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ODSJEK ZA ANGLISTIKU

**CONTENT AND FUNCTION WORDS IN PRISON NARRATIVES OF  
OFFENDERS WITH ANTISOCIAL PERSONALITY DISORDER**

**PUNOZNAČNE I NEPUNOZNAČNE RIJEČI U NARATIVIMA  
ZATVORENIKA S ANTISOCIJALNIM POREMEĆAJEM LIČNOSTI**

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## **Abstract**

The aim of this paper is to analyze the usage and frequency of the selected function and content words in the narratives authored by offenders diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder. The analysis was guided by the theoretical framework of linguistic research that examines the language of individuals with antisocial personality disorder (Williamson, 1991; Brinkley et. al., 1999; Rieber and Vetter, 1994; Hare, 1998; Gawda, 2009; Hancock et. al., 2011; Le et. al., 2017). The corpus includes 9123 words of the available interview transcripts, confessions, diary entries and letters of Theodore Bundy, Jeffrey Dahmer, Westley Allan Dodd, Charles Manson, Richard Kuklinski and Aileen Wuornos. The research was organized by analyzing the usage of negation, the past tense verb forms, nominative and accusative forms of the first person singular and cause and effect related conjunctions. Additionally, specificities between different types of narratives in terms of the aforementioned four hypotheses were examined, alongside the most frequently used words and the usage of interjections. The analysis of the tagged and the untagged corpus was conducted through the assistance of antConc concordance software.

**Key words:** antisocial personality disorder, psychopathy, prison narratives, content words, function words

## **Sažetak**

Cilj ovog rada je analizirati upotrebu i učestalost upotrebe odabranih punoznačnih i nepunoznačnih riječi u narativima zatvorenika kojima je dijagnosticiran antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti. Pri analizi se koristi teoretski okvir istraživačkih radova iz lingvistike koji se bave analizom jezika kod antisocijalnog poremećaja ličnosti (Williamson, 1991; Brinkley et. al., 1999; Rieber and Vetter, 1994; Hare, 1998; Gawda, 2009; Hancock et. al., 2011; Le et. al., 2017). Korpus za analizu se sastoji od 9123 riječi preuzetih iz dostupnih transkripta intervjua, priznanja zločina, dnevnika i pisama na engleskom jeziku zatvorenika kao što su Theodore Bundy, Jeffrey Dahmer, Westley Allan Dodd, Charles Manson, Richard Kuklinski i Aileen Wuornos. U radu se analizira upotreba negacije, prošlih glagolskih oblika, nominativnog i akuzativnog oblika prvog lica jednine te uzročno-posljedičnih veznika. Dodatno, analizirati će se razlike između dvije vrste narativa u okviru navedene četiri hipoteze, kao i najučestalije korištene riječi te upotreba usklika. Analiza korpusa označenog i neoznačenog za vrstu riječi je urađena primjenom softvera za analiziranje konkordanci, antConc.

**Ključne riječi:** antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti, psihopatija, narativi zatvorenika, punoznačne riječi, nepunoznačne riječi

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Trying to understand the workings of one's mind and motivations behind one's actions seems to be the core of human cognitive abilities. The desire to comprehend, explain and learn is the driving force behind explorations and innovations in various fields of studies as well as combining different scientific fields in order to get a well-rounded interdisciplinary approach of the issue in question. With that in mind, a psychological issue can be examined from different standpoints, including linguistic theoretical and experimental methods with the guiding belief that, for instance, the analysis of one's words can assist in explaining the workings of one's mind. Therefore, one of the key issues in psycholinguistics is trying to discern how the emotional and cognitive frames of humans are reflected in their spoken and written language. According to Almela et al. (2015), the methods used earlier involved qualitative analyses and philosophical discussions whereas more recent research in this field includes empirical evidence, owing to forensic computational linguistics and stylometry, by means of which one may reach certain conclusions on the relation between the language and the state of mind or mental health of the subjects.

Naturally, the attentiveness to one such topic is evident not only in the interest of professionals and researchers but in the interest of the general population in the enigmatic personality of individuals with antisocial personality disorder. In some cases, it appears as if there is a veil of secrecy surrounding the people who are capable of committing the most horrendous and atrocious acts of violence against other human beings while portraying the role of a loving, supportive partner in life, seemingly not capable of causing physical pain and death to anybody. Due to the fact these psychopathic individuals are capable of hiding their true selves so well, the revelation of their actions comes as a massive shock to the public, interested in putting all the pieces of an intricate puzzle together.

The interest in this topic by the general population lead to the creation of a great number of YouTube channels dedicated exclusively to true crimes, podcasts about real-life murders and murder investigations, as well as elaborate events with replicas of crime scenes or murder related discussion panels such as CrimeCon in the USA. The apparent interest of the masses and the movie industry in psychopathic individuals is evident in the rise of movies and documentaries revolving around some of the most notorious real-life serial killers (the majority of whom were diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder), such as Netflix's 2019 documentary series *Conversations with a Killer: The Ted Bundy Tapes* and a 2019 movie about Ted Bundy named *Extremely Wicked, Shockingly Evil and Vile*. From the 1959

representation of Norman Bates in *Psycho* to the 2013 TV series *Bates Motel*, depiction of Hannibal Lecter in the 1991 movie *Silence of the Lambs*, as well as the 2013 TV series *Hannibal*, the portrayal of Patrick Bateman in *American Psycho* in 2000, Annie Wilkes in the 1990 *Misery* or the iconic character of Catherine Tramell in *Basic Instinct* from 1992, the interest in such characters and individuals lingers due to the curious nature of the human mind and the eagerness to understand those portrayed as different. What is unique to a number of researches conducted regarding the antisocial personality disorder (APD) is the end goal — to be able to understand the disorder better from a number of different perspectives, and this paper will make its contribution from a linguistic standpoint.

### **1.1. Linguistic patterns as cues**

If we start from the noun *communication*, it can be defined from numerous standpoints of different sciences that examine human beings and their functioning in the world. Still, all those definitions have certain concepts in common, and those are the concepts of a certain message (idea, fact, feeling, etc.) being shared between two or more individuals, i.e. the concept involving a person who tries to convey a message as well as the one(s) the message is intended to and the one(s) who are expected to give a certain response to the message. Additionally, the idea of a medium through which the message is passed on is significant, as various mediums have their individual contexts. Etymologically speaking, the word *communication* comes from the Latin word *communicare*, in the sense of sharing or transferring information through a common system (known to all the parties involved in the process of communication). Therefore, communication can also be defined as an interactive process that involves understanding and meaning.

The phenomenon of communication can be examined by deducing communication to verbal and non-verbal, depending on the primary goal of the field of study and/or the issue in question. Naturally, verbal communication has a slightly more palpable role when it comes to the linguistic point of examination, but the importance of non-verbal communication is not disregarded.

In everyday communication, majority of people articulate their thoughts in an unambiguous manner, clearly devoid of any sign of chicanery, deception or ulterior motives, and most likely assume their interlocutors do the same. Although this may be true for majority of people, manipulation — one of the defining characteristics of the personality of people with APD — is extremely common and can be detected through combinatory study of verbal and non-verbal communication. Pathological lying and manipulation are not restricted to

individuals with antisocial personality disorder but, as Hare (1999) specifies, it is “the remarkable ease with which they lie, the pervasiveness of their deception, and the callousness with which they carry it out” (p. 125) which sets APD individuals apart. Verbal cues of deception have been analyzed in a number of interdisciplinary works, combining linguistic knowledge and observations with those from psychology or social sciences.

If we start with the assumption that the language we use reveals something about our mind and our thought processes as “the combinatorial apparatus of grammar mirrors the combinatorial apparatus of thought” (Pinker, 2007, p. 436), or the way we organize our experiences and knowledge, then it can be assumed that the language of those who suffer from a certain mental disorder also reveals some peculiarities about the workings of their minds or the language of thinking, feeling and interacting. In his book *The Secret Life of Pronouns: What Our Words Say About Us*, Pennebaker (2011, p. 84) states that the analysis of function words, for instance, “can give a sense of how people are thinking or feeling” as they can help “in tracking people’s thinking styles”. In addition, Kristeva in *Language the Unknown — An Initiation into Linguistics* (chapter titled Psychoanalysis and Language) recalls numerous studies done on the schematic rules of the functioning of language and complex signifying systems claiming that “the negation of a statement can signify, starting from the unconscious, an explicit avowal of its repression, even though what is being repressed may not be admitted by the consciousness” (Kristeva, 1989, p. 271).

Many linguists, among other researchers, tried to test various hypotheses regarding the produced speech of those with antisocial personality disorder for the ultimate goal of contributing to the overall available knowledge regarding psychopathic individuals. For that reason, linguists have been striving to apply numerous approaches to the issue of analyzing linguistic content by means of computer-assisted tools to measure specific style-markers such as: punctuation, spelling, word formation, syntax (sentence structure, coordination, subordination), lexical variation, semantic variation, functional variation (matches between structure and function) and interference (features from other languages present in the language analyzed), as described by McMenamin (2002). In studies on language production and thought, a special attention has also been given to analyzing the spatio-temporal context manifested by means of language as time, in relation to thought, is “not measured with a stopwatch or calendar but divided into discrete regions. Humans tend to trichotomize time into a psychological present (a moment of awareness about three seconds long), an indefinite past (sometimes split into recent and distant), and an indefinite future (also splittable into impending and distant) (Pinker, 2007, p. 430).



## 1.2. The scope of the paper

Due to the fact that an interdisciplinary topic such as this one may be discussed from several standpoints, it is important to set forth that this paper will focus on the analysis of the available linguistic content and the theoretical frameworks proposed earlier. For that matter, the usage and function of selected content and function words taken from the narratives of convicted offenders<sup>1</sup> diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder will be analyzed in this paper since content words help us paint the picture of a narrative in our minds carrying the semantic meaning as they (mostly) include nouns, main verbs, adjectives and adverbs. On the other hand, function words help us create grammatical sentences as they assist in linking the content words together in a coherent structure. Auxiliary verbs, prepositions, conjunctions, determiners and pronouns are generally listed as function words.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, McMenamin (2002) states that “at the word level, nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs are content words, but articles, prepositions, and conjunctions are function words”.<sup>3</sup>

The analyzed narratives in the English language<sup>4</sup> include available letters written to the friends and acquaintances of the offenders, diary entries, interviews, confessions and various reflections<sup>5</sup> on committed murders. Prison narratives were specifically chosen for a number of reasons which primarily include the fact that a majority of previous research studies on the language of individuals with antisocial personality disorder were conducted on the narratives authored by convicted offenders as well as the fact that the number of individuals with confirmed APD diagnoses is significantly higher within the prison population. Additionally, a great number of serial killers (whose narratives were chosen to be included in the analyzed corpora) are individuals ultimately diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder.

In conducting the research, four main hypotheses were established, alongside an additional one regarding the contrastive analysis of corpora. The hypotheses were formed after a thorough examination of the available literature regarding the theoretical linguistic researches, as well as the literature regarding the clinical profile of a person with APD:

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<sup>1</sup> All the offenders whose narratives were analyzed are deceased at the time of the writing of the present paper.

<sup>2</sup> For more information see *Word classes* in the chapter *A Survey of English Grammar* in *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk et al., 1985).

<sup>3</sup> For more information see p. 35 in *Forensic Linguistics - Advances in Forensic Stylistics* (McMenamin (2002).

<sup>4</sup> Some research was conducted in analyzing the corpora written in other languages, such as “Analysing deception in a psychopath's speech: a quantitative approach” by Almela, Alcaraz-Marmol and Cantos (2015) researching cues of deception in the material written in the Spanish language.

<sup>5</sup> Public domain.

*H1:* The frequency of negative words (*no, not, never, none, nobody*) is expected to be high in prison narratives as it is related and attributed to the tendency of offenders to overtly express denial.

*H2:* The frequency of past tense verbs in prison narratives is expected to be higher than the usage of present or future tenses as it is partly related and attributed to dissociation from the committed acts in the present.

Furthermore, special attention will be placed on the usage of Present Perfect — used to describe an event that happened in the past but has consequences in the present — to discern whether offenders acknowledge the existence of the consequences of their acts. Additionally, short remarks will be given on the usage of the passive voice, as the higher usage of this voice is recognized as one of the deception markers, according to Pennebaker (2002).

*H3:* The frequency of first person singular personal pronouns is expected to be high in prison narratives as it is related and attributed to the feeling of narcissistic superiority of the offenders and a “grandiose estimation of the self” (Almela et al., 2015, p. 562).

*H4:* The frequency of cause and effect conjunctions (*because, as, since, so*) is expected to be higher in the analyzed prison narratives, which is related and attributed to the justification of the committed acts.

Additionally, it will be analyzed if there are any differences when letters and diary entries are contrastively compared to the interviews, confessions and random utterances regarding the committed murders with respect to the above stated hypotheses in order to draw important conclusions on the differences between spoken and written language and the spontaneity of language usage in a specific setting.

### **1.3. The outline of the paper**

Analyzing the usage of language of people with a mental disorder entails certain familiarization with psychological characteristics of the disorder in question, as well as linguistic knowledge of the previously conducted researches and findings. Therefore, this paper includes a sub-section dedicated to a psychological perspective of the antisocial personality disorder and its implications, mostly consulting selected passages from Robert W. Rieber and Harold J. Vetter's *The Psychopathology of Language and Cognition*, Robert D. Hare's *Psychopathy, Affect and Behavior* as well as *The Mask of Sanity*, by a clinical professor of psychiatry, Hervey Cleckley. This theoretical background on the disorder is followed by a linguistic theoretical sub-section, providing a brief chronological overview of the most relevant experiments and findings regarding the speech of individuals with antisocial personality disorder, explaining their contribution to this interdisciplinary research topic. The selected research studies included in this sub-section are the ones that guided the analysis conducted in this paper while determining which hypotheses will be tested as they all included the analysis of prison narratives written in the English language produced by individuals with APD. The third major section of the paper explains the methodology of the conducted analyses alongside the principles that guided this particular choice of the corpora material, briefly explaining the corpora itself. The fourth major section of the paper is comprised of the analysis of the stated corpora material, with four sub-sections, each dedicated to a thorough analysis of corpora in regards to an in-depth discussion of each hypothesis. The section that follows is dedicated to the differences between the two types of corpora, as a potential fertile ground for future research questions. Finally, the paper is summarized by a conclusion, followed by the list of bibliographical references whereas the selected excerpts from the analyzed corpora material can be found in the closing Appendix section.

