6.2.1 Naming and equating

The way offenders are referred to in terms of noun choices is one aspect of how they are viewed (Erwin-Tripp 1969; Gregoriou 2011; Leech 1999; Richardson 2007: 49ff). The major constructive device is the nominal reference, sometimes combined with a pre- or postmodifier.

As already mentioned in Chapter 5, the following nouns are lexically significant references to offenders in the ENC ('year-old’ is used as a noun or as an adjective in the ENC and both variants are included here):

- man (87 sentences),
- gang (85),
- year-old (46),
- boy (43),
- brother (43),
- killer (38),
- driver (36),
- defendant (34),
- father (30),
- member (29),
- mother (27),
- suspect (25),
- officer (23),
- attacker (22),
- rapist (22),
- husband (21),
- girl (19),
- couple (16),
- cab (14),
- offender (13),
- teenager (13),
- chef (9),
- student (7).

The 23 nominal references listed above can be grouped as shown in Figure 6.1. The choice of categories is inductive as, for example, in Mahlberg (2007):

![Figure 6.1](image)

**Figure 6.1** Grouping the 23 offender-referring nouns in the ENC into categories