murder reports therefore would consist of statistical data of the numbers and frequencies of actual murders collected by the law enforcement and would look rather different than a genre analysis of murder articles.

4.3 Studies on murder articles outside of genre spectrum

Murder articles in 19th-century newspapers have intrigued only a few researchers of the linguistic field in the past. The little research that there has been on murder articles is in most cases a part of a bigger study whose focus is on the more widespread idea of crime reports. Additionally, the academic research has mainly focused on the sociological and historical fields, and the same enthusiasm has not reached the linguistic field as of yet. The research that has been done on the murder articles of the 19th century mainly focus on a shorter period, or alternatively on a few murder cases and murderers. For example, Judith Knelman writes in her book about woman murderers in the late 19th century and

focuses more on the sociological factors of her research subjects. Furthermore, Knelman briefly discusses the sensationalist aspects used in the press to cover the acts of the *murderesses*, female murderers (1998).

However, one specific murderer from the 19th century is not overlooked in the slightest. Jack the Ripper, whoever he was, has garnered attention even in modern times due to the mystery of the culprit and for the gruesome murders he committed. Jack the Ripper was arguably one of the first serial murderers commonly known across the country and was repeatedly reported in the newspapers of that time. His crimes have inspired several movies and fictional books, as well as video games. The Ripper's fame has likewise reached the academic circles, garnering multiple theories of his identity and his effect on the police force and the justice system. One of these academic books is *Jack the Ripper and the London Press* by L. Perry Curtis (2001) who wrote about Jack the Ripper's influence on the newspapers in the late 19th century. Curtis (2001) focuses on the impact Jack the Ripper had on society and the London press and studies his impact from a sociological viewpoint. Additionally, he compares the public's attitudes and press coverage of Jack the Ripper to other known murderers of the century. During the Victorian era, when mystery and crime were objects of popular intrigue, the Whitechapel murders committed from 1888 to 1889 by Jack the Ripper both excited and horrified the English (Curtis 2001, 19, 22).

Minna Nevala (2017) also writes about Jack the Ripper. Her pilot study "The public identity of Jack the Ripper in the late nineteenth-century British newspapers" focuses on the terms used by the media from the sociopragmatic perspective. Nevala uses an evaluation method and divides the terms used in 200 newspaper articles into three evaluative parameters: intensity, solidarity, and objectivity (Nevala 2017, 200). She also looked into the possible diachronic change with the used terms in the newspapers (Nevala 2017, 208). In the pilot study, Nevala found that the terms used to refer to Jack the Ripper grew negative and more sensationalistic in as the murders increased and time passed (2017, 213-214). For example, at the beginning of the Whitechapel murders in 1888, the newspapers referred to the murderer as *the perpetrator*. As the murders increased, as well as the news coverage of the serial murders, the used terms shifted into the likes of *the monster* (Nevala 2017, 214). Her findings focus on the use of vocabulary and the change of attitudes of the newspapers towards Jack the Ripper.

The studies presented in this section analyse the murder articles through evaluative language (Nevala 2017), and sensationalist nature (Curtis 2001). As mentioned, murder articles have been studied outside of the linguistic field as well. However, these texts do not focus on the genre analysis aspect, which is the focus of this thesis. It was evident when I started this thesis that this approach of analysing murder reports is not a common choice, and that there was a vast amount of studies performed of similar data in other fields. Luckily, there have been at least two studies done with a slightly similar approach that I will introduce in the next section.

4.4 Genre-based studies on murder articles

Rosalind Crone (2016) writes about the heavy presence of sensationalised use of crime and murder in 19th century England. She presents the continued use of death and gruesome murders in broadsides, theatre, short stories, musicals, newspapers and crime articles. Her main focus was the sensationalism of Victorian fiction and non-fiction (which has been presented in section 2.2 in this thesis). However, she also writes about the specific features used in Edward Lloyd's newspapers' murder and crime articles. Crone primarily looks into several of the newspapers Lloyd owned but focused on the crime and murder articles' features in the "Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper" (2016, 223). She studies the common structure of the newspapers murder and crime articles. In addition, she compares her findings of "Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper" with those of the "Times" newspaper. However, Crone's analysis of the murder articles is not an in-depth genre analysis, but more of a general overview of the few most notable and repetitive components on a superficial level. Her analysis of the paper targets more on the publisher of the paper as well as his credibility, rather than dissecting the constructive elements of the murder articles and the used language. However, even though her analysis is not specifically a move analysis, she does recognise some of the moves that are analysed in this paper in chapter 6. She recognises a few similar segments as was recognised in this thesis' move analysis, such as the surgeon's medical testimonies (6.1.8 Move 8: Medical statement), and court hearings (6.1.3 Move 3: Legal system) (Crone 2016, 233-234). That being said, Crone's (2016) analysis on the murder articles of the selected newspaper lies on the sensationalist aspect of the 19th-century newspaper, literature, and broadsides, and not on the reappearing generic features of murder articles as a genre.

There is only one genre analysis made of murder articles. Elisabetta Cecconi focused on the genre styles of murder articles, or murder reports as she refers to them, in four different media: news broadside ballads, pamphlets, newsbook and newspapers in her text “Comparing Discourse Construction in 17th-century news genres: A Case Study of Murder Reports” (Cecconi 2015, 164). In her work, Cecconi compares the different murder article genres to one another using proto-leads, which she defines as “a micro-story which provides information about the actors, main event and place where the story happened” after the headline in a newspaper (Cecconi 2015, 169). She also looks into the murder articles’ macro-categories using van Dijk’s (see van Dijk 1988) genre analysis method for news articles. With this method, Cecconi focused on three different macro-categories, which were “1. the layout of the content page; 2. discourse structure and lexis of the proto-lead; 3. discourse organisation of the murder account in the body of the news[...].” (Cecconi 2015, 167). Cecconi notes that even in the early stages of the news media in the 17th century, murder articles were unsurprisingly heterogeneous throughout the different media (2015, 188). She notes that in the proto-leads, the murderer is usually mentioned before the victim and introduced by their full name in most of the different media (Cecconi 2015, 175-176). The proto-leads also showed that from the mid 17th century, the description of the murder method became more detailed in their writing style (Cecconi 2015, 177). Cecconi found that in the 17th century, all of the studied media included commentary in their writing throughout the article, although they had some differences in the length of the commentaries (Cecconi 2015, 179-180). In her study, Cecconi also notes that there was a clear difference between the use of metadiscourse with the newspapers’ murder article and newsbooks and broadsides articles. Newspaper murder articles did not use metadiscourse in their writing, unlike the other media (Cecconi 2015, 186-187).

Cecconi’s (2015) is a comparative study between different murder articles and texts from different media in the 17th century. Her study is also conducted by following van Dijk’s news macro-categories that do differ from the move analysis approach Swales and Bhatia (1990, 1993) use in their genre analysis. However, the analysis methods have the same goal as their analysis methods. While move analysis focuses on the recurring recognisable segments in the body of text that are common in the given genre, van Dijk’s approach with their macro-categories also has the approach of dividing the text for analysis and separating and analysing different pieces of it.

Nevertheless the similarities with the analysis and Cecconi's approach with her data, I will adopt the move analysis as my method in this thesis paper.

As mentioned above, there has not been any genre analysis of English newspapers' murder reports from the 19th century. Due to this gap in the academic research, this paper will focus on the century-long genre analysis on murder reports to get an inkling of how the murder report is constructed as a linguistic piece of written nonfictional text.

5 Research methodology

In this chapter, I will introduce this paper's primary materials and the selection methods.

5.1 Primary material and selection methods

For this thesis to be a century-long overview analysing generic features of murder articles, the century had to be divided and the scope of the data defined. Since this is a thesis with a limited amount of time and a limited amount of allowed pages, the number of articles collected for the data had to be strictly limited to a manageable size. It was evident from the beginning when collecting the murder articles that the data had to be limited to be as concise as possible. The vast amount of available data from the Morning Post alone was intriguing and exciting, yet overwhelming. The aim was to get enough data from each decade with a sufficient amount of representation. In the end, the data scope was narrowed down to thirty murder articles, three murder articles per decade throughout the 19th century. The selected murder articles were chosen from different years, except for the years 1802 and 1888. These two years provided two murder articles each.

The articles were collected through one online database, British Library Newspapers provided by *Gale Primary Sources*, which covers multiple British newspapers from 1732 to 1950, including over 160 newspaper titles (British Newspaper Library, n.d.). For these reasons, the British Library Newspapers proved to be a perfect data collecting database. This database also uses Optical Character Recognition, OCR, which proved to be an extremely useful and time-saving asset. The OCR overall accuracy level was high, regularly reaching up to 80% accuracy, and it was useful in the cases where some of the text was illegible. However, the OCR did not function properly with all of the articles. The choice of choosing the Morning Post occurred when searching example murder articles from the database in. Morning Post was one of the most frequently appearing newspaper titles amongst the search results, and the database had wide coverage of the newspaper.

The thirty murder articles were searched from the database with the search word "murder", allowing the search engine to include possible variations of the search word of such as the plural form "murders". The database searched the search word from the headlines as well as from the actual articles. The search results were further limited by selecting the Morning Post as the only searched publication title, selecting "article" as the only allowed document type, and additionally narrowing the search year to one

decade at a time. By limiting the timeframe to a decade offered a manageable amount of murder articles. This was done because searching murder articles throughout the century, the database provided over 56 000 murder articles. The murder articles were then shifted through and possible candidates were skimmed through before adding them to the data. The careful collecting method was done because even with limiting the search results with the search word “murder” and document type “article”, the results contained numerous articles of murder charges—in other words, court hearings and cases—, police investigation results, theatre notices, theatre reviews as well as coroner reports of murdered victims. In a sense these were also murder articles in their own right, however, they did not report a murder, but rather the aftermath of a murder case which is not the study object of this thesis. I have also excluded the murder articles that are a continuation of another already existing murder article, for they more often contain and focus on the police reports and possible outcomes of a court case. Nevertheless, some of the murder articles themselves contain these previously mentioned topics. However, they play a rather small part in the whole murder article itself and some of them are moves in the move analysis. Their involvement with murder articles will be discussed further in chapter 6 in the analysis. All of the thirty murder articles that were used in this thesis are listed in Appendix 1 with their date, page number, and headline in chronological order.

Another factor in selecting the data for analysis was comprehensibility. As previously mentioned, the OCR accuracy in the database was high. However, while collecting the murder articles, it was clear that the OCR did not always manage to identify words or sentences correctly. Due to this, before the articles were selected to be in the data, they were checked beforehand to make sure that either the scan of the article was readable on its own or the OCR was comprehensive enough. Fortunately, the illegibility was not a major issue for gathering this data in the end. All thirty articles were screenshotted, printed and manually analysed one by one. The articles were also digitally copied into a word document utilizing the help of the OCR. The move analysis was performed by close reading and making note of the most frequent generic features that appeared in the articles. The articles were then sectioned into the found moves. The moves were then transferred to an excel file and the frequency was counted. After reducing the number of moves only to those that appeared in over 50% of the articles, close reading was done again to mark down the order of the occurrence of the moves.

During this second close reading, I identified the nouns and adjectives used to refer to the murderer and the victim.

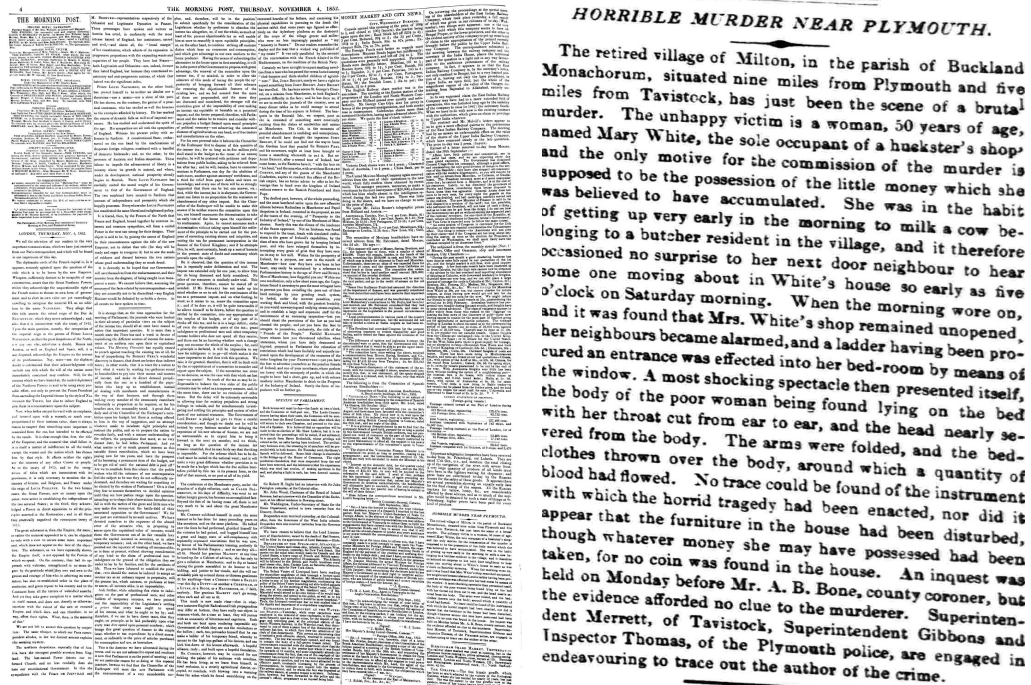


Figure 1 An example of one of the Morning Post newspaper page on the left and an example of a murder article on the right. The Morning Post, November 4th, 1852, page 4, Issue number 24608. From the British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources.