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1. Some perspectives on antisocial personality disorder in research done by psychologists

A series of unanswered questions follows the diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder, commonly referred to as psychopathy,<sup>6</sup> as the disorder may be viewed as a continuum of varying degrees of characteristics and symptoms. An individual with APD is described through a unique combination of characteristics and processes that set them apart from the general population, yet entailing “that each of us possess in rudimentary degree the distinctively psychopathic capacity *not* to respond to the salient moral or social requirements of a situation” (Rieber & Vetter, 1995, p. 66). Psychopathic individuals are individuals with extreme emotional, ethical and moral issues. This simplified statement is justified by Rieber and Vetter’s quotes of Lipton (1950) who describes a psychopath as “an individual who is ill-equipped from birth to meet the demands of his environment (...) with a lack of responsiveness to the social demands of honesty, truthfulness, decency and consideration for others” and Coleman (1956) who classified psychopaths as those with a “lack of ethical or moral development and an inability to follow socially approved codes of behavior” (Ibid. p. 62).

Lack of feelings of empathy, guilt or remorse coupled with emotional immaturity and self-centeredness, recklessness, a superb sense of superiority and an incredible gift for manipulation, gravitating towards aggression and violation of established social and moral codes while simultaneously wearing the mask of sanity are all characteristics of a person with APD. Since these characteristics can appear in a uniquely designed fashion for each individual, various types of psychopaths are recognized by Bromberg (1948), quoted in Rieber and Vetter (1995, p. 63-65), as ranging from paranoid psychopaths, schizoid psychopaths, aggressive psychopaths, psychopathic swindlers to sexual psychopaths; each type with a predominant set of features. Albeit, some general symptoms of the disorder are distinguished by Coleman (1956), quoted in Rieber and Vetter (1995, pp. 65-66), but there are

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<sup>6</sup> These two terms will be used interchangeably, as the brief history of the term usage is given in Cleckley as follows: “In a 1952 revision of the psychiatric nomenclature the term *psychopathic personality* was officially replaced by *sociopathic personality*. Subsequently the informal term, *sociopath*, was often used along with the older and more familiar *psychopath* to designate a large group of seriously disabled people, listed with other dissimilar groups under the heading *personality disorder*. Still another change in the official terminology was made in 1968 when the designation *sociopathic personality* was replaced by *personality disorder, antisocial type*” (Cleckley, 1988, p. 11).

four major, crucial characteristics that differentiate and detect “true” psychopaths, as presented by Rieber and Vetter.

Those defining, salient characteristics of a true psychopath are: thrill-seeking, pathological glibness, antisocial pursuit of power and absence of guilt (Ibid. p. 70). Such individuals get engaged in numerous illicit activities since breaking the law is a common ground where they thrive. Rieber and Vetter give an example of playing a poker game, where a psychopath will not be interested in merely winning, but cheating and not getting caught. Pathological glibness is understood in terms of the ability of psychopaths to speak eloquently, persuasively, in an alluring and convincing manner. Cleckley (1976) recognized the existence of a phenomenon he referred to as “semantic dementia” — the state in which there is a complete dissociation of words from their meaning — as “ordinary emotional demands of a situation make no impression on psychopaths” (Ibid. p. 71). Similarly, Hare quotes Cleckley (1976) stating that the psychopath “can learn to use ordinary words, (...) will also learn to reproduce appropriately all the pantomime of feeling (...) but the feeling itself does not come to pass” (Hare, 1998, p. 112). In discussing the antisocial pursuit of power, the sensitivity to control and power relations is the main focus. A psychopath thrives on immense power and control feelings, and the maximum power can be gained through victimizing someone. Psychopaths understand the way in which the society and the legal punitive system work; if they break the law, they will have to bear the consequences. What sets psychopaths apart is the absence of guilt or the inability to feel as if they have indeed done something socially (morally and/or ethically) unacceptable and wrong. Despite being so skillful and being able to mimic the feelings of guilt and remorse, in actuality those feelings do not exist within psychopathic individuals. What is also relevant to mention is that “from a biological perspective, psychopaths’ brain presents several structural and functional abnormalities such as grey matter reduction in frontal and temporal areas, as well as anomalies in the prefrontal cortex” (Almela et al., 2015, p. 561). Furthermore, as Rieber and Vetter neatly summarized the essence of psychopaths, “they are not social, only superficially gregarious; not considerate, just polite; not self-respectful, only vain; not loyal, only servile; and down deep, they are really quite shallow; (...) they are fundamentally asocial beings” (Rieber & Vetter, 1995, p. 73).

Depictions of the psychopathic behavior are given in the third edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III) of the American Psychiatric Association where the persistent occurrence of the four of the described nine criteria and the

onset of these behavioral traits from the age of fifteen are enough to diagnose a person with APD. Those criteria include:

“an inability to sustain consistent work; an inability to function as a responsible parent (evidenced by misconduct such as feeding children inadequately and failing to obtain medical care for a seriously sick child); a failure to respect the law (pimping, dealing drugs, fencing); an inability to maintain an enduring attachment to a sexual partner (desertion, promiscuity); a failure to honor financial obligations; a failure to plan ahead (impulsive traveling without prearranged job, destination, or time limit); aggressiveness (assault, wife beating, child abuse); a disregard for the truth (aliases, conning); and recklessness (drunk driving)” (Ibid. p. 68).

With the aforementioned diagnosis of the antisocial personality disorder, a widely recognized measuring device in the diagnosis process is the Hare Psychopathy Checklist – Revised (PCL-R, Hare, 1991), influenced by the works of Harvey Cleckley and consisting of twenty items organized in two factors. Factor 1 is concerned with the interpersonal and affective features of the disorder (such as superficial charm, pathological lying, lack of empathy, etc.) while Factor 2 comprises items related to certain social deviances (such as impulsivity, parasitic lifestyle, proneness to boredom, etc.)<sup>7</sup>, where “the rater uses specific criteria, interview and file information to score each item on a 3-point scale (0: the trait does not apply; 1: trait applies somewhat; 2: trait strongly applies)” (Hare, 1998, p. 106).

As Hare concludes; “psychopathy is a socially devastating personality disorder defined by a constellation of affective, interpersonal, and behavioral characteristics, including egocentricity, manipulateness, deceitfulness, lack of empathy, guilt or remorse, and a propensity to violate social and legal expectations and norms (Cleckley, 1976; Hare, 1995, 1996)” (Hare, 1998, p. 105). This specific set of personality traits and characteristics of individuals with APD was examined further in the context of linguistic patterns of their communication by experts in the field of linguistics, as some of those results are elaborated in the following sub-section.

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<sup>7</sup> For the full PCL-R table, see p. 106 in Robert D. Hare’s “Psychopathy, Affect and Behavior” in *Psychopathy: Theory, Research and Implications for Society* (1998).

## **2.2. Research on the language of individuals diagnosed with APD done by linguists**

This theoretical sub-section will provide a brief chronological overview of several research studies conducted by linguists and the aim of which was to analyze language reception and language production of individuals diagnosed with APD. The studies of electrodermal and cardiovascular activities or dichotic listening paradigm and lateralization examinations, for instance, will be omitted, as only those studies relevant and related to the manner in which the analysis for this paper was conducted will be included.

A very often quoted research study is the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Sherrie Ellen Williamson from 1991, titled *Cohesion and Coherence in the Speech of Psychotic Criminals*. The guiding hypothesis of the research was that the speech of psychopathic individuals is inadequately and poorly organized in terms of cohesion and coherence when personal narratives of psychopathic and non-psychopathic offenders are analyzed. The study obtained four measures of text cohesion: “lexical cohesion (refers to the reiteration of a word or a phrase), referential cohesion (refers to the relationship between a word and a previous speech unit), conjunctive cohesion (links two clauses together by a conjunction) and incompetent references (reflects a failure in the use of referential cohesive ties and phoricity system which refers to the structuring of utterances on the basis of what speakers assume their listeners know)” (Williamson, 1991, pp. 2-3). The measure of text coherence was plot unit analysis, as it helps determine how specific choices of action or event courses make up a narrative. Williamson states that a considerable number of individuals with APD “produce disordered communications (and) may suffer from a more general impairment in communication which is related to, among other things, discourse with tendency to slip off track and failure to directly answer a listener’s question” (Ibid. p. 1). Subjects whose narratives were analyzed were forty male inmates from Canadian Federal prison, asked to produce two narratives based on personal experiences; one involving a more emotional language and the other with a more neutral tone. The ones marked as psychopaths had the score 30 or greater on PCL-R. The results from the analysis of “the hypothesis that psychopaths suffer from a more general deficit in communication” (Ibid. p. 8) allowed some general following conclusions to be drawn:

“Firstly, psychopathy is associated with the use of few cohesive links between sentences. Secondly, psychopaths sometimes fail to provide the appropriate referent for what they are talking about. Thirdly, they frequently introduce information that sets us expectations in listeners about what they might hear next,

and then fail to provide that piece of information. Finally, psychopathy appears to be related to clinically-rated deficits in communication” (Ibid. p. 69).

Concluding that the speech of a person diagnosed with APD is characterized by fewer cohesive links between sentences, lack of adequate referencing, not connecting action and consequence, less effective communication as well as losing track and not answering direct questions opened a series of more detailed sub-questions other researchers implemented in their research studies. In 1999, Chad Brinkley alongside his two associates published a paper, *Coherence in the narratives of psychopathic and nonpsychopathic criminal offenders*, in which they tried to further elaborate on two of Williamson’s 1991 hypotheses; “that psychopaths are poor at resolving action in spoken narratives and (that) psychopaths’ narratives can be improved by giving them tangible story guides” (Brinkley, Bernstein, & Newman, 1999, p. 519). The study involved the narratives of male inmates incarcerated in Oregon City, diagnosed as psychopathic if their score on PCL-R was 30 or greater and non-psychopathic if their score was less than or equal to 22. Additionally, inmates were classified as ‘high-anxious’ or ‘low-anxious’ according to the Welsh Anxiety Scale, but “no explicit predictions were made about anxiety’s impact on task performance in the study” (Ibid. p. 526). The participants were informed that they were to tell two stories based on pictures they would be shown and that they would be given a list of ideas that needed to be included in the story. The stories were supposed to be coherent (clear beginning, middle and end), they were to be recorded and the participants were to be paid in accordance with how many of the aforementioned details they included in their stories.<sup>8</sup> Coherence was determined by plot unit analysis or a technique which “involves identifying each instance in which a speaker introduces a story element which will require resolution before the story is completed” (Ibid. p. 523). The term used to refer to these story elements is ‘plot dyads’ which are considered to be “completed once a story element is both introduced and resolved” (Ibid.). The results of the study support the hypothesis of poor structure of communication and correspond to Williamson’s findings, as it was concluded that “higher levels of psychopathy were associated with fewer completed plot units, (since) psychopaths set up expectations in their listeners which they failed to address, thus making it difficult to follow their narratives” (Ibid. p. 525).

In terms of negation and personal reference, in their 1994 book section *The Language of the Psychopath*, Rieber and Vetter correlated five psychopathic traits to five verbal responses in the following manner: ‘the inability to tolerate feelings of anxiety’ was correlated to

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<sup>8</sup> Participants were paid between 3USD and 6USD, depending on how many story ideas they incorporated in their narratives.



expressions of feelings; ‘attempts to deny feelings’ were correlated with the use of negators; ‘manipulation of human environment’ was correlated to direct reference; ‘the arousal of guilt was correlated’ to evaluators, and ‘the attempts to undo the behavior’ were correlated to retractors (Rieber & Vetter, 1995, p. 75). The analysis of a ten minutes’ talk about any subject(s) concluded that more negation was used, alongside contradictions and many non-personal references or fewer references to others. Additionally, it has been noted that the issue of semantic dementia<sup>9</sup>, primarily observed by Cleckley, should be taken as the manipulation of meaning in the communication of deceit, as “a much richer and broader level of interpersonal communication” (Ibid. p. 79).

Barbara Gawda’s 2009 research paper titled *Syntax of the emotional narratives of persons diagnosed with antisocial personality* aimed at uncovering peculiarities in the syntax of the produced emotional narratives as well as testing whether “persons with antisocial personality disorder have an incapacity for emotional language” (Gawda, 2009, p. 274). Participants were sixty inmates with high antisocial tendencies, forty prisoners with low antisocial tendencies and a hundred men without any antisocial tendencies. The research was based on cognitive constructivism where feelings are explained as “coded in forms of semantic representations as schemas” (Ibid.) and the process of constructing a schema is related to language making it possible to reveal certain emotional characteristics. The three feelings examined were the feelings of *love*, *hate* and *anxiety* alongside following syntactic indicators - number of repetitions, questions, sentences with pauses, sentences with interjections, number of wishes, negations or equivalent sentences (Ibid. p. 277). Clear-cut hypothesis were not specified since the study was of an explorative character, but differences were expected. The results did show varieties between antisocial inmates, non-antisocial inmates and the control group, in the sense that the antisocial prisoners used more repetitions in their stories about love and used more negations in their descriptions of a love situation (Ibid. p. 278).

Descriptions of situations involving hate or anxiety produced similar results in the frequency of repetitions, pauses and negations.

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<sup>9</sup> ‘Semantic dementia’ is an umbrella term used for the general deficit in meaning of the emotional substrate within individuals with APD. A more precise term regarding the language disorder is ‘semantic aphasia’, which Cleckley described by stating the following: “The very severe inner disorder of language in semantic aphasia is to a considerable degree masked by the mechanical production of a well constructed but counterfeit speech carried on in some degree of independence by an undirected outer apparatus which has become virtually disconnected from inner purpose. Like real speech, it appears to represent the inner human intention, thought, or feeling, but actually it is an artifact. Behind the superficially good (clear, grammatical) speech there is little or nothing to be symbolized and conveyed. This stands in contrast to the gross superficial disorder of communication in verbal aphasia in which inner purposes can still be intelligently formulated and, however awkwardly and indirectly, are often communicated with some degree of success to another” (Cleckley, 1988, p. 379).

The study *Hungry like the wolf: A word-pattern analysis of the language of psychopaths* (2011) by Jeffrey Hancock and his two associates investigated narratives produced by psychopathic homicide offenders for their salient components guided by the idea that the speech will be indicative of psychopathic “instrumental/predatory world view, unique socioemotional needs and a poverty of affect” (Hancock, Woodworth, & Stephen, 2011, p. 1). Assisted by two text analysis tools, narratives of fifty-two psychopathic and non-psychopathic male murderers imprisoned in Canadian prison facilities were examined. All participants were scored based on PCL-R and those whose score was 25 or above were marked as ‘psychopathic’. The first hypothesis tested was concerned with “testing if their instrumental orientation would be reflected in their speech in the form of more explanatory and causally framed language concerning their criminal actions, with a relatively high level of the usage of subordinating conjunctions” (Ibid. p. 3). The second hypothesis was related to the fact “that psychopaths appear to focus on basic or material needs, whereas higher level needs are likely to be of minimal interest” (Ibid.). Lastly, it was analyzed whether “psychopaths would produce fewer and less intense emotional words, more disfluencies and (would) use language that reflects increased psychological distancing” (Ibid.). The results of the study were summarized as:

“Psychopaths (relative to their counterparts) included more rational cause-and-effect descriptors (e.g., ‘because’, ‘since’), focused on material needs (food, drink, money), and contained fewer references to social needs (family, religion/spirituality). Psychopaths’ speech contained a higher frequency of disfluencies (‘uh’, ‘um’) indicating that describing such a powerful, ‘emotional’ event to another person was relatively difficult for them. Finally, psychopaths used more past tense and less present tense verbs in their narrative, indicating a greater psychological detachment from the incident, and their language was less emotionally intense and pleasant” (Ibid. p. 1).