The length of the murder article was also important for this thesis. The lengths of the articles varied greatly from short advertisement length murder articles of 100 words to lengthy covered murders of over 1000 words. However, it is noteworthy to mention that longer articles of murders were an occasional occurrence, and they were consistently the before said continuation articles of already reported murder cases and police investigation. Since the article lengths varied greatly throughout the century, the length of the articles varied in data as well. An upper word limit for the murder articles was set at 900 words and a lower limit was set to 120, simply to set a frame to select the articles based on. Therefore the articles selected for this thesis were in the word range of 129–838 words. The average length of the articles in this thesis was therefore 352 words. Figure 1 on the right is an example of how the database showed the articles. The article in question is almost the length of the average word length in the data, garnering 316 words. In the same figure on the left is a page from the Morning Post. The majority of the murder articles appeared on the 3rd and 4th page of the newspaper. In Figure 1

the image of a page is from the 4th page and the murder article on the left can be found in the bottom right of the page. None of the murder articles had illustrations. It should be noted that during collecting data the murder articles situated within the advertisement section of the paper were excluded, for it was unclear who wrote them (or paid for them), and why they were in the advertisement section of the Morning Post, and not as a separate article on their own like other murder articles.

As there is no previous genre analysis made of the murder articles in the 19th century, this thesis focuses only on identifying the moves and the frequency they are used. The move analysis is performed to give an idea of the generic features of the murder articles on a macro-level, whereas the brief inlook into the words used will also give us some idea of how the articles worked on a micro-level. Furthermore, due to the number of murder articles in this thesis, a comparative study within the century itself was not feasible. Neither was a comparative study with another century, for this is the first study made from this viewpoint.

6 Move analysis

In this chapter 6, I will go through the analysis that was performed to identify the generic features called moves of the murder articles. Firstly, I will go through how the murder articles were divided into the moves in 6.1, after which I will go through each move individually. Subsequently, the moves will be analysed based on their order of appearance in 6.2.

6.1 Division into moves

Table 1 List of all 19 identified moves and their occurrence frequencies.

| Move No. | No. | % | Purpose of the move |
|----------|-----|------|--|
| Move 1 | 30 | 100% | Time and place |
| Move 2 | 30 | 100% | Victim's name and information |
| Move 3 | 27 | 90% | Legal system |
| Move 4 | 23 | 77% | Discovery of the body |
| Move 5 | 23 | 77% | Murderer's name and information |
| Move 6 | 21 | 70% | Description of body and murder scene |
| Move 7 | 19 | 63% | Events leading to the death |
| Move 8 | 19 | 63% | Medical statement |
| Move 9 | 19 | 63% | Killing method |
| Move 10 | 16 | 53% | Reason for murder |
| Move 11 | 14 | 47% | Last moments |
| Move 12 | 13 | 43% | Events following murder |
| Move 13 | 10 | 33% | Search of a culprit |
| Move 14 | 9 | 30% | Dramatic opening |
| Move 15 | 9 | 30% | Rising suspicion leading to finding the body |
| Move 16 | 6 | 20% | Possible news source |
| Move 17 | 4 | 13% | Murderer's suicide |
| Move 18 | 2 | 7% | Promise of the continuation of the story |
| Move 19 | 2 | 7% | Dramatic ending |

The murder articles were manually analysed by close reading and several different possible moves were identified. Altogether 19 moves were singled out from the murder articles as possible moves for this thesis. Since the number of identified moves was high—in the sense of the rather limited possibility to cover them all in enough detail in a master's thesis—it was evident that some of the smaller identified moves had to either be disregarded or merged with other bigger moves. Therefore, to identify all the moves that had to be left out of this thesis and the moves to keep in the data, the moves' frequencies were recorded into an excel file and compared to one another. For this thesis, only the moves that occurred over 50% of the time are analysed to make sure that

the analysed moves were a standard in the murder articles. This meant that altogether ten moves were selected to be analysed. In Table 1, I have gathered all of the 19 moves that were identified during the first close reading, the number of articles they appeared in, their occurrence frequency as well as the purpose of the move.

The nine discarded moves were either combined to one of the ten major moves or dismissed completely. Moves such as Move 11, Move 12, Move 13, Move 17 and Move 17 were combined with the major moves that included similar kind of information. These combinations are as follows: Move 11 with Move 7, Move 12 with Move 4, Move 13 with Move 3, Move 15 also with Move 4, and lastly Move 17 with Move 5. The left out moves that were not combined with other moves were dismissed from this thesis. Surprisingly, one of the discarded moves was a move that I assumed at the beginning of the analysis was going to be one of the major moves in the analysis, Move 14 Dramatic opening. In this move, the murder articles set a sensationalistic move for the rest of the text and were evidently separate feature from the other moves that started the murder articles, such as Move 1. In the end, Move 14 appeared only in nine articles (30%) out of 30.

The following analysis on the ten remaining moves was conducted one by one and the findings are reported in their sub-sections in this thesis. For visual clarification, I have listed the moves below in the order of the frequency they appeared in, beginning from the most frequent move. The moves are listed according to their occurrence frequency instead of appearance order because after analysing the data it was evident that most of the moves did not follow a certain pattern in the order appearance. This will be discussed further in 6.2. The list of the ten moves is as follows:

- 1) Time and place
- 2) Victim's name and information
- 3) Legal system
- 4) Discovery of the body
- 5) Murderer's name and information
- 6) Description of the body and crime scene
- 7) Events leading to death
- 8) Medical statement
- 9) Murder method
- 10) Reason for the murder

These moves were marked in the articles and the order of their occurrence recorded. Through the analysis, it was visible that not only did the order of the occurrence change but also that not all of the moves were present in every murder article. To illustrate the division of the moves, such as Swales performs in his book (1990), I have provided an example of the move distribution in a murder article that was used in the data. The article is the same as that used as a visual example of a murder article in Figure 1 seen previously.

HORRIBLE MURDER NEAR PLYMOUTH

| | |
|---|---------|
| The retired village of Milton, in the parish of Buckland Monachorum, situated nine miles from Plymouth and five miles from Tavistock, has just been the scene of a brutal murder. | Move 1 |
| The unhappy victim is a woman, 50 years of age, named Mary White, the sole occupant of huckster's shops | Move 2 |
| and the only motive for the commission of the murder is supposed to be the possession of the little money which she was believed to have accumulated. | Move 10 |
| She was in the habit of getting up very early in the morning to milk a cow belonging to a butcher resident in the village, and it therefore occasioned no surprise to her next door neighbour to hear some one moving about in White's house so early as five o'clock on Saturday morning. | Move 2 |
| When the morning wore on, and it was found that Mrs. White's shop remained unopened, her neighbours became alarmed, and a ladder having been procured an entrance was effected into her bed-room by means of the window. A most shocking spectacle then presented itself, | Move 4 |
| the body of the poor woman being found lying on the bed with her throat cut from ear to ear, and the head nearly severed from the body. The arms were folded, and the bed-clothes thrown over the body, around which a quantity of blood had flowed. No trace could be found of the instrument with which the horrid tragedy had been enacted, nor did it appear that the furniture in the house had been disturbed, though whatever money she may have possessed had been taken, for no coin was found in the house. | Move 6 |
| An inquest was held on Monday before Mr. A.B. Bone, county coroner, but the evidence afforded no clue to the murderer. | Move 8 |
| Superintendent Merrett, of Tavistock, Superintendent Gibbons and Inspector Thomas, of the Plymouth police, are engaged in endeavouring to trace out the author of the crime. | Move 3 |
| (November 4, 1852) | |

As seen in the given example, the different moves are not bound by the sentence boundaries. Additionally, a move can appear within another move, which will be further

analysed in 6.2. In the following subsections, I will be analysing the moves and their features individually in the previously given order.

6.1.1 Move 1: Time and place

The first move in this analysis informs the reader where and when the crime had taken place, or alternatively when and where the murder victim's body was found. The latter option was used when the murdered victims were found in a body of water or in another location other than where the murder itself took place. All together 5 (17%) of the 30 murder articles define the location where the body was found. In all of the murder articles, the murder place was not able to be recognized (either the police didn't specify the location or it was left out of the article by the writer), so the murder articles provided the information of when and where the body was found. Nevertheless, all of the thirty murder articles collected from the Morning Post had this move in them, making it one of the two moves that appear 100% of the time.

- (1) An act of drunken frenzy was committed at an early hour on Sunday morning in Manchester.

(December 27, 1865)

Table 2 The frequency of the use of time and place in murder articles

| Time mentioned | Place mentioned | Both mentioned in one sentence | Both mentioned separately |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 27/30 | 30/30 | 21/27 | 5/27 |
| 90% | 100% | 78% | 19% |

Both time and place were generally (81% of the time) mentioned together within the very first sentence of the article, as in example 1. In 5 of the articles (19%) which have both time and place mentioned, the writer chose to mention it in two separate sentences rather than within one sentence. However, even in these cases where the move is reported in two different sentences, the sentences always appear together at the beginning of the murder article.

There are some slight differences between the appearances of time and place. In all articles, the place is regularly mentioned, whereas the time is not always mentioned. In three (10%) of the thirty articles, time was not mentioned even by referring to the

time by using adverb such as ‘yesterday’ or by indicating the time in any other manner. In Table 2, I have gathered the occurrence frequencies of both time and place, as well as the frequency of how these two indicators appear together in the articles. In example 2, the place is mentioned by even giving in-depth information of its location but without a clear indication of the time when the murder took place. The article’s only time-related word commenting on the time of the murder is the word “just” which indicates that the murder happened in the near past, but does not convey enough specific information to the reader of exactly when the murder occurred.

(2) The retired village of Milton, in the parish of Buckland Monachorum, situated nine miles from Plymouth and five miles from Tavistock, has just been the scene of a brutal murder.

(November 4, 1852)

It was common that Move 1 settled the scene for the rest of the murder article, informing the reader that the article indeed was a murder article and how many victims there were. The number of victims is recognisable by the singular or plural forms of the noun murder. In example 3, the article informs the reader right from the beginning that the article covers the events of a murder-suicide. Therefore, the first sentence informed the time and place and the subject of the article to the reader. Altogether 9 (30%) of the murder articles begin with a sensationalist opening for their article while also providing the Move 1, the time and the place. Moreover, the titles of the articles in most cases also already inform the reader of the murder place. The use of titles will be further analysed in section 7.3.

(3) A most shocking, and almost unprecedented act of murder and suicide, was committed on Monday night last, about eight o’clock, in a yard near the bottom of Cecil’s Gullet, between Lichfield-street and Stafford-street, Birmingham.

(July 10, 1802)

Whether Move 1 informs the reader of the murder time or the time of finding the victim’s body, it was present in every move, indicating to the reader where and when the murdered victim was found lifeless. The communicative purpose of Move 1 is therefore indicating the time and place where the vicious crime had taken place.

6.1.2 Move 2: Victim's name and information

(4) the body of a newly-born male child.

(July 11, 1843)

Move 2 is the section in the murder article where the article informs the victim's name and other possible information about the victim. This move is the only other move in this analysis that applied to 100% of the articles. Of the 30 articles, 29 (97%) of them inform the victim's name in full, and one does not. This exception to the rule is because the victim of the crime was an unidentified newborn baby (seen in example 4), who unfortunately would have been impossible to identify without witnesses to the crime. Nevertheless, I have decided to count the information given of the baby as acceptable to be considered to be a Move 2 without the name, since the information given of the victim is sufficient enough without it. The rest of the murder articles inform diligently the victim's name and background information of their lives.

(5) an elderly woman, of the name of Greatorex, the wife of a man also far advanced in life, who occupies a few acres of land, and keeps three or four cows.

(January 2, 1818)

In Move 2 the descriptions of the lives of the murder victims were rather thorough and detailed. It was not uncommon for the article to report the victims status in society, place of residence, occupation, marriage status, medical history, hobbies, or even their daily habits. In addition, most of the time the given information was not crucial for the crime the murder article was reporting about. In some cases, the victim's family history and social circle were covered in detail, whereas in fewer cases the information given of the victim is written concisely, as seen in example 5. In example 5, Move 2 informs where the victim owned some land and gives an indication of their age. Peculiarly, it seems that the description of the victims backstory correlates with the overall length of the article as the whole written piece of text. The longer the article is, the longer and more detailed the description of the victim's life is. This can be seen in example 6 where the article details in depth the victim's place of residence, reputation, health, her mother's marriage history, as well as her stepfather's occupation and his reputation. The article in question is also the longest one in this data collection, garnering 838 words.

Whereas the previous example, example 5, is one the shorter end of the collected murder articles, having only 290 words.

- (6) The victim's name is Jane Beatmoor. She resided at a place called Whitehouse, near Northside, situate [*sic*] in the dreary tract of country called Birtley Peel. Her mother, with whom she lived, was married a second time, her present husband being one Joseph Savage, and by her stepfather's name Jane Beatmoor was more commonly known, being, indeed, always spoken of by her neighbours and her acquaintances as Jane Savage. Savage is a miner, and is a sober, industrious workman, respected by all his neighbours. His stepdaughter, also, was of a quiet, inoffensive nature, and was generally liked. For some time past she had been in weak health, and had been an outpatient at the Gateshead Dispensary.
(September 25, 1888)

When I first analysed the articles, I had the suspicion that the given information of the victims would have been relevant to the murder case itself, for example, the information given of the victim would play a role in the cause of the murder or give an insight of the relationship with the murderer in a deeper level. However, this was not the case. The information given to the victim did not correlate with the cause of the murder. Example 6 is a good illustration for showing how the information given of the victim is not relevant to the murder, since Jane Beatmoor disappeared on her way to the neighbouring farm after buying some sweets from the local store, and was found murdered the next day on the road. In addition, the case of Jane Beatmoor was shrouded in mystery and she was one of the suspected victims of Jack the Ripper in 1888. None of the given information of her life or her family in the murder article was necessary in the murder case or gave any indication of the reason for her murder or her relationship with the perpetrator of the crime.

Since the communicative purpose of Move 2 is not setting the scene for the victim's murder, the communicative purpose of Move 2 lays more on humanizing the murder victim and informing the reader about their lives before their demise rather than acting as a foretaste to the rest of the murder article. Writing about the victim's history also might act as a warning or a reminder for the readers that anyone, whether a young woman or an elderly person, can be the victim of a horrible crime if you are in the wrong place at the wrong time. Alternatively, Move 2 presenting the victim as an unfortunate soul that was murdered terribly, feeding into the idea of the sensationalistic writing style of the 19th-century murder articles.

6.1.3 Move 3: Legal system

In Move 3, the murder articles inform the involvement of the legal system in the murder case. Unsurprisingly, most of the murder articles had either short mentions or longer paragraphs of the involvement of the legal system. Murder after all is a crime. I chose to call this move with an umbrella term “Legal system”, to refer to every kind of involvement of the legal system from the British constables and watchmen—later on, the police force around the 1850s—, imprisonment, murder investigators as well as judges and the court. The generalization of the different parts of the legal system was not only convenient since they often are mentioned in the same place in the murder articles, but necessary, for dividing these different bodies of the legal system would have formed even smaller moves that would not have been able to be analysed separately in this thesis. Move 3 was the third most used move in this data. To be exact, 27 (90%) of the 30 murder articles included information on the legal system’s involvement.

- (7) Mr. Goodyer, the chief of the Leicestershire constabulary, with several of his officers, were soon on the spot, and are diligently prosecuting their inquiries as to this fearful tragedy, which has naturally caused so much excitement in Melton and the neighbourhood.

(June 20, 1856)

In Move 3, the murder articles cover the intelligence given of the events of the murder provided by the police or constables, imprisonment of the killer, and the judgement given to the perpetrator. Depending on the time frame when the murder took place and when the murder article was written, the information in this move changes accordingly. If the crime has just happened or is otherwise a recent discovery, Move 3 might contain vague information of the police work done and an indication of the future work to be made. For instance, in example 7 the murder victim had just been found and the article covers who was on the murder scene and what are they doing, without going into further about a possible court case or what the police had found through their investigation. This is because the legal system has not had enough time to investigate the murder case further. If there was enough time passed since the murder took place, Move 3 gives more detailed information on how the legal system worked with this murder case. In example 8 below, we can see the more detailed information of the proceedings: retelling the investigation process and giving the court verdict for the murderer “wilful murder”.

- (8) The jury assembled at the Tontine, and then proceeded to the house of Mrs. Prior, where the body was viewed and where the evidence was taken of Miss Adel Prior, who was too unwell to leave the house. The jury then returned to the Tontine, and after hearing the evidence returned a verdict of wilful murder against Miss Belinda Prior. The affair has created great excitement in the district on account of the position of the prisoner. She was visited in gaol yesterday by a number of her friends.

(March 29, 1888)

When a murder article discusses the legal system, more often than not the names of the investigators, police officers, as well as jurors, are mentioned by name and by title. The place of their operation district is also covered, as seen in example 9, where the magistrate is introduced to the reader by name and jurisdiction. If the murder article mentions more than two officers or investigators working on the murder case, the two are mentioned by name and the rest are referred to as groups of people, such as *officers* or *watchmen*. When it comes to naming jurors or judges, however, they are only referred to as such, jurors and judges.

- (9) Mr. Saunders, the magistrate at the Thames Police-court, and his clerk were telegraphed for to take her depositions. Search was then made for the murderer, and at length he was discovered by the police at the German Hospital, Dalston, suffering from stabs and wounds. He was at once placed under police surveillance, and will be charged at the police-court in a few days.

(March 3, 1885)

As covered earlier, Move 3 also covers the arrests and imprisonments of the criminals, as can be seen in the previous example 8. Only in one murder article, Move 3 contained also legal measures done by murderers where they surrendered themselves to the police. This was an unusual occurrence but it was still mentioned in the murder article.

- (10) Immediately after the perpetration of this horrible and unaccountable murder, Willoughby and Shore proceeded to the police-station [*sic*] at Coolcullen, and surrendered themselves to Sergeant Stokes, who conveyed them to Castlecomer. A verdict of wilful murder was returned against Shore, and of man-slaughter against Willoughby, at the inquest. They were both committed to the county gaol yesterday.

(October 16, 1838)

Move 3 main communicative purposes can be narrowed down to informing the reader of the paper, what happens to murderers as well as to inform what happened to the murderer who committed the crime. It also reports on the work of the legal system, how they operated and how the perpetrator was caught through police work. It further informs the public what kind of punishments murderer and criminals receive after their heinous crimes, if the murderer is indeed even caught.

6.1.4 Move 4: Discovery of the body

Move 4 covers the events leading to finding the murdered victim's body and the actual discovery of the victim. I have also included in this move the rising suspicion of the events that have led to a person to find the body, which originally was its own separate move. 27 (77%) of the murder articles have Move 4, making it the fourth most common move in the data. This move includes murder articles where the murdered victim has been found dead by another person, whether it was a civilian or an officer.

- (11) On the watchmen and others approaching the house, they were informed that a number of persons had been poisoned; and on entering they found two persons dead, and four others struggling in the agonies of death.

(January 11, 1823)

In Move 4, the reader receives the information of who found the body, a general direction where they were found, and the reason why the body came to be found. Move 4 also can include a vague description of how the body was found and how they were murdered, without defining these aspects in more detail. The murder article covers the murder scene and the method of murder in detail in other moves than in Move 4, such as in Move 6: Description of the body and crime scene. In example 11, the article covers most of these issues in Move 4: the watchmen found the victims, for they were informed by an unknown source of a crime that had occurred. Example 11 also informs the reader how they were found, and how the deceased victims had been killed with poison. The murder method is usually shortly mentioned in Move 4 and is covered in more detail in Move 9: Murder method.

As previously mentioned, Move 4 additionally covers the reason why the victims were found. In other words, what alarmed a bystander to look for the body in the first place in the cases where the body was not accidentally stumbled upon. In example 12, the murder article covers the reasons the founder of the victim's body

decided to check up on his wife in the first place. He was alarmed by how long it took her wife to return from the cowshed, which in turn made him go and check on her, and in doing so he found her body.

- (12) The poor woman had just been to the cow-shed, which is very near the house, to milk, and not returning so soon as expected, the old man went to ascertain what had become of her, when he found her stretched on the ground, in a speechless state.

(January 2, 1818)

It is also common for Move 4 to disclose who found the body by name. Like in Move 3, where the investigators and constables were introduced to the reader, so are the people who discovered the bodies. The article introduces the founder of the body by their name, their occupation or by their relationship with the victim. In example 12 the founder of the body is introduced as “the old man”, previously disclosed to be the victim’s husband in Move 2 in the murder article, and in example 13 the finder is introduced by name and their relation with the victim. In total, nine (30%) of articles possessing the Move 4 introduced the finder of the victim by their name. Seven (26%) articles introduced the finder with their occupation (like in example 11), six (22%) by the relation to the victim (as in example 12), and six of the articles (22%) did not disclose who found the body exactly (example 14), choosing to use passive voice instead.

- (13) Mr. Tolerton, of Flanshaw-lane, near Wakefield, was alarmed by an uncommon noise, and on getting up and looking out of the window, he observed a man on the other side of the road washing his hands, and a light in the house of Elizabeth Smith, one of his neighbours living opposite. On his giving the alarm, the light was extinguished, and the man he had seen, ran away. Mr. Tolerton then entered the house, and found Mrs. Smith in a little room at the back of her bed-chamber

(September 9, 1802)

- (14) Yesterday, however, his body was discovered floating in the Thames off the St. Katharine Docks.

(September 11, 1863)

The communicative purpose of Move 4 is to cover who found the murdered body and how.

6.1.5 Move 5: Murderer's name and information

Move 5 covers the information given about the murderer, as well as the murderer's name. Unlike the previous Move 2 concerning the victim's name and excessive information given of the victim's life, the information given about the murderer is not as abundant in comparison. The common pattern in Move 5 is that the murderer is mentioned by name (if it is known), and information given of their backstory is overall rather minimal. Altogether 23 (77%) of the murder articles in the data give some information about the murderer. However, the information given varies depending on whether a murderer was caught or not, and on the fact if the murderer committed a murder-suicide.

17 (73%) of the articles that have Move 5 give the name of the murderer. However, even in this case, the information presented in this move varies. Only 10 (43%) give the full name of the murderer and seven (30%) of the articles provide only either the last name or the first name of the culprit. The murder article data included four different cases of murder-suicide and all four belonged to the 43% which informs the full name of the murderer. In example 15 the murderer is introduced only by the name Gilzean, which could be either the first name or their surname, and their occupation is mentioned briefly.

(15) a lad of the name of Gilzean, a neighbouring farm servant, who carried with him an oaken bludgeon taken from the plantation near the place.

(April 20, 1810)

As expected, there were murder cases where the murderer is not a known individual. Nevertheless, the murder articles give some speculation of who they might be. Six of the 23 articles (26%) speculate who was or were the murderers without providing names in Move 5. The suspected murderer can be given possible sex and even age based on the information the journalists might have received from the police or possible witnesses. In the case of example 16, the possible murderer is suspected to be a woman who supposedly enticed the victim to their robbery and ultimately led him to his death.

(16) the inference is that the female must have enticed him down the steps to the river side, where the crime might have been accomplished without observation. Who the female was has not as yet been ascertained, but the mystery will no doubt be discovered

(September 11, 1863)

Among the few cases where the murderer is given more in-depth information compared to the majority of the other murderers, the congruence is where the murderers themselves were deemed to be the interesting party of the crime alongside the victim. These murderers include known public killers (even if they were only speculated to be the perpetrator), such as Jack the Ripper, killers who were women, and murderers who committed murder-suicide. Example 17 is a case of five murders and suicide by a family man. The article writes in great detail about the murderer, in the same manner, the article writes about the victim of the murder, which was covered in Move 2. When comparing example 17 with the vast amount of background information to example 15 with minimal information, it is clear that some murderers (as listed above) receive more detailed coverage in the murder articles than other murderers. This overall different treatment of different murderers might be because the information given of i.e. the murder-suicide perpetrators is relevant to the overall crime, unlike the information given about the victim. Example 17 tells the reader already the possible reasons for the crime to happen and the mental state the murderer was in before he committed the crime. In all four murder-suicide articles, the text provides information of their background and relations with the victim which directly correlate with the reason for the criminal act, such as jealousy or insanity, as can be seen from example 17.

(17) John Blair, the perpetrator of the dreadful deed, had hitherto resided with his family at the above address, which is a six-roomed house adjoining the Burdett-road, and the furniture and domestic comforts were indicative of a somewhat higher position than that which he held, viz. an ordinary bricklayer, he having been employed as such till recently at the Bow-common Gasworks. For some alleged dereliction of duty he had about fortnight ago been suspended, and the final decision as to his re-employment was to have been considered by the directors yesterday. In his temporary expulsion from his employment he gave way to intemperate habits, and displayed a most morbid condition of mind.

(May 19, 1874)

The communicative purpose of this move is to evidently inform the public, the newspaper readers, of who acted as the perpetrator of the murder. It was adequate enough to introduce the killer with the bare minimum, such as a name and possible occupation as previously seen in example 15. In cases where the murderer was also the

victim or a woman, the information given of the murderer clearly exceeds the information given of the other murderers.

6.1.6 Move 6: Description of the body and crime scene

Move 6 in this analysis covers the part of the murder article where the writer describes the body of the murdered victim as well as the crime scene where they were found. 21 (70%) of the murder articles have this move. When it comes to describing the body of the murder victim or victims, the 19th-century journalists did not hold anything back. The injuries of the victims were reported in detail as well as in what condition the victim was found. Additionally, other information was also included in this section, such as in what physical position the deceased was upon finding them and where the body was located (i.e. what part of the house or barn the body was situated). It is noteworthy to mention here that this move is not the report of the possible surgeons or coroner's statement on what they found in or on the victim's body. Such statements were usually covered in a different part of the murder article and were frequent enough to form their own move. This move is Move 8: Medical statement, which will be covered later in 6.1.8.

- (18) the poor old gate-keeper, partly dressed, lying in a pool of blood on the house floor, with his face and throat fearfully cut and gashed, and a large pistol-wound through his breast, whilst on a bed in the parlour lay the poor little grandson, with frightful gashes.

(June 20, 1856)

Example 18 is an excellent illustration of how the victims' bodies were described in 19th-century newspapers. The murdered bodies, in this case, an old man and his grandson, are described as if the article's writer was the one who found the horrible crime scene, detailing the injuries on the victims and describing where the victims laid. In Move 6, the victim's body's conditions were detailed in each of the murder articles. Furthermore, the crime scenes where the murdered victim was found were described in 12 out of 21 articles (57%). The description of the crime scenes follows the same pattern as the description of the body: they tend to be rather detailed. For instance, in example 19 the crime scene is detailed in great depth, specifically describing how the body was situated and depicting the wounds inflicted on the victim. This great concentration on details concerning the body and the crime scene can also be seen in the murder article in chapter 6.1 where I introduced an example of the move division.