As her previous study on the syntax of emotional narratives of individuals with antisocial personality disorder was of explorative character, Gawda continued her research into the emotional language of psychopaths with her 2013 paper; *The emotional lexicon of individuals diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder*. Her study focused on feelings of *love*, *hate* and *anxiety* as problematic concepts for psychopathic offenders. The ‘emotional lexicon’ was analyzed from narratives of sixty prisoners diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder, forty prisoners without the diagnosis and a control group. The initial hypothesis was “that inmates with antisocial personality disorder would employ a more restrictive affective lexicon (and) that the emotional lexicon would be related to affective and personality traits such as anxiety, psychopathy and emotional reactivity” (Gawda, 2013, p. 572). To collect the data for

the analysis, Gawda used three photographs — each associated with a feeling in question and collected 480 stories (160 per each feeling). The study results were consistent with previous findings related to the lack of coherence and concluded that individuals with antisocial personality disorder use mixed and ambivalent emotional expressions when describing love, hate or anxiety. Comparatively, Gawda’s study shows that “although (psychopaths) possessed an emotional vocabulary, their lexicons were composed of vague, ambivalent and ambiguous concepts” (Ibid. p. 577) which directly correlates to their (in)ability to comprehend emotional situations.

A study that somewhat expanded previous researches was conducted by Martina Le and her associates who decided to use the interview of the PCL-R assessment process as their data for a software analysis of the linguistic output of offenders who were scored 30 or more. Therefore, the possible advantage of this study is that the data “was naturally produced discussion, rather than language produced in response to a specific question or experimental manipulation” (Le, Woodworth, Gillman, Hutton, & Hare, 2017, p. 4), as it aims to investigate if the characteristics of psychopaths are mirrored in their language. Before reflecting on the possible implications for treatment of psychopathic offenders, the research study results are summarized as:

“the discourse of psychopathic offenders appeared less coherent (due to the increased usage of filler words) than that of other offenders (consistent with findings by Brinkley et al., 1999; Williamson, 1991), contained more pronouns relating to the self (for similar findings, see Hancock et al., 2015), and contained fewer references to others (comparable with results found by Hancock et al., 2013)” (Ibid p. 9).

In the following chapter, a similar methodology will be used to analyze the frequency of significant style markers in spoken (transcribed) and written prison narratives by Ted Bundy, Richard Kuklinski, Jeffrey Dahmer, Aileen Wuornos, Charles Manson and Westley Allan Dodd.

### 3. CORPORA AND METHODOLOGY

Following the approaches discussed above, the material included in the corpora for the present analysis comprises 9123 words from the selected letters, diary entries, public statements, confessions, interview transcripts and utterances on committed crimes, all authored by convicted offenders with antisocial personality disorder, available on the internet and considered as public domain. Out of the total number of words in corpora, 4479 words belong to interview transcripts, confessions and utterances of Ted Bundy, Richard Kuklinski and Jeffrey Dahmer whereas the remaining 4644 words are from letters, public statements and diary entries of Aileen Wuornos, Charles Manson and Westley Allan Dodd. These included narratives are versatile for the purpose of determining whether generalizations about the language of individuals diagnosed with APD can be made regardless of the type of narrative or its intended audience; i.e. whether the previously established findings about the language of psychopathic offenders could be confirmed in the case of the present corpora.

In the analysis of the corpora a software concordance program, antConc, was used as a stylometric<sup>10</sup> tool employed in mining the linguistic content relevant for the present research. Furthermore, the corpus was tagged<sup>11</sup> for parts of speech through free CLAWS web tagger. Once the material in the corpora was tagged, it was possible to search for very specific instances of the usage of certain words and determine their relevance for the research. A list of searched key words or tags in the corpus was composed for the four hypotheses each corresponding to the usage of negative words, the number of past tense verbs, the first person singular pronoun (in both nominative and accusative case) and conjunctions related to cause and effect statements. Their occurrence in corpora, how they behave and what is their function, was then observed and certain generalizations were drawn for each hypothesis, either confirming it or not. The function of these analyzed content and function words was explained in the context of the familiar psychological traits of individuals with antisocial personality disorder. The number of the tags for each hypothesis was compared to the overall number of specific instances of analyzed words in the corpora therefore allowing certain peculiarities and details about their usage and function to be noted and explained in the succeeding analysis section of the paper. Additionally, the ratio of frequency of word usage per million words was calculated to determine whether the word in question is used in a

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<sup>10</sup> According to McMenamin (2002, p. 95), in linguistic stylistics, “the work is quantitative when certain indicators are identified and then measured in some way, e.g., their relative frequency of occurrence in a given set of writing and certain quantitative methods are referred to as stylometry”.

<sup>11</sup> Tagging a corpus for parts of speech involves each word in the corpus being assigned with a special label (or *tag*) to indicate the part of speech and often notes grammatical categories such as tense or number.

higher fashion in this corpus compared to the reference corpus<sup>12</sup>, a type of corpus “usually consisting of millions of words from a wide range of texts which is representative of a particular language variety”, as it “acts as a good benchmark of what is ‘normal’ in language” (Baker, 2006, p. 30). The fourth hypothesis was expanded by splitting the corpus into two corpora of roughly equal size (4479 vs. 4644), corresponding to the division explained above and key word frequency list was examined to research further, whilst employing the same techniques used for the analysis of the four hypotheses. The crucial factor in examining each hypothesis was not only to note the ratio in the usage but to observe how were these content and function words actually used and how those accumulated results relate to the previously established findings about the language of the offenders diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder.

Ultimately, it has to be noted that the approaches used in the analysis of this corpus — such as the application of the concordance software — are still relatively novel methods in the general field of linguistics, and the availability of material (both regarding the prison narratives as well as theoretical framework used for the paper) was limited, as some of the letters authored by the convicted offenders were sold on crime memorabilia web pages for thousands of dollars.

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<sup>12</sup> In this thesis, The Brown University Standard Corpus of Present-Day American English, which contains 500 samples of English-language text totaling one million words, was used as the reference corpus.

## 4. ANALYSIS

### 4.1. The usage of negatives

A list of the most common negative words in the English language was composed and searched for in the corpus, which produced the following results: the total number of concordance hits for the negative *n't* was 132 hits - 49 for *not*, 34 hits for *no*, 20 hits for *nothing*, 17 for *never*, 3 hits for *nobody* and 1 hit for *none*, whereas negative words *neither* and *nowhere* did not produce any concordance hits. Therefore, the corpus of 9123 words is composed out of 256 instances of negative words; i.e. 2,8% of the corpus are the negative words listed above.

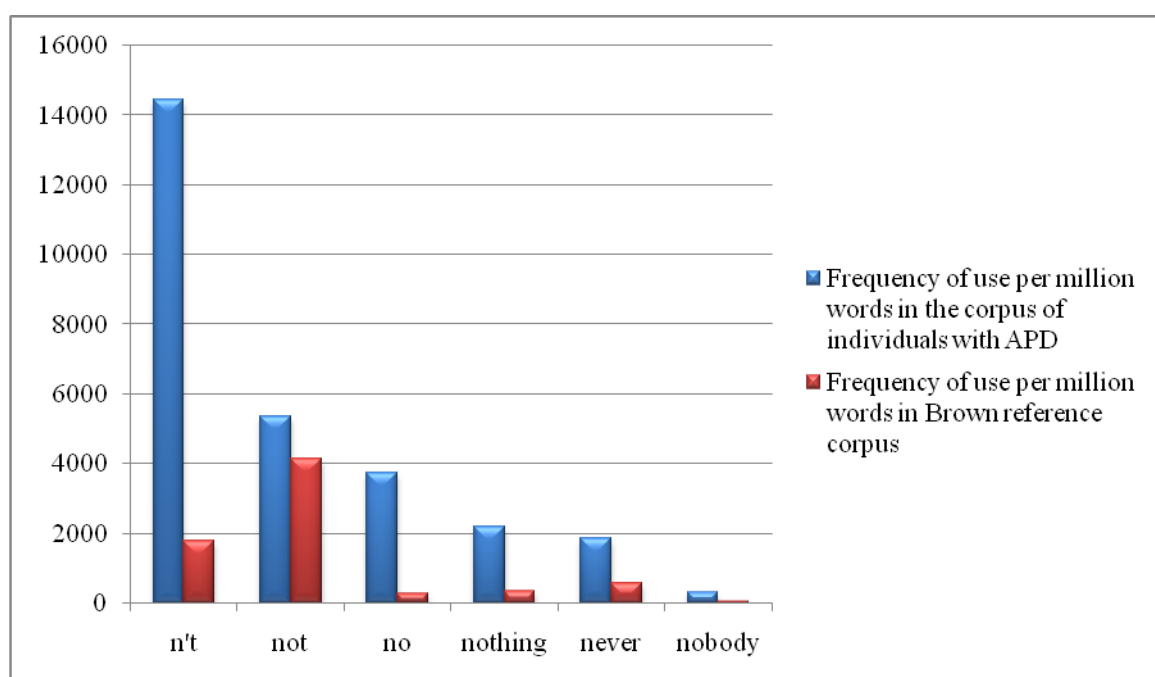


Diagram 1: Negative words - the frequencies of usages per million words in prison narratives authored by offenders with APD and Brown reference corpus

The contraction *n't* was the highest ranked negative word in the corpus; with 132 concordance hits. If we were to comment on how many times this contraction would have been used per million words, frequency per million ratio amounts to 14468,92 per million words, whereas the Brown online corpus — used as the reference corpus — states the usage of 1787,06 per million words.<sup>13</sup> Additionally, further examination of the contraction *n't*

<sup>13</sup> The Brown reference corpus was used throughout the analysis sections as a reference for how many instances of usage of a certain word would be expected if this analyzed corpus amounted to one million words (as that is the frequency of use listed in the Brown corpus). The calculated frequencies of usage allow for certain conclusions to be drawn, in terms of whether a word in the analyzed corpus is used more frequently than

showed that it most frequently occurs with the first person singular personal pronoun *I* (with 110 concordance hits), followed by *it* (with 28 hits), *and* (20 hits), *to* (19 hits) and *you* (14 hits). The interesting pattern noticed here (which will be repeated throughout the analysis) is that the contraction *n't* occurs in sentences in which the subject is *I*. Thus, a number of high-frequency lexical verbs is negated by *n't*; as *n't* most frequently occurs with *know* (with 22 concordance hits), *have* (21 concordance hits), *want/ do/ get* (all with 10 concordance hits each) and *think* (7 hits) which aligns with the Brown corpus list of verbs *n't* typically modifies (*do, know, have, want, etc.*). Clusters/N-grams<sup>14</sup> were also analyzed to determine the frequency list of multi-word meaning, as they show that the most regularly used contraction is with the successive list: *don't* (with 39 hits), followed by *didn't* (29 hits), *can't* (with 23 hits) and items such as *wasn't, couldn't, doesn't* or *wouldn't*, all with concordance hits below 10. Some of the examples found in the corpus where the contraction *n't* was used are the following:

- (1) That's I would like be able to convey to you what that that experience is like, but I can't, I won't be able to talk about that. I can't begin to understand well, I can try I'm aware that I can't begin to understand the pain that the parents of these children that I have and these young women that I have harmed feel.
- (2) I don't even know if I have the capacity for normal emotions or not because I haven't cried for a long time. I don't know. I don't know why it started. I don't have any definite answers on that myself. If I knew the true, real reasons why all this started, before it ever did, I wouldn't probably have done any of it. I wasn't thinking rationally because it just increased and increased.
- (3) I didn't want to keep killing people and have nothing left except the skull.
- (4) I didn't stay to make sure he was dead this time.
- (5) I didn't want to leave fingerprints on his bloody clothes, or get his blood on me trying to get him into hidden bushes as Cole was.
- (6) I don't. It doesn't bother me. It doesn't bother me at all. I don't have a feeling one way or the other.
- (7) I don't disrespect you and take your rights!
- (8) You can't fool me. You can't trick me.
- (9) I wasn't around anyone when they were killed.

The analysis of the most frequently used negative word thus adheres to the hypothesis so far — the frequency per million ratio is higher than in the reference corpus and *n't* collocates most regularly with the first person singular pronoun and verbs that involve some sort of

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'normal' in the English language samples. The aforementioned frequencies of use of *n't* mean that this negative contraction is 'normally' used roughly 1789 times per million words in the corpus whereas the use of *n't* in the analyzed corpus is significantly higher – it would have been used in 14469 instances if the corpus had one million words.

<sup>14</sup> Whilst conducting the research in antConc, one will find the *Clusters/N-gram* tool which in essence summarizes the results generated in the *Concordance* or *Concordance Plot* tool and allows the researcher to find common expressions in a corpus.

mental effort (such as knowing or thinking) which ultimately corresponds to the desire of offenders to negate the guilt, consequences or their involvement in a certain act.

The following negative word with the second highest ranking is *not* with 49 concordance hits in the corpus which amounts to the ratio of 5371,04 uses per million words versus the frequency of 4140,6 uses per million words of the reference corpus. As noted in the clusters/N-grams, *not* occurs most frequently in infinitives (e.g. *not to kill*, *not to reflect*, *not to risk*, *not to talk*) and preceding *-ing* participles. . The highest ranked item that occurs in clusters/N-grams with *not* is first person singular pronoun *I* (as it appears on 13 separate occasions) which aligns with the highest ranked item in collocations with *not*, which is again *I* with the overall frequency of 42 hits (22 on the right hand side<sup>15</sup> of the negative expression and 20 on the left hand side). The second highest ranked item which occurs with *not* is again connected with *I* — it is *'m* (as in *I'm*) with 29 total collocate hits, followed by *it*, *to*, *and* and *the*; each one with the frequency score below 20. Several other instances, together with the previously mentioned examples, of the usage of *not* discovered during the corpus analysis are found in the following sentences:

- (10) It is important to me that people believe what I'm saying, and to tell you that I'm **not** blaming pornography. I'm **not** saying it caused me to go out and do certain things.
- (11) It does **not** and never will, restore any measure of compensation to the victims' family or the state.
- (12) Yes, I do have remorse, but I'm **not** even sure myself whether it is as profound as it should be.
- (13) It's just like a big chunk of me has been ripped out and I'm **not** quite whole.
- (14) When you've done the types of things I've done, it's easier **not** to reflect on yourself.
- (15) Force would **not** be used.
- (16) We passed two teenagers and I warned the boys **not** to talk to them.
- (17) I didn't notice if he pulled up his pants or **not**.
- (18) He was covered with blood and **not** moving.
- (19) I'm **not** exactly sure what they put out what they attributed this death to but you know it wasn't homicide.
- (20) I wanted to show them the good side of life, **not** the bad side.
- (21) I'm **not** looking for forgiveness and I'm **not** repenting.
- (22) That is **NOT** me.
- (23) I'm **not** saying I'm **not** capable of doing it myself, but I'm just saying this: I did **not** DO that!
- (24) If it's **not** real and it's **not** true, it's simply just **not** going to work, man.