(19) the body lay about three or four feet from the line, the head being in a gutter about nine or 10 inches deep. The young woman's feet were pointed towards the line. The body leaned partly on the left, and on the right side of the throat, just below the ear, a deep gash was visible. A large wound in the lower part of the body was subsequently discovered.

(September 25, 1888)

The previous examples detail the heinous scenes where the murdered victims and the positions as well as the places they were found. Yet, not all of the moves in Move 6 cover the murder scenes with such affection to details. From all the 21 articles, six (29%) prefer a more modest approach to describing the victim. These six articles prefer using mildly descriptive language and usually finish Move 6 with ambiguous remarks such as "too shocking to describe" or "manner too dreadful to relate" as seen in example 20. The six articles appeared evenly throughout the 19th century, indicating that this was not a feature that only appeared in a certain decade. The 29% of the cases also belong to the minority of murder articles that do not describe the murder scene in any way. Whether these 29% cases preferring a more tactful approach to write the discovery of the body is due to the actual gruesomeness of the act that is too abhorrent to capture in a newspaper, or if the writer themselves simply did not want to write specifics of the crime, it is evident that these shorter descriptions are abnormal in this data.

(20) covered with blood, cut and bruised in a manner too dreadful to relate

(September 9, 1802)

Move 6's purpose is to inform the reader of what condition and how the victim was found, regardless of the gruesomeness of the crime scene. The majority of the Move 6 prefer to give detailed reports of the crime scene and the bodies. This can be due to the sensationalism that was covered in section 2.2. The 19th century was full of crime and violence, and the newspapers knew the shocking details and descriptions would sell more papers. Therefore, this could also then be regarded as another communicative purpose of Move 6: to use sensationalist language to capture the reader's eye and interest.

6.1.7 Move 7: Events leading to death

Move 7 occurs in 19 (63%) of the murder articles. This move retells the events that happened right before the actual murder and covers how the events unfolded resulting in murder. The articles cover the whos and whats surrounding the murder and narrate the details. It is noteworthy to mention that Move 7 mostly appears in the murder articles that are not shrouded in mystery, i.e. the events of the murder are known to the police force and therefore the media was informed as well. However, there are few exceptions to this rule. To be exact, only in one murder article the writer speculates on the events that could have led to the murder of the victim. This is the same murder article as mentioned in Move 5, where the writer speculated who was the murderer of a young man. In the rest of the Move 5 murder articles, there really isn't speculation of what occurred before the murder took place. At least, this is not indicated in any of the other murder articles.

- (21) On Monday night the woman went to JEE's house to settle or justify herself from a small debt, which he reported she had left unpaid; but as soon as she entered his door

(July 10, 1802)

Move 7 covers the movements of the people involved, the possible discussions the included parties partook in, and the possible reasons behind their actions that led to the crime. The murder articles cover this move in a homogeneous manner without major differences as with the previous moves. Only the length of the Move 7 is the aspect that differs between the articles. The length usually correlates with the length of the overall article, i.e. a longer wordy murder article will have a longer Move 7 compared to the shorter articles. This can be seen when comparing the provided examples 21 and 22. Example 21 represents a shorter entry of the Move 7 in an article which is 209 words in length. Move 7 correlates in its shortness with the overall murder article, having only 33 words. Example 22 however is wordier, garnering 96 words, from an article that is 442 words in length.

- (22) The husband left work at the usual time on Tuesday evening, but instead of going home went to a public-house where he remained until nearly closing time. Between ten and eleven o'clock a son 13 years of age heard quarrelling between his father and mother, and the former turned the latter out of doors. After a time he reopened the door and called to her to come in. As she declined he went into the

garden after her. She called "murder," and the little boy jumped out of bed and in his nightshirt followed his parents.

(February 6, 1890)

Example 22 is also a good illustration of the previously mentioned aspects that Move 7 can hold. In the example, the murder article covers several different points of the events that happened before the murder took place. The article reports what the murderer did before the criminal act and where, and retells the happenings of that night and how the events unfolded from the viewpoint of an onlooker, the victims and the murderer's own son. The writer also writes what the victim shouted before her murder. Move 7 here covers the movements of the culprit as well as the victim's before the act took place. In example 23 the article's writer writes out what was said by the participants of the event before the murder in-depth compared to example 22. Even though some of the Move 7 articles did retell some dialogue between people concerning the crime, it was rare that the article would narrate the actual dialogue word by word as seen in example 23. However, the article in question is from the long murder article, consisting of 473 words. It is then according to the logic that the longer the article, the longer the description of the leading events of the murder.

(23) Between twelve and one o'clock on Sunday morning, Catherine Langden and her landlady, named Margaret Smith, went to a pork shop in Rochdale- road. Here Dowd and M'Manus were met with, and the latter having conducted himself improperly was put out of the shop. He re-entered and said to Smith, " I'll have your life." M'Manus followed Mrs. Smith and Catherine Langden to the corner of Thomson-street, where they met Dowd, accompanied by Smith's husband. M'Manus put his hand on Catherine Tangden's shoulder, and said . "This is her." Immediately he lifted his hand to strike Mrs. Smith. Dowd interposing said, "Don't you strike a woman." M'Manus said to Dowd, "What do you mean?" and Dowd rejoined, " What do you mean?" Thereupon M'Manus took off his coat, and Dowd would have taken his off, but Catherine Langden prevented him doing so. Smith, and his wife, Dowd, and Catherine Langden proceeded along Thompson-street towards Smith's house. M'Manus ran after them with a knife in his hand

(December 27, 1865)

As can be seen from all three examples provided in this section, Move 7 does not cover the actual murder method or the act of killing. Logically thinking, the reporting of the murder report should be covered after the Move 7 in the murder articles or even in the same moves if one thinks the events of the crime in chronological order. However, this

was not the case. While analysing this data, it was evident that the move covering the events leading to the murder and the actual murder method itself had to be separated into two different moves. The separation of these moves is for the reason that often than not, the moves appeared separate from each other in a way that they formed their own purposes and did not appear in a certain order. Move 9, therefore, was formed to cover the murder articles way of reporting about the murder method. This move will be discussed in 6.1.9.

The communicative purpose of Move 7 is to inform the murder article's reader of what took place right before the murder was committed. The events are retold in detail and possible dialogue between the people involved is narrated for the reader in the murder articles.

6.1.8 Move 8: Medical statement

(24) The body was subsequently taken to the White Horse, Barnes, and information was forwarded to Mr. Carter, the coroner.

(July 11, 1843)

Move 8 appears in 19 (63%) of the murder articles in this data. This move is the section of the murder article where the coroner's, doctor's or surgeon's discoveries from autopsy or other examination of the murder victim's body are retold. The possible lethal injuries, as well as other abnormalities of the body, are told in the murder articles according to what the coroner has informed the public, including the possible implications of the findings to the murder. In three cases, the article covers only the mention of a coroner who is performing an autopsy that will take place in anon, as seen in example 24. In six articles, Move 8 contains a mention that the coroner has viewed the body and given their report to the police or the court, but not to the media. Nevertheless, in ten cases (53%) Move 8 takes the form of depicting the state of the victim's body once examined. Example 25 covers exactly that, what the coroner found from the victim's body and what conclusions they drew from their findings regarding the crime. In this case, the coroner, Mr Clark, found from the autopsy that the drowned body of a young woman was indeed a victim of a murder and not an accidental drowning.

- (25) On viewing the body, Mr. Clark, surgeon to the parish, pointed out to the jury the wounds in the body. He further stated, that he found she had some ribs fractured on the left side, and there was an abrasion of the skin on the wrist of the left hand, which had happened before death. He observed that the protrusion of the tongue showed that, during life, a struggle had taken place, as that was not a symptom with persons who were drowned. This [*sic*] inquest was then adjourned.
(September 30, 1851)

The majority of cases of Move 8 describe the injuries on the body without using much medical jargon. The descriptions are easy to follow and body parts are referred to with mundane everyday nouns such as *the breast*, *the head*, and *the arms*. For instance, in example 25 the murder article uses understandable language while retelling the coroner's examination results. However, there was one exception amongst the murder articles. In the murder article from January 23rd of 1815 (see example 26) the journalist has chosen to use medical terms for the victim's body parts, such as *axilla* and *lobe of the lungs* when referring to shoulder and parts of the lung. It is unclear why this decision was made since even in today's society, understanding medical terminology is known to be hard unless one is an actual medical professional. One can speculate that the writer might have copied exactly what the coroner informed the media and did not bother to change the language to a simpler form. Or the writer did not have time or knowledge to simplify the terminology. As mentioned previously, this is an uncommon occurrence within the murder articles, and in general, the descriptions of the victim's body in Move 8 are more comprehensible to the average reader.

- (26) Messrs. Fayerman and Harris, surgeons, St. Stephens-street, having been desired to attend, they, on examination, found the woman in a most dangerous state, the contents of the pistol having entered just below the axilla, taking a lateral direction beneath the muscles, penetrating between the 5th and 6th ribs, passing the left lobe of the lungs without injury, but taking an apparent direction through the diaphragm, and losing itself in the abdomen.
(January 23, 1815)

In 15 (79%) of the articles with Move 8, the name of the coroner or doctor performing the inquest is introduced by name and their exact occupation. This correlates with Move 3 where the murder articles introduced the officials by their name. It is evident that murder articles indeed aimed to include the names of the people who worked with the murder cases, whether it was as watchmen, police, or a coroner. This becomes clear in all examples in this section, as well as from the example 27 provided below.

(27) An inquest was held on Monday before Mr. A. B. Bone, county coroner, but the evidence afforded no clue to the murderer.

(November 4, 1852)

The communicative purpose of Move 8 is to provide the evidence the coroner or the surgeon in question has gathered and inform the public in what condition the victim was and what caused their death. In addition, Move 8 includes the possible deductions of the murder method as well as if indeed the deceased was murdered or not.

6.1.9 Move 9: Murder method

(28) the monster, in a paroxism of jealousy and resentment, seized her, and cut her throat in two places in a most dreadful manner, with a razor

(July 10, 1802)

Move 9 is dedicated to describing the actual murder method. In other words, how the murderer proceeded to end someone's life or how the murder was presumed to have taken place in the cases where the murder did not have witnesses. Move 9 appears in 19 (63%) of the thirty murder articles. In the murder articles that did not have Move 9 (11 articles), the cause of death was not determined. In the murder cases where the murder victim was found in a body of water (or in another devastating state), the coroner or investigators were unable to identify the cause of death due to the state of the body. However, interestingly, this fact of the unexplained cause of death was not covered in the eleven articles directly or speculated in the slightest as was done in Move 5. This could be due to avoiding spreading false information.

Throughout the move analysis that is covered up to this point, has shown that murder articles from the 19th century do not hesitate to cover even the most gruesome details of crime scenes or of the state of the victims. Move 9 is not an exception to this rule. The murder articles can detail what part of the body the victim was injured and which injury caused their death, or even describe murder weapon and how the injuries were inflicted on the deceased. The explicitness of the murdering method description in the murder articles ranges from simply remarking the murderer "cut her throat" as in example 28, or detailing the whole ordeal of the murder. A good example of this is example 29, where the murder article details the steps that led to the death of the victim,

starting with pushing the deceased over the railing of the ship they were on, pushing them down into the water, cutting the victim's fingers off, and finally drowning them.

- (29) As soon as he got to the surface of the water he endeavoured to regain the boat by climbing over the side, and when he had lifted himself half-way in the informer states that Somers strove to push him back again into the water. Somers failing in this treacherous attempt, deliberately took his knife from his belt and chopped the fingers off both the man's hands, Franc immediately fell back into the water, and appears to have been drowned without any attempt being made to save him.

(August 5, 1867)

The communicative purpose of Move 9 is to write how the murder was executed based on the details given to the public. As seen with previous moves, the sensationalist nature in this move is common. As mentioned earlier in chapter 6.1.7, it was necessary to separate the events leading to death and the actual murder method from each other, since they appeared separate from one another more than they appeared together. This will be further discussed in chapter 6.2 where I will analyse the positions and the order of all the moves in the data.

6.1.10 Move 10: Reason for the murder

- (30) Understanding the deceased was worth money, they broke open the house, with a fixed resolution to rob and murder her.

(September 9, 1802)

The last move in this genre analysis is Move 10: Reason for murder. This is also the smallest move of the major moves in this study, appearing only in 16 murder articles, 53% of the overall data. This move explains the reason why the murder in question took place. This includes the plausible reasons as well, i.e. the supposed reason for a murder that has been speculated by the writer or by the police force in the cases where the murderer themselves is also deceased or an unknown perpetrator. The reason provided for the crime is usually one of the four different categories: money, jealousy, disagreement, or insanity. In the case of example 30, the reason for the killing is a known fact, which is money, and it is introduced as such. In example 31 however, the reason for the murder is not a certainty but a presumed motive for the caused death.

(31) and there is reason to believe that the surmise is correct which attributes it to malice arising from a trade dispute.

(April 2, 1879)

The length of the Move 10 in murder articles is generally rather short. While the other moves can comprise nearly 100 words, such as the example 29 covered in Move 9, the length of Move 10 has an average of 18 words. For reference, example 31 has 21 words.

The common reasons that of this move is to report the reasons that led to the murder or murders. Move 10 is rather unlike the rest of the moves in this analysis, for it does not embellish the actions or occurrences in the usual sensationalistic fashion. Rather, Move 10 approaches the subject straight to the point, communicating the reason for murder.

6.2 Order of the moves

The order of the moves was analysed according to their frequency of occurrence. It was clear at the beginning of the analysis process that there is not a clear order for a majority of the moves, as previously stated. Only three moves appeared intermittently in the same location in the murder articles. These moves were Move 1: Time and place, Move 2: Victim's name and information, and Move 3: Legal system. Move 1 appeared as the first move in the article in 27 articles (90%). The move following Move 1 was regularly Move 2 in 19 (63%). Move 3 appeared as the last move in 23 (77%) murder articles. The rest of the moves do not have a specific place in the article nor do they follow a certain occurrence order.

Albeit of these three moves, the other moves through 4 to 10 tended to shift places according to the needs and means of the writer composing the article. There does not seem to be a strict rule nor a guideline in which order the rest of the moves appear. For instance, it would be safe to assume that moves 7 and 9 would follow one another in chronological order since Move 7 retells the events before the murder was committed and Move 9 writes about how the murder was performed. However, they appeared together only seven times (37%) in the data. The occurrence is low enough that it does not seem to follow a set pattern. The rest of the moves act accordingly, not appearing in a specific order or surrounded by specific moves.

During the analysis, it was found out that some moves occurred within another move, in other words, intercepting a longer move. This interception of another move in

a murder article was an occasional matter, occurring only in 11 (27%) of the murder articles. The most frequently intercepted moves were Move 2 and Move 3. Move 2 in general covers a lot of information, from the victim's name to the victim's background information, and it was cut into two altogether four times in the data. Move 3 was intercepted four times and all of them occurred at the end of the murder article. In example 32, Move 2 is interrupted by the description of the crime scene and bodies, which is Move 6. In the example, Move 2 is bolded for clarification. In this example the murder article writer introduces the victims of the murder-suicide as they cover the Move 6, describing the bodies as well as the murder scene itself.

- (32) **The bodies were afterward identified as being those of Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Blair, aged 49 years, and Samuel, her son, aged four months.** At the foot of the dressing-table in the immediate vicinity of the bed, lay the body of her husband, in his night-shirt, with his head nearly severed from his body, and near him lay a large carving-knife besmeared with blood. In addition to the carving-knife a hammer and razor were discovered on the floor of the room, also covered with blood, evidently the implements used in the destruction of life. The room presented the appearance of a butcher's shamble, it being literally flooded with blood. Further examination showed still more horrors, for on entering the adjoining room the bodies of **Elizabeth Ann, aged 12, Amelia Ann, aged 7, and that of William Blair, aged 5 years, children of the deceased, were discovered lifeless.**

(Emphasis by me, May 19, 1874)

It is clear from the data that the order of the moves in murder articles is not set in stone. Only three moves, Move 1, Move 2 and Move 3, follow a clear pattern. The rest of the moves are not bound into a certain location or a specific order to follow.

7 Vocabulary and headline analyses

While analysing the data in this thesis, the murder articles proved to possess other generic features that could not be separated as a move in the sense of Bhatia and Swales' intentions (1993, 1990). After all, the move analysis focuses on generic features that occur in the genre on the macro level. To get a glimpse of how the genre works in a more detailed manner, this chapter further looks into some of the used vocabulary as well as the appearance of the articles' headlines. I will be using Görlach's (2004) idea of the genre having recognisable vocabulary while analysing words for murderer and victim I will also compare the articles' headlines with Aitchison (2006) ideas of how headlines were constructed before the 20th century. The analysis of the nouns and adjectives referring to the murderer and victim were collected during the second round of close reading.

7.1 Victim description

- (33) It appears that the **unfortunate deceased** had taken some lands, from which the former tenants had recently been ejected.

(Emphasis mine, January 16, 1830)

All of the 30 murder articles define who the victim was providing several different ways of referring to the victims. In this section, I will be analysing the nouns as well as adjectives that were used to refer to the deceased, such as those presented in example 33. This does not include the words used to describe the bodies of the murdered victims. The nouns presented in this chapter were counted according to the number of articles they were present. However, several of these nouns were used in the same article multiple times, but these occurrences were not counted into the occurrence frequency.

Altogether 32 nouns were identified. Overwhelmingly, nouns that indicate the gender of the victim and their family status were used the most. The nouns *man*, *lad*, *husband*, *brother*, *grandson*, *son*, and *gentleman* are used when speaking of a male victim. Nouns such as *woman*, *mother*, *wife*, *lady*, *stepdaughter*, *girl*, and *female* were used when the victim in question is a female. Nouns that do not define a gender specifically are also utilized. The nouns *deceased* and *victim* are both used frequently, the most frequent being *deceased* which is used in 8 articles and *victim* in 4 articles. On two occasions the noun *person* was used as well. Younger victims are described mostly

as *child/children*, and once as an *infant*. Rarer nouns used to the victim are *creature* and *sufferer*, both of which only appeared in one murder article in the data. Notably, the male victims were additionally referred by their job title in 6 articles, for instance, *cattle-farmer* and *gate-keeper*. In contrast, female victims were not referred to by their job title, which was unexpected, since women in the 19th century were already part of the workforce (see Hudson 2011).

Table 3 Adjectives used for victims in murder articles

| Adjective | Appearance in number of articles |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| unfortunate | 8 |
| young | 6 |
| poor* | 6 |
| old | 5 |
| deceased | 3 |
| injured/wounded | 2 |
| unhappy | 2 |
| little | 2 |
| elderly | 1 |
| excellent | 1 |
| respectable | 1 |
| newly-born | 1 |
| opulent | 1 |
| single | 1 |
| missing | 1 |
| * synonym to unfortunate, hapless | |

The number of adjectives describing the victims is not as waste as the number of nouns. There were only 15 different adjectives for describing the victim. In Table 3 I have gathered all the used adjectives in the murder articles when describing the murder victim. The numbers in Table 3 indicate what number of the murder articles the adjective appears in. The adjectives used in the murder articles mostly refer to the victim's age (e.g. *young*, *elderly*), their state of being (*injured*, *missing*) and how hapless

they are (*unfortunate*, *poor* (as in miserable), and *unhappy*). Most of the adjectives in the last category tended to be used in the articles to draw an emotional response from the reader. By referring to the victims as something to feel sorry for, the murder articles further draw a picture of how terrible the murder was since the victim of the murder was an unfortunate individual.

Not all murder articles have an adjective defining that is used of the victim. Altogether, 24 articles (80%) out of 30 use adjectives to describe the victim. From Table 3 it can be seen that there is not a single adjective that is a standard in all of the murder articles. Similarly, the appearance rate of each of the adjectives is rather low, the highest adjective being *unfortunate* which appears in eight (27%) of the articles.

7.2 Murderer description

(34) The **unhappy wretch** pleads mental derangement at the time of committing the act of extenuation of his horrid barbarity.

(Emphasis mine, April 20, 1810)

As mentioned in 6.1.4. not all murderers were identified in the articles. However, there is enough material left to examine the vocabulary used when describing the murderer. In this section of the thesis, I will be looking into what kind of adjectives and nouns murder articles use to describe and refer to the murderers. Example 34 is a good example of how the murderer was referred to in the majority of the murder articles.

Altogether 27 different nouns referring to the murderer were identified. Most of the used nouns in the murder articles were essentially nouns that did not explicitly refer to the murderer's gender, unlike the nouns used for a victim. Exceptions to this rule were the most used neutral-toned noun *man* (and the plural form *men*) that occurred in 12 murder articles, and articles where the murderer was either woman or a man who murdered a family member or their spouse. Nouns used for the latter case were *husband* and *father*, each in three articles. Nouns *girl*, *female*, and *wife* were used to specify that the murderer was a woman. The low number of female nouns is because the data included only two female murderers and one murder article that speculated the murderer was a woman. The rest of the murders in this data were committed by men.

As with victims, the murderers can be referred to with their job titles, such as *servant* and *miner*. With murderers, however, there was no separation between the

genders. In the three articles where the murderer was referred by their job title, one of them was a woman. The most used genderless nouns were *prisoner*, *murderer*, *assassins*, *perpetrator*, *ruffian*, and *villain*. The latter three words appeared in two articles each, *assassins* in three articles, *murderer* in four, and *prisoner* appeared in six different murder articles. All of these nouns appeared also in a plural form which was counted with the singular forms. Nouns that were only used in one murder article include *monster*, *wretch*, *actor*, *hound*, *assailant*, *author*, *fellow*, and lastly *third party*. Most of these nouns used for the killer were predominantly negatively charged terms, like *assassin* and *monster*, sensationalising the murder article and villainizing the perpetrator.

Table 4 Adjectives used for murderers in murder articles

| Adjective | Appearance in number of articles |
|-----------|----------------------------------|
| young | 3 |
| unhappy | 1 |
| free | 1 |
| armed | 1 |
| daring | 1 |
| tall | 1 |

Surprisingly, the list of adjectives describing the murderer is short, as seen in Table 4. Especially when compared to the list given in the previous chapter of the adjectives describing the victims. The latter list includes 15 different adjectives, whereas the list for murderers consists of only 6 adjectives. These adjectives are also distributed into 7 different murder articles, leaving 24 murder articles without defining adjectives for the murderer. The adjectives also vary amongst themselves greatly for none of them indicate the same idea. The occurrence of the adjectives is also considerably lower than with the victim's adjectives. The most common adjective *young* appears only in three different articles (i.e. 10% of the time). However, the low presence of adjectives for murderers can be explained with the used nouns. The genderless nouns already carry a descriptive meaning, such as the noun *monster*. The use of adjectives could therefore be redundant since the noun itself does the adjectives job of describing the killer.

7.3 Use of headlines

The title of the murder article is an important piece of the article itself. The headlines task is to catch the eye of the reader and lure them in to read the article itself (Aitchison, Lewis and Naylor 2000, 23). Altogether 25 (83%) out of 30 of the murder articles have a headline. The five murder articles that do not have a headline simply continue after the previous article or share the title with the articles in the same column, such as *Ship news*. These five articles, however, appear only in the very first two decades of the 19th century and once in 1867. This indicates that the use of titles with murder articles became a more common practice after the beginning of the 19th century. All of the 25 headlines precede the article and they are indicated by writing the headline in upper-case letters as well as in 19 headlines (77%) by separating the title from the body of the text by forming its own separate line, as seen in Figure 2 on the article on the left. From these separate titled articles, 17 (70%) articles also use a clear printed divider to separate the title even further from the article's body. This is shown in Figure 2 on the article on the right. Overall, 14 (54%) of the articles that have a headline follow the title layout presented in Figure 2 in the article on the right, i.e. upper-case headline separated by a clear printed line.

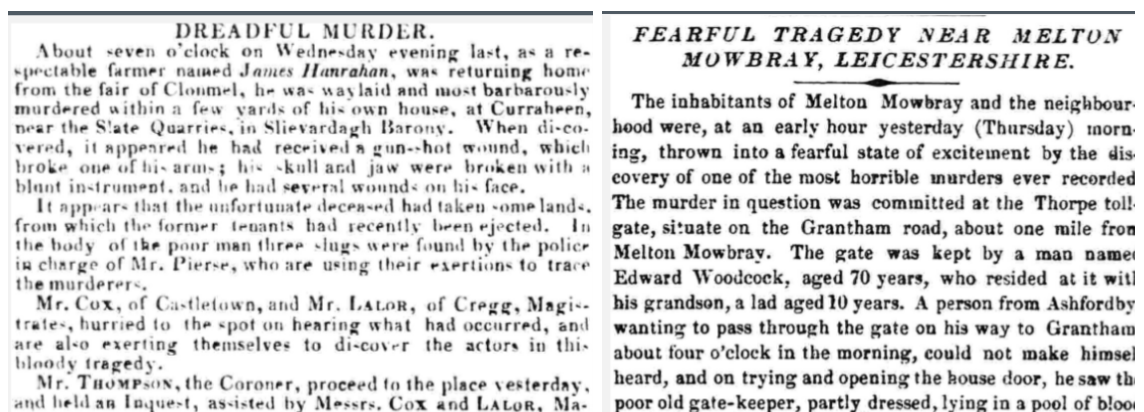


Figure 2 Examples of headline formations. Article on the left January 16th, 1830, page number 4, Issue number 18439, and article on the right June 20th, 1856, page number 4, Issue number 25730. From the British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources.

As the headlines task is to be informative enough of the contents of the article as well as short and impactful, the murder articles in the 19th century Morning Post are approximately 4 words long, containing around 27 characters, including spaces. The longest headline in the data, according to the word count, is 9 words long: "*MURDER OF A FAMILY AND SUICIDE OF THE MURDERER*". The longest headline according

to the character count is, however, the six-word headline: “*FEARFUL TRAGEDY NEAR MELTON MOWBRAY, LEICESTERSHIRE.*” The shortest headline according to the word count and the character number in the data was a title with one word and six characters: “MURDER”. As seen in the three previous given title examples, most of the articles in the data use italics for their titles (the two longest headlines), including a few that are not written in italics (the last given headline). 15 of the 25 murder articles use italics to further separate the headline from the article’s text. The use of capital letter and the separation of the article follow the idea of headlines in Aitchison’, Lewis’, and Naylor’s (2000) paper.