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<sup>15</sup> Any mention of 'the right hand side' or the 'left hand side' in clusters/N-grams does not refer to the analysis of the lateralization of the brain during language production but to the mere fact that certain expressions occur on either of the side of the analyzed expression in question.



The presence of *not*, as the second highest ranked negative word in the corpus, corresponds to the results of the analysis of *n't*, in terms of higher frequency per million ratio, as well as *not*, occurring with the first person singular pronoun, further emphasizing the need of an offender with APD to negate their involvement or contribution in a certain action or event.

The negative determiner *no* has a slightly lower frequency than *not*, with the total of 34 concordance hits. The reference corpus states the ratio for frequency of use per million words to be 274,74 while the calculations for the usage of *no* in the analyzed corpus result in 3726,84 uses per million words, again complying to the hypothesis that the narratives of offenders with APD will consist of a higher number of negative words. The clusters/N-grams show that on the left hand side, the top four items whose score is higher than one are: *no one/no way* (3 hits, respectively) and *no evidence/ no matter/ no memory* (with two hits respectively). All the other examples such as *actually no* or *and no* had only one instance of use. Likewise, this examination reinforces the idea of a higher usage of negation, connected to the eluding of responsibilities or guilt in psychopathic offenders, as represented by the following examples:

- (25) Because there is **no** way in the world that killing me is going to restore those beautiful children to their parents and correct and soothe the pain.
- (26) Listen, it's **no** fun.
- (27) It's **no** deterrent. There's **no** doubt it is an effective way of killing a person whom society has adjudged responsible for the crime.
- (28) How it can help anyone, I've **no** idea.
- (29) I wanted to get to a point where it was out of my control and there was **no** return.
- (30) I have **no** memory of it. I tried to dredge it up, but I have **no** memory whatsoever.
- (31) I've always wondered, from the time that I committed that first horrid mistake, sin, with Hicks, whether this was sort of predestined and there was **no** way I could have changed it.
- (32) The 3-year-old girl had **no** PJ bottoms as the older boy did.
- (33) **No** one else around.
- (34) I put the rope pieces in my pocket (**no** evidence to be found).
- (35) That only took a second to take it all in, and I started looking around and found **no** evidence.
- (36) **No** murders haunt me.
- (37) I put the gun under his chin and I said there is **no** merchandise and I shot him.
- (38) When he seen the Christian, lying, double-dealing preacher over here doing it, then he's just following suit towards that, and there's **no** truth in what they're doing, and **no** honor!
- (39) And I can't get **no** righteousness going.

The indefinite pronoun *nothing* was marked with 20 concordance hits in the corpus, which equals to the frequency of use per million words of 2192,26 while the reference corpus lists the frequency of use per million words ratio to be 351,29. During the analysis of clusters/N-grams it was particularly enthralling to see how the word *nothing* is used in strings such as *nothing to do with me* or *nothing to do with killing those people, nothing to do with these killings*. These aforementioned instances are illustrated in five different examples and are the most frequently used on the left hand side in clusters/N-grams, the other one being *nothing but* with two instances while the others such as *nothing being/ holds/ incriminating/ left* have only one instance of use in the corpus. The examination of the right hand side of clusters/N-grams reveals the already established avoidance of guilt with three instances of *got nothing to do with me* or *have nothing* with three hits and in *there's nothing* with two uses in the corpus. *Nothing* collocates in the highest degree with *it* (with nine collocate hits), *me* (with eight hits) or *I* (with seven hits). Examples from the corpus regarding the usage of *nothing* are given as:

- (40) **Nothing** haunts me. No murders haunt me. **Nothing**.
- (41) **Nothing** was said, I don't know what happened to the drum.
- (42) I didn't have **nothing** to do with killing those people, PERIOD.
- (43) It's got **nothing** to do with me!
- (44) Said he didn't have **nothing** to do with this guy. (double negative)
- (45) You got to be real, you got to be righteous, you got to do it the way it's supposed to be done, and it's got **nothing** to do with me.

The following negative word examined, the adverb *never*, has a somewhat lower frequency usage in the corpus than *nothing*. It had 17 concordance hits amounting to the frequency of use per million words ratio of 1863,42. The frequency of use in this corpus is remarkably higher than the one in the reference corpus, where the frequency of use per million words is 592,85. Again, *never* occurs with *I* in the highest manner; ten times in the corpus, in instances such as *I (had) never*. Following examples were noted when the usage of *never* in the corpus was examined:

- (46) It does not and **never** will, restore any measure of compensation to the victims' family or the state.
- (47) I **never** thought of them maybe having security cameras or being locked in the store, but I walked out with it and took it back home.
- (48) I had **never** liked the idea of sucking foreigners.
- (49) It was a man, he was begging and pleading and and praying I guess and he was please God all over the place so I told him he could have a half hour to pray to God and if God could come down change the circumstances he'd have that

time, but God **never** showed up and he **never** changed the circumstances and that was that.

(50) I tried to **never** let anything touch the house.

(51) I've **never** felt sorry for anything I've done other than hurting my family.

(52) These men where **never** tortured **nor** dismembered. (double negative)

(53) I **never** had sex like that. I **never** allowed exotic wierd stuff while I husseled.

The following two negative words, indefinite pronouns *nobody* and *none*, had the lowest score for concordance hits in the corpus. *Nobody* was used on three occasions whereas *none* was used once, yet these relatively low instances of usage do not entail that these two words are less relevant. Strikingly, the ratio numbers for frequencies of use per million words are still higher than they are in the reference corpus; 218,83 per million words for *nobody* (versus 67,2 in the reference corpus) and 109,61 per million words for *none* (versus 91,89 in the reference corpus). *None* was used in one short sentence (*None whatsoever*<sup>16</sup>) so the list of the words it occurs with (such as *victims*, *state*, *minds* or *family*) is comprises the list of words in the preceding and following sentences. These discovered concordance hits correspond to the sentences surrounding the aforementioned use of *none*. Furthermore, it is interesting to mention that *neither* and *nowhere* were not found in the corpus. Instances in which *nobody* was used are the following sentences from the corpus:

(54) And **nobody**, hum I hope no one will try to take the easy way out, and try to blame or otherwise accuse my family of contributing to this because, I know, and I'm trying to tell you as honestly as I know how, what happened.

(55) Well, **nobody** wants to die but everybody will.

(56) I brought **nobody** there; my family was not exposed to anybody.

The analysis of the aforementioned negative words proved to be in accordance with the initial hypothesis – negative words, which are often repeated in a single sentence (or even double negatives), do appear to have a higher percentage of usage in the narratives of offenders with antisocial personality disorder visible in the ratio number of frequency of usage per million words calculated for this corpus and Brown corpus consulted online. The trait of denial and avoidance of guilt in quite incoherent or short sentences is connected to this linguistic feature as the negative words occur in the highest frequency with the first person singular.

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<sup>16</sup> This sentence was uttered as a part of an answer to the question on whether the death penalty is good enough as a punishment for the committed crimes.

## 4.2. The usage of past tense verbs

The number of both regular and irregular past tense verb forms in the corpus was determined, simultaneously determining the overall number of verbs in the corpus as well. The reference corpus was not employed for this particular segment as it only states the ratio for frequency of use per million words for the verb in its base form and does not distinguish the frequency of use for a particular tense. Initially, the number of the past tense verb forms is compared to the overall number of verbs in the corpus in an attempt to decide whether the past tense verb forms are employed more frequently in the narratives of offenders with APD. Verbs used in the past tense form were used in 844 instances in the corpus whereas those verbs related to the present or the future tense appeared in 1147 instances. This calculation means that 9,25% of the corpus is occupied by the past tense verb forms while all the others equal to 12,57%.

Since these estimations are not conclusive and adequate for a well-rounded research, these numbers are further divided into particular past tense verb forms while using the present/ future verb forms as their reference. For that reason, this segment of the analysis will focus on the numbers, usage and functions of *were* (32 instances in the corpus), *was* (142 instances), *had* (used 46 different times), *did* (appeared 47 times), *done* (used 18 times), *been* (used 27 times), as well as the most frequently used past tenses and past participles of lexical verbs (found 367 and 165 times in the corpus) — contrasted to the usage of *be*, *do*, *have* and other lexical verbs in their other forms. The verb *to be* was used in 201 instances in the corpus in its past tense form, while the verbs *do* and *have* were used in 65 and 46 instances in their past tense forms, respectively; as opposed to 153 occurrences of the verb *to be* in its other forms, and 74 and 86 instances of *do* and *have* in their other forms, respectively. Perhaps a more telling cue of the higher frequency of usage of the past tense verb forms in these narratives is the usage of lexical verbs. The past tense and past participle forms of lexical verbs were used 367 and 165 times in the corpus (cumulatively 532 times for past tense forms). The base forms and -ing participles of lexical verbs combined with infinitives, -ing participles of catenative verbs were used 833 times in total throughout the corpus.

The analysis revealed that *were*, which produced 32 concordance hits, was frequently used with prepositions such as *beyond/ in/ on/ to*. Other frequent collocates include eight instances of usage with past participle of lexical verbs (three uses of *killed* and one use of *intoxicated*, *put* or *raised*) and seven instances of combination of *were* and -ing participles (some examples included *warning/ lying/ facing/ running/ figuring*). The highest rate of

collocate hits was produced in regards to the nouns used with *were*, as the number equaled to 17 and some of those nouns include *coincidences/ reason/ situation/ events* – commonly coupled with eight usages of adjectives such as *hard/ self-serving/ guilty/ drunk*. Some examples of the usage of *were* include the following instances:

- (57) I don't really think there were any coincidences.
- (58) They both said they had to go because they were hungry, late, and dad would be mad.
- (58) They were both facing me, about a foot apart, me centered in front of them.
- (60) We were both running I stopped and stabbed him, I believe in the lower side, as he spun.
- (61) If I were guilty of that, that would be true.
- (62) And the others were 2 to 3 months apart.

A single verb used most frequently in the past tense in the corpus is *was*, as it was used on 142 different occasions — potentially due to a higher number of self-references during the course of the narratives, discussed in the subsequent sub-section. The analysis revealed 59 uses of *was* with *I* and 32 uses with *it*, especially in the contexts such as *it was premeditated*, *it wasn't homicide* or *it was blood*, whilst the uses of *was* with *he* or *she* produced 22 hits (four uses with *she* and 18 uses with *he*). *Was* was used with 45 adjectives (such as *dead/ surprised/ alive/ young/ real*), 30 prepositions (*in/ about/ of/ through*) and 25 adverbs (*excruciatingly/ almost/ completely/ always*). Regarding the usages with other verb forms, the results suggest 26 instances of the past participle use (such as *killed/ committed/ drunk/ caught/ cheated/ cut/ locked*), 23 instances of the use of –ing participle of lexical verbs (as seen in *begging/ leaving/ preying/ gurgling*), 10 uses of the base form of the verb (such as *mean/ know/ see*) and three occurrences of the use of infinitive (*believe/ make/ know*). Additionally, existential *there was* was used on six different occasions alongside 13 usages of subordinating conjunction, such as *since* in *since he was dead*. The usage of *was* in the corpus is exemplified with the following examples:

- (63) It's been a nightmare for a long time, even before I was caught for years now, obviously my mind has been filled with gruesome, horrible thoughts and ideas a nightmare.
- (64) It was almost like I wanted to get to a point where it was out of my control and there was no return.
- (65) It was a definite compulsion because I couldn't quit.
- (66) I took the drill while he was asleep.
- (67) I knew my grandma would be waking up and I still wanted him to stay with me so I strangled him and I brought him up to the bedroom and pretended he was still alive.
- (68) I was completely swept along with my own compulsion.

- (69) She **was** on top of the covers of her parents' water bed, which was plenty warm.
- (70) I **was** preying on, or hunting for, boys who would pull down their pants when told, without a fight.
- (71) I didn't stay to make sure he **was** dead this time.
- (72) He **was** covered with blood and not moving.
- (73) He **was** definitely dead.

The most interesting result regarding the analysis of the usage of *did* is that it is used with negation in 34 instances out of the total 47 occurrences in the corpus, as it was analyzed and discussed in the previous sub-section. As expected, the most frequent collocate pronoun is *I*, used on 32 different occasions whereas 22 strings of this particular occurrence are again negations in the form of *I don't think/ want/ notice*. Other pronoun frequencies yielded by the analysis were the uses of *you* (appeared four times - three of those uses were questions such as *did you ditch/ shoot/ leave*) and *they* and *he* (two uses for *they* and three uses for *he*). The usage of *did* is exemplified with the following examples:

- (74) If I knew the true, real reasons why all this started, before it ever **did**, I wouldn't probably have done any of it.
- (75) It would be nice if someone could give the answer on a silver platter as to why I **did** all this and what caused it, because I can't come up with an answer.
- (76) The 3-year-old girl had no PJ bottoms as the older boy **did**.
- (77) I decided I had to cut them loose to do what I wanted, and **did**.
- (78) I **didn't** want to keep killing people and have nothing left except the skull.
- (79) I **didn't** think it would, but it does, it taints your whole life.
- (80) It **didn't** satisfy me completely so maybe I was thinking another one will.

Out of the 46 different occasions the verb *had* was employed in this corpus, it was used with *I* 25 times (once with *we* and *they* and eight times with *he*). The second highest cluster rank is occupied by occurrences of *had* with nouns, amounting to 20 instances of such usage. The total number of past participles used with *had* is 12; some of the most revealing being *committed/ felt/ achieved/ fit/ left/ seen*, whereas eight instances of collocations with the past tense forms of lexical verbs were noticed (the uses of *killed/ died/ decided/ felt/ started*). Lower scores for predicates with *had* were noticed with infinitives (*cut/ talk/ let*) and base forms of lexical verbs (*wish/ think/ kneel*), both being used five and four times respectively. The following examples serve as an illustration of the usage of *had* in the corpus:

- (81) At about eleven o'clock at night, when everyone was gone and the store was locked up from the outside, I went out and undressed the mannequin and I **had** a big sleeping bag cover.
- (82) If I **hadn't** been caught or lost my job, I'd still be doing it, I'm quite sure of that.

- (83) All I **had** to do was pull up her night shirt, from a spot just above her knees, to her stomach, exposing her belly-button. This was very easy. I didn't even have to first remove blankets, as I **had** the boys.
- (84) I went about 30 yards and decided to run back to make sure I **hadn't** left any evidence behind.
- (85) I think if I **had** a choice I wouldn't.
- (86) I **had** felt very bad very, very bad.
- (87) My dad **had** nothing to do with these killings.

The verb *been* appeared 27 different times in the corpus. The highest number of occurrences for this past tense form of the verb *to be* regarding the pronouns is again the first person singular pronoun *I*, used on nine occasions while the usage with *we* is noted as appearing two times. *Liked/ caught/ known/ raped/ found* account for a few examples of the total eight instances of use of the past participle of lexical verbs, while *lying/ thinking/ talking* are a few examples of the five uses of –ing participles with *been*. Four instances of modal auxiliaries *could, may, might* and *would* were noted, as used in *would have been*. The following examples illustrate the usage of *been* in the corpus:

- (88) It's **been** a nightmare for a long time, even before I was caught for years now, obviously my mind has **been** filled with gruesome, horrible thoughts and ideas as a nightmare.
- (89) If I'd **been** thinking rationally I would have stopped.
- (90) Nothing's **been** normal since then.
- (91) I had **been** in my underwear when first entering the boys' room, so my shirt, shoes, or pants wouldn't make noise and wake them.
- (92) He may have then **been** dead, but kept moving.
- (93) Might not have **been** the right way to go but it was for me the only way.
- (94) In all courts I have **been** in, my mind is only one chamber.
- (95) I've **been** trying to help them find Siems body.

The use of the aforementioned and discussed past tense verbs is relevant for the analysis of the usage of the past tense in psychopathic individuals, but the analysis that reveals more about the state of mind of the offenders is the examination of 367 instances of past tenses of lexical verbs as well as 165 occurrences of past participles of lexical verbs. Out of 367 instances, the most frequent usage of the past tense of a lexical verb was with the first person singular pronoun *I* (used verbs such as *approached/ carried/ encountered/ hustled/ killed/ shot/ robbed*). Based on their frequency rate, other pronouns used are: *they* and *he* (used 66 times in examples with verbs such as *said/ attributed/ believed* and *died/ erected/ found/ looked*), *it* (used on 45 occasions with verbs such as *came/ ended/ caused/ happened*; on one occasion *'it'* is used to refer to a person) and *him* and *her* (used 41 times with verbs such as *struck/ strangled/ stabbed/ buried* and *licked/ stopped*). Overall, the most frequently used

verbs in their past tense form are: *said* (with 39 instances of use in the corpus), *went/ got* (used 20 times each), *wanted/ took* (with 16 uses each), *started/ happening* (with 12 instances of use each), *found/ felt* (used 11 different times each), *told* (occurring 10 times in the corpus), *thought* (used nine times), *knew* (used seven times), *killed/ kept/ came* (each used on six different instances), *learned/ died/ gave* (each with five occurrences in the corpus) and *stabbed* (used four times). Additionally, the usage of the past participles of lexical verbs amounts to 165 instances, and is mostly composed out of the following verbs: *was* and *had* (used 30 and 12 times, respectively), *left* (used six times), *found* (occurring five times), *told/ killed/ seen/ raped/ put/ increased* (each equals to four instances of use), *wanted/ used/ torn/ spent/ lied/ kept/ protected/ hurt/ locked* (each used twice in the corpus) and instances such as *tortured* and *ripped* which appear once in the corpus. There are also 26 instances of the usage of 've; mostly with verbs such as *wondered/ raped/ got/ harmed/ hated/ hurt/ lived* - alongside *experienced* and *cried* which appear with negation.

The analysis of the usages of past tenses in the narratives authored by convicted offenders with APD would not be complete without the discussion on the actual combinations of the aforementioned auxiliary and lexical verbs in context.

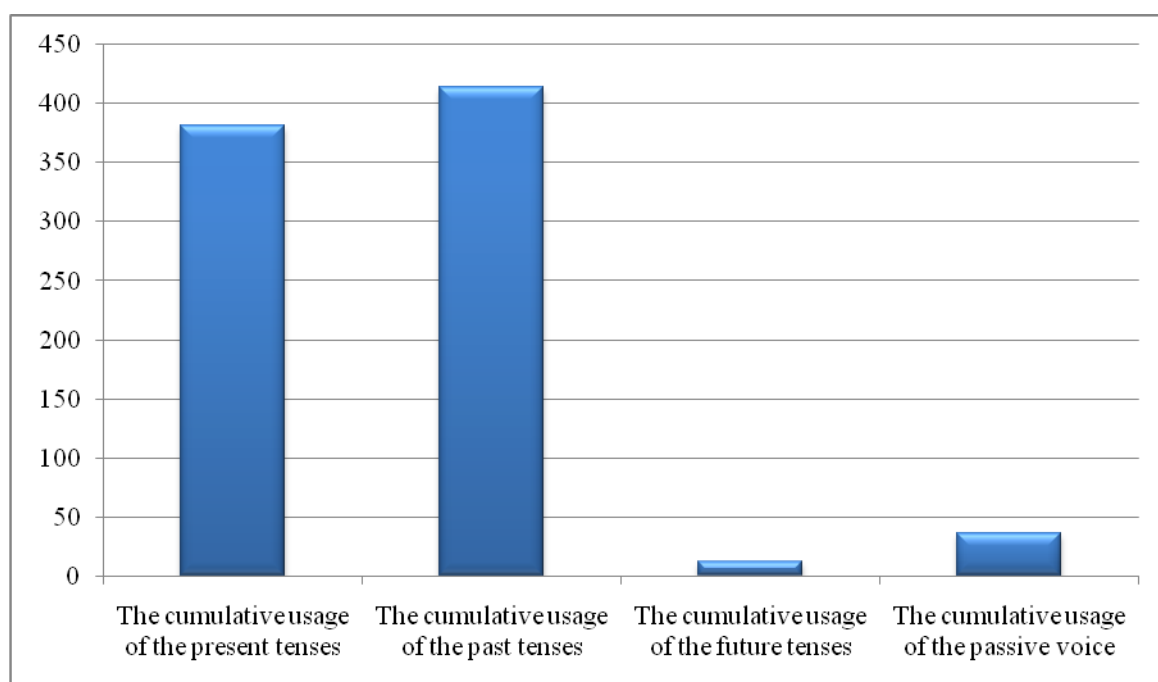


Diagram 2: The overall ratio of usages of present, past and future tenses and the passive voice

The overall number of the present tenses in the corpus was 381 — with 274 uses of the Simple Present Tense (68 of those uses were instances with the third person singular affix -s),



37 instances of the Present Continuous, four examples of the Present Perfect Continuous alongside 66 Present Perfect uses throughout the corpus. Contrastively, the analysis yielded that the number of the past tenses in the corpus was 414 — with 367 uses of the Simple Past Tense, 30 uses of the Past Continuous, 16 instances of the use of the Past Perfect and one example in which the Past Perfect Continuous was used. The least used tenses were the future tenses; used on 12 instances throughout the corpus. The highest difference in the frequency of the tense usage is in the ratio between the uses of the Simple Present Tense and the Simple Past Tense, as the Simple Past Tense appears more frequently.

The examination of the usage of the Present Perfect, the second most frequent present tense in the corpus, in the narratives of offenders with APD<sup>17</sup> was particularly interesting, as the Present Perfect tense is used for events that started in the past and have a certain consequence in the present. As this particular tense was used in 66 instances throughout the corpus primarily in the reflections on the committed crimes or the offenders' reasoning behind it, some examples illustrating the usage in context are given as:

(96) I robbed them, and I killed them as cold as ice, and I would do it again, and I know I would kill another person because I've **hated** humans for a long time.

(97) You see the Iceman cry, not very macho, but I've **hurt** people that mean everything to me but the only people that mean anything to me.

(98) I can't say that being in the Valley of the Shadow of Death is something I've **become** all that accustomed to, and that I'm strong and nothings bothering me.

(99) There's no doubt it is an effective way of killing a person whom society **has adjudged** responsible for the crime.

(100) I can't begin to understand well, I can try I'm aware that I can't begin to understand the pain that the parents of these children that I have and these young women that I **have harmed** feel.

(101) I didn't have nothing to do with killing those people, PERIOD. I've **TOLD** you that all the way down the line. I wasn't around anyone when they were killed.

The analysis of the usage of the Past Perfect tense, as a tense used to talk about something that happened before another event in the past, produced 16 results, and was examined to test in which contexts this tense would be used primarily, guided by the expected detachment of the offenders from the committed acts of violence or other acts of mistreatment of the victims. The following examples from the corpus are chosen to illustrate the usage of Past Perfect:

(102) I **had expected** Billy to die right with Cole still hidden.

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<sup>17</sup> The usage of Present Perfect in the prison narratives of individuals with APD was examined as it can be correlated to the claim that individuals with APD are generally devoid of feelings of remorse or guilt, rejecting the existence of the present consequences of the acts committed in the past.

- (103) After the fear and terror of what I **d done had left**, which took about a month or two, I started it all over again.
- (104) And they keep watching it's scary when I think what would have happened to me if I **had seen** that was scary enough!
- (105) My total time with the boys **had been** 18-20 minutes.

Additionally, example (106) given below would be deemed as an unnatural response in the English language to a question on how the offender felt upon the committed murder. The expected answer would not include the usage of the Past Perfect Tense in this particular context but rather the Simple Past Tense. It could be proposed that the used construction implies an attempt of the offender to detach and dissociate himself from any feelings regarding the committed murder.

- (106) I **had felt** very bad very, very bad.

The frequency of the usage of the passive voice as a deceit maker (see: Pennebaker (2011)), resulted in 36 instances of usage (with 24 passive forms of the Simple Past Tense), as it further emphasizes the detachment from the committed crimes, as an attempt of concealing the perpetrator or highlighting certain needs of the offenders that were not met while avoiding to mention the name of the victim by means of personal reference. Some examples of the used passive constructions in the corpus are given below:

- (107) The cops labeled me this on the fact that a number of men **were killed**.
- (108) The reason they **were killed** was because of "Society".
- (109) I **was told** I'd get things.

According to Pennebaker, the usage of *would/ could/ should* forms in this context introduces "a type of *distance* between actual event and the person's *perception* of it" (2011, p. 86). *Would, could* and *should* — traditionally recognized as past tense forms of auxiliary verbs *will, can* and *should* — were used on 49, 33, and nine instances, respectively. All three were most commonly used with *I*, while *would* and *could* were used with *they* as well, whilst *could* and *should* were used with *you* as well. The most common infinitive verb used with all three is *have*. *Would* is also used with *know, think, kill* or *see*; *could* was used with *put, quit* and *give* while *should* was noted as used with *get, think, tell* or *say*. In order to illustrate these usages, the following examples were chosen:

- (110) If I'd been thinking rationally I **would** have stopped.
- (111) I didn't think it **would**, but it does, it taints your whole life.
- (112) If I **could** have kept him longer, all of him, I **would** have.
- (113) Death **would** be preferable to what I am facing.

- (114) Force **would** not be used. I figured if I didn't make them do it, they **wouldn't** tell.
- (115) I **would** have liked that had a better outlook on life but I can't change yesterday.
- (116) If I were guilty of that, that **would** be true.
- (117) I **couldn't** find any meaning in my life when I was out there.
- (118) It was a definite compulsion because I **couldn't** quit.
- (119) How arrogant and stupid of me to think that I **could** do something like this and just go about my life normally as if nothing ever happened.
- (120) I found Cole flat on his back, head tilted to the left, eyes (the one I **could** see) still open, arms at his side.
- (121) I **couldn't** have afforded one child let alone three.
- (122) And I **could**'ve PROVED it in a court of law!
- (123) It **could** possibly give way to a new trial for me.
- (124) This is going to sound bad, but **should** I say it?
- (125) Yes, I do have remorse, but I'm not even sure myself whether it is as profound as it **should** be.
- (126) That's one thing I **shouldn't** have done, that one, I **shouldn't** have done it that way.
- (127) If I **should** ever get caught or turn myself in.

Even though it is evident from the results of the analysis that there is a higher frequency of usage of the past tenses and the past tense verb forms, more definitive and well-rounded conclusions on this particular marker of the language produced by individuals with APD could be drawn if the narratives of individuals with psychopathic tendencies and those without psychopathic tendencies were compared (similar to Hancock et al., or Le et al.), since this paper only included the narratives of convicted offenders with antisocial personality disorder in the examination. Finally, for the corpus analyzed in this paper, it can be concluded that the higher usage of the past tense (especially with first person singular personal pronoun) is indicative of the speech produced by offenders with antisocial personality disorder, as it can be correlated to a wide range of psychopathic traits — one of such characteristic being a disjunction from the present or the future.

#### **4.3. The usage of first person singular**

When discussing the usage of personal pronouns in the narratives of offenders with antisocial personality disorder, it is hypothesized that the most frequently used pronoun is the first person singular personal pronoun *I* due to the potent feeling of dominance and superiority of individuals diagnosed with APD. During the examination of the usage of negative words, it has been noted that all the negative words most frequently occur with the first person singular pronoun, which is assumed to be indicative of the rejection of guilt. The analysis of this

specific corpus produced compelling evidence— out of 9123 words in the corpus, the total number of personal pronouns (singular and plural, in both nominative and accusative case) amounts to 1280 thus making the percentage of personal pronouns in the corpus 14,03%. Out of the stated overall number of all personal pronouns, 525 of pronouns correspond to concordance hits for the nominative case of first person singular personal pronoun *I*, whereas 102 concordance hits correspond to the accusative case of the pronoun in question – *me*. These frequencies of usage in the corpus correspond to following percentages; 5.75% for the instances of *I* and 1.11% for the occurrences of *me*. Although the reference corpus and the analyzed corpus vary in genre, the stylometric result in the case of the first person singular is considered to be of significant value.