When it comes to the words used in the headlines, a clear majority (19 out of 25) of the articles head straight to the point and use the noun *murder* in the title. Only one article use the past tense of the verb murder, *murdered*. The articles that did not use any form of the word murder, use other words to indicate that someone has been killed. The options for euphemisms for murder are *tragedy*, *death*, *blasphemy*, and using the killing method of the murder case in the headline instead of the word murder, like in the title “A GENTLEMAN SHOT *by a* GAMEKEEPER.” This is also the only headline that uses any lower-case letters in its headline. These findings correlate with Aitchison’s, Lewis’, and Naylor’s (2000) study on death-related titles. However, in their paper, the noun *killer* was used regularly in the headlines. There was not a single headline that used the word *killer* in the headline in this data.

Half of the 25 murder article headlines contain an adjective. These adjectives such as *shocking*, *horrid*, *horrible*, and *dreadful*. A good example of the use of adjective is the murder article that appears also in Figure 2 above: “DREADFUL MURDER.”. This use of negatively charged adjectives reflect even further the use of sensationalism and it correlates with Aitchison’s (2006) idea of headlines using evaluative adjectives to grab the attention of the reader by emphasising the dramatic aspect of the murder (2006, 13).

The headlines frequently contain the place of the murder as well as a general indication of who the victim was, either by stating the place of the crime directly or in some cases giving even more indication of the exact location. An example for the latter can be seen in Figure 2 in the article on the right which defines the place of the occurred murder in great detail, identifying the close by the town as well as the county: “*FEARFUL TRAGEDY NEAR MELTON MOWBRAY, LEICESTERSHIRE.*” Other headlines only use the shorter description of the location of the murder such as

“HORRIBLE MURDER IN WESTMORELAND.” Of the 25 murder articles that use a headline, 12 of the articles indicate a place of the murder in their titles. From these 25 articles, only 8 write in the headline a generalization of the victim and 2 mentions vaguely who the murderer was. A suitable example for the latter case is the headline “*SHOCKING MURDER BY A YOUNG LADY.*” In the former case, the murder article headlines can indicate the victim by referring to them as a group of people, such as *four persons* and *family*, or referring to the murdered individual by their genders such as *female*, age such as *child*, occupation like *policeman*, or another word that indicates gender such as *gentleman*. None of the 25 murder article that has a headline give out the name nor any specific identification of the victim nor the murderer in their titles.

The findings of the headlines used in the 25 murder articles follow the pattern of answering the questions: what, who, when and how, as Aitchison, Lewis, and Naylor (2000) present in their study. However, the 19th-century headlines mostly answered the questions of what happened and where it happened and occasionally informed the reader who was the victim or the murderer, and only a few times write how the murder was done.

8. Discussion

The Morning Post murder articles in the 19th century provided excellent data for a murder article genre analysis. In this thesis, I set out to analyse the generic features of the Morning Post murder articles from the 19th century by utilizing the Swales and Bhatia (1990, 1993) method of genre analysis using moves. My research questions were: 1. What kind of moves 19th-century murder articles in the Morning Post consist of and in what order do they occur and 2. What is the communicative purpose of the identified moves. In addition, I looked briefly into the used vocabulary and headlines in the murder articles. Through the move analysis method, it was discovered that the murder articles had ten different moves that occurred in a majority of the thirty articles (over 50% of the time). These ten moves appeared in the murder article data from 53% up to 100% and were considered to be reappearing generic bodies of text in the murder articles. Altogether 19 moves were identified, meaning nine moves were disregarded or combined with one of the ten moves.

The ten reappearing moves were as follows: Time and place, Victim's name and information, Legal system, Discovery of the body, Murderer's name and information, Description of the body and crime scene, Events leading to death, Medical statement, Murder report, and lastly Reason for murder. In Appendix 2, I have gathered all of the thirty murder articles in order of appearance and marked down the frequencies the moves appear in the data. There are only four murder articles that contained all ten moves within their text. During the move analysis, I have also identified the communicative purpose of each move.

The Swales' & Bhatia's (1990, 1993) method of recognising the pattern of different genres showed that murder articles in the 19th century did indeed follow a certain kind of a generic pattern. In all of the thirty murder articles Move 1 and Move 2 appear 100% of the time, as seen in Appendix 2. In other words, all of the murder articles write out the information of and when (in most cases as mentioned in 6.1.1) the murder happened as well as who was the victim. These two moves are crucial in the genre of murder articles since they contain the most important information for the reader: where the murder happened and who was the victim. The third most seen move is the Move 3 which appears in 90% of the articles. In this move, the articles report the involvement of the authorities, whether it is watchmen or the police as well as the court rulings. As I argued in the analysis of 6.1.3, the notion of the police force and the court system usually appeared together and they were not frequent enough to be considered as

their own moves. When these two aspects were combined, however, they formed the third biggest move in the analysis.

The moves from Move 4 to Move 6 all occur over 70% of the murder articles in this data. To be exact, Move 4 and Move 5 both appear 77% of the time and Move 6 comes up in 70% of the murder articles. Move 4 covers in detail why the body was discovered, whether it was the concern of a family member or an accidental stumble on the body. The actual act of finding the body is reported in great detail and explained in most of the murder articles. Surprisingly the next move, Move 5: Murderer's name and information did not have long descriptions of the murderers or have clear use of sensationalism as seen with Move 4. Compared to the similar move that covers the victim's information, Move 2, Move 5 shortly reports who the killer was or was thought to be, and gives little other information. The information that is given of the murderer was as follows: occupation, age and gender. The only exceptions were if the murderer committed murder-suicide or was a woman. In these cases, Move 5 included similar background information of the murderer as were given in Move 2 about the victim. Move 6 that appears in 70% of murder articles, it was found that the murder articles tend to describe the murder scene in great detail, as well as cover the position of the murderer victim and possible murder weapons that were used to commit the crime. The 19th-century murder articles rely on the shock factor when they report the murders with Move 4 and Move 6, which is a good example of the sensationalism that was the widespread custom with the 19th-century newspapers as covered in section 2.2.

The last four moves from Move 7 to Move 10 occur in the murder articles over 50% of the cases. Move 7, Move 8 and Move 9 appear in 63% of the murder articles and the smallest move of the ten selected moves, Move 10, appears in 53% of the articles. The moves 7 to 9 all contain aspects of sensationalist fashion, writing the events leading to death as well as the aftermath of the murder in a detailed manner. Their communication purpose was to inform of the aspects to the murder case the moves covered, as well as play to the shock value of the murder article. Move 10 being the smallest move in this analysis also had the shortest sections of text in the murder articles. Its purpose was clear, tell the reader why the murder happened, even if it was speculation on the writer's part.

The vocabulary and headlines were looked into in chapter 7. Unsurprisingly, the headlines used with murder reports contain some kind of reference to the actual crime, such as the word *murder*, or an indication of a terrible event such as *tragedy*. This is in

accordance with Aitchison's, Lewis' and Naylor's (2000) study on the noun sequences used in death-related headlines where headlines contained death-related words. However, unlike Aitchison's, Lewis' and Naylor's (2000) findings, the murder articles did not contain the word *killer* that was heavily present in their headlines. As mentioned, chapter 7 also focused on identifying the nouns and adjectives used to refer to murderers and victims in the thirty articles. The victims were referred to with their occupations, gender, and age, but the perpetrators were not. Only six adjectives in the thirty moves described the murderer, and the most used adjective *young* appeared only in three murder articles. This was surprising since sensationalism was a huge selling point for the 19th-century press and while reading the articles, it is clear to see that the reporters in the Morning Post did not shy away from describing even the gruesome murder scenes in detail. Therefore, it would be logical to think that the murder articles would describe the criminal with multiple different adjectives in their texts. Having said that, when taking a closer look at the nouns that are used to address the murderer, the reason becomes more clear. The nouns themselves are descriptive enough, for example, the noun *monster* and *villain* already inform the reader what kind of a person is the perpetrator. For example, OED defines the use of the noun *monster* when referring to humans to be "[a] person of repulsively unnatural character, or exhibiting such extreme cruelty or wickedness as to appear inhuman; a monstrous example of evil, a vice, etc." (OED, s.v. "monster," n.). However, Nevala (2017) mentions that the use of such negatively charged terms (such as *monster*) when referring to the murderer became more routine in murder articles when Jack the Ripper's murders started in 1888 (2017, 14). This analysis showed that the murderers were indeed referred to with these nouns even before the end of the 19th century. Therefore, it is evident that there is a pattern that the murder articles are constructed with sensationalistic nouns when referring to the murderer throughout the 19th century, and nouns and adjectives to evoke an emotional response for the victim.

The move analysis showed that the murder articles from the 19th century do have a specific set of moves that occur in the articles. However, they do not follow Swales (1990) notion of a fixed appearance order. Similarly, Aitchison's (2006) also notes that articles in the 19th century, such as murder articles, follow a general order-of-events in their text. The move analysis showed that the only moves that occurred in the same place in the articles were the first three moves, Move 1, Move 2, and Move 3, while the rest of the moves did not occur in a specific place in the thirty

murder articles. It seems that the 19th-century writers took liberties in what order they reported the murder article's information, but used the commonly occurring moves. This is more in accordance with Bhatia's (1993) idea of a more flexible order for the moves.

Throughout the move analysis and the analyses on the headlines and used vocabulary, the presence of sensationalism is extremely visible. As noted in the move analysis, several moves depict gruesome scenes and use descriptive language that leaves no room for interpretation for the reader. In moves such as Move 6 and Move 8, the murder articles easily report how the deceased body looked and what were the injuries. Needless to say, this is not a common custom in modern crime and murder articles. Sensationalism was also present when analysing the used vocabulary as well as the headlines. The use of sensationalistic features in the murder articles and headlines follow the notions Crone (2016) found in broadsides and newspapers, as well as Aitchison's (2006) idea of shocking and attention-grabbing headlines.

Cecconi's (2015) study found out that the 17th-century murder articles in her study tended to mention the murderer's name and information before the text introduced who was the victim. The findings from this move analysis showed the exact opposite. The victim's name and information (Move 2) was introduced in most cases right after Move 1, and the information given of the victim was detailed. The move informed the reader of the victim's marital status, family life and possibly even hobbies. The information given of the murderer is not as detailed. The murderers are not even mentioned by their full names, unlike with Cecconi's (2015) murder articles. Only when the murderer was a woman or the murderer committed suicide, were they given more detailed information in Move 5. This finding is surprising, since, throughout the data, the murder articles sensationalised many aspects of the article, but not the murderer.

My analysis in this thesis is a fragment of what could be analysed from the data. The three analysis sections in chapter 7 were chosen to expand more of the language use as well as the usage of headlines in the murder article even if a more thorough analysis from this data was not plausible in this thesis. The thesis set out to analyse the murder articles through moves that Bhatia and Swales (1993, 1990) developed in their respected works. However, chapter 7 did shed some light on how much there is left to analyse and discover and that only one method of genre analysis is not sufficient enough to give us the true blueprint of one genre. Analysing genre, in this case, the genre of murder articles, is to study the data from different perspectives and through different approaches, garnering a more precise understanding of the genre itself. By doing so, it

was discovered that sensationalism plays a big role in the genre of 19th-century murder articles not only on the surface level as seen in move analysis but also in the micro-level with the vocabulary. The analyses showed that the headlines worked as the attention grabber, informing the reader of the horrid crime that has happened in a sensationalistic manner, such as DREADFUL MURDER, whereas the moves in the articles continued the sensationalistic nature of the article fulfilling their communicative purpose. The analysis of the vocabulary also showed that sensationalism was present even when describing murderers and victims.

Nonetheless, it is important to keep in mind that this data was extracted from one specific newspaper alone. This murder article genre analysis gives us an insight into how the Morning Post journalists wrote about the murder cases in the 19th century in the Morning Post. It is possible that other newspapers used slightly different moves with different frequencies in their use.

9. Conclusion

This thesis set out to study the generic features of the 19th-century murder articles in the English newspaper *Morning Post*. The genre analysis was done by analysing thirty murder articles, three articles per one decade throughout the 19th century. The collected data were analysed by close reading and separated into generic feature divisions called moves by utilizing the methods of Bhatia and Swales (1993, 1990). 19 moves were identified from which ten moves were then further analysed individually. The move order was also examined and the communicative purpose of each move was identified. The data was further studied through three different aspects, which were the description of the victims, description of the murderer, as well as the use of headlines, taking note of Görlach's (2004) idea of genres being analysed from the viewpoint of different factors, one of them being vocabulary, and comparing the analysed headlines with Aitchison's (2006) and Aitchison's, Lewis' and Naylor's (2000) findings.

Ten moves were identified which occurred in the majority of the 19th-century murder articles. Move 1 informed the reader of when and where the murder took place, or alternatively when and where the murdered victim's body was found. Move 2 covered the information of who was the victim and possibly other information of their character and background. Both Move 1 and Move 2 had an occurrence rate of 100%, appearing in all of the 30 articles in the data. Move 3 listed the involvement of the legal system. This move covered the statements made by the police and the proceedings of the court if the reported murder case had already been investigated thoroughly. Move 4 covers the events that led to someone finding the body. Move 5 includes the information given about the murderer, just like Move 2 informed about the victim. However, the information given of the murderer in Move 5 was a fraction of the information given of the victim. Move 5 rarely informed the even the full name of the perpetrator and mostly told the occupation and age of the criminal. The exceptions were if the murderer was a woman or a murderer who committed murder-suicide. In these cases, the information given in Move 5 was as thorough as with the victims in Move 2. Move 6 described how the body was found at the crime scene, as well as remarked what the crime scene looked like. Move 7 retold the event that leads the murderer to commit the crime and Move 8 contains the information of the medical examination of the deceased body. Move 9 informs the killing method of how the murderer committed the crime and lastly, Move 10 reported, or speculated, the reason for the murder. The analyses on the used

vocabulary with nouns and adjectives used to refer to the murderers and victims showed the sensationalism used in the articles, as well as with the headlines.