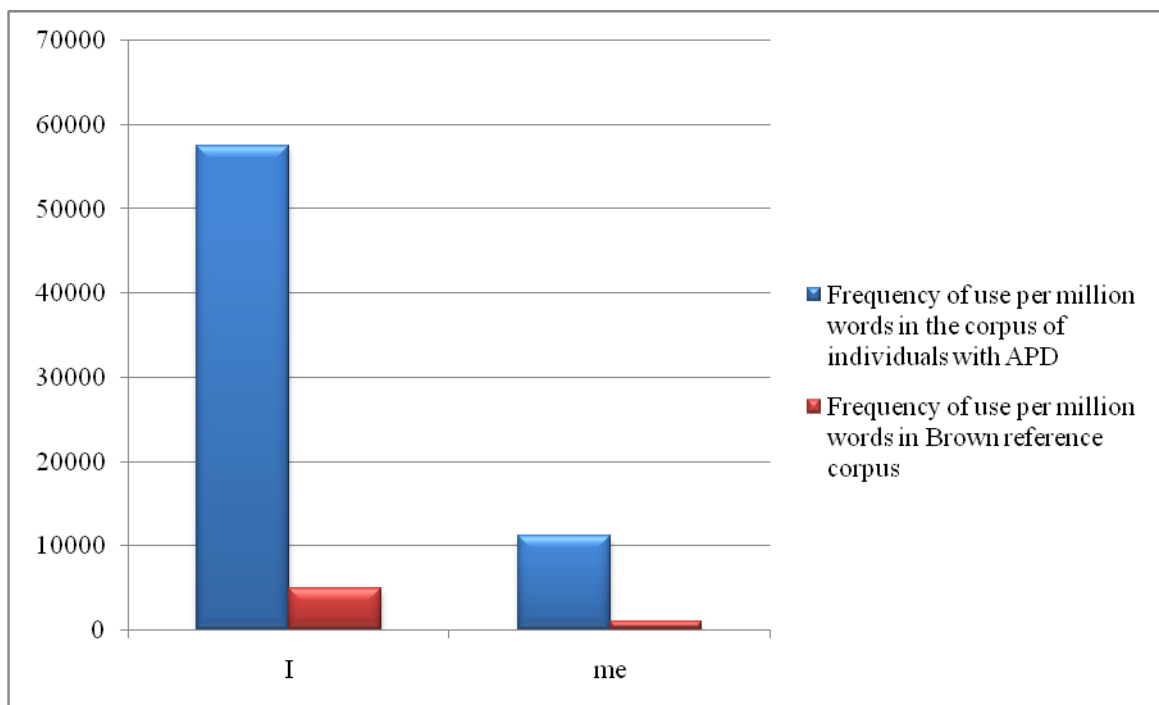


Diagram 3: First person singular - the frequencies of usages per million words in prison narratives authored by offenders with APD and Brown reference corpus

When it comes to the nominative case of the first person singular personal pronoun *I*, the ratio for the frequency of use per million words is 57546,85, while the reference corpus states the ratio to be equal to 4970,76. Examples of the use of the nominative case of the first person singular are given in the following paragraphs from the narratives:

(128) Again **I** know that people will accuse me of being self-serving, but were beyond that now, **I** mean **I**'m just telling you how **I** feel but through God's help, **I**'ve been able to come to the point where **I** (much too late! but better late than never) feel the hurt and the pain that **I** am responsible for.

(129) I can't begin to understand well, I can try I'm aware that I can't begin to understand the pain that the parents of these children that I have and these young women that I have harmed feel. And I can't restore really much to them, if anything. I won't pretend to, and I don't even expect them to forgive me. I'm not asking for it.

(130) Should I get a chest and put what I wanted to keep in that, and get rid of the rest? Or should I put an end to this, try to stop this and find a better direction for my life?

(131) It would be nice if someone could give the answer on a silver platter as to why I did all this and what caused it, because I can't come up with an answer. I felt in complete shock. I just couldn't believe it happened again after all those years when I'd done nothing like this I don't know what was going through my mind. I have no memory of it. I tried to dredge it up, but I have no memory whatsoever. I didn't want to keep killing people and have nothing left except the skull.

(132) Yes, I do have remorse, but I'm not even sure myself whether it is as profound as it should be. I've always wondered myself why I don't feel more remorse.

(133) I don't think I'm overdramatizing it, and I'm certainly deserving of it, but the way I feel now, it's just like you're talking to someone who is terminally ill and facing death. Death would be preferable to what I am facing. I just feel like imploding upon myself, you know? I just want to go somewhere and disappear.

(134) When you've done the types of things I've done, it's easier not to reflect on yourself. When I start thinking about how it's affecting the families of the people, and my family and everything, it doesn't do me any good.

(135) I figured if I didn't make them do it, they wouldn't tell.

(136) I decided I had to cut them loose to do what I wanted, and did.

(137) I think if I had a choice I wouldn't.

(138) I don't know all the things you know, but you don't know the things I know either. I don't disrespect you.

(139) I didn't have nothing to do with killing those people, PERIOD. I've TOLD you that all the way down the line. I wasn't around anyone when they were killed.

(140) I'm not saying I'm not capable of doing it myself, but I'm just saying this: I did not DO that! And I could've PROVED it in a court of law!

Aligned with the previous discussion of the character of a psychopathic individual as a callous, narcissistic person with no empathy or remorse, it does not come as a surprise that the verb *feel* is used in eight different instances (the string '*I felt*' directs the general conclusion in the direction of the trait of the lack of empathy or remorse in convicted offenders with APD) whereas *robbed/ strangled/ stabbed/ love* appear only once in the entire corpus and *killed*, used on three different occasions.

The use of the accusative case of the first person singular personal pronoun, *me*, is imperceptibly lower than the use of *I*, as it was used 102 times. Such frequency in the analyzed corpus produces the ratio for frequency of use per million words as 11180,53, while the reference corpus delineates the frequency of use per million words as 1005,38; again

confirming the hypothesis that the first person singular pronoun will appear more frequently. Correspondingly, the interpretation of such results can only be that the offenders with antisocial personality disorder speak of the world or life in the context of situations that happened to them that could have affected their questionable behaviors while portraying themselves as the victims of some sort of injustice in the world. The accusative case of first person singular is used in the following examples:

- (141) I'm not saying it caused me to go out and do certain things.
- (142) And they keep watching it's scary when I think what would have happened to me if I had seen that was scary enough!
- (143) I won't pretend to, and I don't even expect them to forgive me.
- (144) And I think society deserves to be protected from me and from others like me.
- (145) Because there is no way in the world that killing me is going to restore those beautiful children to their parents and correct and soothe the pain.
- (146) It didn't satisfy me completely so maybe I was thinking another one will.
- (147) When I start thinking about how it's affecting the families of the people, and my family and everything, it doesn't do me any good. It just gets me very upset.
- (148) It doesn't bother me. It doesn't bother me at all.
- (149) Nothing haunts me. No murders haunt me.
- (150) OH GIVE ME MY FUCKIN RIGHTS!! You can't fool me. You can't trick me.
- (151) When people lie to or about me, and won't let me be what I am, they end up with that judgment about themselves. (It's got nothing to do with me! It took me a long time to wake up to that, too.)
- (152) You got to be real, you got to be righteous, you got to do it the way it's supposed to be done, and it's got nothing to do with me. Me is a word, man.

Despite the focus of this analysis being on the usage of the first person singular personal pronoun, it is thought-provoking that the second highest ranked personal pronoun used in the corpus is the third person singular pronoun *it* (with 236 instances of use in the corpus). Occasionally, this marker is correlated to the claim that psychopathic murderers mostly use this pronoun to refer to their victims; avoiding the use of *he* or *she* as a way of dehumanizing the victims and further dissociating themselves from the committed molestations, tortures and homicides as in:

- (153) It all depends if you don't want it found or if you want it found. If you want it found then it doesn't matter you just leave it there. If you don't want it found you could take it somewhere, you could bury it, you could put it in a big drum, you put it in a trunk of a car and have it crushed, you leave it in town, you can put it on a park bench I mean you know you could put anything you want.

Additionally, offenders with APD would use *it* in their attempts to avoid the direct referencing to the committed acts as in:

(154) I don't know why **it** started. I don't have any definite answers on that myself. If I knew the true, real reasons why all this started, before **it** ever did, I wouldn't probably have done any of **it**. If I'd been thinking rationally I would have stopped. I wasn't thinking rationally because **it** just increased and increased. It was almost like I wanted to get to a point where **it** was out of my control and there was no return.

In terms of the discussion presented above, the following examples are chosen to exemplify repetition in terms of the overall cohesion and coherence scope of the analyzed narratives on a sentence level:

(155) From **then** on **it** was a craving, a hunger, I don't know how to describe **it**, a compulsion, and I just kept **doing it, doing it and doing it**, whenever the opportunity presented itself. **It** was a definite compulsion because I couldn't quit.  
(156) **It taints your whole life**. After **it** happened I thought that I'd just try to live as normally as possible and bury **it**, but things like that don't stay buried. I didn't think **it** would, but **it** does, **it taints your whole life**.  
(157) If I hadn't been caught or lost my job, I'd still be **doing it**, I'm quite sure of **that**. I went on **doing it and doing it and doing it**, in spite of my anxiety and the lack of lasting satisfaction.

The conclusion regarding the analysis of the usage and function of *I* and *me* is that the results coincide with the hypothesis that the usage will be higher, as the overall ratio of the frequency of use per million of words is higher and the context of the usage and the function of the pronoun dovetails with the all aforementioned expectancies for individuals with such a complexity of traits — such as self-centeredness or the feeling of superiority or dominance coupled with a hint of disengagement with the crimes as if they were not the ones who committed them or dissociation with any possible — present or future — negative context they might appear in.

#### **4.4. The usage of cause and effect conjunctions**

A common attribute of psychopathic individuals, their instrumental or predatory view of the world where every action causes a certain reaction or response, is commonly correlated to the language they produce in the sense that there is higher-than-average usage of conjunctions, especially those related to cause and effect statements, as described by Hancock et al. (2011). The frequency of conjunction usage is high since an individual with antisocial personality disorder attempts to justify the acts of committed violence as if they are merely the effect or the outcome of some cause in the outside world. The most frequent conjunctions

connected to cause and effect statements analyzed for the purpose of this paper are coordinating conjunctions *for* (cause) and *so* (effect), subordinating conjunctions *because*, *since* and *as*.

The analysis also included the search for the usage of conjunctive adverbs *therefore*, *as a result of*, *consequently* and prepositions *because of*, *due to* and *a result of* as they are also connected to cause and effect statements but these searches did not produce any results of occurrences of use in the corpus. Similar results were expected since the aforementioned conjunctive adverbs and prepositions are usually more frequently found in the corpus of the formal English language.

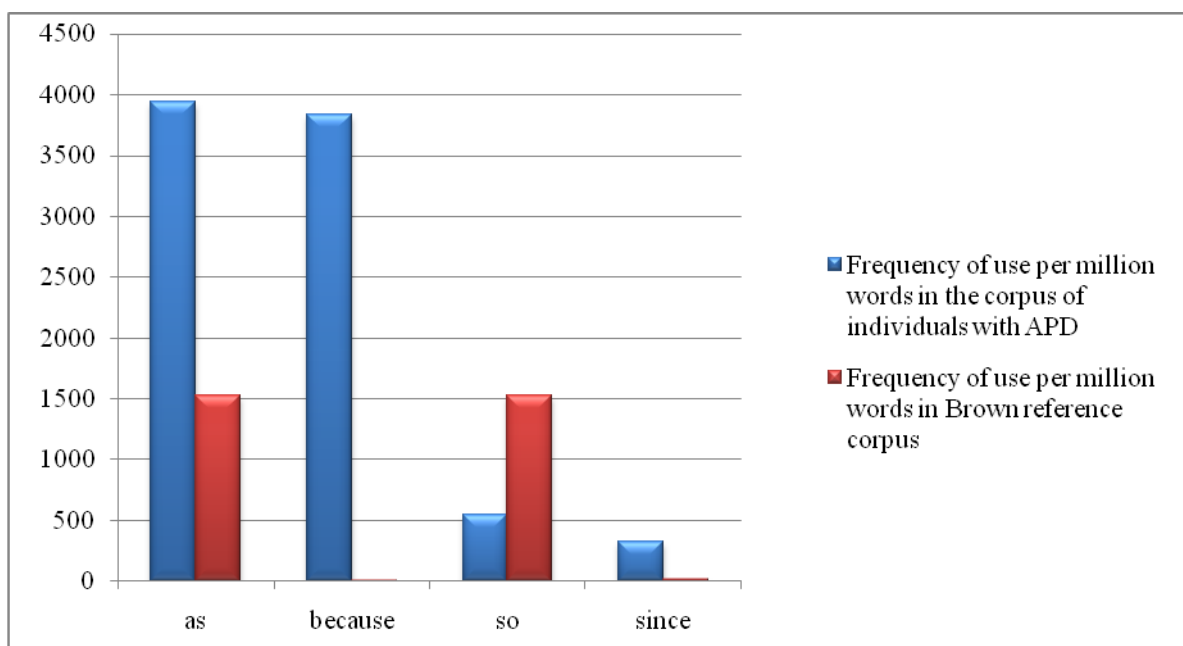


Diagram 4: Cause and effect related conjunctions - the frequencies of usages per million words in prison narratives authored by offenders with APD and Brown reference corpus

The overall number of conjunctions associated with cause and effect statements found in the corpus was 79 which amounts to 0,86% of the entire corpus. The most frequently used conjunction was *as* with 36 instances in the corpus, followed by *because* with 35 instances, *so* and *since*, which were used five and three times respectively.

The usage of *as* on 36 different occasions equals to 3946,07 as the ratio of frequency of usage per million words versus the ratio listed in the reference corpus which equals to 1528,48 usages per million words; indicating that the frequency of the usage of conjunction *as* is remarkably higher in the analyzed narratives compared to the reference corpus used in this analysis. The conjunction *as* was used in five instances with the personal pronoun *he* (while



the occurrences with *she*, for instance, were not recorded), occurring with *spun* (on two different occasions), *went down* and *tied me*.

Correspondingly, the purpose of such statements could be to rationalize and condone the violence committed as if it was the only reasonable response while retelling the events that were happening fast and as perceived by the agent. Additionally, it has to be noted that some instances of the usage of *as* could be explained due to the fast paced nature of the narrative (some of the usages of *as* can be replaced with *while*, for instance, and still produce a grammatical sentence). The following examples illustrate some instances of the usage of the conjunction *as* in the analyzed corpus:

(158) We were both running I stopped and stabbed him, I believe in the lower side, **as** he spun.

(159) "Just one more thing," **as** I again took knife from sheath (hidden in sock under pant leg).

(160) I stabbed him again in the left shoulder I think **as** he went down.

(161) I thought he'd drop, but **as** I quickly turned to Cole before he could react, Billy grabbed his stomach and started running.

(162) I then got him in the chest, and the third stab struck him, but I'm not sure where **as** I was rising to chase Billy.

The second most frequent conjunction used was *because*, as it appeared 35 times in the corpus – 32 times as *because* and three times as *cause*. The ratio of the frequency of use per million words in the reference corpus is 7,66 per million words whereas the ratio in the present corpus amounts to 3836,45 contributing to the confirmation of the hypothesis that the conjunction *because* is being used more frequently. As it was the case with the conjunction *as*, *because* is also used most frequently in sentences the subject of which is *I*. Out of the 10 times as it was used in this context, in three instances *because* is used as the initial word in the sentence and the two instances of *cause* as the initial element in the sentence. Through the usage of this conjunction it clear that it is used as a way of warranting justification for the crimes and avoiding being held accountable, as the crime is represented as the result of an array of outside circumstances beyond the control of the offender. These claims are illustrated with following examples:

(163) At least I can do that **because** I created this horror and it only makes sense that I do everything to put an end to it, a complete end to it.

(164) I don't even know if I have the capacity for normal emotions or not **because** I haven't cried for a long time.

(165) I wasn't thinking rationally **because** it just increased and increased.

(166) I very seldom left the house unless I had to **because** I felt secure in house.

(167) The reason they were killed was **because** of "Society".

(168) I robbed them, and I killed them as cold as ice, and I would do it again, and I know I would kill another person **because** I've hated humans for a long time.

(169) **Cause** I was always drunk during the attacks.

(170) And I can't remember **cause** he bought me nearly a case of beer.

The analysis showed that two conjunctions with the lowest frequency rate are *so* and *since*, with five and three instances in the corpus. Their ratio regarding the frequency per million words is 548,06 for *so* and 328,83 for *since* whilst the reference corpus lists the ratio of 1522,53 for *so* and 19,56 for *since*. When the score for the frequency of usage of *since* in the analyzed narratives is contrasted to the score in the reference corpus, the hypothesis appears to be confirmed; while the usage of *so* is higher in the reference corpus possibly because the reference corpus classifies it as merely an adverb. Regardless, *so* is used with *I* twice (as in *told him he could* and *can get my*) and once with existential *there* (as in *there was a tire iron*), *my shirt* and *he* (in *said*). Similarly, *since* is used on two occasions with *I* (found in *'d left him out* and *can't remember*) and once with *he* (in *was younger*). The following two sets of examples correspond to the usages of *so* and *since* in the corpus;

(171) It was a man he was begging and pleading and and praying I guess and he was please God all over the place **so** I told him he could have a half hour to pray to God and if God could come down change the circumstances he'd have that time but God never showed up and he never changed the circumstances and that was that.

(172) Cole asked if it would hurt I said no **so** he said OK.

(173) I had been in my underwear when first entering the boys' room, **so** my shirt, shoes, or pants wouldn't make noise and wake them.

(174) I was hoping for Billy, **since** he was younger and prettier, but I didn't want him to scream nor to cry louder than the little whines he just started.

(175) I figured he'd found Billy, **since** I'd left him out on the trail.

(176) So **since** I can't remember I told them the best thing to do is hypnotize me.

Even though it was expected to find instances of *for* as a conjunction (as it is directly related to the cause), the analysis produced 53 instances of the usages of the item but only in the function of a preposition or an adverb and not once functioning as a conjunction. Therefore, *for* was not analyzed as such. The analysis of the usage of conjunctions in terms of cause and effect statements — primarily in the cases of *as* and *because* — coincides with the hypothesis that the usage of these conjunctions will be higher; i.e. the crime was committed but only *because* something else provoked the crime to happen or because the agent had to act fast. Correspondingly, it is very common for offenders with antisocial personality disorder to put the blame for their actions on their childhoods or substance abuse problems.

After an in-depth analysis of the content and function word frequencies in the prison narratives of the offenders diagnosed with the antisocial personality disorder, both Hancock's and Le's findings have been confirmed on the present corpus when it comes to:

- i. The overall number of negatives occurs more frequently when compared to the reference corpus. The highest frequency of usage was noted with the negative contraction *n't*, followed by *not*, *no*, *nothing*, *never*, *nobody* and *none*. This marker was observed and correlated to denial, rejection of guilt or consequences.
- ii. The overall numbers of past tense verb forms and past tenses are higher than the numbers of verbs related to the present and/ or future tenses, after examining only the corpus of narratives of offenders with APD. This marker was correlated to detachment and dissociation from the subsequent consequences of one's actions reflected in the future or present.
- iii. The usage of nominative and accusative case of first person singular is used in a remarkably higher fashion than other personal pronouns in the corpus – out of the total 1280 personal pronouns used in the corpus, there are 525 nominative cases of first person singular and 102 accusative cases of the first person singular. This marker was correlated to the self-centered, dominant and manipulative personality of individuals with APD.
- iv. The overall number of cause and effect related conjunctions show that they are used more frequently in the present corpus, when compared to the reference corpus. This marker of the causally framed language is correlated to the trait of individuals with APD to justify their acts by finding an excuse in the circumstances of their surroundings or the outside world.
- v. The overall presence of analyzed content and function words frequencies in prison narratives by offenders diagnosed with APD are illustrated in the following diagram:

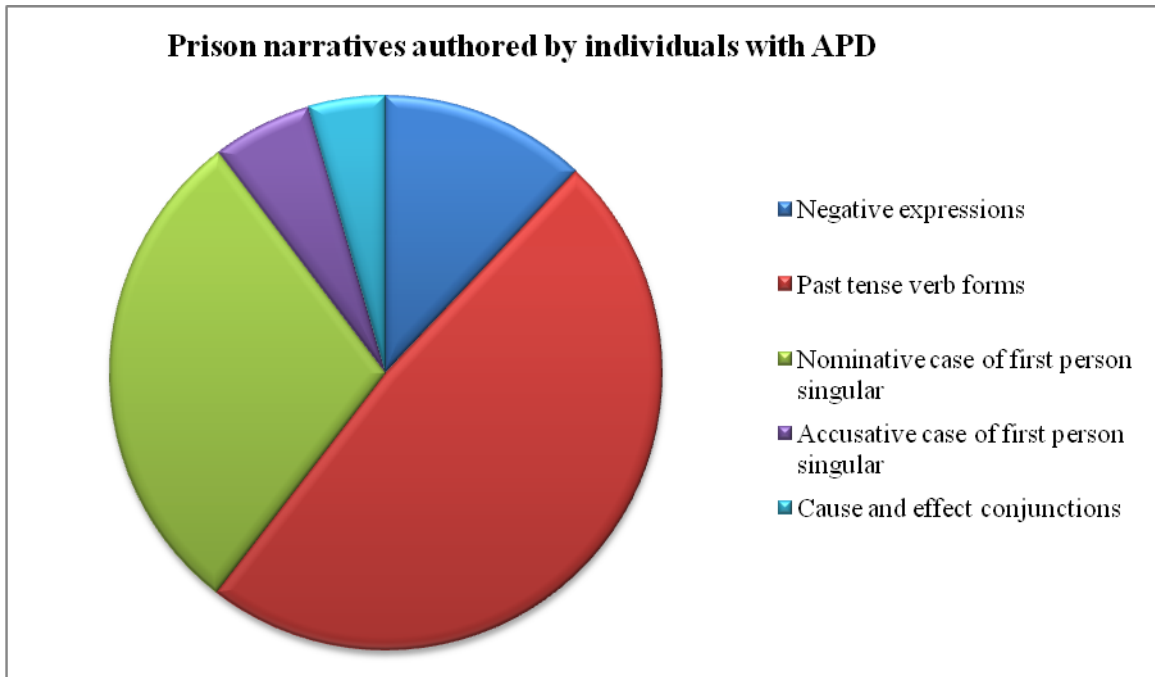


Diagram 5: The overall ratio of the analyzed content and function words in the corpus

## 5. DIFFERENCES IN CORPORA

The main corpus for the analysis of content and function words in the narratives of offenders with antisocial personality disorder was composed out of different types of narratives (written and spoken) in order to test the four hypotheses on representative samples hence making it possible to reach similar conclusions on the traits of the language of psychopaths to those made by Williamson (1991), Hancock (2011), Gawda (2009) and Le (2017). The analysis for this segment of the research was conducted after the main corpus was divided into two smaller corpora — one consisting of the narratives produced in interviews, confessions and random utterances regarding the committed crimes (referred to as corpus I) whilst the other corpus included diary entries and letters (referred to as corpus II). The aim of this analysis is to determine whether there are differences in the language of individuals diagnosed with APD depending on the language being spoken (i.e. transcribed) or written (see: Introduction). Therefore, the same methods employed in the examination of the first four hypotheses were applied for this segment of comparative research. Additionally, the number and usage of interjections was examined as well as the word list of both corpora to determine certain similarities or peculiarities.

The first distinction examined was in the usage of negatives . The analysis proved that the frequency of their usage is higher in corpus I, with 149 instances of use of negative words versus 107 instances of use in corpus II. The highest ranked negative item was the contraction *n't*, used 78 and 54 times respectively in corpus I and II. *No* was primarily used as determiner even though it appeared as an interjection in 24 occurrences in corpus I and 10 in corpus II. The indefinite pronoun neutral for number, *nothing*, was used 10 times in each corpus, while the usage of the adverb *never* equals to nine and eight instances, respectively. The overall impression on the usage of negatives and negation is that more negation is produced in spoken language. Contrastively, the stance of the offenders is slightly less defensive in diaries and letters.

As the analysis proved that there is a higher frequency of usage of past tense forms, it was interesting to see which corpus would have more past tense verb forms. Instances of past tense forms of *be* were noted as appearing 99 times in corpus I — 13 times with *were*, 71 times with *was* and 15 times with *been*. The same verb forms appeared 102 times in corpus II — *were* was used on 19 occasions, *was* on 71 occasion and *been* on 12 different occasions. The use of the past tense forms of *do* equaled to 28 in corpus I (17 and 11 times respectively with *did* and *done*) and 37 in corpus II (30 uses of *did* and seven uses of *done*). The past tense

and the past participle of lexical verbs were used 226 times in corpus I and 306 times in corpus II. In corpus I, the present tenses were used in 214 instances; past tenses were used in 167 instances; the future tense was used in nine instances while the passive voice was used in 16 different instances. The analysis of corpus II shows that the present tenses were used in 164 instances; past tenses in 247 instances, future tense in three instances and the passive voice was used in 20 instances. Therefore, the usage of the past tense forms is slightly more frequent in letters and diary entries.

The analysis of personal pronouns yielded somewhat expected results, as it was hypothesized that there will be more self-referencing in interviews and confessions. The frequency of usage of all personal pronouns was conducted, with the main focus on the usage of the first person singular personal pronoun in the nominative and accusative case. The most frequently used personal pronoun in both corpora is *I* (used 294 times in corpus I and 231 times in corpus II), followed by 159 and 77 respective instances of *it*. Alongside 21 instances of the usage of *we*, these personal pronouns have higher frequency of usage in corpus I than they do in corpus II (10 times in corpus II). The following frequently used pronoun in both corpora is *you*, used 53 and 63 times respectively. The usage of *he* and *she* in corpus II (77 uses — 68 for *he* and nine for *she*) are predominately higher than their use in corpus I (27 cumulative uses — 26 for *he* and one for *she*) Similarly, the use of *him/ her* is more regular in corpus II, with 39 uses, as opposed to 17 instances in corpus I. The *they/ them* pronoun combination was again used more frequently in corpus II (39/ 21 versus 31/ 16 occurrences).

In order to discuss the frequencies mentioned above, it is important to recall that Pennebaker (2011) noticed that the frequency of the usages of *you/ he/ she/ they* rises when a person is feeling negative emotions, either towards the discussed topic or in the moment of language production. Therefore, a potential explanation for the higher frequency of usages of these aforementioned pronouns is that the offenders, once imprisoned, attempted to distance themselves by including more agents or referents. A possible explanation of the higher frequency of usage of *I* in interviews and confessions is due to potential repetitions and stutters which also adds to the argument on coherence and cohesion. According to Pennebaker (Ibid.), the frequency of usage of *I/ we/ you* is described as connected to the feelings of arrogance, power and self-confidence. Regardless of the cause, it is evident that the first person singular personal pronoun is used more than any other pronoun — which confirms previous findings.

The investigation of the usage of conjunctions as they are related to cause and effect statements resulted in unexpected ratios. The frequency of usage of these conjunctions was

higher in corpus II — 21 instances of *as*; 19 instances of *because*; three instances of *cause*, *since* and *so*. Corpus I counted 15 occurrences of *as*, 13 occurrences of *because* and two instances of the use of *so*, while no usage of *since* was accounted for. It was expected that the amount of cause and effect statements would be higher in more spontaneous language productions, such as interviews and confessions, as it is correlated to the tendency of individuals with APD to justify their crimes.

Complementary to the previous discussions, the usage of interjections was examined. It was expected and proven that the usage of interjections is more frequent in corpus I. The frequency in corpus I amounted to the total number of 15 — four respective instances of use of *yes*, *no* and *oh* as interjections; two uses of *uh* and one use of *yeah*. The total number of six interjections was noted in the use in corpus II — three occurrences of *ha*, two occurrences of *no* and one occurrence of *oh*. However, for the sake of a thorough analysis, it has to be noted that there is a possibility that the number of interjections could be higher in corpus I (as the transcripts used in the analysis potentially do not include all the interjections used during interviews or confessions).

Ultimately, the word list was examined for each corpus to inspect whether there are some peculiarities in the choices of words. The five most frequently used words in each corpus were: *I/ and/ the/ it/ to* (in corpus I) and *I/ the/ to/ and/ in* (in corpus II), whereas the most regularly used verb in both corpora was *was*, used on 67 instances in each corpus. The choice of verbs between corpora somewhat differs. The most frequently used verbs in corpus I are: *is* (27), *would* (25), *know* (24), *do* (22), *think* (18) or *feel* (12) while verbs used in corpus II are: *is* (33), *be* (28), *said* (27), *had* (25), *can/ do/ got* (24) or *get/ have* (20). The choice of nouns was particularly interesting, as *remorse* was not used in corpus II but had five instances of usage in corpus I, for instance.