It is evident that a more thorough study on the generic features of the murder articles is needed. Murder articles are indeed a fascinating research subject as well as a copious source of data. The limited amount of linguistic studies on murder articles is surprising, however, also an opportunity for the interested parties. The data that the murder articles provide for future research concerning genre analysis of the articles is plentiful, to say the least. Like Swales and Bhatia (1990, 1993) in their works use the smaller units of steps in moves, as discussed in section 3.2, I believe that historic murder articles would suit perfectly for an in-depth move analysis including the smaller units of texts, steps. In conjunction with Bhatia and Swales move analysis, there is also an ample amount of feasible source material to approach the murder article genre through the lens Görlach (2004) provides. Furthermore, further studies on this matter could be approached in several different directions. The move analysis method could be widened and studied with a larger collection of murder articles. With a larger scope, a comparative study is also possible. For example, the study could focus on how much the writing of the murder articles changed over time and what generic features appeared during the 19th century and which ones vanished. Another comparative study could be done by comparing the change that has happened between the murder articles in the 19th century to the ones that are written now in the 21st century.

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Appendix 1 List of the Morning Post murder articles used in this thesis

| # | Date | Page | Headline |
|-----|--------------------|------|--|
| 1. | January 2, 1801 | 3 | – |
| 2. | July 10, 1802 | 3 | – |
| 3. | September 9, 1802 | 4 | – |
| 4. | April 20, 1810 | 3 | <i>SHOCKING MURDER.</i> |
| 5. | January 23, 1815 | 4 | <i>ATTEMPT AT MURDER AND SUICIDE.</i> |
| 6. | January 2, 1818 | 4 | <i>HORRID MURDER.</i> |
| 7. | January 11, 1823 | 2 | DEATH OF FOUR PERSONS BY POISON. |
| 8. | January 26, 1826 | 3 | – |
| 9. | February 19, 1827 | 3 | HORRID MURDER. |
| 10. | January 16, 1830 | 4 | DREADFUL MURDER. |
| 11. | March 17, 1835 | 4 | HORRIBLE MURDER IN WESTMORELAND. |
| 12. | October 16, 1838 | 1 | A GENTLEMAN SHOT <i>by a</i> GAMEKEEPER. |
| 13. | July 11, 1843 | 2 | SUPPOSED CHILD MURDER. |
| 14. | January 8, 1845 | 7 | <i>MURDER NEAR LIVERPOOL.</i> |
| 15. | March 9, 1849 | 5 | <i>HORRIBLE MURDER AT BRISTOL.</i> |
| 16. | September 30, 1851 | 3 | SUPPOSED MURDER OF A FEMALE IN THE REGENT'S CANAL. |
| 17. | November 4, 1852 | 4 | <i>HORRIBLE MURDER NEAR PLYMOUTH.</i> |
| 18. | June 20, 1856 | 4 | FEARFUL TRAGEDY NEAR MELTON MOWBRAY, LEICESTERSHIRE. |
| 19. | September 11, 1863 | 7 | <i>SUPPOSED MURDER OF A BANK CLERK.</i> |
| 20. | December 27, 1865 | 3 | MURDER IN MANCHESTER. |
| 21. | August 5, 1867 | 6 | – |
| 22. | August 8, 1870 | 7 | ALLEGED MURDER IN SUFFOLX. |
| 23. | May 19, 1874 | 7 | <i>MURDER OF A FAMILY AND SUICIDE OF THE MURDERER.</i> |
| 24. | April 2, 1879 | 7 | MURDER. |
| 25. | March 3, 1885 | 3 | <i>ALLEGED SHOCKING MURDER AT EAST-END.</i> |
| 26. | March 29, 1888 | 5 | <i>SHOCKING MURDER BY A YOUNG LADY.</i> |
| 27. | September 25, 1888 | 2 | <i>THE MURDER OF A WOMAN AT GATESHEAD.</i> |
| 28. | February 6, 1890 | 2 | <i>MURDER AND SUICIDE NEAR EXETER.</i> |
| 29. | January 17, 1891 | 2 | <i>DOUBLE TRAGEDY AT NEWBURY.</i> |
| 30. | October 3, 1898 | 6 | <i>POLICEMAN MURDERED.</i> |

Appendix 2 Table of the appearances of the moves in the murder articles

| Year | Date | Issue | Headline | Move 1 | Move 2 | Move 3 | Move 4 | Move 5 | Move 6 | Move 7 | Move 8 | Move 9 | Move 10 |
|------|------------------------|-------|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| 1801 | Jan 2nd | 10083 | SHIP NEWS* | X | X | X | X | - | X | - | X | - | - |
| 1802 | June 10th | 10535 | SHIP NEWS* | X | X | - | - | X | - | X | - | X | X |
| 1802 | Aug 9th | 10587 | NORTFOLK SCRUTINY* | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | - | X | X |
| 1810 | Apr 20th | 12239 | SHOCKING MURDER. | X | X | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | X |
| 1815 | Jan 23rd | 13731 | ATTEMPT AT MURDER AND SUICIDE. | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 1818 | Jan 2nd | 14649 | HORRID MURDER. | X | X | - | X | X | X | X | - | - | X |
| 1823 | Jan 11th | 16170 | DEATH OF FOUR PERSONS BY POISON. | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | - | - |
| 1826 | Jan 26th | 17193 | BLASPHEMY* | X | X | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| 1827 | Feb 19th | 17529 | HORRID MURDER. | X | X | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| 1830 | Jan 16th | 18439 | DREADFUL MURDER. | X | X | X | X | - | - | X | X | X | X |
| 1835 | Mar 17th | 20054 | HORRIBLE MURDER IN WESTMORELAND. | X | X | X | - | X | X | X | X | X | - |
| 1838 | Oct 16th | 21149 | A GENTLEMAN SHOT by a GAMEKEEPER. | X | X | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| 1843 | July 11th | 22618 | SUPPOSED CHILD MURDER. | X | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - | - |
| 1845 | Jan 8th | 23084 | MURDER NEAR LIVERPOOL. | X | X | X | X | - | X | X | - | X | - |
| 1849 | Mar 9th | 23480 | HORRIBLE MURDER AT BRISTOL. | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | - | X |
| 1851 | Sept 30th | 24275 | SUPPOSED MURDER OF A FEMALE IN THE REGENT'S CANAL. | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | - | - |
| 1852 | Nov 4th | 24608 | HORRIBLE MURDER NEAR PLYMOUTH. | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | - | X |
| 1856 | June 20th | 25730 | FEARFUL TRAGEDY NEAR MELTON MOWBRAY, LEICESTERSHIRE. | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | - | X |
| 1863 | Sept 11th | 27998 | SUPPOSED MURDER OF A BANK CLERK. | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | X |
| 1865 | Dec 27th | 28718 | MURDER IN MANCHESTER. | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 1867 | Aug 5th | 28220 | IRELAND* | X | X | X | - | X | - | X | - | X | - |
| 1870 | Aug 8th | 30161 | ALLEGED MURDER IN SUFFOLX. | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | X |
| 1874 | May 19th | 31789 | MURDER OF A FAMILY AND SUICIDE OF THE MURDERER. | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | X | - |
| 1879 | Apr 2nd | 33311 | MURDER. | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | - | X | X |
| 1885 | Mar 3rd | 35162 | ALLEGED SHOCKING MURDER AT THE EAST-END. | X | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | X | - |
| 1888 | Mr 29th | 36124 | SHOCKING MURDER BY A YOUNG LADY. | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 1888 | Sept 25th | 36278 | THE MURDER OF A WOMAN AT GATESHEAD. | X | X | X | X | - | X | X | X | - | - |
| 1890 | Feb 6th | 36706 | MURDER AND SUICIDE NEAR EXETER. | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | - | X | X |
| 1891 | Jan 17th | 37002 | DOUBLE TRAGEDY AT NEWBURY. | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 1898 | Oct 3rd | 39415 | POLICEMAN MURDERED. | X | X | X | X | X | - | X | X | X | - |
| | *No title of their own | | | 100% | 100% | 90% | 77% | 77% | 70% | 63% | 63% | 63% | 53% |

Appendix 3 Finnish summary

Johdanto

Tämä tutkielma käsittelee 1800-luvulla julkaistuja murha-artikkeleita Morning Post sanomalehdessä ja tutkii niille tyypillisiä tavanomaisia piirteitä. Tutkielman tarkoituksena on tutkia, millaisia toistuvia tekstin osioita eli *siirtoja* murha-artikkelit sisälsivät, sekä missä järjestyksessä nämä siirrot esiintyivät. Lisäksi tämä tutkielma tarkastelee, millaista sanastoa journalistit käyttivät viitatessaan uhriin sekä murhaajaan. Tarkastelen myös lyhyesti murha-artikkeleiden otsikoiden sanastoa ja niiden rakennetta. Tutkimuskysymykseni ovat:

1. Millaisia siirtoja esiintyy 1800-luvun murha-artikkeleissa ja missä järjestyksessä?
2. Mikä on siirtojen kommunikatiivinen tarkoitus?

Tutkielman kerättyä aineistoa tarkasteltiin lähiluennalla.

Sanomalehdet 1800-luvun Englannissa ja Morning Post

1800-lukua voisi kutsua sanomalehtien kultakaudeksi Englannissa. Lukutaito oli nousussa ja sanomalehtien rooli poliittisten uutisten välittäjänä kasvoi (Williams 2009, 77). Sanomalehtien halvat valmistuskustannukset, nopea painatustahti (Williams 2009, 12), sekä niissä esiintyvät kuvitukset nostattivat sanomalehtien suosiota (Palander-Collin et al. 2017, 6). Näin sanomalehtien suosio ohitti aikaisemmin käytetyt uutiskirjeet ja uutisjulistet (Williams 2009, 12). Sanomalehtien suosion myötä niiden määräkin kasvoi. Uusien sanomalehtien joukkoon syntyi myös uusi sanomalehtityyppi, jota hallitus kutsui radikaaliksi sanomalehdeksi (Williams 2009, 87–88). Vuosina 1830–1836 Englannissa oli syntynyt 560 uutta radikaalia sanomalehteä (Williams 2009, 88). Näiden radikaalien sanomalehtien suosion kasvun seurauksena hallitus rajoitti näiden sanomalehtien julkaisua “suurella parlamentti uudistuksella” (Reform Act 1832), tuomitsemalla kaikki radikaalit sanomalehdet laittomiksi (Williams 2009, 89).

1800-luvun puolessavälissä sanomalehtien julkaisijoiden ajattelutapa muuttui. Sen sijaan, että sanomalehdet julkaisivat vain aristokratian suosimia poliittisia uutisia, sanomalehtien tulisi julkaista uutisia ja artikkeleita asioista, jotka kiinnostavat myös suurempaa yleisöä kuten työläisiä (Williams 2009, 100). Tämän uuden ajattelutavan ja

jatkuvan kilpailun myötä sensaationtavoittelu sanomalehdissä oli erittäin yleistä. Sensaationtavoittelulla tarkoitetaan tässä kontekstissa räikeitä ja kohua herättäviä uutisia, joita usein olivat rikoksiin ja murhiin liittyvät uutiset (Jucker 2009, 13). Sensaationtavoittelu ei suinkaan ollut uusi asia, sillä jo 1600- ja 1700-luvulla kohua herättävien murhauutisten ajateltiin olevan viihdeuutisia (ibid.). Räikeitä rikosuutisia ja kuvailevia murha-artikkeleita kirjoittavat sanomalehdet herättivät huomiota, jonka seurauksena ne myivät enemmän lehtiä (Crone 2016, 227–228). Sanomalehtien kohua herättävä kielenkäyttö sai huomiota osakseen jo 1800-luvulla, jolloin “Examiner”, 1800-luvulla toiminut viikkolehti, kritisoi rajusti sanomalehtien käyttämää “graafista, ja aina rikasta, möyheää, ja täyteläistä” kieltä (Hunt et al. 1871, 751; oma käännös).

Sanomalehti Morning Post on tämän tutkielman kohde. Se toimi aktiivisena sanomalehtenä vuosina 1772–1937 (Hindle 1937, 1), ja se oli suosittu konservatiivinen sanomalehti työväen keskuudessa (Williams 2009, 85). Morning Post vaihtoi usein omistajaa vuosien varrella, kunnes se lopulta myytiin Daily Telegraph -sanomalehdelle vuonna 1937 (Hindle 1937, 247).

Genre ja analyysi

Sanomalehtien murha-artikkeleita voidaan pitää yhtenä esimerkkinä genrestä. Swalesin (1990) ja Bhatian (1993) mukaan genre on ryhmä samankaltaisia tekstejä, joiden yhdistävä tekijä on yhteinen yleinen kommunikatiivinen tarkoitus. Näin ollen murha-artikkeleiden yhteinen tarkoitus on informoida sanomalehtien lukijoita viimeaikaisista murhista, sekä siitä, kuka oli uhri ja kuka murhaaja.