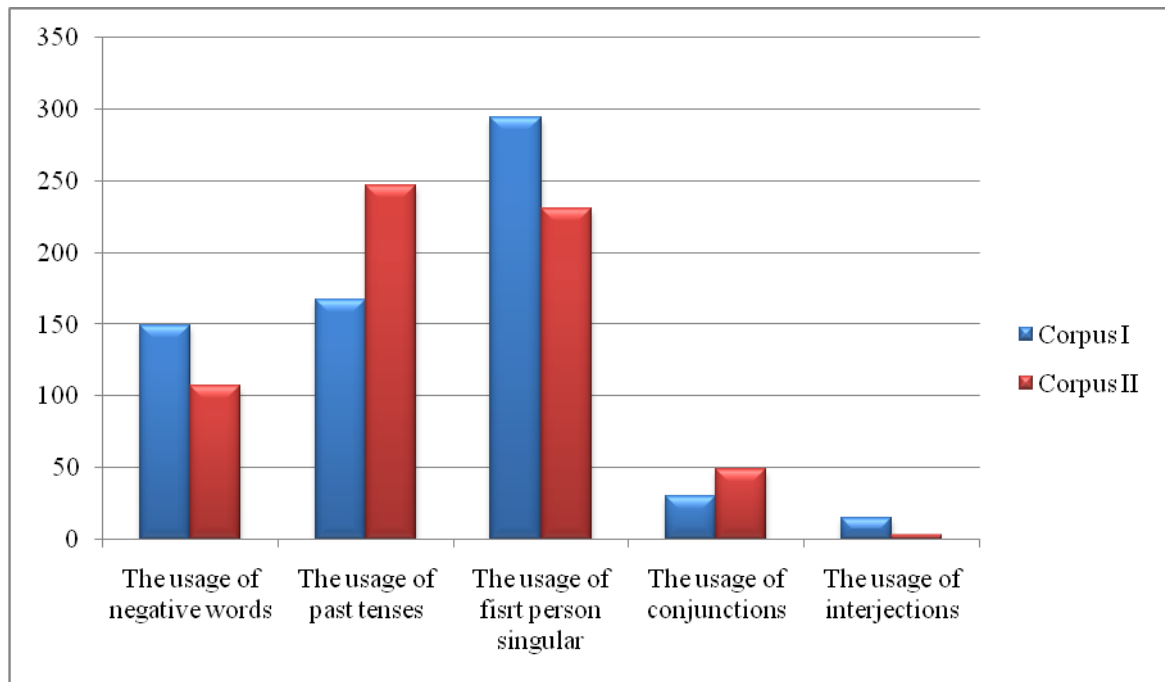


Diagram 6: Differences between corpus I and corpus II

Essentially, the presence of the lexical items with neutral or positive connotations (such as those related to family or religion (e.g. *home, god, parents*)) were far more common in corpus I, while the words with more negative connotations appeared on a much smaller scale (such as those related to the homicides). A closer examination of the most frequently used words gives a better insight into the language reflecting the affective frame of the offender, as it allows the researcher to test the frequency of lexical items used and to analyze the meaning and the context they occur in. As previously stated, the focus has been on the frequency of those content and function words analyzed in previously published papers as relevant when examining the spatial-temporal context in prison narratives by offenders diagnosed with APD, i.e. lexical items revolving around the so-called ‘feeling words’.



## 6. CONCLUSION

One of innate inclinations of human beings is the desire to explore the unknown. Due to this exploratory and curious nature of the human spirit, various fields of studies can be combined in an attempt to understand and explain a specific problem. As people are puzzled with the concept of another human being able to commit horrendous acts of violence against other human beings, a number of experts with distinctive backgrounds approach the subject of antisocial personality disorder — one of the most baffling mental disorders. Since it is believed that the specific use of language can be revealing in regards to the person's thoughts and inner world, it is no surprise that antisocial personality disorder is investigated by linguists as well.

The aim of this research paper in linguistics was to test what kind of results would be yielded when the corpus investigated is built from a number of different types of narratives of the offenders diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder. The focus of the paper was on analyzing the frequency of certain content and function words by means of the antConc concordance software, used as a stylometric tool. The hypotheses were tested on: *negation* expressed by means of 'negative words', *deictic expressions* (with the focus on personal deixis and tense) and *cause and effect conjunctions* due to the research pertaining to coherence and cohesion. The reason for analyzing these categories in particular is that the usage of certain words activates the content those words have in the individual's mental lexicon, while the usage of certain tenses corresponds to an individual's spatial-temporal awareness relevant for the overall sentence constructions. Additionally, the corpus was partitioned into two separate corpora; the two (corpus I and corpus II) were compared and analyzed in respect to the four hypotheses as well as the frequency.

A thorough examination proved all four hypotheses to be in accordance to the previously published research results, i.e. the usage of negatives and first person singular personal pronoun (both nominative and accusative case) were higher in the analyzed narratives, alongside the number of past tense verbs and cause and effect conjunctions. The analysis of negative expressions (*no, not, never, none, nobody*) proved that over 2% of the corpus material is occupied by these expressions, and their frequency was higher in the present corpus compared to the reference corpus. Additionally, the analysis of the examples with occurrences of negative words showed that many negative words are repeated in short and incoherent sentences, with some occurrences of double negation as well. As the examined negative expressions most frequently occurred with the first person singular, it was concluded

that offenders with APD display a desire to negate their guilt and consequences or at least minimize their involvements in the committed crimes. The examination of the past tense verb forms determined that approximately 9% of the present corpus is occupied by the past tense verbs forms. The results of the analysis of the past tense forms of the auxiliary verbs established that they appeared most frequently with the first person singular and less frequently with other personal pronouns, which added to the discussion of self-referencing in the analyzed narratives. Additionally, the analysis revealed that the past tenses appeared more frequently (with the Simple Past Tense as the most frequently used past tense) than present tenses, with very little instances of future tenses usage. The second highest used present tense in the corpus was the Present Perfect Tense, used for events that happened in the past but had a certain consequence in the present. Contrastively, the Past Perfect Tense usage in some instances added to the argument of dissociation of the offenders from the events and acts that happened in the past in their present narratives. The usage of the passive constructions and *would/ could/ should* verbs were analyzed in the corpus, as they are recognized as deceit language markers. The most frequent passive voice in the corpus was the Simple Past Tense passive, used as an attempt of the offenders to distance themselves from the committed crimes as well as to avoid direct referencing to the crimes or their victims by means of personal reference. The first person singular pronoun was the most frequently used personal pronoun in the present corpus, with the overall percentage in the corpus amounting to almost 7%. Contrastively, the first person pronoun forms appeared more frequently in the present corpus than they did in the reference corpus. The nominative case of the first person singular appeared more regularly than its accusative case, but these combined results contributed to the conclusion that the prison narratives of offenders with APD are reflective of their self-centered personality. The cause and effect related conjunctions analyzed in the corpus revealed that their usage in the corpus is approximately 1%, but these conjunctions still appeared more frequently in the present corpus than they would have in the reference corpus. Further examination suggested that some conjunctions were used as a result of the fast paced nature of the narrative but regardless reflected the predatory nature of individuals with APD, as these conjunctions were used to justify the committed crimes as if they were an inevitable reaction to some stimuli.

From supplementary research on the differences between two types of narratives it has been concluded that the narratives of interviews and confessions produced higher frequency of use of negative words than was found in diary entries and letters. In contrast, the instances of usage of past tense verbs and cause and effect conjunctions were higher with the narratives

of diary entries and letters for samples of equal size. Interestingly, the usage of the nominative case of the first person singular pronoun was higher in interviews and confessions, while the accusative form of the pronoun was used more frequently in letters and diary entries. The analysis would not have been complete without the research of interjections which appeared more frequently in interviews and confessions.

All the yielded results are correlated with the known clinical psychological profile of individuals with antisocial personality disorder as they are indicative of a person who is manipulatively charming, narcissistic and self-centered, and who dissociates from the past events while lacking remorse and empathy and refrains from any sort of acceptance of responsibility by blaming their wrongdoings on outside factors. It is highly significant to underline that not all individuals with antisocial personality disorders are serial killers or have to become one due to the diagnosis but the number of serial killers with the diagnosis is remarkably high. Potential relevance of linguistic researches and studies regarding the language of psychopaths is the possibility to enable therapists and linguists to gain a better insight into the linguistic patterns used. Also, it is crucial and meaningful to gather as much as information about the disorder as possible so that the offenders who are incarcerated and who have the diagnosis can get better therapy options, with skilled professionals, making a life with antisocial personality disorder more docile and amendable for both the patients and those who interact with them. Furthermore, it might be possible to discover even more telling language patterns and cues that would differentiate the people who have the higher risk of being diagnosed as a way of providing them with appropriate treatment early on or as a way of managing the disorder later on.

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## APPENDIX

### A) An excerpt from Ted Bundy's interview

*(On the murder of Kimberly Leach)*

I ... .. I can't really talk about that right now. That's ... I would like be ... able to convey ... to you what that ... that experience is like, but I can't, I won't be able to talk about that. I can't begin to understand ... well, I can try... I'm ... aware that I can't begin to understand the pain ... that ... the parents of ... these children that I have ... and these young women that I have harmed feel. And I can't restore ... really much to them, if anything. I won't pretend to, and I don't even expect them to forgive me. I'm not asking for it. That kind of forgiveness is of God; if they have it, they have it, and if they don't, maybe they'll find it someday.

*(On whether he thinks he deserves the punishment inflicted on him)*

That's a very good question. I'll answer really honestly. I don't want to die; I won't kid you. I can't kid you now! I deserve, certainly ... the most extreme punishment society has, and I deserve. And I think society deserves to be protected from me and from others like me. That's for sure ... I think ... What I hope will come of our discussion is I think society deserves to be protected from *itself*. Because, as we have been talking, there are forces at loose in this country, particularly, again, this kind of violent pornography ... where, on the one hand, well-meaning decent people will condemn the behavior of a Ted Bundy while they're walking past a magazine rack full of the very kinds of things that send young kids down the road to be Ted Bundys. That's the irony.

### B) An excerpt from Jeffrey Dahmer's confession

To relieve the minds of the parents I mean it's a small, very small thing, but I don't know what else I could do. At least I can do that because I created this horror and it only makes sense that I do everything to put an end to it, a complete end to it. It's just a nightmare, let's put it that way. It's been a nightmare for a long time, even before I was caught for years now, obviously my mind has been filled with gruesome, horrible thoughts and ideas a nightmare. I couldn't find any meaning in my life when I was out there. I'm sure as hell not going to find it in here. This is the grand finale of a life poorly spent and the end result is just overwhelmingly depressing it's just a sick, pathetic, wretched, miserable life story, that's all it is. How it can help anyone, I've no idea. I don't even know if I have the capacity for normal emotions or not because I haven't cried for a long time. You just stifle them for so long that maybe you lose them, partially at least. I don't know. I don't know why it started. I don't have any definite answers on that myself. If I knew the true, real reasons why all this started, before it ever did, I wouldn't probably have done any of it. If I'd been thinking rationally I would have stopped. I wasn't thinking rationally because it just increased and increased. It was almost like I wanted to get to a point where it was out of my control and there was no return. I mean, I was very careful for years and years, you know. Very careful, very careful about making sure that nothing incriminating remained, but these last few months, they just went nuts. It just seemed like it went into a frenzy this last month. Everything really came crashing down.

(...)

One thing I know for sure. It was a definite compulsion because I couldn't quit. I tried, but after the Ambassador, I couldn't quit. It would be nice if someone could give the answer on a silver platter as to why I did all this and what caused it, because I can't come up with an answer. I felt in complete shock. I just couldn't believe it happened again after all those years when I'd done nothing like this I don't know what was going through my mind. I have no memory of it. I tried to dredge it up, but I have no memory whatsoever.

**C) An excerpt from Richard Kuklinski's interview**

*(On whether he thinks about his crimes and feels any remorse)*

I don't. It doesn't bother me. It doesn't bother me at all. I don't have a feeling one way or the other. I think if I had a choice I wouldn't.

Nothing haunts me. No murders haunt me. Nothing. I don't think about it, that's why it's hard for me to tell you but I've. In order for me to be able to tell you when something happen I have to think about why. When if I think about it, it would wind up hurting me so I doubt I don't think about it. If I had a choice, of course you as already said to me we all have choice maybe we do. At the time I didn't seem to have one but if I could have I would like to be different than what I am. I would have liked to been different wasn't than what I was. Yes it would be better, it would've been better for me. I would have liked that had a better outlook on life but I can't change yesterday.

*(On whether he is sorry for anything he has done)*

I've never felt sorry for anything I've done other than hurting my family. The only thing I feel sorry for. I'm not looking for forgiveness and I'm not repenting. No I'm wrong I'm wrong I do want my family to forget me. Oh boy, I can make this one, oh shit, this would never be me. This would not be me. I feel for my family. You see the Iceman cry, not very macho, but I've hurt people that mean everything to me but the only people that mean anything to me.

**D) An excerpt from diary entries<sup>18</sup> of Westley Allan Dodd**

He was definitely dead. That only took a second to take it all in, and I started looking around and found no evidence. I thought about running back to be sure Billy was dead, and decided not to risk the extra time. I then noticed blood on my left hand. Keeping it in my pocket I calmly climbed to the main park, greeting an older man and throwing a stray baseball to a couple guys on the way back to my car. I circled around and on the other side of the park found a guy running down the hill. I figured he'd found Billy, since I'd left him out on the trail. I didn't want to leave fingerprints on his bloody clothes, or get his blood on me trying to get him into hidden bushes as Cole was. I had expected Billy to die right with Cole--still hidden. It turns out lucky I didn't go back to check Billy, or the guy would have seen me, too. It was about 6:45 p.m. when I got out to the main park. My total time with the boys had been 18-20 minutes. I didn't know for sure he was dead until the 6:00 a.m. news on the radio the next morning (Tuesday morning).

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<sup>18</sup>Due to extremely graphic descriptions of molestations and murders, those sections of Dodd's *Diary of Death* and Jeffrey Dahmer's confession were not included in the present paper.

### **E) An excerpt from Charles Manson's written public statements**

In all courts I have been in, my mind is only one chamber. The hole I came out of was prison. You can call it mother, but it was prison. Everything that is in all, is held in the prison of everything circles of what is not. And nothing holds everything! And isn't everything the prison, held to be nothing, or is it nothing being held by everything? That's an intelligent thought, from an intelligent life form, who suffered 60 years to wake up to that axiom. When people lie to or about me, and won't let me be what I am, they end up with that judgment about themselves. (It's got nothing to do with me! It took me a long time to wake up to that, too.) I can help a person, but not until he sees and knows, I can and will be truthful! If you know I'll be truthful, it can only be because you'll be truthful. But he first must be truthful and right with himself, with me. What's been done to me in my will, will be the will that comes back, to and for, them. And it's my court. I am Charles. The court said so, and I was there in that will before I ever met anyone who was alive in 1969. I have been the courts, and all that was and ever could be, and went to the Doctor and gave him my life!

### **F) An excerpt from the letters and statements of Aileen Wuornos**

*(Letter excerpt)*

Dear Dawn,  
there is something I feel mysterious about. I've often thought [Arlene] was a family member of one of the guys. Because Carskadden told me during my cruise with him that he knew the mafia. I have strange feelings in it all. My spirit feels it. I've been trying to help them find Siems body. There's something really fishy going on. Because I left him lying right in the middle of the road. After I used immediate defense. I never hid him, (nor) moved him. He had to of been found. Anyway I spent one day trying. But I can't remember where "he" took me. Again if it was premeditated. I would of suggested an area I knew! But he picked the spot. And I can't remember cause he bought me nearly a case of beer. So since I can't remember I told them the best thing to do is hypnotize me. It could possibly give way to a new trial for me. As Steves puts it. The Dirt will come out. I just hope they don't lie. And claim a body that isn't even his. Take good care. Keep your thoughts on Christ.

4-now

Love Lee!