Swales (1990) ja Bhatia (1993) kehittivät genreanalyysin nimeltä *move analysis* eli ‘siirtoanalyysi’, jonka avulla tunnistetaan tiettyssä genressä ilmentyvät rakenteelliset yhteneväisyydet sekä niiden kommunikatiivinen tarkoitus. Rakenteellisia yhteneväisyyksiä kutsutaan nimellä *moves*, eli ‘siirroiksi’. Bhatian mukaan genren sisäiset siirrot eivät välttämättä noudata tiettyä esiintymisjärjestystä (1993, 56). Bhatia ja Swales (1993, 1990) syventävät genreanalyysiaan tutkimalla myös siirtojen sisäisiä *steps*, eli ‘askelmia’, joita ei kuitenkaan käytetä tässä tutkielmassa. Tämän tutkielman päätarkoituksena on tarkastella, millaisia siirtoja ja kommunikatiivisia tarkoituksia murha-artikkeleilla on 1800-luvulla.

Siirtojen lisäksi tutkin myös muita geneerisiä piirteitä murha-artikkeleista, sillä Swalesin (1990) ja Bhatian (1993) analyysi tutkii ainoastaan makrotason piirteitä artikkeleista. Jotta murha-artikkeleista saisi syvemmän käsityksen genrestä, tarkastelen lyhyesti myös rajattua sanastoa ja otsikoita. Görlach keskittyy genreanalyysissä enemmän käytettyyn kirjoitusasuun, sanastoon, tekstityyliin, lauseoppiin, sekä traditioihin (Görlach 2004, 143). Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastelen käytettyä sanastoa, joka viittaa murhaajaan ja uhriin hyödyntäen Görlachin (2004) käsitystä siitä, että genren sisällä käytetty sanasto toimii genren yhtäläisenä osana. Otsikoiden analyysiin käytän vertailukohtana Aitchisonin (2006) tutkimusta, jossa hän vertaa nykyajan ja 1800-luvun sanomalehtien otsikoita sekä artikkeleiden muotoa. Tarkastelen murha-artikkelien otsikoiden yleistä sanaston käyttöä sekä sitä, miten ne on geneerisesti muodostettu. On kuitenkin merkillepantavaa, että otsikot itsessään voidaan lukea yhdeksi siirroksi siirtoanalyysissä. Tässä tutkielmassa kuitenkin päädyin tarkastelemaan otsikoita erikseen.

Tutkimusaineisto ja -metodit

Tutkimusaineistona käytin 30 murha-artikkelia Morning Post sanomalehdestä 1800-luvulta. Joka vuosikymmeneltä valittiin kolme murha-artikkelia eri päiviltä ja vuosilta (poikkeuksena vuodet 1802 ja 1888 joista kummastakin valittiin kaksi artikkelia per vuosi). Murha-artikkelit kerättiin *Gale Primary Sources* digitaalisesta sanomalehtiarkistosta käyttämällä hakusanaa "murder", mahdollistaen hakusanan muut kirjoitusmuodot (kuten monikkomuoto "murders"). Tämä arkisto tarjoaa skannattuja kuvia sanomalehdistä ja käyttää myös tekstintunnistusta. Haun toisena rajoituksena oli julkaisun nimi, joka oli Morning Post. Tämän haun tuloksissa oli murha-artikkelien lisäksi mukana muun muassa vanhoihin murhatapauksiin liittyviä jatkoartikkeleita, rikostuomioita, teatterimainoksia ja teatteriarvosteluja. Tähän tutkielmaan valittiin murha-artikkelit jotka käsitelivät uutta murhaa ja olivat lukukelpoisia joko skannatusta kuvasta tai tekstintunnistuksen avulla. Tutkimusaineistosta poisrajattiin murha-artikkelit jotka esiintyivät sanomalehden maksettujen mainosten palstalla. Murha-artikkelien pituus vaihtelee 129 sanasta 838 sanaan, eli keskimääräinen pituus artikkeleilla on 352 sanaa. Yhteensä 25 murha-artikkelilla oli oma otsikko, jättäen viisi murha-artikkelia ilman otsikkoa. Yhdessäkään murha-artikkelissa ei ollut omaa kuvitusta mukana.

Tutkimusaineisto sisältää myös neljä murhaajaa, jotka henkirikoksen lisäksi tekivät itsemurhan.

Aineiston keräämisen jälkeen murha-artikkelit tutkittiin lähiluennan avulla etsien kaikki mahdolliset tunnistettavat siirrot, joiden esiintymismäärät kirjattiin ylös taulukkoon. Löydettyjä siirtoja oli yhteensä 19 kappaletta, joiden esiintyminen artikkeleissa vaihteli 7–100 % välillä. Näistä 19:stä valittiin analysoitavaksi kaikki siirrot, jotka esiintyivät yli 50 % murha-artikkeleista. Kaiken kaikkiaan kymmenen siirtoa esiintyi yli 15:ssä artikkelissa. Näiden siirtojen tunnistamisen jälkeen kaikki murha-artikkelit tutkittiin uudelleen lähiluennan avulla huomioiden valitun kymmenen siirron esiintymisjärjestys. Murha-artikkeleista myös kerättiin taulukkoon toisen lähiluennan aikana kaikki murhaajaan ja uhuriin liittyvät adjektiivit sekä substantiivit.

Analyysi ja tulokset

Lähiluennan tuloksena löydettiin kymmenen valittua siirtoa, jotka esiintyivät yli puolessa murha-artikkeleista. Siirrot ja niiden esiintymisprosentit olivat: 1. Aika ja paikka (100 %), 2. Uhrin nimi ja taustatiedot (100 %), 3. Oikeusjärjestelmä (90 %), 4. Ruumiin löytö (77 %), 5. Murhaajan nimi ja taustatiedot (77 %), 6. Rikospaikan ja ruumiin kuvaus (70 %), 7. Kuolemaan johtaneet tapahtumat (63 %), 8. Lääketieteellinen kuolemansyy (63 %), 9. Murhatapa (63 %), ja 10. Murhan syy (53 %). Siirrot ovat nimetty niiden sisältävän tiedon mukaisesti, joka vastaa niiden kommunikatiivista tarkoitusta. Esimerkiksi Siirto 9 käsittelee miten murha toteutettiin, eli kertoo murhatavan. Siirtojen välillä esiintyi mielenkiintoisia yhtäläisyyksiä sekä selviä eroja. Yksi näistä eroista oli Siirron 2 ja Siirron 5 välillä. Siirto 2 usein esitti murhatun uhrin taustatiedot (kuten koko nimi, asuinpaikka, perhesuhteet, työpaikka) yksityiskohtaisesti, kun taas Siirto 5 harvoin tiedotti murhaajan koko nimen ja kertoi lyhyesti murhaajan taustatiedot. 1800-luvulle ominainen sensaatiotavoitteinen kirjoitustyyli näkyi selvästi kolmessa eri siirrosta: Siirto 6, Siirto 8 ja Siirto 9. Näissä siirroissa murha-artikkelien kirjoittajat käyttivät kuvailevaa ja yksityiskohtaista kieltä, kertoen tarkalleen esimerkiksi millaisessa kunnossa ruumis löydettiin ja luetellaan tarkasti millaisia vammoja uhrilla oli.

Ainoastaan kolme näistä kymmenestä siirrosta esiintyi jatkuvasti samassa paikassa murha-artikkeliä. Nämä olivat Siirto 1, Siirto 2 ja Siirto 3. Siirto 1 aloitti

murha-artikkelin ensimmäisenä 27:ssä artikkelissa (90 %), jota seurasi toisena siirtona Siirto 2 19:ssä artikkelissa (63 %). Siirto 3 esiintyi viimeisenä siirtona 23:ssa murha artikkelissa (77 %). Muut siirrot eivät noudattaneet tunnistettavaa järjestystä tai esiintyneet tiettyjen muiden siirtojen ympäröimänä murha-artikkeleissa. Siirrot myös oli mahdollista “keskeyttää” toisella siirrolla, jota ilmeni 11:ssa murha-artikkelissa. Tämä oli yleistä pidemmissä murha-artikkeleissa, joissa lyhyempi siirto saattoi ilmentyä pidemmän siirron keskellä. Useimmiten keskeytetyjä siirtoja olivat Siirto 2 (keskeytys 6:ssa artikkelissa) ja Siirto 3 (keskeytys 8:ssa artikkelissa).

Murhatun uhrin kuvauksessa käytettiin 32 erilaista substantiiviva, joista suurin osa viittasi uhrin sukupuoleen, siviilisäätyn ja rooliin perheessä, kuten “lady”. “lad”, “wife”, “stepdaughter” ja “son”. Huomattavaa oli se, että miespuolisiin uhreihin voitiin viitata heidän ammattinimikkeellään (esimerkiksi “officer” ja “farmer”), kun taas naisiin ei. Uhria kuvaavien adjektiivien määrä ei ollut yhtä laajamittainen kuin uhriin viittaavien substantiivien. Kaiken kaikkiaan murha-artikkelit käyttivät vain 15 erilaista adjektiiviva, joista suurin osa viittasi uhrin ikään (“newly-born”, “elderly”) tai uhrin tilaan (“deceased”, “missing”). Kaksi käytetyintä adjektiiviva ovat “unfortunate” ja “poor”, jotka kuvaavat uhreja tunnepohjaisesti. Tällaisten tunnepohjaisten adjektiivien käyttö korreloi hyvin 1800-luvun sanomalehtien sensaationtavoittelun kanssa, sillä kuvaamalla uhrit onnettomina ja poloisina saa murha-artikkelin rikoksen vaikuttamaan entistä raa'emmalta.

Murha-artikkelit käyttävät 27 erilaista substantiiviva murhaajaan viittaamiseen. Käytetyin substantiivi murhaajalle oli “man”, joka oli myös neutraalein substantiivi artikkeleissa. Toisin kuin uhrin substantiivien kanssa, murhaajaa kuvaavat sanat eivät olleet nimenomaisesti sukupuolipainotteisia (poislukien edellä mainittu “man”), eivätkä usein viittaneet murhaajan siviilisäätyn. Poikkeuksena oli oman puolison murha, jolloin murhaajaan viitattiin substantiivilla “husband”, tai murhaaja oli nainen, jolloin käytettiin substantiiveja “female” ja “girl”. Suurin osa murhaajasta käytetyistä termeistä oli negatiivisesti painottuneita substantiiveja, kuten “villain”, “monster”, ja “assassin” mainitakseni muutaman. Yllättäen ainoastaan kuutta erilaista adjektiiviva käytettiin kuvaamaan murhaajaa murha-artikkeleissa. Käytetyin näistä adjektiiveista oli “young” joka esiintyi vain kolmessa eri murha-artikkelissa. Adjektiivien alhaisen lukumäärän kuitenkin selittää se, että käytetyt substantiivit murha-artikkeleissa olivat jo itsessään erittäin kuvailevia, jolloin adjektiivien käyttö ei ollut välttämätöntä.

Kaikkiaan 25:llä murha-artikkelilla oli oma otsikko. Viidestä otsikottomasta murha-artikkelista kolme esiintyi vuosien 1800 ja 1810 välillä. Tästä voi päätellä, että otsikoiden käyttö yleistyi 1800-luvun alun jälkeen. Murha-artikkeleiden otsikoiden tarkastelu osoitti, että jokaisessa otsikossa oli joko “murder” sana tai muu kauheuteen viittaava sana, kuten “tragedy”. Otsikoita analysoidessa oli huomattavaa, että otsikoissa esiintyi adjektiiveja, kuten “horrid”, jotka noudattivat vuosisadan sensaationhakuista kirjoitustyyliä. Niissä myös esiintyi usein murhapaikka, ja joskus viittaus murhan uhriin. Nämä geneeriset piirteet tutkimusaineiston otsikoissa vastaavat Aitchisonin (2006) kuvaamia piirteitä 1800-luvun otsikoista.

Murha-artikkelien avulla sanomalehdet informoivat lukijoitaan juuri tapahtuneista murhista, kertoen tapahtumien kulun alusta loppuun ja kuvailemalla itse rikoksen ja sen jälkipuinnin yksityiskohtaisesti. Murha-artikkelien siirroissa nousi esiin 1800-luvulle ominainen sensaationtavoittelu sanomalehtien murha-artikkeleissa. Jokaisella siirroilla oli selvä kommunikatiivinen tarkoitus, jotka vuorostaan tukevat murha-artikkeli-genren viestintä tehtävää, eli murhan informointia lukijalle. Murha-artikkeleiden otsikot kertovat lukijalle selvästi millaisesta artikkelista on kyse. Niin otsikot kuin käytetty sanasto murhaajaan ja uhriin viittaamiseen myös osoittavat murha-artikkelien sensaatiotahakuisen kirjoitustyylin. Tutkielma osoitti, että 1800-luvun murha-artikkeleissa käytettiin tasaisesti vuosisadan ajan samoja siirtoja ja samanlaisia otsikoita. Ainoa huomattava poikkeus tutkimusaineiston sisällä oli 1800-luvun alussa esiintyneet murha-artikkelit ilman otsikoita.

Tutkimuksen analyysi osoitti, että 1800-luvun murha-artikkelit muodostavat oman genren, jossa esiintyy yleisesti kymmenen erilaista siirtoa. Tutkimus myös osoitti sen, että murha-artikkelien genressä sensaationhakuinen kirjoitustyyli oli läsnä otsikoissa, eri siirroissa, sekä sanastossa.